UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES

MASTER'S THESIS IN LINGUISTICS (LING4190)

"Why don't some Poles speak Norwegian?"

Sociolinguistic and socioemotional experiences of Polish transnationals in Norway

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AUTUMN 2021

2021

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Abstract

This study examines four different aspects that can have an impact on Norwegian language learning among Polish transnationals, presently the largest immigrant community in Norway. With a foundation in sociolinguistics, the first aspect looks at what opportunities Polish transnationals have to learn Norwegian, and how it can affect subsequent or later language learning. The second aspect draws from comprehensive research into motivation in language learning and psychology, identifying types of motivation that leads to learning Norwegian. The third aspect applies social psychology to explore the possibility of ethnic own-group conformity pressure (OGCP) in Polish communities, and if it can affect language learning in any way. The fourth aspect is socioemotional and examines language anxiety in five different situations (i.e. at work, outside of work, in public, on the phone, and with public officials) when speaking Norwegian (and English).

Research data was acquired in two ways: by collecting quantitative data through a questionnaire (N = 46), and qualitative data using a focus group interview (N = 5). The questionnaire applied both open-ended and likert scale questions, asking Polish transnationals about their sociobiographical (i.e. gender, age, education, work) and language backgrounds (i.e. self-perceived proficiency, language use), and questions concerning attitudes and feelings towards languages, Norwegian language learning, and Norwegians' attitudes towards Polish people. Centering more on the research questions and aforementioned aspects, the focus group interview responses were substantiated by the quantitative data in a mixed methods convergent design, with integration through merging.

The findings are presented in a comprehensive narrative paying special attention to the focus group participants' experiences, beliefs, and feelings surrounding the research questions and accompanying hypotheses.

The first aspect reveals a link between participation in language courses and subsequent higher proficiency in Norwegian, while the opposite is true for those who do not attend any courses, being less proficient or having no proficiency in the language. The second aspect regarding motivation, shows that the most prominent reason for learning Norwegian is based on Polish transnationals' perceptions about proficiency in the language being a needed skill to acquire better jobs, leading to permanent employment and higher earnings. The presence of the third aspect, OGCP, was not substantiated among Polish transnationals, with regard to Norwegian language learning. The fourth aspect of language anxiety proved to be a common

occurrence among Polish transnationals. A link between high levels of language anxiety and low levels of language proficiency, as well as low levels of language anxiety and high levels of proficiency, was also established, much in line with earlier research on language anxiety in the immigrant context.

This study contributes to language learning research in the immigrant context, a topic of growing interest, notably among Polish transnationals who have been receiving some attention, particularly in the Norwegian media in recent years.

The outcomes of this study suggest that more in-depth studies are necessary to explore the opportunities and motivations for Polish transnationals to learn Norwegian. Consequently, examining these aspects is critical to facilitate better possibilities to learn the language, as there is a continued shift in immigration patterns towards more family reunions and permanent or long-time settlement in Norway.

Sammendrag

Denne studien undersøker fire ulike aspekter som kan ha innvirkning på norskopplæring blant polske transnasjonale, for tiden den største innvandrergruppen i Norge. Med et fundament i sosiolingvistikk, ser det første aspektet på hvilke muligheter polske transnasjonale har til å lære norsk, og hvordan det kan påvirke påfølgende eller senere språklæring. Det andre aspektet henter fra omfattende forskning på motivasjon i språklæring og psykologi, og identifiserer hvilke typer motivasjon som leder til norskopplæring. Det tredje aspektet bruker sosialpsykologi for å utforske muligheten for etnisk egengruppekonformitetspress (OGCP) i polske miljøer, og om det kan påvirke språklæring på noen måte. Det fjerde aspektet er sosioemosjonelt og undersøker språkangst i fem ulike situasjoner (dvs. på jobb, utenfor jobb, i offentlighet, på telefon og med offentlige tjenestemenn) når man snakker norsk (og engelsk).

Forskningsdata ble innhentet på to måter: ved å samle inn kvantitative data gjennom et spørreskjema (N = 46), og kvalitative data ved hjelp av et fokusgruppeintervju (N = 5). Spørreskjemaet brukte både åpne spørsmål og likert-skalaspørsmål, og stilte polske transnasjonale spørsmål om deres sosiobiografiske (f.eks. kjønn, alder, utdanning, arbeid) og språklige bakgrunn (f.eks. selvopplevde ferdigheter, språkbruk), og spørsmål om holdninger og følelser til språk, norskopplæring, og nordmenns holdninger til polske folk. Intervjusvarene fra fokusgruppen sentrerte mer på forskningsspørsmålene og de nevnte aspektene, og ble underbygget av kvantitative data i en sammenfallende utforming med blandede metoder, og integrert gjennom sammenslåing.

Funnene presenteres i et omfattende narrativ med spesiell oppmerksomhet til fokusgruppedeltakernes erfaringer, oppfatninger og følelser rundt forskningsspørsmålene med tilhørende hypoteser.

Det første aspektet avdekker en sammenheng mellom deltakelse på språkkurs og påfølgende høyere ferdigheter i norsk, mens det motsatte er tilfellet for de som ikke deltar på noen kurs, som har dårlige eller ingen språkkunnskaper i norsk. Det andre aspektet angående motivasjon viser at den mest fremtredende grunnen til å lære norsk er basert på polske transnasjonales oppfatninger om at språkkunnskaper i norsk er en nødvendig ferdighet for tilegnelse av bedre jobber, som fører til fast ansettelse og høyere inntekt. Tilstedeværelsen av det tredje aspektet, OGCP, ble ikke påvist blant polske transnasjonale i sammenheng med norskopplæring. Det fjerde aspektet språkangst, viste seg å være en vanlig forekomst blant

polske transnasjonale. Det ble også etablert en sammenheng mellom høyt nivå av språkangst og lavt nivå av språkferdigheter, samt lavt nivå av språkangst og høyere nivå av språkferdigheter, mye i tråd med tidligere forskning om språkangst i innvandrersammenheng.

Denne studien bidrar til språklæringsforskning i innvandrersammenheng, et tema med økende interesse, spesielt blant polske transnasjonale som har fått en viss oppmerksomhet i norske medier de siste årene.

Resultatene av denne studien tyder på at mer dyptgående studier er nødvendig for å utforske muligheter og motivasjon for polske transnasjonale til å lære norsk. Det er derfor avgjørende å undersøke disse aspektene for å kunne tilrettelegge bedre muligheter til å lære språket, ettersom det er en vedvarende endring i innvandringsmønsteret mot flere familiegjenforeninger og permanent eller langvarig bosetting i Norge.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I have to thank my amazing supervisor ***Yeşim Sevinç***! She believed in my project and in my capability to complete it, even when I got frustrated and had doubts myself. Her thorough and detailed feedback have continuously made me realize that there is always something (sometimes a lot) that needs to be changed or improved upon when writing anything academic. It has been a difficult time with the Covid-19 pandemic, and I am happy that I could ask and discuss anything with her whenever I needed to, always getting a swift response. I also have to thank MultiLing, and the "Emotions in Transnational Migration" project, providing research funds for translation.

This thesis would have been near impossible if not for the invaluable help from ***Marta Stensen***! Always approachable and accommodating, her knowledge of most things Polish has provided me with a much better understanding of Polish mentality, Polish people and their lives in Norway. She helped translate the Polish parts of the focus group interview, and explained specific Polish meanings that would otherwise have been lost to me.
Dziękuję bardzo!

I must thank ***all the participants*** in this study who took the time to answer the questionnaire, and the informal talks I had with some of them. A special mention must go to the focus group participants. At a time when Covid-19 restrictions made it impossible to arrange anything in Oslo with a group of people gathered in one place, I was lucky enough to get it done with five Polish *rogalendinger* instead. Dziękuję!

Thank you ***Christian Heyerdahl-Larsen***, for checking my Cronbach's alpha consistency results, as well as explaining and making it understandable to me!

Francis, my father, has given his continuous and unwavering support in so many ways throughout my time at UiO, and in all other worthy endeavors I have embarked on through my life. Thank you!

Christopher Ekeberg Aanerud, for being a true and best friend who is always there for me, and for giving me the best breaks from working on this thesis, when needed. Thank you!

Finally, I must thank my supportive and fabulous girlfriend ***Ingrid Kristine Ohm***, who has given me valuable input and encouragement all the way through. She has listened to my endless venting, with questions and opinionated arguments about how I should do this, that, and everything else. I am sorry to have burdened her with so much nonsense, but happy that she allowed me to. I love you so much Ingrid!

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1 Introduction

Polish transnationals constitute the largest immigrant population from a single country, in Norway. There are 110301 (40266 females, 70035 males) with Polish citizenship registered living in Norway as of October 2021. Since Poland's accession into the European Union in 2004, Polish citizens have been able to travel and work within the EU, as well as the EU's predecessor, the *European Economic Community* (EEC), which Norway is a member of. Becoming the most popular destination among the Nordic countries for work-migration, and presently considered a propitious option, Norway still receives migrating Polish transnationals every year. Polish transnationals have ensured a constant influx of a much-needed workforce that is willing to take on most types of construction work or as cleaning workers, often consisting of hard labor and low wages. This has become a 'trademark' for many of them, sometimes described as 'Polishness' (Temple 2010, Gawlewicz 2015, Grzymala-Kazlowska 2018, Przybyszewska 2020). The typical male worker, according to Friberg & Eldring (2011) and Friberg's (2012) descriptions, has been the mainstay of Polish workers coming to Norway since 2004. Many of them barely even knew any English when arriving, and "few report any Norwegian language skills whatsoever, in spite of several years of residence" (Friberg 2012:1595). Plans have been open-ended regarding work, but most considered staying for 1 to 3 years and then moving back to Poland. For them, learning Norwegian would seem redundant, in many, if not most cases. A considerable number of Polish transnationals have managed to live in Norway with very limited or no proficiency in Norwegian for over 10 years. The strongest argument for learning Norwegian has been the realization and belief that proficiency in Norwegian language gives them access to better work options, and higher salaries. This argument, with its strong incentive to learn Norwegian, begs the question: "Why don't some Poles speak Norwegian?"

The reasons behind why some Polish transnationals have learned Norwegian while others have not, is what this study aims to find answers to by examining issues known to occur in second language learning, or in this case, majority language learning, and applying these to the Polish immigrant context.

Earlier research in second language acquisition (SLA) have covered several socioemotional and affective aspects that influence language learning, mostly in the classroom context, much less in the immigrant context.

In this study, I will investigate both sociolinguistic (e.g., immigration, own-group

conformity pressure (OGCP), identity, investment) and socioemotional experiences (e.g., anxiety, motivation) of Polish transnationals in Norway, while also aiming to explore what opportunities Polish transnationals are presented with regarding Norwegian language learning when arriving in Norway and subsequently.

Friberg & Eldring (2011), and Friberg (2012), address that financial gain is the main motivation for coming to Norway for work, followed by a preconception that Norwegian language proficiency is a prerequisite for attaining better jobs, permanent employment, and higher salaries. However, it is not reflected in the general Norwegian proficiency levels for most Polish transnationals working in Norway, that learning Norwegian has been a priority. Relatively few seem to have the adequate levels of proficiency in Norwegian to acquire these imagined better jobs and higher earnings. Despite their preconceptions, there are aspects curtailing a considerable number of Polish transnationals from learning Norwegian.

In sociology, previous research suggests that OGCP can be an important aspect in immigrants' second language learning. For instance, within Turkish immigrant communities in Belgium there have been reported occurrences of OGCP being used as a means to limit or stop integration and contact with the host society (Van Kerckem et al. 2014). The predominant reason for using OGCP is to maintain a strong Turkish identity, culture and language, consequently preventing the blurring of ethnic boundaries and to avoid some members becoming too Belgian (Van Kerckem et al. 2014). Further questions arise from these findings and will be tackled in this study such as: Is OGCP present within Polish communities in Norway, does it have other implications than those with Turkish immigrants in Belgium, and does it affect Polish immigrants' Norwegian learning?

In addition, previous research on language anxiety in the immigrant context, such as Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015), Sevinç & Dewaele (2016), and Sevinç & Backus (2017), have changed the focus of language anxiety from the classroom over to the daily lives of immigrants and their experiences when using the majority language (and the heritage language), in their respective host societies. Following these recent developments in the field, I will explore the possible links between language anxiety and Norwegian language learning among Polish transnationals in Norway. Shedding light on possible links between sociolinguistic and socioemotional experiences and Norwegian language learning of Polish transnationals can add to our understanding of why majority language acquisition in the immigrant context sometimes occurs and other times do not.

The study combines quantitative data collected through a distributed questionnaire, and qualitative data collected by means of a focus group interview. A mixed-methods convergent

design with integration through merging is utilized to allow for the concurrent exploration of questionnaire and interview findings. The following section continues with an overview of the theoretical basis of this study.

2 Theoretical background

The theoretical background section covers relevant aspects,[1] concepts, and earlier research pertaining to the questions being asked in this study, divided into three main sections, sociolinguistic aspects, socioemotional aspects, and Polish transnationals in Norway.

2.1 Sociolinguistic aspects

The first section covers the use of the two expression *transnationalism* and *bilingualism*, as well as connections between *immigration, integration and language*, theoretical background on how group and *own-group conformity pressure* (OGCP), in particular, works in an immigrant context, as well as *identity* in connection with language learning, focusing on Bonny Norton's work on *identity, investment, and imagined communities*.

2.1.1 Transnationalism and bilingualism

Initially 'transnational' was used by Hua & Wei (2016), later adapted by Obojska & Purkarthofer (2018), and Obojska (2018, 2019a, 2019b), to describe the Polish participants in their studies, living in Norway:

> We use the term 'transnational' rather than 'migrant' or 'expat' in order to stress the importance of the constant mobility and the cultural ties across and beyond national borders in the lives and experiences of our participants.
> (Obojska & Purkarthofer 2018:249)

Norwegian policies regarding immigration welcomes ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity far more than many other countries, making it easier to keep their cultural ties, heritage language(s), national identities, and mobility intact. However, any amount of exposure to a

[1] Although there are discernible differences in the meaning and use of *aspect* and *factor*, some overlap may occur in this study.

foreign society and its language(s), will in most cases affect an individual's identity in some manner. Learning the host country's majority language is a personal choice for immigrants, and they decide how much they need or want to learn themselves. This voluntary learning can be beneficial when one wants to maintain ethnic, cultural and national identities, while at the same time transforming the immigrant into a transnational individual, with features from both the home and the host community.

From a sociological point of view, Friberg (2012) also uses the term about Polish "transnational families" migrating from Poland to Norway, independent of their linguistic capacities.

Rather than addressing Polish people living in Norway as Poles, migrants, immigrants, bilinguals or multilinguals, this thesis will adhere to the use of 'Polish transnational(s)', being what best captures the collective descriptiveness of the sample group of participants in this study. Although many Polish transnationals are bilingual or multilingual, it does not apply to all participants in this study, and hence not to all Polish transnationals in Norway.

Bilingualism[2] can be of value in the job market, but it can also be involved "in the production and reproduction of relations of social difference and social inequality", as pointed out by Heller (2006:163). The implications of someone being bilingual can affect their identity and social belonging. Practicing the heritage language can help with maintaining cultural and ethnic ties, while practicing the majority language can be helpful for attaining jobs, get new contacts, and advance integration, in general, increase one's social capital. However, a shift in the balance between ethnic and family group belonging, and social and material (economic) advancement possibilities in the host society, can change the way bilinguals perceive themselves and are perceived by others, resulting in "the game of categorization" (Heller 2006:166), where belonging to either or both can become an issue of concern. These aspects are in many cases related to some of the questions being asked, but the aspect of bilingualism is not the focus of this study, and most of the questions asked pertains to situations of language learners before they potentially become bilinguals, using Norwegian in their daily lives.

[2] *Bilingual* and *bilingualism* will also include multilingual and multilingualism in this study.

2.1.2 Immigration, integration and language

Immigrants coming to Norway do not encounter the same policies regarding language learning as they would in some other countries, such as England. British policy makers emphasize the need for immigrants to learn English, not only for the purpose of communication in the host society, but also "to understand 'our' British way of life" (Temple 2010:286). Norwegian policy regarding immigration and immigrants, embraces diversity and freedom to keep one's own ethnic and cultural distinctiveness in contrast to British, where the desire of the policy makers is for a homogenous culture with common values and one English language (Temple 2010).

There is no obligation to learn Norwegian as an immigrant in Norway, and many, in particular from the European Union member countries do not plan to stay in Norway for extended periods of time or indefinitely, resulting in the belief that learning Norwegian is partially, if not completely redundant.

As Temple (2010) pointed out, the imposed need to learn English, in England, is an instrument for integration and community cohesion, paying no concern to immigrants' identities and the subsequent differentiation between 'us' and 'others'. In the British context:

> The social and economic factors that influence second language attainment, (…) are obscured and the wide linguistic diversity among immigrants is erased and replaced with a homogenous deficiency (Milani 2008:38-39 cited in Temple 2010:286).

Temple (2010) characterizes this as "a narrow approach to language in debates about integration". Norwegian policy has so far not caused a similar apprehension concerning second or foreign (in this case Norwegian) language attainment, as can be witnessed among several immigrant groups and communities in Norway where learning Norwegian does not seem to be of any significant concern. Since the members of many immigrant communities are keeping their languages and cultural distinctiveness unchanged after settling in Norway, it can be argued that they do not face the same pressure for integration and majority language learning, thus not ending up with the same problems affecting their identities, as in England. It is also worth noting Milani's (2008) part of the statement, that "social and economic factors that influence second language attainment, (…) are obscured". This is in contrast to how

many immigrants perceive their situation in Norway. The economic[3] factor, in particular, is the main driving force for many immigrants who come to Norway. The realization that speaking Norwegian can add to their social capital, with the possibility of attaining better paid jobs and the security of permanent employment, is not unfamiliar to many of them.

2.1.3 Group conformity and Own-Group Conformity Pressure

Aronson's (1976) definition covers the main features of what conformity is:[4]

> 'A change in a person's behavior or opinions as a result of real or imagined pressure from a person or group of people'. With conformity, people follow the norms of a particular group of their own free will, and expect to receive rewards or punishment (Burns & Dobson 1984:607).

Positive conformity in these cases "provides a kind of social glue", while negative conformity "is a product, in large part, of the pressure that some people put on other people" (Sunstein 2019:8), for their personal or group benefit.

As early as in the 1930s the Turkish psychologist Muzafer Sherif used psychophysical methods in his classic study on conformity (Burns & Dobson 1984, Sunstein 2019:18-20). One of his most important findings was the discovery:

> (…) that a person who had a high degree of self-confidence was capable of affecting the opinions of the other members of the group. This also applied where there was a dominant person within the group (Burns & Dobson 1984:609).

Later findings are consistent with Sherif's results, in that people who are extremely confident in their own views and those that have high social status are less likely to conform, but are more likely to conform when faced with difficult tasks or if they are frightened (Sunstein 2019:25).

Solomon Asch (1956) introduced the use of more structured situations and conducted

[3] Although *economic* and *financial* describes somewhat different disciplines and meanings, they are both used to describe matters of monetary gain in this study. Different citations have used either one to describe something with similar or identical meaning.

[4] Conformity can also be associated with *compliance* and *obedience* (Burns & Dobson 1984:607), which are not relevant to the focus of this study.

post-experimental interviews “to discover why the conforming members responded in the way they did”. The answers revealed a strong tendency towards conformity to any majority or mainstream judgements, reasoning that “the majority was usually correct”, while some of those who thought they were correct, but not certain, “decided the majority must be right”, and some agreed, “because they wanted to be like everyone else”. Their behavior was explained by what can mostly be seen as negative social expressions, such as: “appearing different”, “being made to look a fool”, “being a social outcast” and “feeling inferior” (Burns & Dobson 1984:610, Sunstein 2019:21-24, Rowe 2013). As well as behavior, personality characteristics and situational aspects can also be related to conformity. Burns & Dobson (1984:628) notes that personality traits can make certain individuals more susceptible to pressure to conform. The following are the most relevant in this study: authoritarianism, low self-esteem, and high need for affiliation. Di Vesta (1958) presented a number of aspects related either positively or negatively to conformity, of which the most relevant included self-perception, personality, self-confidence, and anxiety. Similar trends are presented in both earlier and later work (see Burns & Dobson 1984:629 for an extensive list).

In 1961, Milgram conducted experiments similar to the studies of Asch, employing French and Norwegian students. The most interesting findings from this study was perhaps the cultural differences found in the results. Even though the sample was very small and might have been unrepresentative of the populations of France and Norway, the study still demonstrated the potential influence of culture on conformity (Burns & Dobson 1984:630). A meta-analysis of over 130 sets of conformity experiment results from seventeen countries, including Zaire, Germany, France, Japan, Lebanon and Kuwait, uncovered significant cultural differences supporting Asch’s basic conclusions (Sunstein 2019:21). Nevertheless, “Asch’s experiments produce broadly similar findings across nations” (Sunstein 2019:23), implying that conformity for the most part is present in many nations and cultures around the world.

Much of human behavior is a product of social influence and some people make decisions that convey more information, making them appear confident (‘the confidence heuristic’) and likely to be followed. In this manner, lack of information can also be one reason people conform, “(…) the decisions of others provide the best available information about what should be done” (Sunstein 2019:14, 20). Sunstein also emphasized the importance of maintaining the good opinion of others, ensuring conformity and opposing dissent, this can in turn prevent learning and entrench falsehoods (2019:13-14). Sherif (1930s) found out that unwavering and consistent people can sway others if they are uncertain, irrelevant of their

coercive power or if they actually are right, especially where difficult questions of fact are involved (Sunstein 2019:19). These findings have real world implications in workplaces and other situations where decision making is an important part, thus identifying the source of conformity is decisive.

For a large part, research into group conformity looks at cases where ethnic conformity pressure, either external or internal, as well as indirect or direct are studied. This study will be limited to internal ethnic- and direct ethnic conformity pressure. The former being accounted for in great detail by Contrada et al. (2000, 2001), and the latter (direct ethnic conformity pressure) was investigated by Van Kerckem et al. (2014), where the maintenance of ethnic boundaries through group pressure is targeted towards conforming to premigration cultural patterns. Maintenance of ethnic boundaries can be one reason for applying group pressure (with its particular consequent outcomes), but the aspect of control for personal gain by another group member, is the most relevant for this study.

Van Kerckem et al. (2014) examines under which conditions ethnic conformity pressure is effective, in addition they question why some people are more inclined to conform than others. The aspect of control for personal gain will be a result of maintaining the social boundary between an immigrant/ethnic group and the mainstream population, through ethnic conformity pressure. For some individuals a seemingly strong ethnic group can:

> provide nurturing, security and warmth, they are not "costless communities," as they demand conformity and can be "stifling and constricting" (Waters 1990, cited in Van Kerckem et al. 2014:279).

Even in strong ethnic communities there can be pressure to conform to group norms and resist assimilation (Van Kerckem et al. 2014:279).

Most forms of conformity involves at least one group (conformity can also occur at the individual level), likewise most research focuses on conformity in a group context. A group can have a strong enough influence to make an individual doubt or even ignore what is rational and sensible. There are two principal explanations for this, they involve information and peer pressure. The latter can in many cases translate to stress for the exposed individual(s) and have been used in stress theory research to emphasize the perspectives and experiences of minority-group members. Ethnic discrimination of minority-group members and stereotype threat can both be ethnicity-related sources of stress. The former focuses on pressure from outside the ethnic group, and the latter on 'outside' stereotyping, "a social

psychology state created by situational cues in susceptible individuals" (Contrada et al. 2000:137). *Ethnicity-Related Stressors* (ERS), such as perceived discrimination, stereotype confirmation concern, and in particular *Own-Group Conformity Pressure* (OGCP), have shown to affect ethnic identity and well-being (Contrada et al. 2000:138, 2001, Liang & Molenaar 2016).[5] Apart from all the 'outside' aspects that can impact several areas of an individual's sense of identity, well-being, and choices they make, OGCP possibly represents the most consequential, coming from the 'inside'. This can either happen directly by individuals within an ethnic group or by the group as a whole, described in Van Kerckem et al. (2014:277-278) as *direct ethnic conformity pressure*. "Members of an ethnic group often have expectations about what is appropriate behavior for that group", expectations, such as those concerning social interaction, "e.g., pressure to date or interact with members of one's own (ethnic) group only" (Contrada et al. 2000:138), can contribute to maintaining ethno-cultural boundaries, lessening assimilation into the mainstream population (Van Kerckem et al. 2014). Lack of assimilation or integration[6] limits exposure to the mainstream population speaking the majority language (ML), and can possibly cause reduced motivation, interest, and minimize chances to learn the ML through interaction with the host society population.

The focus group interview presents an opportunity to ask questions that can shed light on the maintenance of ethno-cultural boundaries and lessened assimilation in certain situations immigrants can find themselves in. In particular, situations where one person or certain members of a group wants to maintain influence and power over others in a group or individuals within a group, OGCP can be a used as an instrument to exert power. The reasons behind exertion of power can include placing oneself or certain members in advantageous positions giving them favorable opportunities for better jobs, better housing, social contacts, and keeping others in the dark about what is going on and in this manner cheat them for money (e.g., rent, taking money for certain services that otherwise would be free). The reasons and manners of exercising OGCP can be many, but ultimately many of them have the potential to directly or indirectly result in exclusion from the mainstream population and lessen exposure to the ML and host society in general.

[5] Liang & Molenaar (2016) uses the term *own-group conformity pressures* (OGCPS), and although they describe the same Ethnicity Related Stressor, this study will only use *own-group conformity pressure* (OGCP).

[6] In line with Berry (1997) *integration* and *assimilation* does not mean the same thing. Integration should be understood as "migrants establishing relationship with a receiving society while maintaining their ethnic identity" not to be "confused with assimilation - i.e. absorption into dominant society". Due to the uncertainty of migrants' (long-term) intentions, both expressions are used interchangeably in this study, unless something else is suggested.

2.1.4 Identity, investment and language learning in the immigrant context

In her research on identity, investment, and imagined communities, Norton (2013) defines identity as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Darvin & Norton 2015). Individuals who dedicate themselves to learning a language are placing an *investmen*t in their learning commitment and thus enabling themselves to acquire economic (material) and symbolic resources, as well as increasing their cultural capital and social power in the process. Identity is connected to this investment and described by Darvin & Norton (2015:37) as "fluid, multiple, and a site of struggle". Language learning that subsequently leads to increase of cultural capital and social power redefines the individual's identity, as well as their imagined identity and future realizations. Granted, these hopes for the future are for the betterment of individual immigrants' lives, the "investment in the language and literacy practices of a given classroom" leads to progress in language learning (Darvin & Norton 2015, Norton 2019:302). Access to new social networks and being able to communicate with the target language speakers, grants the language learner more powerful identities to speak from. This reframing of position and identity is what many immigrants envision to be their stepping stone into an imagined community of integration, better jobs, permanent employment, and higher salaries. There is, however, the possibility that migrating abroad searching for work activates a range of identities that ends up in conflict with language learning, such as national, professional, and cultural identities, where belonging (or lack of) can affect social identification and the psychological condition (Przybyszewska 2020:75). The conditions under which identities are altered or constructed, reveals their connection to those areas affecting immigrants the most.

Due to limitations in this study, *identity* will not be a main area of focus, but will be addressed accordingly where identity is an integral part of the subject, and when there are relevant implications for the topic in question.

2.2 Socioemotional aspects

The second section covers earlier research into *anxiety* in language learning and use, particularly in the immigrant context, and how investment and motivation affects language learning. The concept of *investment* has also been addressed in this section, as it is closely connected to *motivation* in the language learning context.

2.2.1 Language anxiety in the immigrant context

The large body of research on language anxiety has primarily focused on the classroom setting, both from the language students point of view and language teacher emotions as well, "so that improvements in teaching can be facilitated" (Horwitz 2010 cited in Sevinç & Dewaele 2016:160). Horwitz' (2010) timeline overview gives a thorough presentation of foreign and second language anxiety research until 2010, exclusively focusing on language anxiety in the classroom context. Two classes of affective variables are important when learning a second language, according to Gardner (1985) and Gardner & MacIntyre (1993). One is motivation and the other is situational anxiety, for the latter "direction is focused on anxiety associated with learning and/or using the second language" (Gardner & MacIntyre 1993:159). Horwitz (2010:154) also refer to this type of language anxiety or foreign language anxiety (FLA) as situation-specific, "similar in type to other familiar manifestations of anxiety such as stage fright or test anxiety". Described as an 'affective construct', situational (or language) anxiety refers to apprehension experienced by the individual in the language class or any situation in which the language is used. More clearly detailed in later research, such as in MacIntyre (1994), where he defines FLA as "the worry and negative emotional reaction aroused when learning or using a second language". Additionally, Dörnyei (2009) details, "Anxiety arousal is associated with distracting, self-related cognition such as excessive self-evaluation, worry over potential failure, and concern over opinions of others" (both cited in Dewaele 2013:670). These, and other studies into language anxiety displays the detrimental effects high anxiety levels can have on both academic performance and future attempts to learn foreign languages (Dewaele & Thirtle 2009, Gkonou et al. 2017, cited in Gkonou et al. 2020:1).

Arguably, learning a foreign language in the immigrant context can have much more widespread implications for the individual learner, besides language anxiety. Amongst the many social and individual implications of MLA is social exclusion, and thus lack of acceptance by the mainstream community (Sevinç & Backus 2017). Social exclusion can have a profound impact on immigrants' identity and identity construction (Temple 2010, Przybyszewska 2020).

Despite the substantial amount of research into language anxiety (in the classroom context), there has not been produced much research that addresses language anxiety in the immigrant context, with some of the exceptions found in studies conducted by: Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015), Sevinç & Dewaele (2016), and Sevinç & Backus (2017). To categorize the particular types of language anxiety present in the immigrant context, Sevinç & Dewaele (2016) introduced the concept of majority language anxiety (MLA) and used the term heritage language anxiety (HLA) coined by Tallon (2011). Apart from being "the official language of their (the immigrants) country of residence" and "neither a foreign nor a second language" for the immigrant community, majority language (ML) and MLA still aptly describes what Norwegian language and language anxiety is to Polish transnationals with different language backgrounds, living in Norway. Drawing from this research, the current study will adapt the concept of MLA to cover the type of anxiety Polish transnationals experience when learning and speaking Norwegian in different situations.

The most prominent difference from past research is that language anxiety is studied in immigrants' daily life, rather than in a classroom setting (Sevinç & Dewaele 2016). Dewaele (2008) introduced testing multilinguals' language anxiety in five different situations (speaking with friends, with colleagues, with strangers, on the phone and in public). The same situations were later used by Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015) (cited in Sevinç & Dewaele 2016:3). Another relevant addition to research into language anxiety in the immigrant context, is the range of sociobiographical and language background variables applied, e.g., level of education, length of residency and self-perceived language proficiency, to mention a few. These have been instrumental in examining and finding relations between variables and language anxiety (Sevinç & Dewaele 2016).

When proficiency in the ML becomes a desirable goal, better knowledge of the language will facilitate communication and interaction, as well as promote mobility and mutual understanding (Daftari & Tavil 2017). For many bilinguals, speaking the ML is a matter of psychological, social and economic survival in the host country, as interaction with the mainstream community is a necessity or even a prerequisite. Interaction with the mainstream

community can lead to higher proficiency in the ML, while less interaction can lead to lower proficiency, and ultimately what Li (1994) (cited in Sevinç & Backus 2017:721) described as a 'vicious circle', which originally consists of language competence, and language practices. More recently, Sevinç & Backus (2017) have added language anxiety to this vicious circle, noting that anxiety negatively influence the other components in the circle. The current study further investigates language anxiety among Polish transnationals, by examining if and how it affects Norwegian language learning and situational use.

2.2.2 Investment and Motivation

Identity, as given an account of earlier in this section, is closely intertwined with *investment* and *motivation*, according to Darvin & Norton (2015), and Norton (2016, 2019). Darvin & Norton (2015) argues that "the construct of investment seeks to collapse the dichotomies associated with traditional conceptions of learner identity (good/bad, motivated/unmotivated, anxious/confident, introvert/extrovert)". Additionally, they argue that identity in the constructs of motivation and investment are viewed in different ways:

> While constructs of motivation frequently view the individual as having a unitary and coherent identity with specific character traits, investment regards the learner as a social being with a complex identity that changes across time and space and is reproduced in social interaction.

Not only is it important to ask if learners are motivated, but also more importantly, what motivates them and if they are "invested in the language and literacy practices of a given classroom and community" (Darvin & Norton 2015:37). In the current study, both concepts of investment and motivation are viewed in a manner where change can occur depending on time and space (context), as well as possibly affecting individuals and their identities in various different ways. There is no apparent reason these concepts cannot be used in unison to better understand the language learner's investment and motivation, including in the immigrant context. Carreira's (2005) framework for motivation is far from a dichotomized view of motivated/unmotivated, as motivation can stem from a number of different situations and whether it is driven by the language learner or some outside power, both capable of having implications for identity, particularly, identity re-negotiation (Norton 2019). Adapting

to expectations related to the changes occurring while learning Norwegian or any FL can switch type of motivation, as well as level of investment. These concepts are central to understanding why some Polish transnationals choose to learn Norwegian while others do not. For some time, mostly two types of motivation have described what drives foreign or second language learning in a classroom context, namely, integrative and instrumental. *Integrative motivation*, as defined by Gardner & Lambert (1972), refers "to positive attitudes and feelings toward the target language group, and *instrumental motivation*, referring to the potential utilitarian gains of L2 proficiency, such as getting a better job or higher salary" (Carreira 2005). In addition, later second language acquisition research have implemented well-known definitions from psychological motivational theory, such as, *intrinsic motivation*, referring to "motivation to engage in an activity for its own sake", and *extrinsic motivation*, referring to "motivation to engage in an activity as a means to an end" (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002, p. 245 cited in Carreira 2005:40).

As some earlier research into second language acquisition have not always been consistent in what the definition of motivation includes/excludes, Carreira's (2005) contribution, presenting an 8-items framework to better describe the different types of motivation, is used to differentiate and pinpoint the types most accurately describing what applies to Polish transnationals. Carreira's (2005) *Framework of Intrinsic Extrinsic and Instrumental and Integrative Motivation* merges Brown's (2000) model, divided into four categories: *intrinsic-integrative, intrinsic-instrumental, extrinsic-integrative,* and *extrinsic-instrumental*, often applied in language learning and teaching literature, together with Hayamizu's (1998) model from psychological research, utilizing *means* or *goal* with *autonomy* or *heteronomy*. Carreira's framework subdivides Hayamizu's four categories into integrative and instrumental motivation (Carreira 2005:57-61), resulting in eight items detailing different types of motivation. Adding to the already established types of motivation, when it is intrinsic, learners themselves are the ones wanting to do something, such as integrating into the host country of the ML[7] (intrinsic-integrative), or for learning and using the ML to attain better jobs and get higher salaries (intrinsic-instrumental).
Extrinsic-integrative motivation applies to learners in a position where others, in this case someone close or personal, such as family, makes someone learn the ML. Extrinsic-instrumental motivation applies similarly, but with the exception of *others* in this case being

[7] For the current study, L2 is exchanged with ML, and should have no consequence affecting the types of motivation described. L2 is the point of reference used by Brown (2000) and Carreira (2005).

an external power, such as a company or employer (Carreira 2005:57-58). Hayamizu's (1998) division is based on intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, but with *goal*-based motivation leading the learner to find the action of learning the language itself fun and enjoyable, independent of the driving force behind the motivation. *Means*-based motivation on the other hand, is learning the ML as a means to an end, but the task of learning the language is not of interest by itself. In such cases, language learning might stop when the desired objective is achieved, such as attaining a better paid job (Carreira 2005:58-59).

One item is not necessarily exclusive in covering a particular instance of motivation, and some overlap might occur, but currently, this framework is found to be best suited to cover the expected cases in the Polish transnational context.

Table 1 Carreira's 8-item framework for motivation.

Means-Autonomy-Integrative
Means-Autonomy-Instrumental
Goal-Autonomy-Integrative
Goal-Autonomy-Instrumental
Means-Heteronomy-Integrative
Means- Heteronomy-Instrumental
Goal-Heteronomy-Integrative
Goal- Heteronomy-Instrumental

2.3 Polish Transnationals in Norway

This section provides an overview of Polish migration to Norway, and how the theoretical background applies in the Polish transnational context.

2.3.1 Polish migration to Norway

Poland's accession to the EU in 2004 marked the third phase of the Polish migration to Norway and resulted in the largest growth of immigrants from a single country, in modern Norwegian history. Polish transnationals unquestionably constitute the largest immigrant population in Norway, with 110301 Polish citizens registered as of October 2021 (SSB).

Polish migration history traces back to the end of the nineteenth century, seeing impoverished peasants and Jews fleeing from violent pogroms in Poland, mainly to the United States. Between the two world wars, migratory links to Canada, Australia, and other European countries had been established as well. During the years 1944 to 1989, the communist regime limited emigration of ethnic Poles. Nevertheless, in the 1980's more than two million Poles managed to emigrate, and just below a few thousand found their way to Norway as political refugees in what is considered the first phase of modern Polish-Norwegian migrational history, according to Friberg & Golden (2014:12).

When the communist regime fell in 1989, with the ensuing economic and political chaos in Poland, travel restrictions were removed and many decided to leave the country, but no Western European country welcomed Polish migrants at this time. However, due to "the Polish-Norwegian agreement on seasonal migration to the agricultural sector" (Friberg 2013:17-18) in the early 1990's, Norway witnessed its first wave of migrational workers from Poland, in what is considered the second phase of modern Polish-Norwegian migrational history. Difficulties for long-term settlement in Norway between 1989 and 2004 developed into a pattern of "temporary and circular income-seeking travel" (Morawska 2001 cited in Friberg 2013:18) among a large number of Polish citizens. The longest work permit issued in this period was for 3 months per year, which precluded permanent residence as an option at that time. Despite this limitation, these workers managed to build networks and experiences in Norway that would prove valuable for later immigration, particularly for those who got access to the building industry.

The third phase of modern Polish-Norwegian migrational history started May 1st 2004 with Poland's accession to the European Union. Through their EU-membership Poland instantly got access to the open labour market of the European Economic Community (EEC), which Norway is a member of. Apart from the transitional restrictions applied, there was little to limit the influx of Polish migrants to Norway, but several underlying reasons for the migration (not only to Norway) can be traced back to the post-communist era between 1989 and 2004 (Friberg 2013:19). In 1991, Polish schools changed second language learning from Russian to English, laying the foundation for a generation of Poles more adapted to encounter a modern and more mobile European society. With one tenth of the Polish population having university degrees and a large number engaged in higher education, the job opportunities in Poland in this period, were not encouraging. Many of those with ambitions of a career working within their field of expertise, regarded migration to the west as the only viable option for attaining work. The restrictions on free movement of labour underwent a gradual

process of removal within a seven-year limit,[8] and in Norway and Denmark applicants had to "document full-time employment that met regular standards of wage and working conditions"[9] as well as being denied access to social benefits (Friberg 2013:23). The liberal restrictions applied, together with cheap airfares, made Norway a favorable destination country for work at the time. Norway, compared to most of Europe, did not suffer much when the international financial crisis of 2008 and 2009 occurred, making it an even more attractive destination country for Polish emigration in the following years (Friberg & Golden 2014:14). Offering migrant workers attractive enough wages and working conditions, even though being below standards for native Norwegians and having among the highest price levels in Europe, was still better than in most other accessible European countries.

Another important point Friberg (2013:26) brings up, concerns what he notes as "the rather inaccessible Norwegian language", which helped making Norway most attractive for low-skilled workers, niched into occupations that did not require Norwegian language skills.

2.3.2 The Polish migrant worker

Poles who are portrayed as the stereotypical Polish migrant worker are "usually older, predominantly men, and quite often married; most of them do not have higher education or any particular language skills and they typically leave their families behind in Poland when they first arrive" (Friberg & Tyldum 2007, Friberg & Eldring 2011 cited in Friberg 2013:26). In contrast to the men, Polish women generally had a broader range and often higher level of education and professional background. However, for the most part they have ended up in unskilled service sector work or welfare work. At the time, there was a considerable need for migrant workers willing to perform casual services such as cleaning, and while this part of the labour market was easily accessible, it often resulted in low wages and unsecure work. For many, this discrepancy triggered a belief that learning Norwegian language would give them access to work options more in accordance to their level of education and profession (Friberg 2013:28, Friberg & Eldring 2011:16, Friberg & Golden 2014:16).

Kraft's (2019) study bridges these previous findings from sociology with linguistic aspects concerning Polish migrants working in Norway. She examines the sociolinguistic

[8] The transitional restrictions for Norway were removed in May 2009 (Friberg 2013:21).
[9] Although mobility of labour was usually restricted, mobility of services was not (Friberg 2013:23).

conditions determining how Polish migrant workers become new speakers in the Norwegian construction industry, by looking at language proficiency requirements and language management in the workplace.

2.3.3 Polish transnationals are financially motivated

When Poland became part of the European Union in 2004, about three million Polish migrants left in the following years, most of them were financially motivated (Kędra et al. 2021). Friberg & Eldring's (2011) division into two groups divided by type of motivation, gives a reasonably good description for the majority of Polish migrants. "The young urban adventurers", often with university degrees, who apart from making money wants to experience new things and meet new people, and the traditional lower qualified work-migrants who are more financially motivated, predominantly older men over 35 years of age, with established families (often back in Poland), with poor language skills. The relatively high wages in manual, low-qualified work where language skills are near insignificant, have been a strong incentive for the latter group ending up in Norway. It is important to note that women also migrated to Norway at the time, but in fewer numbers, and most often ending up in service work where language skills were not essential, in particular, as cleaners. However, from 2006 to 2010 the Polish female population in Norway grew from 26% to 36%, in large part due to family related immigration. On the other hand, English-speaking, younger migrants usually ended up in England or Ireland engaged in service occupations.

There is a strong connection between reason and motivation in the case of Polish migration, where reason gives rise to motivation. Massey et al. (1998, cited in Friberg & Eldring 2011) lists five possible reasons for work-related migration,[10] of which three are rooted in the sending country's problems concerning: unemployment, wage levels (discrepancies between sending and receiving countries, as well as domestic), and restructuring and rationalization of domestic labor markets. Although these reasons have seen changes for Polish citizens in recent years, with improvements in all areas, there is still a significant gap between Polish and Norwegian conditions. Supply and demand-driven recruitment practices from the receiving countries and the emergence of transnational social

[10] Obtained from five theories: 1) neoclassical economic theory, 2) New Economics of Labour Migration, 3) World System Theory, 4) Segmental labour market theory, 5) Social capital and network theory (Massey et al. 1998, Arango 2002 cited in Friberg & Eldring 2011).

networks, facilitating easier migration with reduced risk, constitutes the remaining two reasons. Despite the changed and partly improved conditions in Poland, the benefits of migrating to Norway still appear to be a prominent option.

Friberg & Eldring's (2011:20) report looked at the work-situational backgrounds of Polish workers in Poland, before they came to Norway. Despite not revealing any direct reasons for leaving, they concluded that unemployment did not seem to be an important motivator for migration, although the uncertainty and often seasonally governed demands in the domestic labor market and periodical unemployment, could be contributing aspects for leaving Poland. When confronted with the direct question of what motivated the respondents in the study to leave Poland, they picked out answers from a list of alternatives and the prevailing reason of financial motivation became even clearer. They also got the impression that the vast majority in their study had very low hourly wages back in Poland, and one third of their respondents were afraid of losing their jobs. Other statements did not reveal any prevailing results indicating reasons for leaving Poland, again pointing to financial motivation being the most common denominator. There was, however, another equally prominent aspect together with the financial one among Polish women, namely, their desire to be reunited with their husband, partner or family living in Norway. At least as many as those who were financially motivated considered reunification as their main motivation (Friberg & Eldring 2011:22). Additionally, when asked why Norway was their chosen destination, two answers dominated: 1) the existing social network of family and friends already living in Norway, and 2) Norwegian wage levels. Again, women had higher emphasis on family and friends, while most men stated that the wage levels in Norway was the reason. This tracks back to earlier migration patterns when there was an even higher percentage of men compared to women leaving their homes to earn money for their families, much in accordance with the patriarchal society in Poland, where the male provides for the family and the female is taking care of home and children.

The sending and receiving countries utilize what traditional migration theories would describe as 'push- and pull-factors'. These are the reasons making the migrants leave their home country and the reasons that makes them choose their destination country. According to Friberg & Eldring's (2011) report, migration from Poland to Norway is for the most part demand-driven (pull-factor), in the form of job offers through different channels and networks as well as recruitment agencies and companies. This complex interaction of reasons is in the end what motivates migration, to a large extent.

2.3.4 Own-Group Conformity Pressure among Polish transnationals and the boss-man concept

Apart from whether or not OGCP occurs in Polish groups or communities, personal observations while living and working with and close to Polish transnationals for many years, revealed the existence of a certain type of Polish person who fits the description of the boss-man. From informal talks with some Polish transnationals, *boss-man* became an apt descriptive name. The boss-man type or character, is typically one individual within a group of Polish people who lives together in a collective or similar accommodations (and could also be working together), who has some degree of influence and/or control over others within this group. The boss-man would know more about the workings of Norwegian society and might have some, or better language skills in Norwegian and/or English, making them conduits for others within the Polish group. Ethnicity-Related Stressors in the form of OGCP, could be used to assert power over others within the group. These individuals are potentially forcing others in the group to conform to their own views or decisions, for personal gain. The boss-man type is not limited to being a male, but at the time of the focus group interview, only males have been observed fitting the description.

Verifying the existence and relevance of the boss-man, and if they can influence Norwegian language learning and use in the Polish immigrant context, is a starting point for examining ERS among Polish transnationals in Norway.

2.3.5 Identity in the Polish immigrant context

Przybyszewska (2020) mentions how the identities that defined Poles back in Poland, before they became migrants, also shape their lives in Norway but in different directions. Their national and professional identity is connected to the stigmatized view of the 'Polish worker' who does construction work or works for cleaning agencies, with low pay. This 'Polishness' is strongly identified with by Polish migrants, and the stigma attached to it leads to feelings of shame and emphasized distancing from 'typical Poles'.

The most common experience after migrating to another country is "downward professional mobility" (Ryan 2011, Przybyszewska 2020, 2021) due to low-skilled work and lack of advancement opportunities in the host country. Expectations do not coincide with their level of education and profession, hence, their educational and professional identities are

prone to change as well as their class identity and those aspects of social identity that affect mental health, such as depression, loss of self-esteem and self-confidence, distress and frustration (Przybyszewska 2020). How these different identities are shaped by Polish migrants' experiences is evident by the way of language use (Temple 2010, Johansson & Śliwa 2016). Apart from learning and using the ML for communication purposes, Pavlenko (2006 cited in Johansson & Śliwa 2016:299) argues that an act of self-translation takes place, "whereby a different self is performed". Developing different linguistic identities depending on foreign language acquisition and maintenance of heritage language, can also alter or produce identity.

Obojska (2018, 2019a, 2019b) and Obojska & Purkarthofer (2018) focus on family language policy and language ideologies, mostly in Polish transnational families living in Norway. In their studies, they examine how agency and identity are exposed to change and adaptation when experiencing language learning, language management and heritage language maintenance, in particular, among Polish adolescents. Speaking Polish is an integral part of Polish identity and can also be seen as maintenance of the HL after migrating to another country (Temple 2010). However, in many cases Polish continues to be the language most used and leaves little room for acquisition or advancement in the ML language. One of the most salient reasons for this can be traced back to the traditional roles brought along from a strongly patriarchal society in their home country. The male is responsible for generating income providing for the family, while the traditional role of the female sees her taking care of the home and children (if any), teaching them about Polish culture and values, and ensuring that they learn and use the Polish language (at least) at home (Temple 2010, Johansson & Śliwa 2016:303-304, Kędra 2021:7-9). This division of labor serves to encourage minimal contact with the host society and the ML for the female. The male might have more contact with the host society, but has little time to learn the ML by way of language courses or outside own-group social interaction, often due to long working hours and attachment to familiar patterns of socialization with other Poles. As a result, employment access is not improved, often for both parties, due to limited exposure to the host society, its culture and its language. The traditional living pattern only strengthens the stereotype notion of Polishness, and though much of what makes a person Polish is safeguarded, it leaves little room for constructing their immigrant identities, thus halting integration in the host country.

3 Current study

3.1 Aims - hypotheses and research questions

This study sheds light on Polish transnationals' sociolinguistic profiles (e.g. language background, language choice and practices) and focuses on their emotions, attitudes and motivation in a language context from three different aspects: a) what motivates Polish transnationals to learn Norwegian, b) the presence of ethnicity-related stressors (ERS) such as perceived discrimination, stereotype confirmation concern,[11] and in particular own-group conformity pressure (OGCP) among Polish transnational groups, and its subsequent influence on Norwegian language learning, and c) Polish transnationals' socioemotional experiences such as their attitudes towards Norwegian language and their emotions in language use and language learning (e.g. language anxiety).

> Research question 1: What kind of Norwegian language learning opportunities are Polish migrants presented with in Norway (or at an earlier point in time), and how do they perceive these offers? Do they have to inquire or take any initiative to learn Norwegian themselves, and at what point do they believe it becomes necessary to learn Norwegian, if at all?

Hypothesis: In Norway, only immigrants with status as political refugees or asylum seekers have an obligation to learn Norwegian if they want to stay in Norway. There are no rules or regulations pertaining to migrants from other countries as long as they do not fall under any of the aforementioned statuses when it concerns learning Norwegian language (Norwegian language training and social studies. The Directorate of Integration and Diversity www.imdi.no, *Norskopplæring* www.nyinorge.no). Some employers offer their employees to participate in Norwegian language learning courses of varying scope and quality, and even fewer employment agencies offer any Norwegian language learning courses (Kraft 2019:579,589).[12] Apart from the lack of language learning obligation, the hypothesis is that prejudgments about the necessity of speaking Norwegian can affect the decision to learn the

[11] Although *Perceived discrimination* and *stereotype confirmation concern* are relevant ERS in line with OGCP, focus is on the latter for this study.

[12] Kraft (2019:589) mentions a report (Kilskar et al. 2017:85) showing "that 44% of contractors do in fact offer their migrant employees language training (…) whether this includes leased employees is, however, not clear."

language. Polish transnationals that do not speak Norwegian can consider it unnecessary to learn, since they themselves have managed to live in Norway without knowing the language. A recurring theme among Polish transnationals in Norway is the argument that "They (the Polish transnationals) only come here to work for one, two, or maybe three years maximum, then they will return back to Poland permanently and do not see the point in learning a language that will be redundant in a few years' time".[13]

Research question 2: What motivates Polish transnationals in Norway to learn Norwegian?

Hypothesis: Integration into Norwegian society does not seem to be decisive or even important for most Polish transnationals, and consequently knowing the language becomes more or less unimportant. Nevertheless, many Polish transnationals choose to learn Norwegian. The hypothesis is that economic (material) gain probably constitutes the strongest motivation by strengthening their social capital with the acquisition of Norwegian language. Proficiency in Norwegian is preconceived to be the most vital, attainable skill for acquiring better jobs, permanent employment, and higher salaries, among many Polish transnationals. If learning Norwegian language is on par with their economic motivation, there should probably be a lot more Norwegian-speaking Polish transnationals working in Norway.

Research question 3: Are members of the Polish community trying to prevent blurring of the ethnic boundary (and consequently the loss of cultural distinctiveness) for personal gain, by exerting *Ethnicity-Related Stressors* (ERS) in the form of *own-group conformity pressure* (OGCP) through prejudging the Norwegian language as unimportant or irrelevant?[14]

Hypothesis: *Ethnicity-Related Stressors* (ERS) such as perceived discrimination, stereotype confirmation concern, and *Own-Group Conformity Pressure* (OGCP) have shown to affect ethnic identity and well-being (Contrada et al. 2000:138). The hypothesis is that Polish transnationals living and working together in a group, as well as other Polish transnationals with group affiliation, could be susceptible to stress caused by OGCP. "Members of an ethnic group often have expectations about what is appropriate behaviour for that group" (Contrada et al. 2000:138), expectations, such as those concerning social interaction, "e.g. pressure to

[13] Personal observations from informal talks with Polish transnationals, and statement from the focus group interview.
[14] This includes potential impact on Norwegian language learning as well.

date or interact with members of one's own (ethnic) group only" (Contrada et al. 2000:138), can contribute to maintaining ethno-cultural boundaries, lessening assimilation into the mainstream population (Van Kerckem et al. 2014). The prevention of integration or assimilation can also influence decisions about wanting or needing to learn Norwegian, as lack of interaction with Norwegian society becomes less relevant. Based on observations of certain groups of Polish transnationals in Norway, where in particular one person's interests outweigh the groups' interests, OGCP can be exerted to maintain this person's influence and power over the group.[15] Prejudging Norwegian language proficiency as unimportant is only one of many measures a member or members of a minority group can act upon to lessen assimilation into the majority community and prevent blurring of the ethnic boundary. The reasons behind OGCP can be to place oneself or certain members of the minority group in advantageous positions, giving them favourable opportunities for jobs (e.g. if the member or members of the minority group that exerts pressure speaks Norwegian and the others do not), housing, and social contacts.

Research question 4: Do Polish transnationals experience language anxiety that occurs in their daily lives (e.g. speaking with friends, with colleagues, with strangers, on the phone and in public) when speaking Norwegian[16] in Norway, and does it affect language learning in any way?

Hypothesis: A commonality in the studies conducted on language anxiety outside the classroom is that multilinguals "reported feeling significantly more anxious when speaking in their weaker language(s) with strangers, at work, on the phone and in public" (Sevinç & Dewaele 2016:3), and "Interaction with native speakers is rated as the most anxiety-provoking activity by language learners, both in the mainstream classroom (Rose 2008) and outside the classroom (Garcia de Blakeley et al. 2015)" (cited in Sevinç & Dewaele 2016:5). There is no reason not to believe that Polish transnationals' interaction with the mainstream Norwegian community, speaking Norwegian or English, is any different from that of findings from earlier studies. The hypothesis being that inequality in the linguistic and social status of Polish transnationals is a source for stress, which combined with language acquisition,

[15] This can also be the case for more than one person's interests within a minority group, but the observations are separate cases of a single individual's influence over a minority group of the same ethnicity.

[16] In line with Sevinç & Dewaele (2016:2), this study will use foreign language (FL) referring to the non-native language(s) of learners, when it differs from the majority language (ML), which in Norway is Norwegian (Bokmål).

acculturation and integration or assimilation into Norwegian society, can cause high levels of language anxiety while speaking Norwegian (ML) or English (FL). Language anxiety in the immigrant context can be a source for negative emotions connected to feelings of inequality, lack of identity, and limit or end linguistic contact with the majority community, and thus have an impact on language learning.

4 Methodology

Following the part on participants below, the method section is further divided into two parts with both having similar dispositions. One covers the development and distribution of the questionnaires, while the other covers the focus group interview process.

4.1 Participants

Table 2 presents demographic information for questionnaire participants, Table 3 demonstrates questionnaire participants' language background, and Table 4 presents demographic information for the focus group interviewees.

Forty-six Polish transnationals living in Norway (18 female and 28 male), answered and returned the distributed questionnaire. They ranged in age from 23 to 59. All were living in Norway on a permanent basis at the time they answered the questionnaire (no one stated that they were commuting between Poland and Norway regularly).

Table 2 Questionnaire participants' demographic information.

	Polish transnationals (n = 45)*		
	M	SD	Range
Age (Years)	42.6	8.6	(23-59)
Age Female	41.3	8.6	(28-56)
Age Male	43.5	8.4	(23-59)
Gender			
Female (n = 18)			
Male (n = 28)			
Educational Background (n = 43)**			
Secondary school – vocational	28%		
Secondary school	23%		
Higher education – vocational	16%		
Higher education – academic	33%		

*Age (years) data was missing from one male participant. **Educational background data was missing from three participants. One participant attended secondary school in Norway. This does not affect the educational background statistics. Both Norway and Poland have the same attending age for secondary school, between 16 to 19 years of age.
Note. The Polish educational system is somewhat different from the Norwegian educational system, while the English and American educational systems are distinctly different from the Polish and Norwegian (www.scholaro.com).

Based on *Age* and *Year of first arrival in Norway*[17] dates, all participants were first-generation Polish transnationals. Their education levels varied from finishing secondary school to PhD degrees. Three worked part-time, 1 did not answer this question (a pensioner) and 42 were working full time. Thirteen of the participants went to Poland and stayed there for 1-2 weeks per year, 8 stayed there for 2-3 weeks per year, 12 stayed there for 1-2 months, 1 stayed there for more than 2 months, 1 stated going to Poland once a year, 6 never went to Poland and 5 left this question blank.

Language background information for all participants are presented in Table 3. Polish was listed first under the *Language(s) you speak* subsection[18] in the questionnaire, while English and Norwegian were the second (n = 29) and third (n = 25) most represented languages, respectively.

Table 3 Questionnaire participants' language background.

	Polish (n = 36)		Norwegian (n = 33)		English (n = 30)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Self-rated proficiency	4.9	0.2	2.9	1.4	3.5	1.1

Note. Range of proficiency: (1) None, (2) Poor, (3) Fair, (4) Good, (5) Excellent.

	Polish (n = 44)		Norwegian (n = 40)		English (n = 39)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Daily language use	4.8	0.4	3.3	1.5	2.9	1.2

Note. Range of language use per day: (1) Never, (2) Rarely, (3) Sometimes, (4) Frequently, (5) All the time.
The number of participants answering and filling out all options, in particular for the self-rated proficiency varied somewhat.
N-numbers only include those that completed the respective questions. Some answers were marked with "X" or left blank, these are not included in the count or the statistics, since no scaled value was indicated.

A pilot survey, as described in Schleef (2014:51-52), was also conducted with an English version of the questionnaire to check for possible issues or weaknesses in the questionnaire tool. One Norwegian female and two Polish male participants answered and returned the questionnaire, but none of these were included as informants as the questionnaire was modified later and one participant did not belong in the target population group. The order of some questions was changed to get a clearer division of the categorical sections and the wording in some questions were changed to make them as unambiguous as possible.

[17] *Age* is a subsection of (**1.**) where participants fill out demographic data about themselves (See Appendix A.1 Questionnaire 1) *Year of first arrival in Norway* is question (**2a.**) under subsection (**2.**) **Residency and travel**, in the questionnaire.
[18] This subsection belongs under (**1.**) in the questionnaire, as mentioned in the footnote above.

Thirty-three of the answered questionnaires came through active fieldwork in the manner of personal distribution (explained in the section below), while 13 came by e-mail or ordinary postal mail.

Five of the Polish transnationals (4 female and 1 male) who answered the questionnaire later participated in the focus group interview, all Polish nationals born in Poland (See Table 4). Two of them were parents to one of the female participants. Only one of them traveled to Poland, staying there for 1-2 weeks per year, the others never went back to Poland. Two came to Norway for work, two came to visit family, while one came on a vacation, all resulting in permanent settlement. All spouses and children lived in Norway.

Table 4 Focus group interviewees' demographic information.

Interviewees pseudonyms	Adela	Izabela	Nadia	Regina	Bartek
Age (Years)	33	49	45	55	59
Educational Background	Higher academic	Secondary vocational	Higher academic	Higher academic	Higher vocational
Work	Medical secretary	Cleaner	Cleaner	Pensioner	Manufacturing
Length of settlement in Norway (Years)	10	15	14	12	15
Marital status	Married	Divorced	Married	Married	Married
Children	-	2	-	1	1

4.2 Materials

4.2.1 Distributed questionnaire

In the *Administering the Questionnaire* section, Schleef (2014:52) mentions five main methods of questionnaire distribution. The second describes how "*Personal distribution* of the questionnaire is appropriate if access to the target population can be arranged". This method constituted distribution of most of the questionnaires, while a limited amount was sent out by e-mail, amounting to the two methods used. The study will refer to these two methods under the collective term, *distributed questionnaire(s)*. The first target sample group (within the population) for the distributed questionnaire were Polish transnationals working at construction sites within the city-limits of Oslo (Oslo municipality and county), and most parts of the neighbouring Bærum municipality west of Oslo, which is part of Viken County.

The target sample group was selected based on the large number of Polish transnationals working in the construction industry in Norway. Additionally, the possibility of easy, direct access to site offices at outdoor construction sites would make personal distribution and collecting of questionnaires more efficient than *online* (net-based), *e-mail or computer-based surveys* or *telephone surveys* (methods from Schleef 2014:52). Accessing and compiling data on potential Polish transnationals eligible to answer the questionnaire was considered, but the personal distribution approach was decided in favour of the more traditional methods for studies in sociology and sociolinguistics (mentioned above). In particular net-based surveys and telephone interviews were discarded, based on difficulties emphasized in part by the *Innvandrarar si deltaking i norsk frivilligliv: Nye tal og metodiske utfordringer* (Immigrants' participation in Norwegian voluntary life: New figures and methodological challenges) study conducted by Eimhjellen (2016) for the Department of Social Research in Norway.

Friberg's (2010) study on Polish migrants in Oslo shows that 84% of male Polish transnationals worked in the construction industry, while 58% of female Polish transnationals worked for cleaning agencies. Another study by SSB (2017), shows an overrepresentation of Poles[19] in manual jobs in Norway, 36% worked in manual labour compared to 9% of the population total. In cleaning, 15% of Poles worked as cleaners compared to 2% of the population total. Based on these numbers, a second target sample group with workers providing cleaning services was selected as a control group from the larger target population

[19] *Poles* is used here with respect to the wording in the SSB (2017) study.

of Polish transnationals. This was done to balance the male dominance in the construction industry resulting in a more heterogeneous representation of Polish transnationals in this study. In all, 21 of the 46 questionnaire participants worked in the construction industry and were male, while 14 worked for cleaning agencies (3 male and 11 female). The remaining 10 worked in other sectors, with 1 participant being a pensioner.

Distributed questionnaire design

The outbreak of Covid-19 resulted in restrictive measures such as social distancing, making it very difficult to conduct focus group interviews. In light of this, several changes were made for the quantitative part of this study. In favour of conducting several focus group interviews with Polish transnationals in Norway, a higher emphasis was put on the questionnaire design (more open-ended questions about social structure and language attitudes) and extending its distribution. First, an English version was designed for a pilot survey to check for potential issues and weaknesses (mentioned earlier) and subsequently edited and translated to Polish.

It was pointed out at an early stage[20] that some of the questions were not well formulated in Polish and did not correspond closely enough to the English version. These issues were corrected and improved for a new, revised version. Some of the early respondents[21] were instructed to reject the initial questionnaire and sent the revised version instead.

The questionnaire is to an extent made to be a statistical study with generalizable results based on quantitative data from *closed questions*, but also consists of *open-ended questions* (Schleef, 2014:45-49). There are similarities in the questionnaire design to those used by Sevinç & Dewaele (2016), which also follows design guidelines set by Schleef (2014). Furthermore, the scales of language proficiency and language use were from Sevinç & Dewaele's (2016) adaptation of the bilingualism and emotions questionnaire (BEQ) (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003 cited in Sevinç & Dewaele 2016), and similarly the scales of language use and preferences were from Sevinç & Dewaele's (2016) adaptation of the language use and maintenance (GB) questionnaire (Jamai 2008 cited in Sevinç & Dewaele 2016). The appropriate languages and country designations were changed for this study.

[20] By Stensen, M. (2020)

[21] In some instances using *respondents* is more appropriate, apart from these, henceforth, *informants* or *participants* is used collectively about all Polish transnationals who participated and answered the distributed questionnaire, and for the focus group interviewees.

The questionnaire consisted of five main sections (See Appendix A. for the questionnaire): (i) respondents' demographic information, (ii) respondents' social structure, (iii) language background and competence, (iv) language use, including language experience and anxiety, (v) three questions concerning social attitude and attitude towards Norwegian language: one about language acquisition, and one about the informants' language skills. The questions in (v) did not belong in any particular section and consisted of four open-ended questions and one closed question,[22] respectively: Norwegian people's attitudes towards Polish people in Norway, if respondents had been offered (and by whom) or had taken Norwegian language courses, to what extent speaking Norwegian could be helpful in making the respondents' life better, if the respondents felt any pressure to speak Norwegian better, well or perfectly, and respondents' feelings about their own language skills when speaking languages they know, using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from not at all (1) to extremely (5) on 9 items, stress/anxiety, shame, regret, satisfied, joy, pride, guilt, hate, and other.

The first section contained demographic information and consisted of questions relating to participants' gender, age, country of birth, languages spoken, education level, occupation, year of first arrival in Norway, length of settlement in Norway, commuting and stay in Poland per year, full-time or part-time (how many months/weeks per year) work, reasons for moving/coming to Norway, marital status, demographic information about their children, if any (age, country of birth, sex, languages they speak, and education), and settlement of spouse and children.

The second section contained open-ended questions about social structure, adapted from Sevinç (2016). The first question asked about family language rules at home, promoted languages and what languages participants wanted their children to speak more/better. The second question asked about whom the participants lived with (or if living alone). The third question asked about whom participants spent their time with, their nationalities and what languages they spoke together. The last question in this section asked about participants' activities or hobbies in their spare time in Norway and with whom they did these with.

The third section asked questions relating to the participants' language background and competence. First, participants' spoken languages at work, at home and outside of work and home (with friends). Second, proficiency in the four skills of understanding, reading,

[22] The closed question could have been under (iv), but due to four other closed questions with similar structures in the previous sections, it was relocated to the last section (v) adapting from Schleef (2014:47) the method of *multi-item scaling*, where items focused on the same target are "(…) presented in different parts of the questionnaire".

speaking and writing, using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from none (1) to excellent (5). The average scores of the four language skills were attained for the overall proficiency in each of the three languages, Polish, Norwegian and English. The internal consistency of the scale of language proficiency was very high (Cronbach's alpha = .96, *n* = 4 for Polish, = .98, *n* = 4 for Norwegian, and = .97, *n* = 4 for English). The premise for answering the next two questions was having a rating of higher than poor (2) for understanding and speaking proficiency in Norwegian. The first question asked at what point in time the participants learned Norwegian, answerable from four choices: before coming to Norway, shortly after, at a later point or still learning the language. The second question asked how the participants have learned or still were learning Norwegian (course, school, self-learning).

Section four consisted of three closed questions concerning language use. The first question asked about the participants' frequency of language use per day in all languages used. Answers were ranked on a single item 5-point Likert scale ranging from never (1) to all the time (5). The second question asked about the participants' own perceptions regarding to what extent the languages they knew were needed, unimportant, difficult or easy. A 5-point Likert scale was utilized ranging from not at all (1) to absolutely (5) with an additional choice of no opinion (0). The last question in this section was in part from Sevinç & Dewaele's (2016) adaptation from the BEQ. The five situations in BEQ (i.e., with friends, with strangers, at work, on the phone, in public) were also modified to serve the goals and context of the current study. The five situations used for both the ML (Norwegian) and the FL (English) are as follows: when speaking (the given language) at work, outside of work (e.g. shopping), Norwegian with Norwegians in public (English in public), on the phone and with public officials (e.g. passport control, UDI, police station). The answers were reported by crossing off one of the 5 items ranging from not at all to extremely anxious, with an additional not applicable option. The internal consistency of the anxiety level questions was very high (Cronbach's alpha = .93, *n* = 5 for Norwegian, and .99, *n* = 5 for English).

4.2.2 Questionnaire for Norwegian-speaking workplace leaders

In addition to the distributed questionnaire for the Polish transnationals, a less extensive and shorter questionnaire (See Appendix B. for the questionnaire) was prepared and distributed for Norwegian speaking workplace leaders who were either employers or on-site leaders in charge of Polish transnational workers. The questionnaire was supposed to be an initial

response with the possibility of leading to a short interview with employers or on-site leaders about their linguistic experiences with their Polish workers. Due to Covid-19, no interviews were conducted, although two were planned but had to be cancelled. Where appropriate, the questionnaire was distributed together with the *main* questionnaire for the Polish transnational workers. Due to only four questionnaires being answered and returned, data from these have been disregarded as they would not have changed or impacted any of the results or conclusions in this thesis.

4.2.3 Focus group interview

Second part of the fieldwork involved conducting a focus group interview[23] (See Appendix D. for the Focus group interview tool). Focus group research (Wilkinson 2004:177), as cited in Onwuegbuzie et al. (2009:2), is:

> (…) a way of collecting qualitative data, which – essentially – involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion (or discussions), 'focused' around a particular topic or set of issues.

Additionally, Krueger & Casey (2000) cited in Onwuegbuzie et al. (2009:2) mentions that:

> (…) focus groups are less threatening to many research participants, and this environment is helpful for participants to discuss perceptions, ideas, opinions and thoughts.

The framework for focus group interviews was applied together with elements from semi-structured interviews across disciplines (e.g. medicine, psychology, sociology, and sociolinguistics). The prerequisites outlined in Kallio et al. (2016:2959)[24] are similar to those used in this study for answering questions concerning ML/FL language anxiety and language use in a social context, language attitudes and possible own-group conformity pressure. Kvale & Brinkmann's (2009:150) template was adapted and modified to accommodate the type of questions being asked, while Hoffman (2014) was used as a guideline for conducting a

[23] *Focus group interview* will be used as reference for the interview method applied in this study.
[24] Kallio et al. (2016) gives an account of the semi-structured *individual* interview, while the type conducted in this study was a focus group interview with possibilities for a semi-structured approach. However, the framework from Kallio et al. (2016) with its prerequisites was adapted to elicit similar types of responses to questions of emotional and psychological character.

sociolinguistic interview.

Focus group interview design

Before conducting the interview, a new questionnaire (See Appendix D. for Focus group interview tool) was designed as a continuation on the topics started in the distributed one. Sixteen main questions and nineteen sub-questions were divided into six themed sections: barriers and communication, why do some Polish transnationals choose to learn Norwegian and others do not, anxiety when speaking Norwegian or English, conformity and choice regarding learning Norwegian, what does it take for Polish transnationals to learn Norwegian, and to live in Norway. Many of the sub-questions were answered in conjunction with one of the main questions. The last question asked the participants if they had something they wanted to comment on or add.

The questions shifted in focus more towards Norwegian language (rather than English and other languages) in connection with the topics and were designed for the participants to present "involved personal narratives, one of the best types of interview speech", according to Hoffmann (2014). Personal narratives have proven to be a useful way for interview participants to share their experiences and how they dealt with them, as seen in Obojska (2018), and Obojska & Purkarthofer (2018).

4.3 Procedure

The data collected for this thesis was part of a larger research project "Emotions in Transnational Migration" conducted at the Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing), University of Oslo. The approval of the Norwegian Science Data Services (NSD) was obtained through this project.

Before the data collection process started, participants were asked to fill out a consent form which clearly presented the scope and intent of the project and the right of participants to withdraw (See Appendix C. for the consent form).

4.3.1 Distributed questionnaire

The questionnaire was distributed within the city-limits of Oslo, as well as in the neighbouring municipality of Bærum. A procedure for identifying places of interest was developed using norgeskart.no (map of Norway) as the main source of information together with norgebygges.no (Norway being built). These potential points of interest (POI) were construction sites marked as translucent pink buildings in one of the map layer-options in norgeskart.no and displayed either: planned construction, construction in progress, or construction finished. Planned construction dates could in some cases be verified by checking an address up against information on norgebygges.no. This would prove to be very time consuming with the number of POI planned for each day of fieldwork, and subsequently dismissed as part of the preparations. Printed maps of areas with a certain amount of construction sites were analysed and potential POI were encircled and marked with a letter plus number code, e.g. B29. Routes were then planned and accordingly marked on the same maps as the POI. The mode of transportation was an electrically assisted bicycle, an e-bike. E-bike was the only manner of transportation used for distributing questionnaires to construction sites and cleaning agencies. A distance of approximately 500 km was covered from 3rd of December 2020 to 11th of February 2021. Three hundred and thirty-eight POI were visited during this time. At 306 of these, no questionnaires were distributed due to one of the following reasons: no Polish workers present or working there at the time, on-site administration would not give access to their workers due to Covid-19 restrictions, or questionnaire rejected by the Polish workers present. Three hundred and twelve questionnaires were distributed at 32 POI, one of them being a cleaning agency and one a sports-related shop, the remaining were all construction sites of varying size, both in number of workers and scope of building project. Thirty-three of the 312 distributed questionnaires were answered and collected at some point during the time of fieldwork. Due to Covid-19, no help with completing the questionnaire was possible to offer or performed at any time. The recipients of the questionnaires, usually an on-site leader or administrator, was briefly explained the background and purpose of the study and instructed to contact the author if there were any questions regarding the questionnaire or otherwise, concerning the study. A set date (or loosely set in some instances) for collecting the answered questionnaires was agreed upon at most sites. Nevertheless, in many cases at the appointed dates, the person in charge had not distributed the questionnaires to their Polish workers or not collected all of the answered ones.

Strict Covid-19 protocols were followed at every place visited, including the use of facemask, gloves, and keeping at least 2 meters distance from all personnel at construction sites or other workplaces.

Almost no fieldwork was done during the Christmas holiday period and the ensuing 14 to 19 days of quarantine between 28th of December 2020 to 15th of January 2021, when 46000 Poles and Lithuanians were returning from their holidays.[25]

A high emphasis was placed on observations during fieldwork while visiting construction sites and cleaning agencies. Informal talks with leaders, construction workers and other employees would prove to become a source of anecdotal information and sometimes provide additional valuable insights to this study.

4.3.2 Focus group interview

The venue for the focus group interview was a café in a small town in Rogaland County, all participants were Polish transnationals living in this region, west in Norway. An Olympus WS-852 digital voice recorder was used together with a backup recorder, an iPhone 7, for recording the 2 hours and 1 minute long focus group interview, which was divided into two parts (59 minutes, and 1 hour and 2 minutes) with a short break between. Before starting the recording, the participants were reminded that the terms stipulated in the consent form accompanying the questionnaire, were in effect at the interview. This included, that the participants could choose to withdraw from the interview and the project at any time.

Personal information such as names have been changed using pseudonyms and place names are not mentioned, only regional information have been made available. The participants were also encouraged to speak in any of the three languages, Polish, Norwegian or English, they felt most comfortable with using. The questions were presented in Norwegian and translated to Polish by Adela.[26] In most cases the participants answered and discussed in Polish, but some parts were answered in Norwegian, while all answers in Polish were translated to Norwegian in a summarized format by Adela. This was done in order for the interviewer to recognize which sub-questions had already been answered together with the main questions, as well as being able to formulate and ask follow-up questions. Finally, it

[25] https://www.nrk.no/norge/teledata_-32.000-kom-fra-polen-og-litauen.-de-som-testet-seg_-17.500-1.15336116
[26] Adela is a pseudonym used for one of the focus group participants.

was emphasized that the focus group interview should be considered an open discussion for all participants, where the target was not to arrive at concluding answers, but rather to explore different points of view and personal opinions about the presented topics. The first question (in contrast to the last point above) was asked individually to each participant with the intention of getting everyone included from the beginning of the interview: *Da du kom til Norge, opplevde du (på noe tidspunkt) et behov for å lære norsk?* – When you came to Norway, did you experience (at any point) a requirement to learn Norwegian? Depending on the answer being yes or no, a follow-up question was asked about why they felt or believed that there was or was not a requirement to learn Norwegian. (See Appendix D. Focus group interview tool)

4.4 Analyses

4.4.1 Distributed questionnaire

Data collected from the questionnaires were coded to a spreadsheet in IBM SPSS statistics software release 26.0.0.0 (2019) to check for internal consistency on some of the closed questions, and make all data available for further descriptive quantitative statistical analysis, as well as support for the findings from the focus group interview.

Most statistics are descriptive and used to identify *central tendencies* in the data set, measured by *mean* (Guy 2014:200), and some of the closed questions also required to be checked for internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha.

4.4.2 Focus group interview

Audio recordings of the focus group interview was given timestamps for reference, in Adobe Audition 2020 (release 13.0.13.46) for all Norwegian and Polish parts. The Polish parts were transcribed to English by a Polish translator who was familiar with the material. The original translation of the Polish parts was transcribed keeping it as close as possible to the way it was spoken, and later edited and corrected, being careful to keep the original meaning and the

way it was spoken intact. The Norwegian parts[27] and the Polish parts of the interview, translated to English, were then patched together for the complete transcription. All real names have been replaced with pseudonyms and any identifying material have been removed from the text.

A mixed-methods convergent design with integration through *merging* was applied to combine and compare quantitative data from questionnaires and qualitative data from the focus group interview (Fetters et. al 2013, Creswell & Clark 2017). Principally, data from the questionnaires was used to support the findings from the focus group interview, although some of the quantitative data does not have a direct connection with the qualitative data, it was treated independently, but merged with and supported the overall findings.

[27] The Norwegian parts were transcribed using Adobe Audition for the source material.

5 Results

5.1 Results based on quantitative data

Results based on data from the distributed questionnaires are presented to give a comprehensive representation of the informants'[28] demographic backgrounds, Norwegian language learning, language proficiency, language use and experiences related to use, such as situational anxiety when speaking Norwegian with Norwegians and English with English-speakers, in Norway. The results are divided into 5 main sections.

5.5.1 Demographics

The distributed questionnaire comprising the quantitative data in this study was answered and returned by 18 female (39.1%) and 28 male (60.9%) participants, in all, 46 Polish transnationals born in Poland, and at the time of answering the questionnaire had settled in Norway on a prolonged or permanent basis. Based on their *age* and *year of first arrival in Norway* dates, all informants were first-generation Polish immigrants.

Age

The average age for female informants (n = 18) was just over 41 years, while the average age for males (n = 27) was 43.5 years. The age representation shows two distinctive gaps within the female sample group as well as within the male sample group. There is only one entry (49 years) in the female sample group between 45 and 54 years of age, similarly there is an age-gap among males from 23 to 33 years of age. The female sample group has the highest concentration of its informants (7) in the age group 40 to 45 years, males, on the other hand, are fairly evenly distributed from 33 to 51 years with 22 out of 27 informants within this range. Only three informants were under 30 years of age.

[28] Where questionnaire data is concerned, Polish participants/informants will be referred to as *informants* in the results section. Otherwise, both participant(s) and informant(s) will be used interchangeably depending on context.

Settlement, commuting and reasons for coming to Norway

There are only five occurrences where year of settlement in Norway does not correlate with the first year of arrival in Norway. Two of these are pre-2004 (1989 and 1999) and can be a result of the restrictions present at the time.[29] Within the sample group, this suggests a considerable number of Polish transnationals settling in Norway at a possible early stage in their emigration. What is not accounted for, is the possibility of originally planned short-term settlement (1-3 years), ending up changing to long-term or permanent settlement instead. Average length of settlement among women and men were approximately 11 years and 9 years, respectively, with a combined mean score 9.99 (SD = 5.57), and within a range of nearly 23 years.

Despite the informants stating that they had all settled in Norway for various lengths of time, most of them visited Poland for some time per year, 6 never traveled back, 1 marked visiting Poland once a year (for an undisclosed period of time), and 5 did not answer the question. The scale used for this question was as follows: (1) Never, (2) 1-2 weeks, (3) 2-3 weeks, (4) 1-2 months, (5) More than 2 months.[30] The answers yielded (M = 2.7, SD = 1.1) for (n = 40), an average just below 2-3 weeks of time spent in Poland per year. This indicates that most (if not all) of the informants did not commute between Norway and Poland with regular intervals within a one-year period.

Twenty-nine informants answered that their singular reason for coming to Norway was *work/business* related, the clearly prevailing reason. In addition, 4 other informants answered both work/business and *family/marriage* as reasons, 3 answered family/marriage, and 2 had under the "other (please indicate)" option, listed *lifestyle* as their reason. The remaining 7 marking the "other" option listed the following answers: "Other", "Vacation", "Personal affairs", "Visiting husband" (which could be considered to belong under the family/marriage option), "Climate", "Better earnings" and "I like Scandinavia". One informant did not answer this question.

[29] Restrictions pre-2004 made it difficult to get work in Norway, much less permanent residency of any kind, and following Poland's EU accession in 2004 and until 2009, still required workers to "show work contracts specifying fulltime work at Norwegian wage levels if they wished to obtain residence permits" (Friberg 2012:1591).

[30] The "once a year" option was left out of the statistics scores due to not representing any set period of time.

Education and occupation

Among the female informants, 60% had some form of higher academic education, holding a bachelor, master's or PhD degree (or its Polish equivalent), while 17.9% of the male informants reported having an academic degree. Vocational education (secondary and higher), on the other hand, had been completed by 2 (13.4%) female informants, compared to 17 (60.7%) of the male informants. Table 5 shows the participants' educational backgrounds.

Table 5 Questionnaire participants' educational background.

	Female (n = 15)		Male (n = 28)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Secondary school	4	26.6	6	21.4
Secondary vocational school	1	6.7	11	39.3
Higher education – academic	9	60.0	5	17.9
Higher education – vocational	1	6.7	6	21.4

Note. 3 female participants did not answer their educational background question.

Four female cleaners had higher academic or vocational education, another 4 cleaners had secondary school education, and 3 cleaners did not disclose their educational background. In addition, 1 of the 3 male cleaners reported having higher academic education, the other 2 had secondary school as their educational background.

Out of the 11 males with higher education, 7 were construction workers. Although most cleaners were female and all construction workers were male, there was no obvious link between educational levels and occupation in the sample group.

Forty-two answered doing full-time work (female n = 14, male n = 28), while 3 female informants stated having part-time work, and 1 female was a pensioner.

Twenty-two different occupations were recorded among 38 informants, 1 had worked as a cleaner, but had retired from work and was a pensioner. In addition, 7 did not answer the question about their current occupation, but based on informal talks with the manager or administrator at the sites of questionnaire retrieval, it became clear that 6 of the informants worked for a cleaning agency and 1 worked at a construction site. Geographically, 30 of the informants worked in Oslo, 4 just outside in Viken County, 2 in Møre and Romsdal County, and 10 in Rogaland County (including the pensioner). Eleven of the 14 who worked as cleaners were female and all 22 who reported working in construction were male. Table 6

gives an overview of occupational categories and the number of informants belonging within each category.[31]

Table 6 Questionnaire participants' occupational overview by category.

	Female (n = 17)		Male (n = 28)		Combined (n = 45)
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Percent
Administrative	4	23.5			8.9
Cleaner	11	64.7	3	10.7	31.1
Construction			22	78.5	9.0
Logistics			1	3.6	2.2
Mechanic			1	3.6	2.2
Medicine	1	5.9	1	3.6	4.4
Security	1	5.9			2.2

Table 6 gives an overview of the questionnaire participants' occupational categories and how many belong within each category.

Family

Half of the female informants (9) and almost two thirds (20) of the male informants were married. Among the remaining, 8 were divorced, 5 were single, and 4 were in a relationship. Twenty-three (63.9%) had their spouse/partner living in Norway, while 13 (36.1%) had theirs living in Poland. Twelve indicated not having any children, of these, 7 reported having their spouse or partner living in Norway and 1 had a spouse living in Poland. Four informants did not indicate that they had either spouse/partner or children.

The other 34 informants from the sample group had 1 to 4 children each, in all 59 children divided between them, spanning from 1 to 36 years of age. Forty-seven of the children were born in Poland and 12 were born in Norway. However, 32 of the children remained living in Poland, 13 moved to Norway and 1 moved to Ireland, and none of the Norwegian-born children had moved to Poland to live there. Twenty-five (42.4%) children lived in Norway, 33 (55.9%) lived in Poland, and 1 (1.7%) child lived in Ireland. In terms of family members including spouse, partner and children, the number of family members living in Norway was 48 (50.5%), and the number of family members living in Poland was 46 (48.4%), the remaining 1.1% is represented by the aforementioned child living in Ireland.

[31] The pensioner have been left out of Table 6.

Two additional results are included from the data set. First, there are six cases where the informants only indicates having children as family members, they are all divorced, and in five of the cases the children lived in Norway with one of their parents.

Second, giving birth to a child in the host country can easily be perceived as a sign of settling down permanently.[32] Independently of how long they had been living in Norway, 10 informants had their first-born Norwegian child within 1 to 5 years after settlement (M = 3.0, SD = 1.3).

The parents (7 females and 3 males) age at the time of birth was (M = 31.8, SD = 5.6), alternatively, looking only at the females' average age (M = 30.6, SD = 2.6). Only 2 of the informants had children at an earlier point, in Poland. The results show a tendency for over one quarter (27.3%) of the emigrating Polish transnationals developing long-term settlement plans, after staying in Norway between a few months and little over 4 years, or on average, just over 2 years.[33]

5.1.2 Socialization and hobbies

To understand socialization patterns and language use among Polish transnationals living in Norway, the informants were asked who they lived with, who they spent their time with (outside of work), which nationalities they represented, and which languages they used to communicate with each other.

Living conditions

Twenty-nine informants reported living with family members in a variety of configurations including: spouse, children, extended family, parents, fiancée, partner and sibling-in-law. Eleven were living with someone outside their own family, such as work-colleagues or friends, 5 lived alone, and 1 did not answer this question. Fifteen of the female informants lived with close family (spouse, children) or fiancée, while the remaining 3 lived with either

[32] According to Friberg (2012), many Polish transnationals, for the most part men, were reunited with their families by bringing them to Norway. The matter of children were central in deciding to stay in Norway or going back to Poland, and based on Friberg's findings, having a child born in Norway, strongly suggests prolonged or permanent settlement have been decided upon.

[33] Accounting for 9 months of pregnancy time.

work partners[34] or friends. All 5 who lived alone were men, of which 4 was aged between 42 and 55 years, 1 did not disclose his age.

Socialization

The results show that the informants spent time with friends, work colleagues and family members and while most alterations including family also included either friends, work colleagues or both, 12 spent time solely with friends and 13 spent time solely with work colleagues. Although, the next question asked about the nationality of those spent time with, some included nationality in the answers under this question, 5 answered that they spent time with Polish people, 1 spent time with Norwegian people, 1 with both Polish and Norwegian people, and 2 did not answer this question. As mentioned, the following question asked about the nationality of the people spent time with, and here 29 (63%) of the informants answered they spent time with Polish people only. Apart from 4 only spending time with Norwegian people and 2 mentions of "mixed nationalities" (which could be anything in this case), all other variations include Polish, adding up to at least 39 informants spending time with Polish people. All combinations including Norwegians resulted in 13 occurrences, while 1 did not answer this question. Other nationalities included in responses are as follows: Slovenian, Lithuanian and Iraqi.

The results indicate a strong tendency for Polish transnationals in Norway to spend time with other people from Poland, and to a large extent, *only* people from Poland. These findings are confirmed by the results from the next question, asking what languages the informants used to communicate with the people they spent time with. Twenty-seven answered they only used Polish, and additionally, 11 had Polish included in some configuration together with Norwegian, English or Russian. Thirty-two configurations did not include Norwegian, while 12 included Norwegian, of which 3 informants used Norwegian exclusively with people they spent time with. Two informants did not answer this question. The results also show that 13 of the 25 informants who stated knowing Norwegian did not interact with Norwegians or speak Norwegian with any of their family, friends or colleagues.

[34] *Work partner* in this context, is a person one works with in close proximity for most of the time, such as a two-woman/man cleaning team, or two workers with different tasks complementing each other. On the other hand, *work colleague* or *workmate* can be someone who works at the same place or for the same company, doing similar or same type of work, but not necessarily working together much of the time. This study will apply the first two expressions for differentiation.

Hobbies

When asked about what hobbies the informants practiced while living in Norway, the answers revealed that 39 was involved in at least practicing one hobby out of 35 different activities,[35] among these 26 reported having 2 hobbies, 12 reported having 3 hobbies, and 4 informants had four or five hobbies. The most prominent hobby with 10 occurrences was trips/travel/hiking (mountains), the second was skiing with 7 occurrences, and the third most prominent hobbies were 6 occurrences each of fishing and reading books, following with 5 occurrences of football, and 4 each of gym/training and cycling. One informant reported having "No time for hobbies", 1 answered "Not applicable", and 5 did not answer this question.

Despite the fact that the informants pursued a variety of hobbies, 26 did not answer whom (if any) they practiced hobbies with, and 30 did not answer what nationalities they (if any) represented and what languages were used for communication with the other practitioners. One answered not applicable on all three questions. Four informants did their hobbies alone, the 15 remaining practiced their hobbies with either friends (3), colleagues (2), family (3), or a combination of being alone or with friends/colleagues (5), and 2 informants practiced their hobbies with either family or friends. Fourteen of these 15 informants used Polish to communicate, Norwegian was included with 6 of them, and English was included with 2. Eight informants who had reported speaking Norwegian, did not practice any hobbies with Norwegian-speaking people. Only 1 of the 4 practicing hobbies alone knew Norwegian.

The results from this part of the questionnaire, similarly to the previous section, show that many informants who knew Norwegian did not practice their hobbies with Norwegian-speaking people, but preferably did their hobbies either alone or with Polish-speaking family, friends or colleagues.

5.1.3 Language proficiency and use

All language-related results not previously included are presented in this section.

[35] 4 informants answered "sports", which is too broad a definition to fit into any single category, and as a result was not included in the sum of hobbies.

Language proficiency

The results show that all children learned to speak Polish, independent of their birth country. All 12 Norwegian-born children learned to speak Norwegian, and 13 children who were born in Poland, but at some point moved to Norway, learned Norwegian as well (see Table 7 for an overview). English is known to almost two thirds of the informants' children born in Poland, and almost half of the children born in Norway. When asked if the informants had *any rules at home regarding language use,*[36] 32 informants did not answer this question, although 28 of them did have either spouse/partner and/or children living in Poland or Norway. Four did not disclose any information about their family status. Six answered they had no rules, of these 3 in Norway, and 1 in Poland had families, while 1 had a spouse in Norway, and 1 had a spouse in Poland. Among the remaining 9, 3 answered they spoke Polish at home, 2 answered "Inclination towards Polish", 1 used Polish with their children and the husband used German with their children, 1 answered "We are learning English", 1 answered "In Poland, only Polish", and 1 answered "The easiest to use", which according to the informant's family-data could be Polish and most likely Norwegian and/or English, since the children were born in Norway and had knowledge of Norwegian and English, as well as Polish.

Table 7 Languages known by questionnaire participants' children.

Languages	Children born in Poland (n = 47)	Children born in Norway (n = 12)	Sum
Polish	46	12	59
Norwegian	13	12	25
English	30	5	35
German	5	2	7
Russian	1		1
Spanish	2	1	3
French	1		1
Does not speak yet	1		1

The first of a three-part question asked what languages were used/promoted at home. Depending on how some of the answers are interpreted, it could be argued that at least 31, or

[36] Question (7) in the distributed questionnaire (See Appendix A.)

up to 39 informants exclusively used Polish at home.[37] Beyond that, 1 informants' family used Polish and Norwegian 50/50, 9 promoted learning and speaking Norwegian, 4 promoted learning and speaking English, 1 family used Polish, Norwegian, English and German, while promoting the use of Norwegian when among Norwegians, and 6 did not answer this question.

The second question asked what languages the informants wanted their children to speak more and better. Five answered this question, while the follow-up question was answered by 3, asking *why?* Regarding the second question, 1 answered that they wanted their children to speak more and better Norwegian when they had Norwegian visitors, 1 answered Polish and Norwegian, since they were used/promoted and the easiest languages used by the family, 1 answered "(English) For the future" in regard to the *languages used/promoted more* question, 1 included single Norwegian words into their conversations and also read books in Polish, Norwegian and English, and 1 answered that they promoted the use of English between the children, and Polish "To know their country of origin".

Language use according to location

At home, all informants spoke at least Polish, of these, 39 reported using exclusively Polish. Four used Norwegian together with Polish, 2 used Norwegian and English together with Polish, and 1 informant combined English and German with Polish. Among the informants, Polish is clearly the dominant language being spoken in the home sphere, with only 6 instances where Norwegian was used together with Polish, two of them being used together with English as well.

At work, the division was very different. Twenty-eight informants reported using English, 27 used Polish, and 25 used Norwegian. Out of all 25 who reported knowing Norwegian, only 2 did not use Norwegian at their work, as well as 1 pensioner, who did not work. There is, however, a discrepancy, 3 informants reported using Norwegian at work, but did not state that they knew Norwegian. According to their answers in a later question asking about their *degree of ability in languages you speak*,[38] 2 of them indicated fair and good on understanding and speaking Norwegian language, respectively. One reported only

[37] A later, more direct question (11) asked *what language(s) you speak (at) home* (See Appendix A.), here 39 of the informants stated speaking exclusively Polish at home.
[38] Question (12) in the distributed questionnaire (See Appendix A.).

understanding Norwegian, but to an undisclosed degree.[39]

Figure 1 illustrates the division of languages used at work, while Figure 2 illustrates the division of languages used outside of home and work. Outside of home and work (with friends), only 1 informant reported exclusively using Norwegian, 1 answered "Depends on what friends I'm with" (this answer did not indicate which languages were used), 1 did not answer this question, and the remaining 43 informants used a combination of one, two or three languages together with Polish. Nineteen combinations included Norwegian, while eighteen combinations included English. Although Polish is the dominant language when used exclusively, it also occurs in a variety of combinations with, for the main part, Norwegian and English.

Figure 1 Languages used at work by the questionnaire participants.

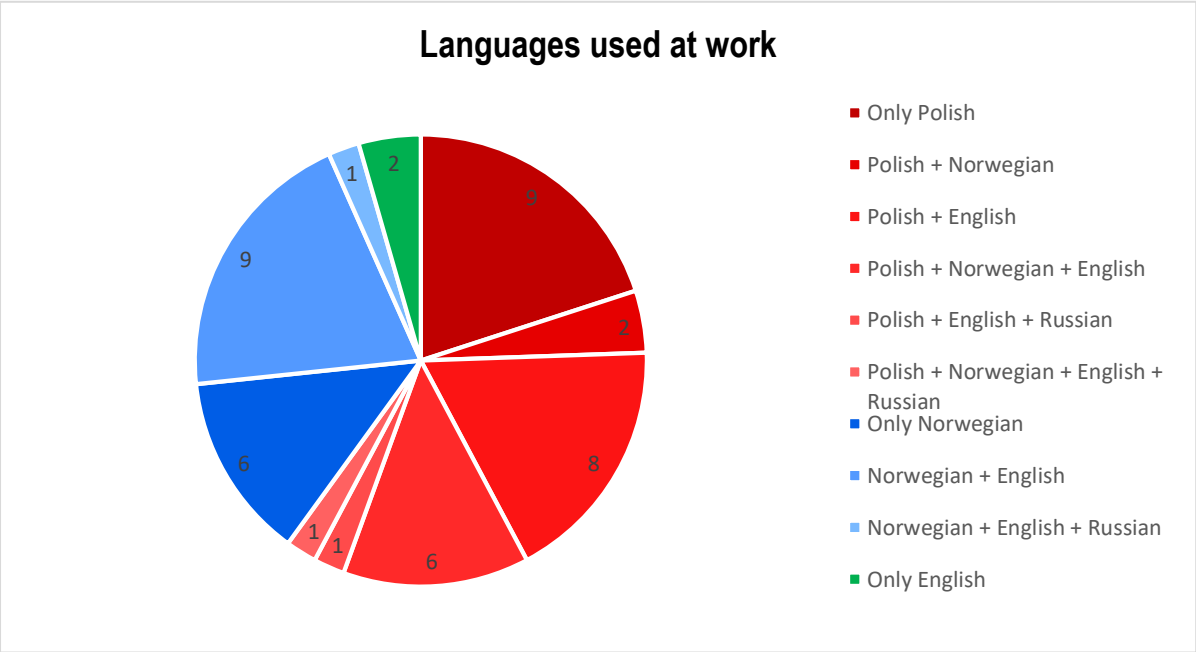

Figure 1 shows language combinations used at work by the questionnaire participants (n = 45) in a pie chart representation.

[39] The informant did not use the numbered scale to answer, but instead marked an "X" for *understanding*.

Figure 2 Languages used outside home and work (with friends) by the questionnaire participants.

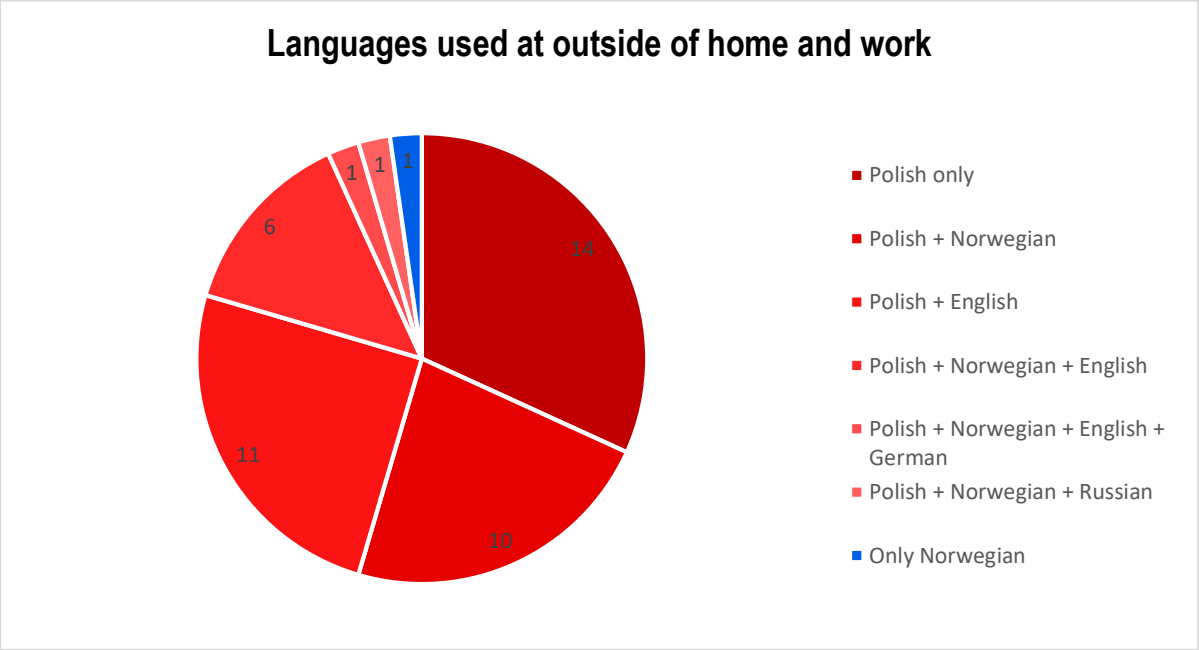

Figure 2 shows language combinations used outside home and work by the questionnaire participants (n = 44) in a pie chart representation.

Frequency of language use per day

Language use per day was rated with a 5-point Likert scale with the following values: (1) Never, (2) Rarely, (3) Sometimes, (4) Frequently, (5) All the time. Two informants failed to apply any of the numerical values, using "X" instead, 1 marked "X" for Polish and English, and 1 marked "X" for English, these entries were not included in the results as they do not indicate any given value. Of the remaining 44 informants, 11 reported using Polish frequently and 33 reported using Polish all the time.

Eleven informants reported using Norwegian all the time, 10 used it frequently, 6 used it sometimes, 7 used it rarely, while 7 informants reported never using Norwegian. Totally, 41 informants answered this question. Three of a total 40 informants reported using English all the time, 5 never used English, while 30 informants used English frequently, sometimes, or rarely in an equal distribution.

Additionally, 1 informant reported using German and Italian sometimes, 1 rarely used German, 2 rarely used German and Russian, and 3 other informants also rarely used Russian, while 1 used it frequently.

The results indicate that Polish is used frequently or all the time by all who answered the question with a scaled value. Although Norwegian and English had a reasonable difference in

distribution of values, the average for each per day language use was quite close: Norwegian (M = 3.3, SD = 1.5) and English (M = 2.9, SD = 1.2).[40] The other languages were for the most part rarely used, with two exceptions, one used Russian frequently when working with Russians, and the other being German used at home since the spouse was from Germany.

Language competence (degree of ability)

Ten of the informants failed to apply the 5-point Likert scale for any part of the question about their degree of ability in languages they speak. In all ten cases, "X" or nothing was used instead of the assignable numbers, each representing a value of degree. The remaining 36 informants completed answering this question assigning values for 4 language skills[41] in the languages they knew.

One informant had all four language skills for Polish marked as being good, 1 had marked writing as good, and the other skills as excellent. Apart from these two, the remaining informants had marked excellent on all language skills in Polish. The results for Polish language were what would be expected for native speakers of Polish, even for those who had been living outside of Poland for many years.

When asked about the informants' language backgrounds in the beginning of the questionnaire, 25 informants stated that they spoke Norwegian, while 30 stated that they spoke English. Concerning their self-rated proficiency for Norwegian (M = 2.9, SD = 1.4), 7 of 33 informants stated they had none, 4 rated their skills as poor on all accounts, and 3 had an average not exceeding poor. Sixteen rated their skills as above fair, of which 5 rated them as excellent on all accounts. The results show that understanding Norwegian was rated slightly higher than speaking, and reading Norwegian was rated slightly higher than writing.

In English (M = 3.5, SD = 1.1), 2 of 30 informants rated having no proficiency in the language, 2 others rated their English writing as none, in all, 4 rated their average English proficiency as poor or below. Twelve rated all their four skills from good to excellent, with 8 informants rating theirs between fair and good. Writing English was marginally the single skill with most low scoring and least high scoring values, while understanding had least low scoring and most high scoring values, just marginally more than speaking and reading. The results

[40] All scores have been rounded up.
[41] The 4 language skills being: understanding, speaking, reading and writing. The Likert scale used the following five values: (1) None, (2) Poor, (3) Fair, (4) Good, (5) Excellent.

show that the majority of the informants had a fairly well balanced and above average proficiency in English language.

There are some discrepancies between the data from the question about language background and the question for language proficiency rating, in how many informants speak Norwegian and English. However, two of the informants rated two or three of their skills as none, which can be interpreted as not knowing the language well enough to mark it as such. In addition, there is a deficit of 2 English-speaking informants. Both can also be explained with the 10 instances of "X" being used instead of the scaled value, which could be either none or anything that indicates proficiency in the language. Regarding other languages, 5 informants rated their proficiency in Russian, 4 in German, 2 in Italian, and 1 in French, while the language background question accounts for 7 speaking Russian, 5 speaking German, 1 speaking Belarusian, and 1 Italian speaking informant. Here, the discrepancy between the two questions was not explainable with the failed application of values.

Except 1 informants' average rating of just above poor for Russian, the remaining 7 rated their proficiencies from an average of fair (both accounts of Italian), and above fair to excellent (German, French and Russian).

5.1.4 Norwegian language acquisition and social attitudes

The results in this section presents answers to all questions that exclusively dealt with Norwegian language acquisition, attitudes and social experiences.

Several of the questions in the distributed questionnaire asked about the informants' Norwegian language learning background, such as when they started learning Norwegian, if they still were learning Norwegian, and the open-ended questions asking how they learned, as well as if they had been offered to take any courses and by whom. A second set of open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire, asked to what extent the informants thought speaking Norwegian could be helpful in making their life better, if they had experienced any pressure to speak Norwegian better/well or perfectly, and Norwegian people's attitudes at work and otherwise towards "Polish migrant workers/Polish people in Norway".

Norwegian language acquisition

Norwegian language courses were offered to 23 informants, of which 12 were by their current employer, 3 were offered by an employment agency, 3 by a previous employer, 1 by a Polish interest-organization, 1 by a client, and 3 did not answer who had offered them to take courses. One employer suggested rather than offered, that the informant should participate in a Norwegian language course, 17 had not been offered any courses, while 5 did not answer if they had been offered any courses.

Before coming to Norway, 4 informants participated in Norwegian language learning courses in Poland, 11 learned Norwegian shortly after arriving in Norway, and 9 learned Norwegian at a later point. One of them marked learning Norwegian both before coming to Norway and shortly after, while the other marked both learning Norwegian shortly after and at a later point. Both of them and 8 other informants also answered that they were still learning Norwegian in addition to 15 others, 37 informants in total. Nine informants did not answer at what point they learned Norwegian, and 5 of these did not indicate participating in any language learning courses or in self-learning.

There is an evident link between the informants not answering this question, frequency of Norwegian language use, and what languages they reported speaking. Although, 4 of them have either practiced self-learning or participated in Norwegian language courses, none of the 9 informants stated that they spoke or used Norwegian language.

Thirty-one informants reported practicing self-learning, either by itself or in a combination with courses or studies, 9 participated solely in courses, and additionally 14 in a combination with self-learning or studies. The results revealed that 41 of the informants have learned Norwegian at some point, mostly after coming to Norway, and all were still learning the language at the time of answering the questionnaire.

Language attitudes

Two informants[42] stated they spoke Norwegian fluently and did not consider the question *To what extent do you think speaking Norwegian could be helpful in making your life better,*

[42] One informant had finished *videregående* (equal to secondary school) in Norway, on par with any other Norwegian person.

applicable, 1 did not know, and 1 did not answer this question. Among the 34 informants who answered “Yes”, 13 stated in several different ways, that they felt speaking Norwegian would result in a high degree of betterment for their lives. Twelve others who also answered yes, additionally argued that speaking Norwegian would improve their social life by getting new friends, acquire better social/cultural contacts, avoid uncomfortable situations and stress when talking to Norwegians, as well as to feel as a part of Norwegian society and be accepted, having better control of one’s own life, and generally make life easier. In the same group, various scenarios where better communication would be helpful, was also mentioned. Three informants argued that managing and succeeding at work would be beneficial, while 7 others were sure speaking Norwegian would get them better jobs (3 of which argued for improved social and personal life, and 1 who argued for better conditions at work, as well). Five informants answered “A little”, “30%”, “Helpful”, and 2 answered only “Yes”. The remaining 8 informants answered “No”, 2 added that it would not change the situation, 1 added it would not be helpful at this point in time, 1 added it would be helpful in no way, 3 answered simply “No”, and 1 informant, while answering no, added that it was better to communicate in English.

These results show a clear tendency towards the realization that speaking Norwegian, in most cases, would be helpful in a number of different ways, including social, personal, work-related, and a feeling of overall betterment of life in Norway.

The second open-ended question concerning language attitude asked whether there was any pressure for participants to speak Norwegian better/well or perfectly. Seventeen answered indicating “Yes” and 25 answered indicating “No”, to various degrees. Seven informants answered simply “Yes”, 1 answered “Sure is”, and the remaining 9 who answered yes, also had arguments accounting for their answers. Three were related to work, 1 answered “Excellent Norwegian is required at the workplace”, while another answered he felt pressure from his colleagues at work, and 1 felt pressure when “not being able to express oneself correctly”. All 3 informants stated speaking good to excellent Norwegian. Two informants, who stated not speaking Norwegian stated that “It would make everyday life easier (speaking Norwegian)”, and “I would like to learn Norwegian for communication”, respectively. The last 4 felt pressure in different ways, some being more personal than others. The first, felt pressured by her daughter to speak better Norwegian “for personal independence” in the form of greater autonomy being able to perform tasks herself, rather than asking for help when speaking Norwegian was required. The second, felt “pressure on oneself”, while the third informant felt more pressure as her Norwegian had improved, and the fourth, felt she should

have spoken better Norwegian at college, but also felt ashamed in front of her husband and friends who spoke better than her. The first two stated speaking Norwegian poorly, while the latter two stated speaking excellent and good Norwegian. Fourteen informants answered plainly "No", 2 added "No pressure on me", 3 others stated "I don't feel any pressure", of which 2 added "…but would be easier if speaking better Norwegian", 1 answered "Not an issue", 1 did not feel pressure from anyone, and also included that he was in control of his own life. Additionally, 1 informant answered no, but admitted to "some pressure when not understood", 1 answered "Only when one has a job can it be a little like that", and 1 did not feel any pressure anymore, but commented "Norwegians show no signs when (I am) not understood". Proficiency levels of the 17 in the "yes"-answering group who spoke Norwegian were divided into 7 informants who spoke none or limited Norwegian, 5 were in the poor to fair range, and 5 spoke good to excellent Norwegian. The "no"-answering group of 25 informants was divided as follows: 7 spoke no Norwegian, 4 spoke in the poor-range, 5 were in the fair-range, and 9 spoke Norwegian in the good to excellent-range. Four did not answer this question.

The results from both groups show a fairly even distribution of the informants' spoken Norwegian levels. This, together with the various reasons stated, indicates that both those that did not and those that did feel pressure to speak better/well or perfect, were not dictated by their own levels of spoken Norwegian.

Social attitudes

A question of non-linguistic nature was asked as well to better understand the feelings of Polish transnationals and how they perceived Norwegians and their attitudes towards themselves and other Polish transnationals. *Please describe Norwegian people's attitudes towards Polish migrant workers/Polish people in Norway, both at work and otherwise (Do they treat you as one of them or differently)?* This question was open-ended, but the answers were possible to categorize. Five informants answered with positive associations, 8 felt they were treated the same way (as Norwegians), normally, or did not recognize any difference, 6 either had no opinion, considered it "Hard to tell", or answered ambiguously "I don't work with Norwegians" or "Different people treat you differently". However, 9 other informants' answers that were similar in formulation, "(Always) differently", "You can sense the difference", "Rather differently" and "There is a big difference between these countries

(Poland and Norway)" can also be viewed as ambiguous, but the question was asked in a manner that projected more towards a negative connotation, and together with other answers opening with "Differently" and continuing with negative remarks, they were considered negative as well. In addition, 7 informants answered with varying degrees of negative associations, 6 answered they were treated the same way, but had some negative remarks, and 3 answered both with positive and negative associations, while 5 had no opinion and 3 did not answer this question.

The results after categorization gives an idea of the general notion of how Polish transnationals felt they were treated by Norwegians, but looking at the complete answers, they did not give such a strong feeling of negativity as a whole, although the general consensus seems to be pointing in that direction.

Apart from those that felt Norwegians in general had a positive attitude and treated the Polish transnationals well, there were several remarks that some Norwegians were skeptical, and mentions about other Polish people who had negative experiences (with Norwegians). Some of those who felt being treated on an equal level, remarked "but there are exceptions" and "generally speaking, there is no difference, but there are situations where we can feel we are foreigners". Similarly, others felt Norwegians to be tolerant and did not feel they were treated as foreigners.

Among those who had strictly negative answers, some had experienced bullying, people joking about them, but not caring about it anymore, while some felt there always was a difference, 1 in particular noted, the "difference in treatment, when compared to a Norwegian one (person) was considered a 'lesser candidate', and will always lose to a Norwegian in all areas". Another felt the difference was always present due to other ideals (than Polish), while 2 others who answered they were treated differently, emphasized they felt having fewer rights (privileges). While none of the negative remarks indicated any strongly adverse feelings towards Norwegians, the positive remarks such as "(I'm treated) very good", "Polish people are treated well in Norway" and "I believe that they are positive and willing to help", are among the strongest reactions in the opposite direction. These results build a picture of Polish transnationals, who for the most part had been living in Norway for many years, divided into two groups. On one side, those that still felt noticeable differences, but not necessarily acting upon- or allowing the differences to affect them in any way, and on the other side, those that felt no difference in the way they were treated compared to Norwegians, even if some had heard about others having negative experiences. A few also emphasized the acceptance of having migrant workers around and saw them as a necessary workforce.

5.1.5 Perceptions and feelings about languages and language use

The next question presented four statements (*needed, unimportant, difficult, and easy*) for each language the informant had stated knowledge of. The degree for each item was chosen from a 5-point[43] Likert scale with the following values: (1) Not at all, (2) Somewhat, (3) More or less, (4) To a large extent, (5) Absolutely. Again, several informants (10) failed to apply the 5-point scale when answering the question, and instead marked the designated spaces with "X". These answers have not been included in the overall results, since X did not indicate a scaled value. Another complication concerned 9 informants answering with similar values for each pairing of the four items, in each language, ending up with conflicting readings of the results (e.g. when an informant used the same value (5) Absolutely for both *difficult* and *easy*, in Polish). The answers with conflicting values have been disregarded as results, leaving partial answers from 12 informants. Together with 24 who answered with one or two values for each language they knew, in all 36 informants answered this question fully or in part.

Figure 3 Questionnaire participants' perceptions about Polish language.

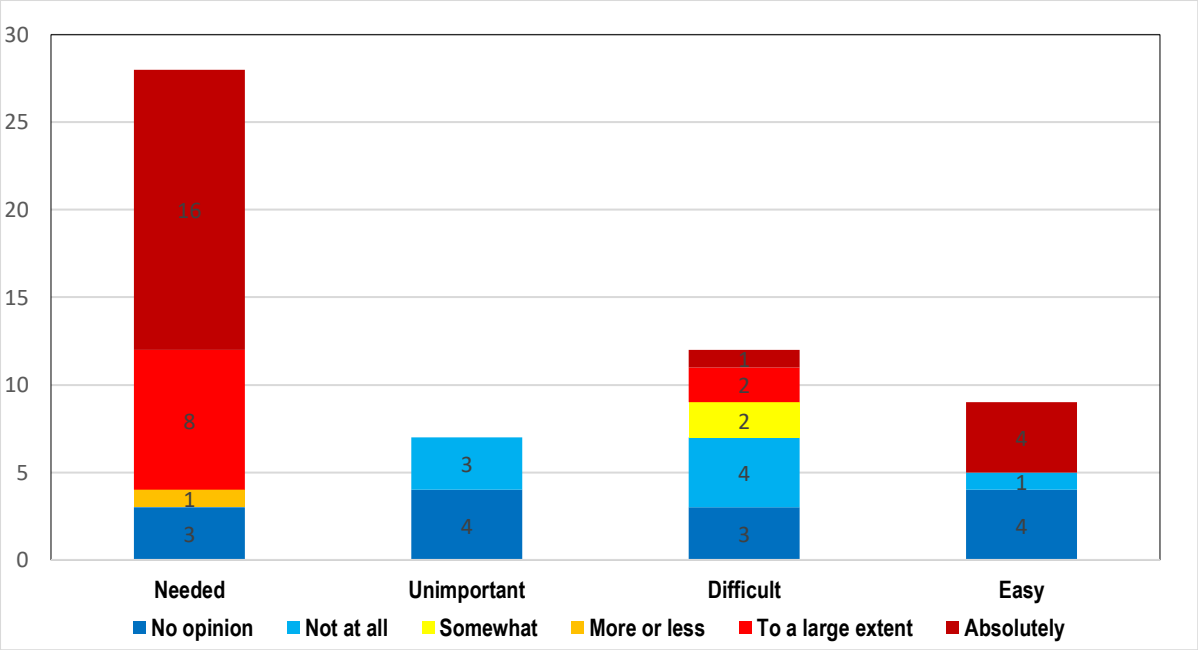

Figure 3 shows the four question-items, each assigned to their own column. Each scaled value is indicated with different colors and number of questionnaire participants who chose the given value for perceptions about Polish language.

[43] *No opinion* with value (0) was also included as an option. However, it is not part of the 5-point scale as it does not correspond with the scaled values, but nevertheless represent a viable option for answering the question.

Figure 4 Questionnaire participants' perceptions about Norwegian language.

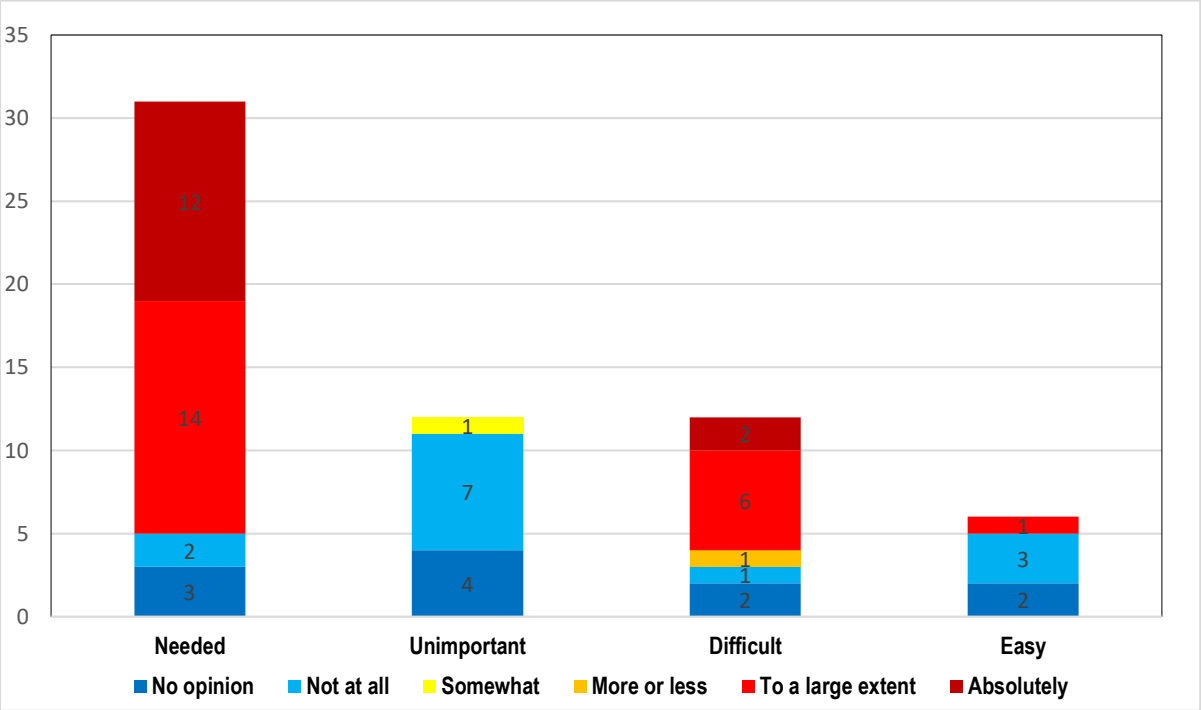

Figure 4 shows the 4 question-items, each assigned to their own column. Each scaled value is indicated with different colors and number of questionnaire participants who chose the given value for perceptions about Norwegian language.

Figure 5 Questionnaire participants' perceptions about English language.

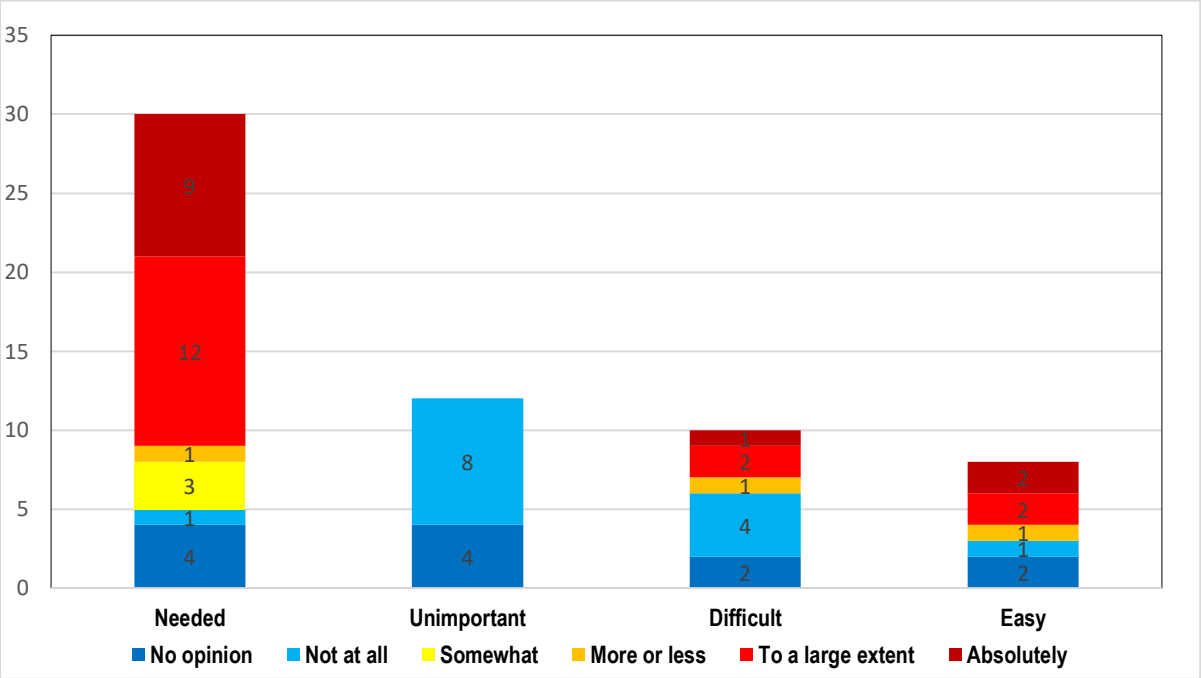

Figure 5 shows the 4 question-items, each assigned to their own column. Each scaled value is indicated with different colors and number of questionnaire participants who chose the given value for perceptions about English language.

Figures 3, 4, and 5 shows the participants' perceptions about Polish, Norwegian and English language. The results show that most informants felt Polish, Norwegian and English to be strongly needed languages. Bar 1 informant, who felt Norwegian to be somewhat unimportant, none felt any of the three languages to be unimportant. Over twice as many (9) felt Norwegian to be difficult to some degree, compared to English, but 5 informants also felt Polish to be difficult to varying degrees. Corresponding to levels of difficulty, English was mostly felt to be easy, while Norwegian was felt easy only by 1 informant.

Despite a large amount of invalid data, the answers still provide a clear indication of the general perceptions about languages known to the informants.

Anxiousness when speaking Norwegian or English in different situations

The informants were presented with five different social situations where they could experience anxiety when speaking Norwegian with Norwegian-speakers or English with English-speakers: at work, outside of work (shopping etc.), in public, on the phone, or with public officials. A 5-point Likert scale was applied with the following values: Not at all, A little, Quite anxious, Very anxious, and Extremely anxious.[44] After excluding the *not applicable* option and those that did not answer this question, the results show relatively similar patterns, except when the informants experienced the two highest levels of anxiousness. Table 8 shows the number of informants who answered what level of anxiousness (if any) they experienced for each of the five situations.

[44] *Not applicable* was also included as an option. However, it is not part of the 5-point scale as it does not correspond with the scaled values, but nevertheless represent a viable option for answering the question.

Table 8 Level of anxiousness experienced according to situation by questionnaire participants.

NORWEGIAN	No data + not applicable	Not at all	A little	Quite anxious	Very anxious	Extremely anxious
When Speaking Norwegian at work	**15**	**8**	**12**	**2**	**7**	**5**
When Speaking Norwegian outside of work (shopping etc.)	**11**	**13**	**8**	**4**	**6**	**4**
When Speaking Norwegian with Norwegians in public	**10**	**13**	**9**	**4**	**4**	**6**
When Speaking Norwegian on the phone	**10**	**11**	**5**	**5**	**6**	**9**
When Speaking Norwegian with public officials (passport control, UDI, police station, etc.)	**11**	**14**	**5**	**4**	**4**	**8**
ENGLISH	No data + not applicable	Not at all	A little	Quite anxious	Very anxious	Extremely anxious
When Speaking English at work	**17**	**8**	**11**	**7**	**2**	**1**
When Speaking English outside of work (shopping etc.)	**17**	**12**	**9**	**5**	**2**	**1**
When Speaking English in public	**16**	**11**	**10**	**3**	**4**	**2**
When Speaking English on the phone	**16**	**11**	**8**	**5**	**5**	**1**
When Speaking English with public officials (passport control, UDI, police station, etc.)	**17**	**10**	**10**	**6**	**2**	**1**

Table 8 is the same table used for question (16) in the distributed questionnaire (See Appendix A.), but here each number within a square shows how many participants answered for each situation/level of anxiety. Squares highlighted with green indicates the highest number of participants' answers for each of the five situations. Squares highlighted with red indicates a particularly high number of informants answering a given situation/level of anxiety, compared to in the other language.

Speaking Norwegian at work with Norwegians, was for most informants not a problem at all or just a little, and near identical results can be seen for English as well. With a few exceptions, this pattern continues for both Norwegian and English in other situations and levels of anxiety. The results that stand out (marked with red) are the number of informants who experienced extreme anxiousness when speaking Norwegian with Norwegians on the phone and with public officials. Additionally, despite somewhat less informants answering for English, there are some discernible differences in how many felt extreme anxiousness in all other situations when speaking English, to that of Norwegian. The same also applied to those who felt very anxious speaking at work and outside of work, and those that were quite anxious speaking at work. Speaking English with English-speaking people did not seem to invoke as much very strong feelings of anxiety as speaking Norwegian with Norwegians. Nevertheless, speaking any of the languages in these situations were handled, with some exceptions, without situational anxiety being a major aspect.

Feelings about language skills when speaking languages you know

For each of the languages the informants knew, this question included 9 items: stress/anxiety, shame, regret, satisfied, joy, pride, guilt, hate, and other (e.g. I feel fine, I don't mind, etc.), where a 5-point Likert scale was to be applied. The scale was as follows: (1) Not at all, (2) A little, (3) Quite, (4) Very, (5) Extremely. Seventeen informants failed to apply the 5-point Likert scale when answering, for one, two, three or four of the languages. Without a scaled value for the feelings about language skills, the answers provided no usable data to extrapolate. Six informants did not answer this question.

Twenty-one informants stated having no feelings of stress/anxiety, shame, regret, guilt or hate, while one felt a little shame and regret, and another felt a little stress/anxiety and very much shame. Feelings of satisfaction, joy and pride were divided, some stated feeling nothing at all or a little, but the majority stated they felt *very* and *extreme* for the items: satisfied, joy, and pride, about their Polish-speaking skills.

For both Norwegian and English, the majority of informants answered not feeling any guilt or hate, with a few exceptions. Three felt a little guilt when speaking Norwegian, and 1 felt the same for English, as well as a little hate, while 1 felt *quite* on guilt and hate. Although, the other negative emotions were answered by most informants to be either not at all present or a little, there were also many who experienced feeling quite, very or extreme stress/anxiousness, shame or regret.

The highest number of informants felt quite to extreme satisfaction, joy or pride when speaking English. The same applied when speaking Norwegian, but with slightly higher numbers who felt no positive emotions at all.

The results show that all three languages had most variation for positively associated emotions, and clearly almost no distinction for feelings of guilt and hate. Stress/anxiety and shame had more variation than regret, and the latter was not felt by a clear majority for both Norwegian and English. For Norwegian, in particular, stress/anxiety and shame were the feelings with the most even spread for levels of emotion.

5.2 Results based on qualitative data

Focus group interview questions were divided into seven parts according to subject/theme. Each subject had one or more main questions usually accompanied by follow-up or sub-questions as well. Although, the interview questions (See Appendix D. for Focus group interview tool) were organized in a specific order, there was room for added, improvised follow-up questions, and to leave some questions out (for the most part these questions got answered together with the main question or one of the follow-up/sub-questions). Thus, the interview was left open with the possibility to develop into a semi-structured interview.

This results section was based on the questions and answers from the transcript of the focus group interview which took place in Rogaland County on 20th of March 2021. Five participants attended the interview. Their real names have been replaced with pseudonyms for anonymity. All participants answered the distributed questionnaire and filled out a consent form beforehand.

All questions were asked in Norwegian and then translated to Polish by one of the participants. Most of the answers were originally in Polish, and the rest were in Norwegian, they have been translated to English from their respective languages. Parts of the translations have been adapted to the narrative without loss of original meaning. Some answers additionally touched on other subjects that were related, and not necessarily concerning only one subject. All questions asked and answered during the interview have been addressed, including excerpts from the transcript where relevant.

5.2.1 Focus group Interview

Learning Norwegian

In accordance with the first research question, the groups participants were asked if they felt there was a need to learn Norwegian when coming to Norway. Bartek, the only male participant in the group who had been living in Norway for 15 years, answered he needed to learn Norwegian because he didn't know any other foreign languages. Izabela, another with 15 years in Norway, answered she did not believe learning Norwegian was necessary because she had not made up her mind about staying in Norway. Her opinion changed immediately when

she got a permanent job, this made her decide to learn the language. Nadia had been in Norway 14 years and had a similar story. When she came here for the first time, she was not sure if she wanted to stay here permanently either. She had decided before coming to Norway that she was not going to work for the first two years. After a change in her life situation, she had to start working "…and of course I started to learn Norwegian". The youngest participant, Adela, had been living in Norway for 10 years. When she and her husband decided to stay, she felt it necessary to learn Norwegian. The final participant, Renia, had been living in Norway for 12 years, "after a while I had to start learning Norwegian to be able to communicate with others and take care of daily life".

Learning Norwegian became a necessity for all participants, either because they knew no language other than Polish, or for most, as a result of starting to work in Norway and for practical communication as well, to take care of daily life matters.

Communication

Izabela considered it important to be able to talk with work colleagues about "different subjects, not only work-related conversations". Her lack of Norwegian vocabulary made it difficult to be part of conversations and answer questions, consequently, this motivated Izabela to learn new words and better Norwegian. The others in the group agreed that this was the way they started to develop their Norwegian skills too.

Renia was repeatedly told, when taking Norwegian courses, that it was important to integrate, and that Norwegians would be open-minded and easy to socialize with. However, they were not, in her opinion. After becoming a pensioner, she has stayed at home and "only have contact with other Polish people, which is why my Norwegian is so weak".

Before coming to Norway, Nadia attended Norwegian language courses arranged by the Norwegian Embassy in Warsaw, as part of her evaluation process on deciding whether to move to Norway or not, "I wanted to see if I could handle the language". However, during her first two years in Norway, she did not care about the language and only had contact with Polish people and with her boss. Nadia emphasized the importance of at least being able to talk (to) and understand your boss. She told that her Polish friends in Norway did not come here to learn and evolve, their Norwegian language skills were very basic, just enough to be able to communicate with their bosses.

> The truth is that they do not need the activities like going to the coffee shop or other places, because they come to Norway with pure intent, work for the money and send it back to Poland. They do not need more.

Learning Norwegian was more important for Polish transnationals with children. Nadia argued that families needed more information because of their extensive contact and interaction with Norwegian society. When they bring their families to Norway, and the requirements exceeds that of just being able to talk enough Norwegian to get by, they also need to be able to read and understand, "to know what's up in Norway".

Polish children have become an important aspect regarding Norwegian language learning, and Renia imposed an agency in the role of translator, to children in Polish families:

> The parents of Polish children make one big mistake, they do not learn Norwegian, they use the child's ability to speak and read Norwegian, to translate everything for them.

The discussion continued towards the subject of *integration* as a natural continuation. Renia told that, "Polish (people) do not want to integrate, they sit at home. (…) We are scared". Adela added to this, "We do not want to meet and integrate with Polish and Norwegians, because we have different lives and experiences". Bartek rounded of by making the point that he wanted to learn a language in relation to his work, not for other activities.

Barriers

With regard to language learning, the group felt one of the core problems was that Norwegian language courses were too expensive. There were other issues as well. Most of the group indicated that NAV[45] had not treated them in the same way as others regarding support for language courses. At an early stage when Nadia was in Norway, she was unemployed and asked NAV if she could attend any Norwegian language course supported by them. NAV responded by telling her that she had too many problems here in Norway, so she needed to

[45] NAV originally was an acronym for *Ny Arbeids- og Velferdsforvaltning* (new labor and welfare administration), but currently NAV is registered as a proper name and as a registered trademark. Today, NAV is responsible for: sickness benefits, unemployment benefits, pensions, cash benefits, work assessment benefits and child benefits, various unemployment and work measures, as well as arranging language learning courses, mainly for refugees and asylum seekers. The scope of NAV's responsibilities is difficult to elude as an immigrant in Norway.

move back to Poland. She got no support from NAV, and ended up paying full price for private coursing from her own money. Adela emphasized that they (Polish people in Norway) did not have the same rights as others have, when they come to Norway as immigrants looking for work.

Solving problems without being able to communicate

When Polish people end up in situations where they are required to speak Norwegian or English, such as in the public sector, they tend to find other Polish people who can communicate in Norwegian (or English) and are willing to help them. This usually means looking among their own group of friends, someone they know, but the helping-friend solution can sometimes be inadequate, such as at the hospital, where details need to be accurate and mistakes in translation can have unfortunate consequences. In these cases, the participants told they would ask for a professional translator to come, often one provided by the health service. Renia explained, "I did not want to burden my friends with my personal problems and my health issues". The group preferred to use a professional translator rather than using friends, even when they were available. This was an important point in a larger context regarding the choices being made by the participants in other areas as well. The focus group participants reported that most Polish transnationals, did not like to get any help or assistance for free.

Why do some Polish transnationals choose to learn Norwegian and others do not?

"Some Polish people think so highly of themselves, that they do not feel the *need* to learn Norwegian", Nadia stated, and added, "They believe that work will come to them".

What has become something of a cliché regarding Polish workers and their plans for coming to Norway, was illustrates by Adela:

> I know a guy that is not willing to learn (Norwegian), because he will move back to Poland after one year (working in Norway). The problem is, that he has been saying this every year for the past 10 years.

Old age and language learning

Bartek, being in his late 50's, started of explaining how age affected a person's learning ability and that older people had a harder time remembering new information (about Norwegian language) and new words. Rather than a person just being old, a historical aspect provided a possible explanation to why many older people had problems with learning Norwegian. The group felt that in general, the age of a person did not always affect the learning process of individuals, but living under Russian oppression, the older generation who were isolated from the rest of the world, never had any opportunities to learn anything else than Russian, apart from Polish.

Motivation for learning Norwegian language

Adela told that for the most part Polish people came to Norway because *of* work and to earn money, in turn this motivated them to learn Norwegian because they realized it would be helpful in securing work and being able to communicate at work. The group's earlier statements at the beginning of the interview confirms the latter, but communication was just a result of learning Norwegian. Adela concluded, "I believe one could say that money is the big motivator". There was consensus for this view among the group.

Education, job expectancy and Norwegian language proficiency

For Nadia and Renia, as well as many other Polish transnationals in Norway, there were no possibilities to get work corresponding with their (higher) education. It became more of a burden rather than securing them work within their fields of expertise, or anywhere else where a higher level of education would have been an advantage. Some of them removed the higher education part from their CV's or went searching for jobs without a CV. Both Nadia and Renia, as well as Izabela, have worked as cleaners for most of their time in Norway. Ending up with any kind of work they expected or wanted was offset by the need to work and make money. An important observation on this matter, was that most of the rejections they received when applying for other work were based on being overqualified, not due to a lack of

proficiency[46] in Norwegian language. If Norwegian language proficiency, or lack thereof, was a reason for being rejected when applying for work, they were not always informed of this fact. As Renia pointed out, "I cannot hire you because you do not have the right level of education", seemed to be a more common reaction than one indicating they lacked Norwegian language proficiency. Adela told the group about her husband (who is also Polish) and his problems with finding work. He has a PhD from a Norwegian university, but was still unemployed at the time of the interview.

> Even when he has been applying for work at the University (undisclosed), it is as if he do not exist for them, because he does not have Norwegian friends or a (Norwegian) network.

For this reason, Adela and her husband have changed their last name to a Norwegian one, "It is just impossible as a Polish person with higher education to get a good job".
The groups testimonies left no doubt that having a high level of education by itself would not necessarily result in jobs within their fields of expertise. Nothing indicated that Norwegian language proficiency at an adequate level would increase their chances of getting better jobs either.

Treatment of Polish transnationals in Norway and its impact on language learning

Bartek's experiences indicated a trend of alienation where he worked. Polish and other immigrants were kept in the dark about what was going on in their workplace by changing the subject of conversation whenever one of them approached a group of Norwegian workers and their Norwegian boss. The better immigrants understood Norwegian, the more consequent the Norwegians were with their exclusion. This alienation at work (in the private sector), which Bartek described, shows a counterintuitive reaction to learning and knowing Norwegian, and in turn also became a disadvantage at his workplace.

As this part of the discussion went on, Bartek became visibly agitated, making it clear that this was a somewhat sensitive subject for him. Nadia summarized, "It is easier to control a person who is in the dark when it concerns information". The whole group approved of this statement. Izabela described a very supportive workplace, where co-workers helped her with

[46] Proficiency in this context mostly refers to being able to speak Norwegian at an undefined level, due to lack of specific requirements being addressed by the employers in question.

learning Norwegian. It gave a quite different impression of how one could be treated as a Polish transnational in Norway. How you were treated, was also a matter of whether you worked for the federal sector or the private sector, in their opinion. Adela concluded by saying that working for the federal sector (the Norwegian state) gave you better opportunities to learn and evolve, while in the private sector, this was not the case.

Anxiety and worry when speaking Norwegian or English

In accordance with a question about situational anxiety from the distributed questionnaire, the participants were asked to discuss the basis for these situations and what triggered them. Initially, there was some agreement that, "You are sure that you will be misunderstood". Many of the participants' narratives told of similar situations when someone spoke Norwegian to them and they got stressed. Talking with unfamiliar Norwegian-speakers on the phone, could be particularly stressful, even terrifying. Adela argued, that as a non-native speaker of Norwegian, it took longer time to process the information being conveyed and because of the lag in response from her side, she felt that the person on the other end of the line would get impatient and that in turn became stressful for her. Additionally, not seeing them face-to-face took away the possibility to read another person's body language, something she considered even more important when trying to communicate in a difficult foreign language. All participants, except Izabela gave long accounts of their experiences with what can be characterized as situational language anxiety.

Group conformity and individualism

Questions exploring the possibility of group conformity among Polish transnationals in Norway with regard to language acquisition, were included in the interview.

Among the participants and how they perceived other Polish transnationals as well, the answers indicated a tendency for strong individualism, and acting upon individual beliefs were important when it came down to making decisions.

Without forcing the prospect of group conformity pressure, the introduction of the *boss-man* character was based on long-standing personal observations, to see first of all, if this type of person was recognizable, and second, what impact such an individual could have on Polish

transnationals in certain situations, such as if OGCP was exerted. After a brief description, the group recognized and acknowledged the boss-man character. Apart from responding to the boss-man aspect, the group provided a description of Polish individualism, someone who would not allow him or herself to be dominated or excluded, and who would find a way out of being kept in the dark, despite even when being under the influence of a boss-man. Adela believed that history had made Polish people this way, from the Second World War to the time under the communist regime of Soviet, they had to fight for everything, not accepting being dominated by others or being left in a state of unawareness. Nadia contrasted the older generation who came to Norway a long time ago against the young, new generation who had the advantage of knowing how to communicate with Norwegians, or otherwise learning fast and adapting to the situations they encounter.

OGCP did not occur much because of boss-man types anymore, there were less Polish transnationals for them to exploit, but they did still exist.

Socialization

Despite different answers, there was at least agreement that socialization depended on the person in question. Trust, decency, and compatibility were key aspects in the discussion about whom the participants preferred to spend their time with outside of work, not nationality, gender or any other demographics.

What does it take for Polish people to learn Norwegian?

Earlier, the focus group had concluded that money, in the form of attaining better paid jobs, was the main motivator for learning Norwegian. However, there were additional motivational aspects as well, such as being able to socialize with co-workers and avoid stress and embarrassment. In a classroom setting, motivation to come back and participate was emphasized by the importance of having nice and good teachers, as well as other learners being at a similar level, with the same language-related problems.

The discussion turned towards the different language courses offered, who arranged them, and their different qualities. The outcome produced an unexpected result that can be helpful in explaining certain aspects of Polish mentality, reactions and behavior.

The group concluded that you needed to pay to participate in Norwegian language courses rather than attend free courses arranged by language cafés and churches. This was not merely a matter of course quality, but of their reactions when getting something for free versus paying for it. Nadia explained:

> Our Polish mentality is like this, when I pay for something, I have an obligation to it. I will do it because I want to. I paid for it, so it is *my* choice. However, when someone gives me something, I start to think, do I really need to attend, I should know better. I can learn Norwegian by myself.

When Polish transnationals get something for free, they will try to figure out what the catch is. This suspicion or skepticism of things that comes for free was also something that the whole group was familiar with and considered a Polish trait. For the participants, it was difficult to accept something that was given free of charge, having no obligations or some kind of debt attached to it.

Additionally, there were too few offers that were not private schools, and while the public ones supposedly were good, Polish transnationals tended to be last on the lists for possible participation. In other words, not many could attend the publicly offered courses, and the private courses were too expensive. The group agreed to the assessment, and concluded that private courses would be ok, but at a lower cost, alternatively, better or more access to public courses would also be good. The cost of attending public courses seemed to be acceptable for the participants, as long as the quality was at the level of the private ones.

Alternative solutions for Polish transnationals

Along the way towards deliberating alternative solutions for learning Norwegian, a longer discussion ensued where Adela and Nadia criticized the bad attitudes and beliefs regarding the entitlement refugees had when acquiring jobs. Polish people, who came to Norway for work acted under the impression that they would need to deserve the job to get it, rather than feeling entitled to it by the mere fact of being a refugee. They both believed that refugees took advantage of the system in several ways, acting upon their perceived entitlement to what the Norwegian welfare state could provide them, and that Polish people were *de facto* discriminated in these matters. Nadia was visibly agitated at this point in the discussion, and

ended another statement with a declaration of sorts:

> We (Polish people) do not think like this, we want to get a fair chance, and I will use that chance. I was lucky I got the chance! I grabbed it so hard because I knew that this was a very rare opportunity. Now I could achieve my goals.

Following this, Renia summarized what the group considered to be an acceptable alternative solution, first acknowledging that Polish immigrants should have the same rights as refugees and asylum seekers to attend the publicly run schools for language learning, and:

> If there is no place in this school, I could go to a private one, but pay less for the lessons. This kind of solution is fine with me, because I do not want anything for free. To be honest, I do not want to have the feeling of being in debt.

Other suggestions of changes in Norway included having at least one or two Polish-speaking employees in every public office, that Polish transnationals would need to visit at some point, "this would be easy to do, and would make it easier for Polish people who do not speak Norwegian to solve their problems". Adela, Nadia and Renia felt that Norwegians should be better at practicing what they preached. They were of the opinion that Norwegians thought one thing, but said something else, often what they perceived the other part wanted to hear. In short, they wanted Norwegians to be more honest and transparent. Adela told, that in Polish culture, dialogues were more honest and straight forward, you said what you meant, regardless of the consequences.

To live in Norway

Izabela's last statement summarized the whole group's thoughts about how they felt living in Norway. Izabela was happy and life was calmer here. She added:

> Every country has its good and bad sides (…) and you do not need to worry about having money at the end of the month. I do not need to worry about what I need to pay first, rent, medicines, will I have money to buy food? I do not have these kinds of problems here.

6 Discussion

The four research questions and accompanying hypotheses are discussed in the same order they were presented initially, with possible overlaps regarding some of the subjects. Quantitative results have been merged with qualitative data, paying special attention to the individual and collective narratives of the focus group participants.

6.1 Research question 1

Norway's membership in the EEC have granted EU-member states, including Poland since 2004, access to the Norwegian labor market. As of October 2021, Polish transnationals are by far the largest immigrant population in Norway with 110301 registered Polish citizens,[47] but it is difficult to quantify how many of them speak Norwegian, and at what level. With a shift starting over 10 years ago from strictly work-related migration towards more permanent immigration, established Polish transnationals in Norway have been bringing their families over from Poland more frequently (Friberg 2012). This shift extends the importance of a more complete competence[48] in Norwegian language from mainly being a matter of communication in workplaces and for some public services to encompass all aspects of family life as well.

Norway does not have any obligation to offer Polish transnationals a way to learn Norwegian, so it becomes a matter for employers, employment agencies, clients, or themselves to figure out, first of all, if they want to learn Norwegian, and in case, how and when do they invest in learning the language. In particular, employers in the private sector, as well as some employment agencies are known to offer language learning courses to their employees. Those that offer language learning courses most likely considers it a long-term investment in their workers, and as such, that their employees are going to stay in Norway for an extended time or settle more permanently. Four of the questionnaire participants (N = 46) had attended Norwegian language learning courses in Poland before coming to Norway, at least two of them did so with regard to permanent work and settlement in Norway. For those coming to Norway looking for work, learning Norwegian is most commonly connected to upward work-related

[47] 70035 males and 40266 females.

[48] In this study, *competenc*e is used as a collective term for the language skills (*proficiency*) used to communicate. Some overlap between competence and proficiency can occur with regard to references, though most will concern the skill of speaking Norwegian.

mobility, material acquisition, and social mobility, as well as how much they believe the language is needed and how much they want to invest in learning it. The focus group interview participants, for the most part, stated they realized the need to learn Norwegian materialized shortly after starting to work in Norway. Two of the participants were not offered any language courses, but had nevertheless learned Norwegian to some degree and used it frequently or all the time, every day. Among the remaining 3 participants from the focus group, 2 were offered courses by their employers and 1 got an offer from a Polish interest organization in Norway. Two of them used Norwegian frequently each day, and while 1 rarely used Norwegian anymore, there were several reasons for this, one was being a pensioner, the other medical. This limited her use of Norwegian since most of her friends were not Norwegian speakers. Their narratives reflected the findings from the distributed questionnaire results, where 17 of 46 participants were both offered to take courses as well as attended these. Additionally, 6 who were offered courses did not attend these, and vice versa, 6 who attended courses did not get any offers. In other words, half of the participants were offered to take courses, much in accordance with numbers from the Kilskar et al. (2017) report,[49] and equally many attended these. Thirty-one reported practicing self-learning with or without the addition of language learning courses, revealing it to be the most common way to learn Norwegian. This gave the impression that Polish transnationals are more often than not, willing to take the opportunity to learn Norwegian when given to them. Something Nadia from the focus group attested to in her answer on alternative solutions for Norwegian language learning possibilities, for Polish transnationals (See Appendix D. Focus group interview tool, question (14a)):

> (…) we want to get a fair chance, and I will use that chance. I was lucky I got the chance. I grabbed it so hard because I knew that this was a very rare opportunity. Now I could achieve my goals.

The majority of the sample group who answered the distributed questionnaire and all focus group interview participants, had been living in Norway for an average of 10 years for the distributed questionnaire group, and over 13 years on average for the focus group. This testifies to those Polish transnationals deciding, at some point, to stay in Norway for a longer period of time or permanently, who incorporated the need to learn Norwegian (to some degree at least) as part of their emigration plans. There was a belief that Norwegian language was

[49] Kilskar et al. (2017:85) shows "that 44% of contractors do in fact offer their migrant employees language training (…) whether this includes leased employees is, however, not clear".

absolutely or *to a large extent* needed by 86.5% of the 37 who answered this question. Particularly, those who attended language learning courses also rated their Norwegian language proficiency at a high level, and used Norwegian frequently every day. Both the qualitative and the quantitative data supports this connection. For the 6 participants being offered to take language courses, but who did not attend these, there was a similar relation in the opposite direction. Four of them rated their Norwegian language proficiency as having *none*, 1 rated it as *fair*, while the last was undecided due to the answer being marked with an "X" instead of a scaled value. Additionally, 2 of them never used Norwegian, 2 rarely used the language, and 2 did not answer this part of the question. Despite being a relatively small group from the sample, the combined data shows a connection between limited or no language proficiency and frequency of use, and not having attended any language courses. However, on the subject of Norwegian being a needed language, 4 of them rated it being needed *to a large extent*, 1 did not feel that Norwegian was needed at all, and 1 did not answer this part of the question. The lack of language proficiency and use for the most part did not impact on the realization that Norwegian was felt as a needed language within this group. The reasons for both regarding Norwegian as a highly needed language and at the same time not having any proficiency in it, nor using it, can be explained considering what is common knowledge among Polish transnationals. Most come to Norway for work, and some are hoping for upward mobility, getting better jobs, permanent employment, and higher salaries. The belief that Norwegian is a highly needed skill, is by many, if not most, believed to be a known prerequisite no matter if they intend to learn the language or not. This might explain why so many Polish transnationals felt Norwegian language to be needed, despite not being able to learn it or choosing not to learn it for some reason.

Besides those who are offered courses from their employers or employment agencies, Polish transnationals have to take their own initiative to learn Norwegian. Most rely on their own abilities and learn by themselves, and some use internet-based language learning applications (e.g. Duolingo) on their mobile phones, pads or computers. Some get help from Polish interest-organizations in Norway, go to language cafés or attend free language learning classes arranged by churches and their affiliated social welfare work organizations, such as KIA (*Kristent Interkulturelt Arbeid*, Christian intercultural work), a competence center where you can learn Norwegian, among other things. Others try to get help from NAV, either through economical support to pay for language courses or by attending one of NAV's own or NAV-sanctioned courses. Many end up going to expensive, more time consuming private schools, as was the case for all focus group participants. The quantitative data supported all these

possibilities, but the focus groups' narratives gave particularly good descriptions of some of the more common approaches used by Polish transnationals, as well as the inherent drawbacks and advantages these presented. Due to limited economical resources, it was not unusual for Polish transnationals to attend any of the free of charge courses organized by churches or social welfare organizations. Most of the focus group participants did not care much for the quality of the teachers or their educational capabilities at these places, and thus, did not see investment in these language learning opportunities to be worthwhile. Adela was exceedingly critical in her assessment:

> (…) there were these old ladies teaching that had a lot of attitude and they were not very encouraging. It was tiresome to be there.

According to Darvin & Norton (2015), and Norton (2019) in particular, where she argues, "the construct of investment has important implications for pedagogy". Meaning, that teachers should also be invested in the language and literacy practices of their classrooms, something the focus groups' narratives only supported to be true for some of the language learning opportunities available at the time. A highly motivated student's investment may degrade if the language practices of the classroom are discriminatory, derogatory, or otherwise lack proper investment from the teacher, leading to little progress in language learning (Norton 2019). Norton regards identity in this matter, to be what both teachers and learners can draw from to become more productive and develop themselves as well:

> (…) while identity is conceptualized as multiple, changing, and a site of struggle, the very multiplicity of identity can be productively harnessed, by both learners and teachers, in the interest of enhanced language learning and human possibility (Norton 2019:303).

NAV was another subject of some resentment in the focus group. Several of the participants felt that NAV did not treat them on equal grounds as other immigrants regarding access to and support for Norwegian language learning courses. Nadia, while looking for work in Norway, had a particularly surprising and provoking encounter with NAV. She recounted:

> When I was unemployed, I wanted to participate in language courses, just to use time wisely. I got a response from a worker at NAV (undisclosed place) that I have too many problems here, so I needed to move back to Poland.

Despite Nadia's setback at NAV, she never went back to Poland and did in the end pay for a full Norwegian language course at a private school, of her own money. The group was clear about expensive private schools being the best option for learning Norwegian. While the quality of publicly funded courses or schools were considered to be good, and hence the only viable alternative for investment in language learning in a school-type environment, they felt these to be inaccessible for them and other Polish transnationals. Something the number of Polish people participating in the *Norwegian and social studies for adult immigrants,* educational program, organized and approved by NAV, could give an indication of. Twenty-one females participated in 2020, 27 (both genders)[50] in 2019, 42 females and 3 males in 2018 (SSB Statistics Norway, 2021). Whether or not there is a connection between the low number of participants and the focus groups' beliefs on this matter, is debatable. The group proposed that a public body such as NAV should offer Norwegian language courses at half of what the private schools charged, so they (the Polish transnationals) could get decent teachers and quality education worth investing in. Keeping in mind that refugees and asylum seekers are treated differently according to given resolutions in Norway, the issue of what the focus group participants considered discriminatory treatment from NAV is an interesting one to explore and should be mentioned, but falls outside the scope of this thesis.[51]

It is debatable if the part of the hypothesis concerning, *prejudgments about the necessity of speaking Norwegian can affect the decision to learn the language*, is accurate. Almost every participant in this study believed that speaking Norwegian language was a strongly needed attribute, as well as *the impression that Polish transnationals are more often than not, willing to take the opportunity to learn Norwegian when given to them*. When arriving in Norway many of them were offered to participate in Norwegian language courses and also attended these. This suggests that many are determined to learn Norwegian from an early stage when coming to Norway, seizing the opportunity when presented to them. This gives reason to doubt there is an emphatic belief that Norwegian language is not necessary to learn or needed, in fact, the opposite seems to be true for the majority of Polish transnationals in Norway.

[50] Female and male specifics does not appear for confidentiality reasons according to SSB. Figures are not published to avoid identifying individuals or companies (SSB 2021)

[51] Certain data from SSB, that was not accessible during the time of this study must be made available to better understand the implications of NAV's rejection for access to Norwegian language learning, such as the number of Polish transnationals applying for participation in the *Norwegian and social studies for adult immigrants* educational program.

6.2 Research question 2

Most previous research involving motivation and second language learning have been limited to the confines of the classroom, such as Gardner & Lambert (1959, 1972) cited in, as well as Gardner & MacIntyre (1993), and MacIntyre & Vincze (2017), to mention a few, while the current study looks at what motivates Polish transnationals *to* learn Norwegian as the ML. Most Polish transnationals who invest in their Norwegian language learning do so for utilitarian gains, which falls under the *means-autonomy-instrumental* motivation category (Carreira 2005). In other words, learning Norwegian is only as a means to an end most often imagined leading to an improved standard of living, generally through acquisition of material gains. Upon achievement of their goals, they might stop learning Norwegian if it does not advance any further ambitions.

What could be described as a *loop of necessity*, was mentioned several times during the focus group interview, here in Adela's words, "To pay for courses you need money; to get the money you need a job; to get a job you need language". This is a common situation for many Polish transnationals coming to Norway looking for work, and learning Norwegian may not seem as the most viable option at first. Those who have planned to stay in Norway for longer periods of time or permanently, usually realize that speaking Norwegian could be helpful in their endeavors. Being a thing of the past for the focus group participants, they did emphasize that this was still a common problem for newly arrived Polish transnationals in Norway.

It became clear at an early stage in the focus group interview, and several times afterwards, that the whole group agreed on money being the primary motivation for learning Norwegian. Both the focus group and several of the distributed questionnaire participants, regarded speaking Norwegian to be helpful in more ways than just advancing Polish transnationals' opportunities for material acquisition.

It is difficult to ascertain how many and to what degree the participants in this study were victims of discrimination and feeling inferior, due to lack of proficiency in Norwegian, but the focus group shared several stories of discrimination and outright bullying by Norwegians or Norwegian-speakers. Keeping in mind that situations can have more than one point of view, as well as not necessarily being a singular result of lacking proficiency in Norwegian, there are other motivations for learning the language as well. According to Carreira's (2005) motivational framework, several of these can apply to Polish transnationals depending on circumstances. According to Chand (2009) cited in Johansson & Śliwa (2016:298), language

facilitates the successful integration of migrants by "mediating and transforming relations of social power and inequality" and thus hopefully limiting (or eliminating) social differentiation. Learning Norwegian is considered by some Polish transnationals to be the solution for avoiding uncomfortable situations and stress when talking to Norwegians, in an attempt to limit or eliminate social differentiation, and to successfully integrate into Norwegian society and be accepted. *Means-autonomy-integrative* motivation fits those Polish transnationals motivated to learn Norwegian, who are as described above, or discriminated and feeling inferior when revealed to be non-native speakers of Norwegian. They are motivated to learn and master Norwegian at the level of native-speakers or close to, as they desire to be integrated into Norwegian society and be accepted on equal terms as native-speakers of Norwegian, as quickly as possible. Learning Norwegian itself is in most cases of no particular interest to them (Carreira 2005).

It is important to point out that in those cases where Polish transnationals found learning Norwegian to be fun and enjoyable, the motivation changes from *means*-based to *goal-autonomy-instrumental* and *goal-autonomy-integrative*, respectively. Apart from the focus group, it was difficult to ascertain whether or not learners had actually enjoyed learning Norwegian or not.

The distributed questionnaire revealed that 34 (73.9%) participants believed speaking Norwegian could be helpful in making their lives better. Most of the answers also indicated in what manner or in what areas their life could improve. Having established achievable goals for some of the participants, we can get an impression of what else motivates Polish transnationals to learn Norwegian other than material gains. Thirteen participants rated that speaking Norwegian would result in a high degree of betterment of their lives, additionally, another 12 gave some definite answers to what these betterments consisted of, most being related to the social sphere. Getting new friends, acquiring better social/cultural contacts, communicating better with Norwegian-speakers, having better control of one's own life, and making life easier in general, were what most considered speaking Norwegian would lead to. Some elaborated on several improvements being possible, among them, 10 were related to work. Three considered succeeding at work to be beneficial, and 7 were sure speaking Norwegian would get them better jobs, 1 mentioned better conditions at work to be attainable. The closest applicable types of motivation in these cases falls somewhere between *goal-autonomy-integrative* and *means-autonomy-instrumental*. For many, acquiring new (Norwegian-speaking) friends and contacts either involves enjoyable and fun learning in tandem with socialization and integrating into Norwegian society, or on the other hand, just as a means to an end in connection with work or

practical matters. Some in the focus group wanted to learn Norwegian for socialization purposes, Izabela was one of them:

> (…) it was important for me to be able to talk to people with whom I work with, on different subjects, not only work-related conversations.

Renia too, wanted to talk with Norwegians and Norwegian-speakers, as well as being able to communicate with her boss:

> Me, I wanted to talk with people, because I am a people-person, which is why I started to learn Norwegian, to be able to communicate with others. (…) Like I said, you cannot have a conversation with a mop, but you need to talk to your boss because she gives you duties.

In these cases where learning Norwegian goes beyond singularly being a means to material acquisition, socialization seems to be paramount. Humans are after all social beings and moving to another country, away from friends and family, does not remove the inherent need to socialize, both at work and outside of it. However, the apparent lack of a larger Polish social network prevents them to socialize much with other Polish transnationals,[52] leaving them with the option of socializing with Norwegian-speakers, and thus needing to learn and speak Norwegian.

Outside pressure, most likely from an employer or employment agency, introduces two additional types of motivation, *means- or goal-heteronomy-instrumental*. The key point being that an outside power such as an employer is pressuring or making someone learn Norwegian conditionally (e.g. part of an employment arrangement), either with the learner doing it as a means to an end or actually enjoying it as well (Carreira 2005).

Learning Norwegian is a continuous process and motivation does not necessarily stop when a learner's proficiency reaches a certain level. Pressure to speak even better or perfectly can be a source for reapplied motivation and was addressed in the distributed questionnaire. While 25 (59.5%) of those who answered felt no pressure to improve their Norwegian proficiency, 17 (40.5%) answered that they felt pressure to speak better or perfect Norwegian.

[52] The focus group participants were from three different places in Rogaland County, and while 2 of them knew each other from before, and the 3 remaining knew each other, the two groups had not met before the interview despite living short distances from each other.

However, feeling pressured does not necessarily mean being motivated or needing to act accordingly, but it can be an additional motivating aspect. Although, some earlier answers regarding motivation could be related to an outside power exercising pressure, in most cases, it is more likely a matter connected to desire or ambition.

The last motivational aspect concerns Polish families in Norway, where previous research (Obojska 2019a) as well as the current study, shows cases of demotivation (for the parents) that can be traced to children's impact on family language policy (FLP) making efforts. In the focus group interview, Nadia pointed out that learning Norwegian was more important for Polish people with children, they needed more information because of their increased interaction with Norwegian-speakers and Norwegian society in general. Renia mentioned parents often exploiting their children's proficiency in Norwegian to act as translators for them, and this "laziness" as she put it, did not help on the parents' motivation to learn Norwegian. Obojska (2019a) shows how adolescent Polish transnationals can have an impact in shaping FLP, and in her study, the parents of the family in question had "considered introducing the practice of speaking either English or Norwegian on a chosen day of the week. The idea, however, was strongly opposed by both of the daughters", one of which was assessed as the best Norwegian-speaker in the family. Opposition towards using the ML at home can be demotivating for the parents, in this case particularly the father who was least proficient in Norwegian. Fogle and King (2013) also documented cases of resisting the use of ML and thus impacting parental policy making efforts (cited in Obojska 2019a).

However, some reasons can motivate and expedite Polish transnational parents to learn Norwegian in these cases. First, there is the need to understand and be able to communicate with any public body pertaining to the educational system, health care, NAV, the Inland Revenue, etc. Although, some of these are relevant to other Polish transnationals as well, interaction with public officials can become more frequent when children are involved. Second, parents should not rely on their children as translators, they should be able to communicate well enough in Norwegian to take care of all relevant issues themselves. There are a multitude of ways to get demotivated from learning Norwegian and not all can be included in the scope of this study, nevertheless, some of them, such as OGCP and situational anxiety have been explored in the discussions for the following research questions due to their possible impact on language learning.

What stands out as the most common motivation for migrating to Norway, is financial gain, in the form of better salaries or opportunities to earn more money (Friberg & Eldring 2011, Friberg 2012). Instrumental motivational is what makes most Polish transnationals learn

Norwegian, and was by many believed to be decisive for acquiring material gains, such as those mentioned above. This type of motivation usually came after arriving in Norway and realizing that the language was needed. Norwegian language became a stepping stone for more than just upward work-related mobility and earning more money, it became important for socialization, communication with public officials, and every other aspect of life as well. Some of the focus group participants also believed it to be of higher importance for Polish families with children, who interacted more frequently with Norwegian society, to have a wider and better competence in Norwegian language.

It is apparent from a motivational point of view, that most Polish transnationals learn Norwegian for utilitarian reasons, due to the perceived impression that proficiency in Norwegian language leads to better jobs, permanent employment, and higher salaries. However, their investment into learning Norwegian is in many, if not most cases lacking, as there is no clear definition to the levels of Norwegian language proficiency needed to achieve their individually imagined goals. Socialization with Norwegian-speakers and integration into the host society are usually secondary, and not necessarily even considered goals or of particular interest, at least not for those without any family present in Norway or no family at all. Polish families living in Norway can find learning Norwegian too time-consuming, too expensive, or difficult to achieve due to internal, conflicting family language policies (Obojska 2019a). In these cases, their imagined identities and possibly also their visions and hopes for the future are incomplete and can feel unattainable or unrealistic, having a detrimental effect on motivation as well.

6.3 Research question 3

While the distributed questionnaire did not provide any data corroborating or disproving this research question, the answers from the focus group interview pertaining to this subject did. Before introducing the concept of the *boss-man* to the focus group participants,[53] the whole group was unified in their view that Polish people in general did not try to force a specific notion or belief upon other Polish people. However, signs of conformity among Polish transnationals learning Norwegian could be found in statements such as Nadia's:

> Well, sometimes there are people that feel the language is hard to learn and they give up, especially if they find a likeminded person.

Nadia also elaborated on the individuality aspect, telling, when Polish people make decisions, they stand by these decisions, "Deciding we do not want to, means we do not want to". She also made it clear that Polish people do not monitor what others do, they minded their own business. The boss-man concept proved to be an exception, but according to the group, more a case of the past than of the present and the future. There was no doubt about the boss-man or the existence of this type of character, as well as some from the group having experienced how they operated. Adela explained:

> I think that the boss-man is a person who have a lot to say about what other Polish people will do or not do in a collective or the environment they are in. This is because he or she came earlier (to Norway) and knows a thing or two, and this is how he or she wants to keep others (Polish people) in a state of unawareness. When this is accomplished, he or she has a lot of decisive power over the others in the group.

Adela brought up an earlier point that Bartek made about keeping some people *in the dark*, the boss-man did this too, but wanted to influence everything, not only language learning. All the elements for OGCP to occur are facilitated in Adela's description of the boss-man. In particular, the exercise of control and influence on others within a closed group, much in line with cases from previous research (Contrada et al. 2000, 2001, Van Kerckem et al. 2014). The individual choice aspect was brought back into the discussion, and most argued that Polish

[53] The boss-man concept is described in the theoretical background section (p.22), and the focus groups discussion regarding the boss-man is described in the qualitative results section (p.74).

people did not accept having anyone dictating their lives and what they had to do. Questioning the boss-man's motives and breaking free from his or her influence would be the natural thing to do for the participants in the group, but they agreed that there could also be feelings of belonging and security, when living (and working) with these types of characters. Renia's statement summed up the group's feelings about these types of situations and how their mentality worked in these cases:

> No, we do not like to live in the dark, not knowing things. It is our Polish nature to dig into everything, so that we understand and know with hundred percent certainty what is going on around us.

The freedom to make your own choices stood out as something particularly important for the individuals in the focus group, but they acknowledged there being exceptions where some Polish people wanted to take advantage of others, for their own benefit. Adela also brought up another point related to this discussion, that Polish people needed *a reason* for doing something, if the reason did not make sense, they found another solution.

The younger, later generation of Polish transnationals coming to Norway, both speak English much better than their older peers and uses the internet and social media to a large extent. They consider as much information as possible about what life for Polish transnationals can be in Norway before they arrive. Nadia explained:

> The problem with boss-man is a problem that was relevant for us that came to Norway maybe 15 to 20 years ago. Those that came to Norway now were prepared, they read all available information and Facebook had groups where you could ask questions about life in Norway.

With the exception of the boss-man, there was no evidence from the current data supporting OGCP being present among Polish transnationals who have worked and lived in Norway for many years. This does not disprove the possibility of OGCP in other scenarios with groups of Polish transnationals, but it does suggest this form of group conformity pressure being limited to certain specific scenarios. These scenarios most likely involves a boss-man or similar type of character, and happening in collectives with Polish migrant-workers living together. The typical Polish person who would probably be most susceptible are those fitting the description in Friberg & Eldring (2011), and this would be in line with personal observations for more

than 5 years, as well as supported by the focus groups' testimonies. However, the strong emphasis on Polish individuality and non-submissive behavior, together with other arguments presented by the focus group, shows that OGCP does not seem to be present among Polish transnationals the same way as it appeared in some of the other immigrant communities (Van Kerckem et at. 2014). The case described in this study is very specific with regard to the four defining elements: boss-man, the targeted group of Polish migrant-workers, their situation, and location. OGCP in the immigrant context is well known and documented previously (Contrada et al. 2000, 2001, Van Kerckem et al. 2014), but to what degree and what influence it might have on language-related issues, such as language learning, is currently unresolved.

The boss-man concept confirms the hypothesis to a degree, but only within a confined setting, dependent on the given variables described above. Adela from the focus group, touched on the language aspect in her explanation of the boss-man, but it remained the only mention of language in this context, leaving the hypothesis partially unsubstantiated. The impact on identity is similarly difficult to assess. Apart from the accounts given by some of the focus group participants, there is no definite data on Polish transnationals being exposed to OGCP. It does, however, not necessarily mean OGCP to be non-existent in the Polish communities in Norway.

Despite the lack of confirmation on OGCP having any decisive impact on language attitudes or language learning, there is reason to believe that any boss-man would apply some manner of control within the group he or she has targeted, to limit others understanding or acting upon useful information otherwise attainable with knowledge of Norwegian language.

6.4 Research question 4

Levels of language anxiety experienced when speaking Norwegian with Norwegian-speakers in five different situations considered to be potentially anxiety-provoking, was quantified using a 5-point scale indicating a range from *not at all* and four levels of anxiety, with extreme anxiety as the highest rating. Analysis of the results from this question together with other relevant data from the distributed questionnaire answers, revealed a connection between language anxiety and Norwegian language proficiency, frequency of language use, as well as offered and attended Norwegian language courses. The quantitative data also supported and correlated well with the focus groups' narratives and their experiences related to language anxiety.

Garcia de Blakeley et al.'s (2015) study, investigating second language anxiety in adult L2 immigrants have similarities in certain areas of questioning that were useful for comparison. The 5-item scale asking about levels of anxiety in five different situations, adapted from Dewaele & Pavlenko's (2003) Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ), was used as basis in both Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015) and the current study, but slightly modified for the latter, replacing situations *(a) with friends* and *(b) with strangers*, to *outside of work (shopping etc.)* and *with public officials (passport control, UDI, police station, etc.)*. Three of the situations are identical, one is arguably close enough to be considered the same, and one is different. From the quantitative data in the current study, we can see that in all five situations 50% or more (excluding *no data*) answered they felt some (from *a little* to *extreme*) degree of anxiety when speaking Norwegian. This is consistent with previous findings in Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015), noting that "over half their sample reported at least moderate anxiety in L2 contexts".

The same was true for the current study when speaking English in the same situations, with one exception, *when speaking English outside of work,* leaving 45.9% that felt some degree of anxiety. Most notably, there was a strong connection between those informants who were offered Norwegian language courses, attended the courses, and their consequently higher frequency of Norwegian language use and higher self-rated language proficiency (SRP) in Norwegian. Additionally, there is a strong indication that these variables are connected, since the same informants felt the lowest levels of anxiety when speaking Norwegian. These findings also corresponds well with the overall findings in Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015), "Immigrants who perceived themselves as less competent to communicate in English clearly

experienced more anxiety when doing so". The same can be said to be true for those with higher levels of anxiety, but in the opposite direction. In particular, the informants that were offered Norwegian language courses, but declined to participate in them, did not use Norwegian at all or only rarely, and rated their SRP as *none* or very limited. However, all of them rated Norwegian language as needed *to a large extent* or *absolutely*. While being a smaller part of the sample than the informants with lower levels of anxiety when speaking Norwegian, there is reason to suggest a traceable connection all the way back to the informants' earliest time in Norway, when their employers offered them to participate in Norwegian language courses. Based on their indications that Norwegian was a language strongly needed, the choice of declining the language courses would have been somewhat puzzling, unless, their plans did not include a prolonged stay in Norway. Many of those who eventually decided to stay in Norway did not get the opportunity to participate in the language courses they were initially offered when first arriving, as happened with Adela's husband:

> Fifteen years back, he was offered a Norwegian course, but my husband declined because he did not know how long he would stay in Norway. He never got the same offer after that one time.

The first matter in the focus group concerning situations resulting in anxiety or stress, was pointed out by Nadia and Izabela, "You are sure that you will be misunderstood". Nadia continued by describing a potentially stressful situation involving a car accident and the following conversation one could end up having with the insurance company:

> They start to talk to you in Norwegian, and I get stressed because I am scared of misunderstanding what they are asking me about. Then I will say something wrong, and they will compare what I wrote in the insurance documents with what I am telling (on the phone), and they will conclude that I am a "weirdo". That is why, in situations like this when I feel unsecure, I always ask for an e-mail contact (person), and I will answer with an e-mail.

Nadia felt unsecure and thought of herself as a "weirdo". This prompted her to device an alternative solution when dealing with these type of situations, which can be closely associated with talking to public officials. Renia acknowledged Nadia's narrative by telling that she too dealt with these kind of situations in the same way. Both Nadia and Renia felt that potentially

being misunderstood was stressful enough to avoid these type of confrontations, but they had both kept on learning Norwegian afterwards. Sevinç & Backus (2017:720) suggested that the key phenomenon behind stagnation of ML development is avoidance, and this ties in with the vicious circle relation proposed in Li (1994) (cited in Sevinç & Backus 2017). Avoidance, is a viable strategy to elude situations that can provoke anxiety and stress, not only among Polish transnationals, but also in a wider context including Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands (Sevinç & Dewaele 2016, Sevinç & Backus 2017), and possibly with immigrants of other nationalities in other places, as well.

Adela gave a situational account where being in a phone conversation was a strongly contributing factor for stress:

> (…) in the beginning I was terrified to work with a phone and talk with unfamiliar people. The reason for this is that on the phone it is more difficult to hear correctly, compared to a face-to-face conversation. (…) it was a terrifying moment for me when I had to write down the surname in the system, just by hearing it on the phone.

Adela explained, that as non-native speakers of Norwegian it took longer time to process the information, first hearing it in Norwegian, thinking about it in Polish, and then answering in Norwegian again. Because of this lag in response from her side, she felt that the person on the other end of the line would get impatient, and that in turn became stressful for her. Adela added, that not being able to read another person's body language could be significant when communicating in situations as the one she described. Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015:769) also mentions how it can be challenging for bilinguals to speak on the phone, "due to having to produce spontaneous unprepared speech and the absence of nonverbal cues to compensate for potential limitation in L2 comprehension".

The use of "terrified" and "terrifying" to describe how Adela felt when speaking Norwegian on the phone at work, are not difficult to associate with strong feelings of anxiety and stress. Both Izabela and Renia added to this perception with more phone-related incidents and feelings of stress and tension when communicating in Norwegian on the phone.

These accounts corresponds strongly with the results from the quantitative data, and speaking Norwegian on the phone was considered to be the singular situation that caused the strongest feelings of anxiety among the participants. This is, however, slightly in contrast to the findings of Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015). Their findings indicated that for Latin

Americans in Australia, speaking English[54] (the L2 in their study) in public was the most anxiety provoking, while speaking English on the phone was the second most anxiety provoking situation. The most, and second most anxiety provoking situations are nevertheless the same in both studies, but in reverse order with regard to the Polish transnational participants. Among the distributed questionnaire participants, talking Norwegian on the phone made 10 of them more anxious than in any other situation. Additionally, 10 others had talking Norwegian on the phone rated as the most anxiety provoking situation together with one or more of the other items.

The results from the quantitative data also revealed a clear, gradual increase in overall levels of anxiety combined with lower levels of proficiency when speaking Norwegian, among most of the informants. Four out of 9 informants that stated not speaking Norwegian and never using Norwegian, also answered speaking Norwegian did not make them anxious at all. Lack of proficiency in Norwegian could in this case be considered non-affective since no discernable communication actually occurs. Proficiency in English, was on the other hand rated by 3 of them to be from *poor* to *good*, accompanied with varying degrees of anxiety when speaking English. The results are open for interpretation, yet they suggest that those who answered with regard to English proficiency and accompanying anxiety, did not misunderstand the question.

The informants with higher proficiency in Norwegian who were not offered language courses when arriving in Norway, nevertheless also experienced the least levels of anxiety. Those with *fair* proficiency in speaking Norwegian had a higher number of informants who were *quite* or *extremely* anxious, than those with higher proficiency, but still retained many only being *a little* or *not at all* anxious. In turn, the informants who stated having *poor* proficiency together with 4 who had *none* when speaking Norwegian, also registered the highest levels of anxiety with most cases being to a *very* or *extreme* degree.

Furthermore, it is of note that no matter their proficiency or anxiety levels, all (n = 33) but 2 informants felt that Norwegian was needed *to a large extent* or *absolutely*. The fact that Norwegian language was so strongly felt to be needed, can possibly even surpass experiencing high levels of anxiety while still learning the language, and drive the instrumental motivation to continue learning Norwegian, as was the case with Nadia, Adela, Izabela, and Renia from the focus group. Their stressful experiences when speaking Norwegian in several incidents did not discourage them from continuing to learn.

[54] English is the ML in Australia, and comparable to Norwegian being the ML in the current study.

An added aspect that makes it harder for Polish transnationals to understand and respond correctly, is when someone speaks Norwegian to them in certain dialects. According to the focus group participants, this could also be stressful, in particular when someone used a dialect that was difficult to understand on the phone.

Although the aims and results in the current study are different to that in Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015), some of the findings are comparable and shows similar patterns of anxiety, particularly when speaking the ML in public and on the phone. Apart from experiencing anxiety, some of the focus group participants tried to avoid anxiety-provoking situations. Sevinç & Backus' (2017) 'key phenomenon' of avoidance is clearly a strategy applied independently across immigrant communities, and is a feature for Polish transnationals in many different situations as well, not necessarily limited to those accounted for in anxiety provoking contexts.

As most of the focus group participants attested to, the strong belief that Norwegian language is needed can be an aspect overriding experiences of stress and anxiety when speaking Norwegian.

There are undoubtedly cases where anxiety can be too overwhelming and have a detrimental effect on language learning and negatively impact their identities, leaving them to feel less empowered and not included into Norwegian society. Some of the quantitative results could be indicative of this, but remains uncertain with the current data available. In the case of Polish transnationals, there is reason to believe that those who are motivated enough will work past their anxieties, stay invested in their language learning, and continue learning as long as they feel it is necessary for achieving their imagined goals.

7 Conclusion

Supported by the results from this study, there is reason to believe that a high number of Polish transnationals attending Norwegian language courses at an initial stage of their emigration to Norway, will learn the language with higher proficiency than those who decline or chose not to participate in language courses. Additionally, there is a strong link between those who attended courses and their subsequently higher self-rated proficiency in Norwegian, higher frequency of Norwegian language use, and lower levels of anxiety when speaking the ML. Similarly, among those with self-rated proficiency being poor or none, anxiety levels were higher. These results are in line with findings from earlier research by Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015). Chand's (2009) (cited in Johansson & Śliwa 2016:298) statement about how language can facilitate the successful integration of migrants and transform "relations of social power and equality", in the hope of limiting (or eliminating) social differentiation, was perceived by the four women in the focus group as a reason motivating them to continue learning Norwegian, despite their experiences with stressful and anxious situations. This suggests that situational anxiety does not necessarily stop language acquisition, in particular, when the motivation for learning overrides the negative emotions experienced when speaking the ML.

On the other hand, avoidance can hamper learning the ML, as pointed out by Sevinç & Backus (2017). Avoidance is a strategy commonly used when stressful or anxiety-provoking situations can occur. This applied to Polish transnationals as well. Some situations were resolved by hiring translators, using friends or their own children as translators, when they perceived their own level of proficiency in Norwegian not to be adequate. This type of avoidance can be a key phenomenon behind stagnation of ML development (Sevinç & Backus 2017).

From a motivational point of view, most Polish transnationals learn Norwegian for utilitarian reasons, due to the perceived impression that Norwegian language proficiency leads to acquisition of material gains. All other possible gains from learning to speak Norwegian, such as integration, socialization, acquiring new friends, and easier communication with public officials, were for the most part considered secondary or not important.

Polish transnationals have strong feelings of individuality and a need to experience investment into language learning, motivation, and all belonging aspects concerning language

acquisition, for themselves, regardless of their peers' experiences and achievements. In all probability, their strong individuality can have an effect on language learning, but it is difficult both to quantify and define what areas are affected with the current data available.

With the exception of instances with boss-man types, there was no evidence supporting OGCP being present among Polish transnationals, at least not concerning language-related matters. This is not to say that OGCP does not exist in the Polish transnational communities in Norway.

Why some Polish transnationals learn Norwegian while others do not, is largely a question of how they perceive investments in language learning can strengthen their own situation with regard to working and living in Norway. However, their investment in learning Norwegian is in many, if not most cases, deficient, as there are no clear definitions of the proficiency levels in Norwegian necessary to achieve their individually imagined goals. Despite the lack of clear definitions regarding needed levels of proficiency in Norwegian, their individual goals are, for the most part, much more evident. Empowered, stronger identities from which to speak, as a result of advancing their positions by acquiring symbolic and in particular, material resources, leading to increases in their cultural capital and social power (Norton 2019:302), are in case what drives most Polish transnationals to learn Norwegian.

The findings have, by virtue of the results, highlighted which aspects to be most promising for further studies, in the hope of understanding the dynamics of language learning and how it can be affected, both in the Polish transnational context, and in the larger immigrant context as well.

More in-depth studies exploring the opportunities and motivations for Polish transnationals to learn Norwegian, is arguably the most prominent aspects. Adapting and expanding on these to facilitate better possibilities to learn the language, as there is a continued shift in immigration patterns towards more family reunions and permanent or long time settlement in Norway.

This study contributes to better understand what aspects dictate language learning choices in the immigrant context, in particular, among Polish transnationals, a group receiving some attention in the media and among policy makers, as this is a topic of current concern.

8 Limitations and future research

8.1 Limitations

Most limitations pertaining to this study were as a result of the Covid-19 restrictions implemented on March 12th 2020, lasting the year out and continuing well into 2021. The Covid-19 restrictions resulted in limited access to construction sites and cleaning agencies during this period. These places were targeted for distribution of the prepared questionnaire. On many occasions the request to distribute the questionnaire among Polish workers at construction sites was denied due to the strict regulations imposed on site, in particular, at larger sites in Oslo and Bærum. The sites where distribution of the questionnaire was accepted, did however, not allow me access inside the work area. Thus, it became impossible to help with answering the questionnaire in any capacity, resulting in several informants misunderstanding the manner in which to answer some of the closed questions. Future research conducted with similar methods could be well served having a Polish-speaking representative along, helping with answering questions asked with regard to the questionnaire.

A large number of Polish transnationals traveled home to Poland during the Christmas holiday of 2020, even among those who lived in Norway with prolonged residencies or indefinitely. Most of them returned to Norway in the beginning of January 2021, and were subsequently quarantined for at least two weeks, resulting in close to a month of time when distributing and colleting questionnaires almost came to a halt.

The restrictions also made it near impossible to gather any number of people to participate in focus group interviews. Several attempts were made to arrange focus group interviews in the Oslo area, but all requests were denied or proved to be impossible to carry out, due to the restrictions regarding assembling people in groups of any size.

Although the focus group interview produced a large amount of useful data, not being a Polish-speaker myself, limited the possibility to allow for relevant follow-up questions in many instances. The Covid-19 situation made it impossible to have an independent Polish translator present at the focus group interview, but thanks to one of the participants being fluent in both Polish and Norwegian, a summary of the groups' answers was provided after every question. However, when analyzing the transcription at a later point, it became evident that a summary can only convey a limited amount of what was told, and thus make it difficult

to construct follow-up questions with regard to what had already been answered.

8.2 Future research

This is a small scale study including different aspects designed to get a better understanding of some of the many elements that Norwegian language learning consists of. For a thorough examination of this subject, further studies are needed along the same lines, both for answering questionnaires, and in particular, more focus group interviews, preferably with participants representing a wider range of Polish transnationals in Norway. Conducting the same type of focus group interviews among other ethnic groups, such as Lithuanians, Russians, or any of the other immigrant communities present in Norway, could also be helpful in determining if the findings are ethnicity-specific or existing similarly across ethnic boundaries as well.

Despite showing that OGCP did not seem to have any impact on language learning in the Polish transnationals context, it should only be considered a starting point regarding the possibility of Ethnicity-Related Stressors (ERS) affecting language learning in the immigrant context.

Future research should focus on the areas that have produced the most significant findings, such as the apparent connection between early opportunities to learn Norwegian, subsequent language use, and Norwegian language proficiency. In addition, a study exploring the motivational aspects for learning Norwegian among Polish and other transnationals, can be useful.

With regard to the study itself, its design incorporated four main areas of focus, not all being closely connected, but to probe different aspects relevant to the question why some Polish transnationals learn Norwegian, while others do not. It is to be considered a starting point, exploring what areas are of most interest and relevance for possible future research.

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Appendices

Appendix A.
A.1 Questionnaire 1 – English Version

LANGUAGE and SOCIOEMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES of POLISH MIGRANTS in NORWAY

Your responses will be treated with absolute confidentiality and will not be passed on the third parties. Your name and surname will be anonymized in all professional presentations and publications and will not be disclosed under any circumstances. Your contact information is being asked in order to reach you for later steps of the research, only if you are willing to participate. Please answer the questions fully and honestly. You may also skip some of the questions or may stop participating if you don't want to answer. Thank you for your time and participation.

Address: Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing), University of Oslo,
P.O. Box 1102 Blindern, N-0317 Oslo, Norway
E-mail: mjlumio@student.iln.uio.no
http://www.hf.uio.no/multiling/english/

1. Please fill in about yourself:

Name-Surname:

E-mail address:

Phone number (optional):

Age	Sex M/F		Country of Birth	Language(s) you speak

Education (highest diploma or current degree: Primary, high school, HBO, university etc.)	Occupation (Please also indicate if you are not working, if you're retired or currently a student)

2. Residency and travel:

2a. Year of first arrival in Norway:	
2b. Length of settlement in Norway:	

2c. If you commute between Norway and Poland, please indicate how long you stay in Poland per year:

a) ☐ Never b) ☐ 1-2 weeks c) ☐ 2-3 weeks c) ☐ 1-2 months e) ☐ More than 2 months

3a. Please indicate if you work:

a) ☐ Full-time b) ☐ Part-time

3b. If you work part-time, please indicate how many months/weeks per year:	

3c. Please indicate your reason(s) for moving/coming to Norway:

a) ☐ Work/business

b) ☐ Education

c) ☐ Family/marriage

d) ☐ Other (please indicate): _____

4. Marital Status: Single ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐ In a relationship ☐

5. (If you have any) About your children:

Children	Age	Country of Birth	Sex		Language(s) they speak	Education (highest diploma or current degree)
			F	M		
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

6. If you have a spouse or children, please indicate where they currently live:

Family member	In Poland	In Norway	In another country, please indicate where:
Spouse/partner			
Children			

7. Do your family have any rules at home regarding language use? Which languages are used/promoted more? Which language do you want (your children) to speak more and better? Why?

8. Please indicate whom you are currently living with (also indicate if you live alone):

9. Please indicate people whom you are mostly spending your time with, their nationalities and the language you mostly speak together:

10. Please indicate what activities or hobbies (e.g. football, skiing, etc.) you do in your spare time and with whom you do these activities with, in Norway:

11. Please indicate what language(s) you speak:

Languages	Work	Home	Outside of home and work (with friends)
Polish			
Norwegian			
English			
Other			
Other			

12. Please indicate your degree of ability in languages you speak by the following numbers:

(1) None (2) Poor (3) Fair (4) Good (5) Excellent

Languages	Understanding	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Polish				
Norwegian				
English				
Other				
Other				

Please answer questions 13a and 13b on the next page if you rated your understanding and speaking skills higher than 2 (as indicated in question 12).

13a. Did you learn Norwegian:

(1) Before coming to Norway	
(2) Shortly after arriving in Norway	
(3) At a later point, after working/residing in Norway for some time (when?)	
(4) Still learning the language	

13b. Please indicate how you have learned or you are learning Norwegian (course, school, self-learning, etc.):

14. Please indicate how frequently you use languages per day:

(1) Never (2) Rarely (3) Sometimes (4) Frequently (5) All the time

Polish	Norwegian	English	Other

15. Please indicate to what extent the statements below correspond to your own perceptions:

(0) No opinion (1) Not at all (2) Somewhat (3) More or less (4) To a large extent (5) Absolutely

Languages	needed	unimportant	difficult	easy
Polish				
Norwegian				
English				
Other				
Other				

16. If you socialize with Norwegian-speaking or English-speaking people please indicate by (x) whether/how anxious you are when speaking the languages with different people in different situations? Please choose "Not applicable" if the statements don't apply to you (e.g. if you don't live with any family members etc.):

NORWEGIAN	Not applicable	Not at all	A little	Quite anxious	Very anxious	Extremely anxious
When Speaking Norwegian at work						
When Speaking Norwegian outside of work (shopping etc.)						
When Speaking Norwegian with Norwegians in public						
When Speaking Norwegian on the phone						
When Speaking Norwegian with public officials (passport control, UDI, police station, etc.)						
ENGLISH	Not applicable	Not at all	A little	Quite anxious	Very anxious	Extremely anxious
When Speaking English at work						
When Speaking English outside of work (shopping etc.)						
When Speaking English in public						
When Speaking English on the phone						
When Speaking English with public officials (passport control, UDI, police station, etc.)						

17. Please describe Norwegian people's attitudes towards Polish migrant workers/Polish people in Norway, both at work and otherwise (Do they treat you as one of them or differently?):

18. Please indicate if you have been offered to take, or have taken any courses to learn Norwegian and by whom (staffing agency, contractor, other):

19. Please indicate your feelings about your own language skills when speaking languages you know. Please use the scale (from 1 to 5) given below:

(1) Not at all (2) A little (3) Quite (4) Very (5) Extremely

Languages	Stress/ Anxiety	Shame	Regret	Satisfied	Joy	Pride	Guilt	Hate	Other (e.g. I feel fine, I don't mind, etc.)
Polish									
Norwegian									
English									
Other									

19. To what extent do you think Speaking Norwegian could be helpful in making your life better?

20. Is there any pressure for you to speak Norwegian better/well or perfectly?

Would you be interested in attending follow-up research to be done on this topic?

Thank you very much for your participation, for your time and effort!
You can e-mail me (mjlumio@student.iln.uio.no) if you have further questions about the research, and results.

Mekki Lumio
10/05/2020, MultiLing
University of Oslo

Appendix A.
A.2 Questionnaire 1 – Polish version
Kwestionariusz — wersja polskojęzyczna

DOŚWIADCZENIA JĘZYKOWE I SPOŁECZNO-EMOCJONALNE IMIGRANTÓW Z POLSKI W NORWEGII

Twoje odpowiedzi zostaną potraktowane całkowicie poufnie — nie przekażemy ich żadnym stronom trzecim. Twoje imię i nazwisko zostaną zanonimizowane we wszelkich specjalistycznych prezentacjach i publikacjach — nie ujawnimy ich pod żadnym pozorem. O dane kontaktowe pytamy z myślą o kontakcie z Tobą na dalszych etapach badania, w których jednak nie masz obowiązku uczestniczyć. Proszę o szczere i kompletne odpowiedzi. Możesz jednak pominąć niektóre pytania lub przerwać swój udział w badaniu, gdyby się okazało, że nie chcesz udzielać odpowiedzi. Dziękujemy, że zechciałeś/-łaś poświęcić swój czas i wziąć udział w badaniu.

Adres: Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing) — Centrum Badań nad Rozwojem Wielojęzyczności w Społeczeństwie na Przestrzeni Życia — Uniwersytetu w Oslo,
skr. poczt. 1102 Blindern, N-0317 Oslo, Norwegia
Adres e-mail: mjlumio@student.iln.uio.no
http://www.hf.uio.no/multiling/english/

1. Opowiedz nam o sobie:

Imię i nazwisko:

Adres e-mail:

Numer telefonu (opcjonalnie):

Wiek	Płeć: M/K		Kraj urodzenia	Języki, jakimi się posługujesz

Wykształcenie (dyplom najwyższego ukończonego stopnia edukacji bądź stopień obecnie realizowany: szkoła podstawowa, szkoła ponadpodstawowa, wyższe wykształcenie zawodowe, uniwersytet itp.)	Zawód (albo informacja o tym, że nie pracujesz, jesteś na emeryturze bądź studiujesz)

2. Zamieszkanie i podróże:

2a. Rok pierwszego przyjazdu do Norwegii:	
2b. Czas trwania pobytu w Norwegii:	

2c. Jeśli przemieszczasz się między Norwegią a Polską, to ile czasu rocznie spędzasz w Polsce?

a) ☐ nie przemieszczam się b) ☐ 1–2 tygodnie c) ☐ 2–3 tygodnie

d) ☐ 1 miesiąc–2 miesiące e) ☐ więcej niż 2 miesiące

3a. Jeśli pracujesz, to w jakim wymiarze?

a) ☐ na pełny etat b) ☐ na niepełny etat

3b. Jeśli pracujesz na niepełny etat, to przez ile tygodni / miesięcy w roku wykonujesz tę pracę?	

3c. Z jakiego powodu / jakich powodów przenosisz / przeniosłeś/-łaś się do Norwegii?

a) ☐ praca / biznes

b) ☐ edukacja

c) ☐ rodzina / małżeństwo

d) ☐ inne (podaj): _____

4. Stan cywilny:

panna / kawaler ☐ mężatka / żonaty ☐ po rozwodzie ☐ w związku partnerskim / narzeczeńskim ☐

5. Twoje dzieci (o ile dotyczy):

Ile	Wiek	Kraj urodzenia	Płeć		Języki, jakimi się posługują	Wykształcenie
			K	M		(dyplom najwyższego ukończonego stopnia edukacji bądź stopień obecnie realizowany)
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

6. Gdzie mieszkają (o ile dotyczy) Twoje dzieci i Twój małżonek / Twoja małżonka?

Członek rodziny	W Polsce	W Norwegii	W innym kraju (podaj):
Małżonek lub małżonka / Partner(ka)			
Dzieci			

7. Czy w Twojej rodzinie obowiązują jakiekolwiek reguły co do języków, jakimi posługujecie się w domu? Których języków używacie — albo do używania których nakłaniacie — w szczególności? Którym językiem chciał(a)byś posługiwać się więcej i lepiej, albo o których językach możesz to powiedzieć w odniesieniu do swoich dzieci? Dlaczego?

8. Z kim obecnie mieszkasz — albo określ, że mieszkasz sam(a):

9. Wskaż osoby, z którymi spędzasz najwięcej czasu, ich narodowości, a także język, którym się na ogół porozumiewacie:

10. Wskaż aktywności / hobby (np. piłka nożna, jazda na nartach itp.), jakim się oddajesz w swoim wolnym czasie w Norwegii, oraz to, z kim to robisz:

11. Wskaż, którymi językami się posługujesz:

Języki	Praca	Dom	Poza domem i pracą (ze znajomymi)
Język polski			
Język norweski			
Język angielski			
Inny język			
Inny język			

12. Określ swoją znajomość poszczególnych języków według następującej skali:

(1) brak (2) słaba (3) umiarkowana (4) dobra (5) świetna

Języki	Zrozumienie	Mówienie	Czytanie	Pisanie
Język polski				
Język norweski				
Język angielski				
Inny język				
Inny język				

Na pytania 13a i 13b na kolejnej stronie odpowiedz, jeśli Twoja odpowiedź na pytanie o rozumienie języków i posługiwanie się nimi były wyższa niż „2" (według skali z pytania 12).

13a. Kiedy (na)uczyłeś/-łaś się norweskiego?

(1) przed przyjazdem do Norwegii	
(2) niedługo po przyjeździe do Norwegii	
(3) na dalszym etapie, dopiero po przeżyciu/przepracowaniu w Norwegii pewnego okresu (podaj, kiedy)	
(4) wciąż się go uczę	

13b. W jaki sposób uczysz się bądź uczyłeś/-łaś się norweskiego (kurs, szkoła, samouctwo itp.)?

14. Wskaż, jak często posługujesz się poszczególnymi językami w ciągu dnia:

(1) nigdy (2) rzadko (3) od czasu do czasu (4) często (5) cały czas

Język polski	Język norweski	Język angielski	Inny język

15. Wskaż, na ile poniższe określenia odzwierciedlają Twoje odczucia na temat poszczególnych języków:

(0) nie mam zdania (1) wcale (2) trochę (3) mniej więcej (4) w dużej mierze (5) w zupełności

Języki	potrzebny	nieistotny	trudny	łatwy
Język polski				
Język norweski				
Język angielski				
Inny język				
Inny język				

16. Jeśli spędzasz czas z osobami, które mówią po norwesku bądź po angielsku, zakreśl krzyżykiem w poszczególnych rubrykach tę odpowiedź, która najlepiej odzwierciedla ewentualną niepewność, jaka Ci się udziela, gdy rozmawiasz w tych językach z różnymi ludźmi w różnych sytuacjach. Zaznaczaj odpowiedź „nie dotyczy" przy tych sytuacjach, które Cię nie dotyczą (jeśli np. nie dzielisz mieszkania z żadnym członkiem swojej rodziny itp.):

JĘZYK NORWESKI	nie dotyczy	wcale	trochę niepewnie	dość niepewnie	bardzo niepewnie	skrajnie niepewnie
Rozmowa po norwesku w pracy						
Rozmowa po norwesku poza pracą (zakupy itp.)						
Rozmowa po norwesku z Norwegami w miejscach publicznych						
Rozmowa po norwesku przez telefon						
Rozmowa po norwesku z urzędnikami (kontrola paszportowa, UDI, komisariat itp.)						
JĘZYK ANGIELSKI	nie dotyczy	wcale	trochę niepewnie	dość niepewnie	bardzo niepewnie	skrajnie niepewnie
Rozmowa po angielsku w pracy						
Rozmowa po angielsku poza pracą (zakupy itp.)						
Rozmowa po angielsku w miejscach publicznych						
Rozmowa po angielsku przez telefon						
Rozmowa po angielsku z urzędnikami (kontrola paszportowa, UDI, komisariat itp.)						

17. Jak odbierasz nastawienie Norwegów do pracujących imigrantów z Polski / Polaków przebywających w Norwegii — w pracy oraz w innych okolicznościach? Czy jesteś traktowany/-na jak jeden/jedna z nich, czy odmiennie?

18. Czy oferowano Ci podjęcie — albo podejmowałeś/-łaś — jakiekolwiek kursy języka norweskiego? Jeśli tak, to kto Ci to proponował (agencja zatrudnienia, kontrahent, kto inny — podaj)?

19. Co odczuwasz na temat własnych zdolności językowych, gdy posługujesz się poszczególnymi językami? Odpowiadaj według następującej skali (1–5):

(1) wcale (2) trochę (3) dość (4) bardzo (5) skrajnie

Języki	Stres / Niepewność	Wstyd	Żal	Satysfakcja	Radość	Duma	Wina	Niechęć	Inne (np. „W porządku”, „Nie robi mi to różnicy” itp.)
Język polski									
Język norweski									
Język angielski									
Inny język									

20. W jakim stopniu, według Ciebie, (lepsza) znajomość języka norweskiego przyczyniłaby się do podniesienia jakości Twojego życia?

21. Czy odczuwasz jakąkolwiek presję na to, byś mówił(a) po norwesku lepiej / dobrze bądź perfekcyjnie?

Czy będziesz zainteresowany/-na udziałem w badaniu weryfikacyjnym / kontrolnym poświęconym tym zagadnieniom?

Serdecznie dziękujemy za udział — za poświęcony czas i włożony wysiłek!
W razie jakichkolwiek pytań — także o wyniki — możesz skontaktować się ze mną pocztą elektroniczną, pisząc pod następujący adres: mjlumio@student.iln.uio.no

Mekki Lumio
10/05/2020, MultiLing
Uniwersytet w Oslo

Appendix B.
B.1 Questionnaire 2 – English version

LANGUAGE and SOCIOEMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES of POLISH MIGRANTS in NORWAY

Your responses will be treated with absolute confidentiality and will not be passed on the third parties. Your name and surname will be anonymized in all professional presentations and publications and will not be disclosed under any circumstances. Your contact information is being asked in order to reach you for later steps of the research, only if you are willing to participate. Please answer the questions fully and honestly. You may also skip some of the questions or may stop participating if you don't want to answer. Thank you for your time and participation.

Address: Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing), University of Oslo,
P.O. Box 1102 Blindern, N-0317 Oslo, Norway
E-mail: mjlumio@student.iln.uio.no
http://www.hf.uio.no/multiling/english/

1. Please fill in about yourself:

Name-Surname:

E-mail address:

Phone number (optional):

Age	Sex M/F		Country of Birth	Language(s) you speak

2. Please indicate what type of company you run/work in?

3. In your time as an employer, please indicate how many Polish workers have you employed?
Please indicate by marking one box**:**
a) ☐ 1-5 b) ☐ 6-10 c) ☐ 11-20 d) ☐ 20+

4. When employing Polish workers, please indicate if it is a:
a) ☐ random choice b) ☐ deliberate choice

5. Please indicate how important you consider speaking and understanding Norwegian is at your workplace:
a) ☐ Important b) ☐ Not important

6. Please indicate in numbers, how many of your Polish employees speaks and understands (apart from Polish):

Only Norwegian	
Only English	
Norwegian and English	

7. Please indicate how communicating with Polish workers (at work) who do not speak Norwegian or English at more than very basic levels has been (e.g. one word utterances: yes, no, hello, etc.)
You may tick all boxes that apply**:**
a) ☐ Difficult b) ☐ Acceptable c) ☐ Easy d) ☐ I have someone who translates

8. Please indicate the most common problems you have observed at work, as a result of the language barrier:

9. Please indicate how often you observe Polish workers socializing with non-Polish speaking workers:

a) ☐ Never b) ☐ Seldom c) ☐ Sometimes d) ☐ Regularly e) ☐ All the time

10. Please indicate if you as an employer have offered any Norwegian language learning courses for your Polish non-Norwegian speaking employees:

a) ☐ Never b) ☐ Sometimes c) ☐ Always d) ☐ It has been considered

11. What reasons do you think Polish workers have for not learning Norwegian?

Would you be interested in attending follow-up research to be done on this topic?

Thank you very much for your participation, for your time and effort!

You can e-mail me (mjlumio@student.iln.uio.no) if you have further questions about the research, and results.

Mekki Lumio
15/11/2020, MultiLing
University of Oslo

Appendix C.
C.1 Consent form – English version

Would you like to participate in a master's research project, «Language and Socioemotional experiences of Polish migrants in Norway»?

This is a request for you to participate in a research project about emotions, multilingualism and immigration. This information sheet outlines the aims of the project and describes what participation entails for you.

Purpose
The questionnaire is part of Mekki Jani Artturi Lumio's MA thesis about language learning, working abroad and emotions: "**Language and Socioemotional experiences of Polish migrants in Norway**". It is part of a larger research project entitled "***The Embodiment of Emotions in Transnational Migration: Between Heart, Mind, Body and Soul***" carried out by Postdoctoral Researcher, Yeşim Sevinç, at the Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing) at the University of Oslo. The aim of the project is to examine emotions in transnational migration across different immigrant communities by a cross-country comparison.

Who is in charge of the research project?
Yeşim Sevinç, a postdoctoral researcher at the Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan at the University of Oslo, is in charge of the project. MA student, Mekki Jani Artturi Lumio, takes part in the project, conducting research on Polish immigrant community in Norway.

Why am I being asked to participate?
You have been asked to participate in this project because you are from Poland and have migrated to Norway (for the purpose of work, education, etc.)

What does participation involve?
If you choose to participate in the project, you will be asked to fill out a questionnaire that includes questions about your background, ethnic origin, language use, your immigrant experiences, and emotions. Afterwards, you may also be asked to participate in an interview.

Participation is completely voluntary
Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may choose to discontinue participation at any time, without providing a reason or further explanation. When you want to opt out, any data you have provided thus far will be destroyed, any data you have provided thus far will be destroyed.

Your privacy– How will your personal information will be treated and used?
We will only use the information collected about you for the purposes outlined in this information sheet. We will treat the information with utmost confidentiality and according to the privacy and data protection regulations. All questionnaires, audio files and video recordings will only be accessed by the project leader Yeşim Sevinç, and myself Mekki Jani Artturi Lumio.

Contact

Project leader: Yeşim Sevinç, Postdoctoral Fellow
The Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan
Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies, University of Oslo
Tel: +47 967 55 989
Email: yesim.sevinc@iln.uio.no

MA thesis student: Mekki Jani Artturi Lumio
Tel: +47 920 63 058
Email: mjlumio@student.iln.uio.no

Informant Number:

Name-Surname:

Statement of Consent for participation in project

I have read the participation request for the research project: "**Language and Socioemotional experiences of Polish migrants in Norway**" and understand the information given there and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I consent:

- ☐ to participate in a survey
- ☐ to participate in an interview
- ☐ to have my voice recorded (audio)

By consenting, I agree that during an interview, the use of the audio recordings of me may be used for: research and academic outreach. I also agree that the recordings and data can be used anonymously in teaching and in research dissemination, such as conferences, and in the press, radio and television. I also accept that information about me (age, childhood place of residence, education and occupation) can be used for the same purposes.

(Signature) _____

(Date) _____

By providing the contact details below (optional) I also give my consent for the researchers to contact me for any follow-up questions or surveys later.

E-mail: _____

Phone: _____

Appendix C.
C.2 Consent form – Polish version

Czy chcesz wziąć udział w magisterskim projekcie badawczym pt. „Doświadczenia językowe i społeczno-emocjonalne imigrantów z Polski w Norwegii”?

Niniejszym zapraszamy Cię do udziału w projekcie badawczym dotyczącym emocji, wielojęzyczności i imigracji. Na tej karcie zebraliśmy informacje o celach projektu badawczego oraz o tym, z czym wiązałby się Twój ewentualny udział w projekcie.

Cel badania
Kwestionariusz jest częścią pracy magisterskiej Mekki Jani Artturi Lumio poświęconej zagadnieniom nauki języków, pracy za granicą i emocji; praca nosi tytuł „**Doświadczenia językowe i społeczno-emocjonalne imigrantów z Polski w Norwegii**”. Jest to zarazem część szerzej zakrojonego projektu badawczego, zatytułowanego „***Emocje w migracji transnarodowej: pomiędzy sercem, głową, ciałem i duszą***”, a prowadzonego przez Yeşim Sevinç, pracowniczkę naukową na stażu postdoktorskim w Centrum Badań nad Rozwojem Wielojęzyczności w Społeczeństwie na Przestrzeni Życia (Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan — MultiLing) na Uniwersytecie w Oslo. Celem tego projektu jest badanie — porównawcze, względem różnych krajów — emocji związanych z migracją transnarodową w społecznościach imigranckich.

Kto kieruje tym projektem badawczym?
Kierowniczką projektu jest Yeşim Sevinç, pracowniczka naukowa na stażu postdoktorskim w Centrum Badań nad Rozwojem Wielojęzyczności w Społeczeństwie na Przestrzeni Życia na Uniwersytecie w Oslo. Badanie polskiej społeczności imigranckiej w Norwegii przeprowadza uczestnicząca w projekcie studentka studiów magisterskich Mekki Jani Artturi Lumio.

Dlaczego właśnie ja otrzymuję zaproszenie do udziału?
Zapraszamy Cię do udziału w tym projekcie badawczym, ponieważ pochodzisz z Polski i przeniosłeś/-łaś się do Norwegii (w celach zawodowych, edukacyjnych itp.).

Z czym się wiąże udział w badaniu?
Jeśli zdecydujesz się wziąć udział w projekcie badawczym, poprosimy Cię o wypełnienie kwestionariusza zawierającego pytania o Twoje pochodzenie, przynależność etniczną, praktyki językowe, doświadczenie imigracji oraz emocje. W dalszej kolejności możemy zaproponować Ci udział w wywiadzie.

Udział w badaniu jest całkowicie dobrowolny
Twój udział w badaniu jest całkowicie dobrowolny, i w każdej chwili możesz go przerwać bez podania przyczyny bądź jakichkolwiek dalszych wyjaśnień. Jeśli zrezygnujesz z udziału, wszelkie informacje udzielone przez Ciebie do tego momentu zostaną usunięte.

Prywatność — czyli co się stanie z Twoimi danymi osobowymi
Zebrane informacje na Twój temat wykorzystamy wyłącznie do celów, o których jest mowa na tej karcie. Informacje te potraktujemy z najwyższą poufnością i w sposób zgodny z obowiązującymi rozporządzeniami oraz innymi przepisami w zakresie prywatności i ochrony danych. Dostęp do wypełnionych kwestionariuszy, zapisanych plików audio

i zrealizowanych nagrań wideo będzie przysługiwał tylko kierowniczce projektu Yeşim Sevinç oraz mnie, Mekki Jani Artturi Lumio.

Kontakt
Kierowniczka projektu: Yeşim Sevinç, pracowniczka naukowa na stażu postdoktorskim
Centrum Badań nad Rozwojem Wielojęzyczności w Społeczeństwie na Przestrzeni Życia
Wydział Lingwistyki i Skandynawistyki Uniwersytetu w Oslo
Numer telefonu: +47 967 55 989
Adres e-mail: yesim.sevinc@iln.uio.no
Studentka studiów magisterskich: Mekki Jani Artturi Lumio
Numer telefonu: +47 920 63 058
Adres e-mail: mjlumio@student.iln.uio.no
/ serve@post.com

Numer osoby zgłaszającej:

Imię i nazwisko:

Zgoda na udział w projekcie

Niniejszym oświadczam, iż zapoznałem/-łam się z zaproszeniem do udziału w projekcie badawczym pt. „**Doświadczenia językowe i społeczno-emocjonalne imigrantów z Polski w Norwegii**”, zrozumiałem/-łam treść tego zaproszenia i umożliwiono mi zadanie o nią pytań. Wyrażam zgodę:

☐ na udział w badaniu
☐ na udział w wywiadzie
☐ na rejestrowanie moich wypowiedzi (audio)

Wyrażam tym samym zgodę na to, by zrealizowane w trakcie wywiadu nagrania audio były wykorzystywane do celów badawczych oraz związanych z budowaniem akademickich społeczności i sieci kontaktów. Wyrażam również zgodę na to, by nagrania i dane były wykorzystywane — w postaci zanonimizowanej — w nauczaniu oraz w związku z rozpowszechnianiem wyników badania, w ramach wydarzeń takich jak konferencje bądź w prasie, radiu i telewizji. Ponadto wyrażam zgodę na to, by w tych samych celach wykorzystywane były informacje na temat mojej osoby (wiek, kraj zamieszkania w dzieciństwie, wykształcenie, zawód).

(podpis) _____

(data) _____

Zdaję sobie sprawę, że podanie danych kontaktowych wyżej (opcjonalne) jest jednoznaczne z wyrażeniem zgody na to, by badaczki zwracały się do mnie w późniejszym czasie z ewentualnymi ankietami bądź pytaniami weryfikacyjnymi / kontrolnymi.

Adres e-mail: _____

Numer telefonu: _____

Appendix D.
D.1 Focus group interview tool – Norwegian version

Gruppeintervju spørsmål - Rogaland (20.03.2021)

- Det stilles spørsmål etter velkomst og introduksjon (husk å tilby alle kaffe/kake eller lignende).
- Forklar at spørsmål blir stilt på norsk, og om nødvendig oversatt til polsk av Marta.
- Minn alle deltakerne på at de kan velge å bytte mellom polsk, norsk eller engelsk, avhengig av hvilket språk de synes er lettest å formidle det de vil si.
- Minn alle på at diskusjonen blir spilt inn og at all informasjon forblir anonym. De kan også velge å trekke seg fra prosjektet eller slutte å delta i gruppeintervjuet når som helst.
- Rask runde for å bli kjent med navnene på alle deltakerne (husk å merke hvem som sitter hvor, og hvem som er hvem fra spørreskjemaet).
- Forklar for alle at dette er en åpen diskusjon der målet ikke er å komme frem til konkluderende svar, men å bringe synspunkter og meninger om emnene frem.

DEL 1 – INTRODUKSJON OG FØRSTE SPØRSMÅL

1a. (Stilles individuelt til alle deltagere etter tur, for å få alle med i diskusjonen)
Da du kom til Norge, opplevde du (på noe tidspunkt) et behov for å lære norsk?

1b. (Svar: Ja/Nei)
- Alternativ for «Ja»: Hvorfor følte du at det var et behov for å lære seg norsk?
- Alternativ for «Nei»: Hvorfor tror (mener) du det ikke var noe behov for å lære norsk?
(Svarene kan rettes inn mot om andre polakker har hatt en medvirkende årsak til valg de selv har tatt).

- Heretter stilles alle (planlagte) spørsmål til hele gruppen.

DEL 2 – KOMMUNIKASJON OG BARRIERER

2a. Å lære seg et språk kan være en tidkrevende og vanskelig oppgave. Språk er et kommunikasjonsmiddel.
- Tror dere polakker ser på det å kunne norsk bare har nytte i jobbsammenheng eller at det også kan brukes i andre sammenhenger som sosiale aktiviteter med norsktalende mennesker, som hobbyer, sport, politikk, kunstnerisk, osv.?

2b. Hva er *deres* (gruppens) syn på norsk i denne sammenhengen, har dere en formening om dette?

3. Hvilke *barrierer* tror dere polakker som kommer til Norge opplever mht. å lære seg norsk?

4a. Hvordan løser polakker som ikke snakker norsk (eller engelsk), problemer hvor det er avgjørende å kunne norsk (eller engelsk), for eksempel i sammenheng med saker som har med det offentlige å gjøre; skattekort, NAV, besøk hos lege (helsevesenet) eller lignende?

4b. Har noen av dere erfaringer med dette eller kjenner noen tilfeller hvor noe sånt har skjedd?

DEL 3 – HVORFOR VELGER NOEN POLAKKER Å LÆRE NORSK OG ANDRE IKKE?

5a. Hvilket inntrykk har dere av hvorfor polakker ***ikke*** lærer seg norsk?

5b. På den andre siden, hvilke inntrykk har dere av hva som ***motiverer*** polakker til å lære seg norsk?

- Svar fra (5a) og (5b) kan føre videre til spørsmål (5c)

5c. Tror dere at høy alder har innvirkning på om man velger å lære seg norsk eller ikke?

6. Tror dere det er en sammenheng mellom utdannelse (tidligere jobb i Polen) og valg vedrørende å lære seg norsk?

7a. I spørreundersøkelsen svarte dere på et spørsmål om hvordan dere føler polakker blir behandlet av nordmenn, i Norge.
- Tror dere *hvordan* polakker blir behandlet i Norge har noe å si når det kommer til valg om å lære seg norsk?

7b. Hva mener dere selv?

7c. Hva tror dere andre polakker mener om dette?

DEL 4 – ANGST OG BEKYMRING NÅR MAN SNAKKER NORSK ELLER ENGELSK

8a. I spørreundersøkelsen er det spørsmål om det å snakke norsk og engelsk og hva slags følelser som er tilknyttet ulike situasjoner man bruker språkene i, spesielt er det lagt mye vekt på engstelse (bekymring) eller stress (på jobb, i butikken, med nordmenn, i telefonen, med offentlige tjenestefolk).
- Hva tror dere ligger til grunn for de tilfellene hvor det er mye engstelse (bekymring) eller stress med å snakke norsk eller engelsk?

8b. Hva slags erfaringer har dere selv med å snakke norsk eller engelsk i slike situasjoner?

- Hvis «ja», spør om (8c)

8c. Har erfaringene deres (med «anstrengte» situasjoner) hatt innvirkning på livene deres på noen måte?

- Hvis ikke det kommer et direkte svar på det som spørres i (8c), spør (8d)

8d. Har det gått utover deres velvære (hvordan de har det følelsesmessig) eller har det påvirket hvordan de anser sine egne norskkunnskaper?

DEL 5 – KONFORMITET, SOSIALISERING OG VALG VEDRØRENDE DET Å LÆRE SEG NORSK

9a. Hvor mye tror dere valgene til andre polakker vedrørende det å lære seg norsk (enten eller) har påvirket *deres* egne valg om dette?

9b. (Svar: Ja/Nei fra (**9a**))
Tror dere det samme gjelder andre polakker også?

- Svar fra (9a) og (9b) kan føre videre til spørsmål (10)

10a. Oppfatter dere at polakker lett følger eller gjør det samme som andre polakker, og hva disse (polakkene) velger å gjøre når det kommer til spørsmål om å lære seg norsk eller sosialisering for eksempel?

10b. Tror dere det er en historisk side til denne individualismen?

11a. I følge min undersøkelse virker det som om polakker i stor grad mest omgås andre polakker i fritiden sin, enten arbeidskollegaer eller familie (ofte også alene).
- Tror dere dette stemmer?

- I tilfelle «ja», spør:

11b. Hva tror dere er grunnen til dette?

11c. Kan det dreie seg om praktiske grunner (som å ikke gå ut av komfortsonen sin) eller er det språket som er den største faktoren?

11d. Tror dere dette kan gå utover det å lære seg norsk, og at det kan ha innvirkning på hvordan det er å bo i Norge?

DEL 6 – HVA SKAL TIL FOR AT POLAKKER LÆRER SEG NORSK?

12. Hva skal til for at polakker som kommer til Norge, lærer norsk? (Ikke som i «tvunget til»)

13a. Tror dere flere polakker hadde tatt norskkurs hvis det hadde vært et bedre tilbud (gratis?) eller bedre tilrettelagt?

13b. Hva slags (språkkurs) tilbud synes dere ville vært bra?

14a. Asylsøkere og flyktninger må gjennomføre obligatorisk norskopplæring hvis de ønsker å oppholde seg i Norge.
- Kan en lignende løsning være mulig for polakker som kommer til Norge som migrantarbeidere, for eksempel et «minimumskurs» for å sikre bedre kommunikasjon på arbeidsplasser hvor sikkerhet er viktig?

14b. Er det noe dere skulle ønske var gjort annerledes i Norge, når det kommer til det å lære seg norsk?

DEL 7 – Å BO I NORGE

15a. Er dere fornøyde med å bo i Norge eller føler dere at tilværelsen er mer stressende nå enn da dere bodde i Polen eller et annet land?

15b. Angrer dere på å ha flyttet til Norge?

- Siste spørsmål!

16. Er det noe dere ønsker å legge til eller kommentere helt til slutt?

Husk å takke alle for å ta seg tid til å delta både på spørreundersøkelsen og gruppeintervjuet, spesielt på tross av den vanskelige tiden vi lever i med Covid-19 situasjonen.

Appendix D.
D.2 Focus group interview tool – English version

Focus group interview questions – Rogaland (20.03.2021)

- Questions are asked after welcoming and introduction (remember to offer everyone coffee and cake or something similar).
- Explain that questions are asked in Norwegian, and if necessary translated into Polish by Marta.
- Remind all participants that they can choose to switch between Polish, Norwegian or English, depending on which language they feel is the easiest to convey what they want to say.
- Remind everyone that the discussion is being recorded and that all information remains anonymous. They can also choose to withdraw from the project or stop participating in the group interview at any time.
- Quick round to familiarize with the names of all participants (remember to note who is sitting where, and who is who from the questionnaire).
- Explain to everyone that this is an open discussion where the goal is not to arrive at concluding answers, but to bring forward views and opinions on the topics at hand.

PART 1 – INTRODUCTION AND FIRST QUESTION

1a. (Asked individually to all participants in turn, to get everyone in the discussion) When you
came to Norway, did you (at any point) experience a need to learn Norwegian?

1b. - Alternative for "Yes": Why did you feel that there was a need to learn Norwegian?
- Alternative for "No": Why do you think there is no need to learn Norwegian?
(The answers can be directed to whether other Poles have had a contributing reason for the choices they themselves have made).

From now on, all (planned) questions are asked to the whole group.

PART 2 – COMMUNICATION AND BARRIERS

2a. Learning a language can be a time consuming and difficult task. Language is a means of communication.
- Do you think Polish people see that knowing Norwegian is only useful in a work context or that it can also be used in other contexts as social activities with Norwegian-speaking people, such as hobbies, sports, politics, art, etc.?

2b. What is your (group's) view of Norwegian language in this context, do you have an opinion about this?

3. What barriers do you think Polish people who come to Norway experience with regard to learning Norwegian?

4a. How do Polish people who do not speak Norwegian (or English) solve problems where it is crucial to know Norwegian (or English), for example, in connection with matters that have to do with the public sector: tax cards, NAV, visits to a doctor (health service) or the like.

4b. Har noen av dere erfaringer med dette eller kjenner noen tilfeller hvor noe sånt har skjedd?

PART 3 – WHY DO SOME POLISH (IMMIGRANTS) CHOOSE TO LEARN NORWEGIAN AND OTHERS DO NOT?

5a. What impression do you have of why Polish people do not learn Norwegian?

5b. On the other hand, what impressions do you have of what motivates Polish people to learn Norwegian?

5c. Do you think that old age has an impact on whether you choose to learn Norwegian or not?

6. Do you think there is a connection between education (former job in Poland) and choices regarding learning Norwegian?

7a. In the survey, you answered a question about how you feel Polish people are treated by Norwegians, in Norway. - Do you think how Polish people are treated in Norway has a say when it comes to choosing to learn Norwegian?

7b. What do you think yourself?

7c. Hva tror dere andre polakker mener om dette?

PART 4 – ANXIETY AND WORRY WHEN SPEAKING NORWEGIAN OR ENGLISH

8a. In the survey, there are questions about speaking Norwegian and English and what kind of emotions are associated with different situations in which the languages are used, in particular much emphasis is placed on anxiety (worry) or stress (at work, in the shop, with Norwegians, on the phone, with public servants). - What do you think is the basis for the cases where there is a lot of anxiety (worry) or stress in speaking Norwegian or English?

8b. What kind of experiences do you have with speaking Norwegian or English in such situations?

8c. Have your experiences (with "stressful" situations) had an impact on your lives in any way?

PART 5 – CONFORMITY AND CHOICES REGARDING LEARNING NORWEGIAN

9a. How much do you think the choices of other Polish people regarding learning Norwegian (either or) have influenced your own choices about this?

9b. Do you think the same goes for other Polish people as well?

10a. Do you perceive that Polish people easily follow or do the same as other Polish people, and what do these (Polish people) choose to do when it comes to questions about learning Norwegian or socialization, for example?

10b. Do you think there is a historical side to this individualism?

11a. According to my research, it seems that Polish people mostly hang out with other Polish people in their spare time, either work colleagues or family (often also alone). - Do you think this is true?

PART 6 – WHAT DOES IT TAKE FOR POLISH PEOPLE TO LEARN NORWEGIAN?

12. What does it take for Polish people in Norway to learn Norwegian?

13a. Do you think more Polish people would have taken Norwegian courses if there had been a better offer (free?) or better arrangement?

13b. What kind of (language course) offer would you consider as being good?

14a. Asylum seekers and refugees must complete compulsory Norwegian language training if they wish to stay in Norway. - Can a similar solution be possible for Poles who come to Norway as migrant workers, for example a "minimum course" to ensure better communication in workplaces where safety is important?

14b. Is there anything you wish was done differently in Norway, when it comes to learning Norwegian?

15a. Are you happy to live in Norway or do you feel that life is more stressful now than when you lived in Poland or another country?

15b. Do you regret having moved to Norway?

16. Is there anything you want to add or comment on at the very end?

Remember to thank everyone for taking the time to participate in both the survey and the group interview, especially despite the difficult times we live in with the Covid-19 situation.