

Svein Blom and Kristin Henriksen (eds.)

**Living Conditions Among
Immigrants in Norway
2005/2006**

Rapporter

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Abstract

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The sample consists of people who have lived in Norway for at least two years with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Somalia and Chile.

A little over half of them have been granted residence in Norway as refugees, most of them on humanitarian grounds. Median length of residence in Norway is 12 years, but this figure varies considerably among the national groups, with shortest residence among Iraqis and Somalis, and longest residence among Pakistanis. A little under one in ten are persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. The percentage in the national group is largest among Pakistanis, Vietnamese and Turks. Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents are nearly always treated as a single group in this report.

A majority of the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents help their family in their country of origin financially, but only a small proportion do so on a monthly basis. On average, one in ten own land in their native country, and a slightly higher percentage have a dwelling there. Approximately one in four expect to return to their country of origin, but preferably when they are older. On a scale of one to seven, two thirds express an above-average sense of belonging in Norway.

Since 1996, the quality of housing has improved for the immigrant population. The percentage of immigrants who live in a detached house and who own their home has risen, while the percentage who live in a block of flats and who rent their home has sunk. The degree of overcrowding has gone down. However, immigrant families tend to live in poorer quality houses (with more decay and noise) than the average for the population as a whole.

The percentage of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents who are married or live with their partner is the same as for the population as a whole. A clear majority of couples are married, but not all married immigrants' spouses live in Norway. A higher proportion than in 1996 have parents in Norway, but fewer in all age groups live with their parents. Relatively more immigrants also have other family members living in Norway.

Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from the countries we have selected are more religious than the population as a whole. They are more actively religious, and religion plays a more significant part in their lives. In all, two thirds of the sample were raised as Muslims. Among immigrants from Iran and Chile, many individuals no longer regard themselves as believers.

Among immigrants who came to Norway aged 18 or older, almost two out of ten had not completed any form of education, while one in four stated that they had higher education. One in four subsequently completed an education in Norway. Measured using the highest completed education from abroad or Norway, the educational level is highest among Iranians, Chileans, Iraqis and Bosnians and lowest among Turks and Somalis.

Employment was 57 per cent among immigrants, compared with 75 per cent for the population as a whole. Ergonomic problems in the working environment are more common among immigrants. They also have more repetitive work, but nevertheless do not consider the risk of strain injuries as higher. The perception of work as externally controlled and as mentally taxing is more prevalent among immigrants than in the population as a whole.

Controlled for differences in household size, immigrants' household income after tax is markedly lower than that of the population as a whole. At the top of the income hierarchy are people with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sri Lanka; at the bottom are people with a background from Somalia and Iraq.

Men and women in the sample do slightly more housework per week than the corresponding groups in the population as a whole. It is far less common among immigrant couples for both partners to be in paid work than among couples in the population as a whole. Immigrant parents look after their children themselves to a greater extent than the rest of the population.

On average for all the national groups represented, immigrants do not report that they have been subjected to violence or threats, theft and harm more than the population as a whole do.

A little over two thirds of the immigrants in the survey already have Norwegian citizenship. Including the people that had applied for citizenship at the time of the interview and those who expect to apply, this figure is 94 per cent. Roughly half of the remaining individuals would apply for Norwegian citizenship if they could also keep their original citizenship.

Almost half of the immigrants have experienced discrimination in one or more areas. Immigrants from Somalia and Iran have experienced discrimination most frequently and in most areas. Men have experienced more negative differential treatment than women, probably because they participate in more social arenas.

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Contents

1. Survey of living conditions among immigrants – how and why	Lars Østby	14
1.1. Background		14
1.2. Purpose		15
1.3. Much of our knowledge is based on information in public registers		16
1.4. Sample		16
1.5. The immigrant population has increased sevenfold since 1970		17
1.6. Studies of living conditions serve many purposes		18
1.7. Globalisation means more migration		18
1.8. Immigration means diversity		19
1.9. The impact of changes in the composition of the groups		19
1.10. Have we cleared up all the questions concerning immigration and integration?		19
2. Non-response, generation and length of residence	Svein Blom	21
2.1. Non-response and deviation		21
2.2. Comparison with other surveys		22
2.3. More persons born in Norway to immigrant parents		23
2.4. Longer residence		24
2.5. ...and more senior citizens		26
3. Background from country of origin	Svein Blom	27
3.1. Most immigrants in Norway are refugees		27
3.2. Most immigrants grew up in a city		27
3.3. Many refugees have minority status in their country of origin		29
3.4. Almost two thirds of the immigrants from Serbia and Montenegro speak Albanian		29
3.5. Many women did not have a job in their country of origin		30
3.6. Many of the respondents' parents had not completed primary and lower secondary education		31
3.7. Conclusion		33
4. Ties to country of origin	Svein Blom	34
4.1. Some immigrants own land in their country of origin		34
4.2. Some people also own a home		35
4.3. More than half provide financial assistance		35
4.4. More visits with family in country of origin		36
4.5. More than half of immigrants have satellite television		37
4.6. A quarter hope to return		37
4.7. Two thirds of immigrants have an above-average sense of belonging to Norway		39
4.8. Do weak ties to the country of origin yield strongest sense of belonging to Norway?		39
5. Housing	Svein Blom	40
5.1. Housing type – most immigrants live in a block of flats		40
5.2. Home ownership – increase in the number of home owners		41
5.3. Private landlords and the municipalities are the main lessors		42
5.4. Almost half of immigrants live in cramped conditions		44
5.5. ...but far fewer think their home is too small		44
5.6. Homes are not more draughty, but are in worse condition		44
5.7. More traffic noise in immigrants' homes		46
5.8. Conclusion		47
6. Family in Norway	Svein Blom	48
6.1. Lower percentage of couples living together among immigrants than in the population		48
6.2. Slight drop in the proportion of married people from 1996		49
6.3. One in five married Somalis do not have their spouse with them		51
6.4. One in ten spouses are not immigrants, one in twenty are persons born in Norway to immigrant parents		51
6.5. One in five have daily contact with children outside the household		53
6.6. Half of immigrants' parents are still alive		53
6.7. More immigrants have their parents in Norway since 1996		54
6.8. Fewer immigrants live with their parents		56
6.9. Fewer people live with their siblings		57
6.10. More people also have other relatives in Norway		59
6.11. Conclusion		60

7. Social contact outside the family (friends and neighbours) Svein Blom	61
7.1. Nine out of ten have good friends, but only six out of ten have a close Norwegian friend	61
7.2. Slightly less contact with close friends	62
7.3. Fewer immigrants have a friend they can confide in	63
7.4. Same degree of contact with families in the neighbourhood	64
7.5. Only one in ten have daily contact with their neighbours	65
7.6. Six out of ten workers spend time with their work colleagues in their leisure time	66
7.7. Immigrants are lonelier than the population as a whole	66
8. Religion Kristian Rose Tronstad	68
8.1. Religion and integration	68
8.2. Most Muslims	69
8.3. Tell me where you come from and I'll tell you what you believe	69
8.4. Do the immigrants still belong to the same religion?	70
8.5. How important is religion in your life?	70
8.6. Religiosity in the population as a whole	71
8.7. Religious activity	71
8.8. Religiosity and national country background	71
8.9. How easy is it to practise one's religion?	72
8.10. Religion is more important for immigrants than for others, and most important for Muslims	73
9. Education Kristin Henriksen	74
9.1. Far higher educational level than the registers suggest	74
9.2. Most Iranian women have higher education	74
9.3. One in four have completed an education in Norway	76
9.4. One in four immigrants from Vietnam has no education at all	77
9.5. Men have a higher level of education than women	77
9.6. One in ten descendants have studied abroad	78
9.7. Level of education decisive for prospects	78
10. Work Bjørn Mathisen	79
10.1. Income-generating work	79
10.2. Permanently or temporarily employed	80
10.3. Occupation	81
10.4. Occupation and education	82
10.5. Opportunity to use skills and knowledge in job	83
10.6. Number of hours worked per week	84
10.7. Unemployed any time in the last 12 months	84
10.8. At risk of losing job	85
10.9. Summary	85
11. Working environment Kristin Henriksen	86
11.1. Immigrants are less exposed to poor indoor climate	87
11.2. ...but are more exposed to strain and accidents	87
11.3. Less control of own work	88
11.4. 43 per cent think work is mentally taxing	89
11.5. One in ten is subject to bullying or unpleasant teasing	90
11.6. Increase in perception of work as mentally taxing since 1996	90
11.7. Iranians – well qualified and frustrated?	91
12. Income and expenses Svein Blom	92
12.1. Lower income after tax among immigrants	92
12.2. More immigrants in the low-income group	93
12.3. Immigrants receive social assistance, housing allowance and cash-for-care more often	94
12.4. Immigrants have greater problems with expenses	97
12.5. Little difference in possession of ordinary capital goods	99
12.6. Conclusion	100
13. Unpaid work Bjørn Mathisen	101
13.1. Housework	101
13.2. Helping and supervision of others	102
14. Spouse/cohabitant's work Bjørn Mathisen	104
14.1. Spouse/cohabitant with income-generating work	104
14.2. Employment among married/cohabiting couples	104
14.3. Spouse/cohabitant's employment	105

14.4. Spouse/cohabitant's working hours per week	106
15. Childcare Kristin Henriksen	107
15.1. Fewer in kindergarten and more with cash-for-care	107
15.2. Immigrants leave childcare to others to a lesser degree	107
15.3. Who minds the children if they are cared for by others?	108
15.4. Half of the children have both Norwegian friends and friends with an immigrant background	109
15.5. Other childcare arrangements among immigrants	110
16. Norwegian language skills Kristin Henriksen	111
16.1. Most have done a course on the Norwegian language	111
16.2. ...and Somalis still receive the most hours of instruction	111
16.3. Why have no language courses been offered?	112
16.4. More women than men judge their Norwegian language skills to be poor	112
16.5. ...the Norwegian language skills of many women are insufficient in daily life	114
16.6. Work is important for Norwegian language skills	116
17. Violence and threats Kristin Henriksen	117
17.1. Same level of exposure to violence and threats as the population as a whole	117
17.2. ...and fewer experience theft	118
17.3. Worried despite the low exposure rate	118
17.4. Iranians experience most violence, Vietnamese experience least	119
18. Participation in organisations and media use Kristin Henriksen	121
18.1. Three out of ten immigrants are members of religious associations	121
18.2. Somalis are avid users of media	123
18.3. Norwegian media dominate	124
18.4. Involved, but not necessarily integrated?	125
19. Citizenship Silje Vatne Pettersen	126
19.1. Seven out of ten immigrants are Norwegian citizens	127
19.2. Few immigrants are born with Norwegian citizenship	128
19.3. Dual nationality is relatively common	129
19.4. One in four have applied for Norwegian citizenship	130
19.5. Practical reasons for applying for Norwegian citizenship	130
19.6. Many people think they will apply for Norwegian citizenship	131
19.7. ...because they want full rights and obligations in Norway	131
19.8. Reasons for not wanting Norwegian citizenship	132
19.9. Half of the respondents would apply for Norwegian citizenship if they could keep their original citizenship	132
19.10. Norwegian citizenship very popular	133
20. Experienced discrimination Kristian Rose Tronstad	134
20.1. One in three Somalis experience discrimination in finding a job	135
20.2. Men experience more discrimination in finding a job than women	135
20.3. Persons born in Norway to Pakistani parents experience most discrimination in finding a job	135
20.4. Discriminatory attitudes are the most frequently cited reason for unemployment	136
20.5. The job centre	136
20.6. Persons born in Norway to Vietnamese parents experience little differential treatment at job centres	137
20.7. Immigrants from Iran experience most harassment at work, but the largest increase from 1996 is among Somalis	137
20.8. Fewer people experience harassment at work among people with a high degree of participation in working life	137
20.9. Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents also experience workplace harassment	138
20.10. More than 40 per cent of Somalis have experienced discrimination in the housing market	138
20.11. Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents experience less discrimination in the housing market	138
20.12. One in seven experience discrimination at school or university	138
20.13. One in six persons born in Norway to immigrant parents experience discrimination in educational institutions	139
20.14. Primarily immigrants from Turkey who experience differential treatment in the health service	139
20.15. The majority are happy with the treatment they received from the health service	140
20.16. Refused goods and services – discrimination in pubs and clubs	140
20.17. Young men go out more and thus experience more problems gaining access	141
20.18. Many young men feel harassed by the police	141
20.19. Almost half of the immigrants have experienced discrimination	142
20.20. Summary	143
References	144

List of figures

1. Survey of living conditions among immigrants – how and why	
1.1 The immigrant population by country background 1970-2007	15
8. Religion	
8.2 Religion the respondent was brought up in. Per cent.....	69
8.3 .Do you belong to this religion today? By country background. Per cent.....	70
8.4 Ranking how important religion is in your life. 1 = not important at all 10 = Very important. By country background and gender	70
8.5 Over the last 12 months, how many times have you attended religious gatherings or prayers arranged by a religious community? By country background and gender. Number	71
8.6 . Religious activity and the importance of religion, by country background.....	72
9. Education	
9.1 Percentage who completed an education in Norway among immigrants who came to Norway at age 18 or older, by country background. Ranked according to percentage of men who have completed an education	76
9.2 . Proportion with higher education and no education, by country background. Aged 16 and over	77
10. Work	
10.1 Persons with income-generating work by country background and gender. Per cent.....	80
10.2 Persons with income-generating work by country background and gender. Per cent.....	80
10.3 Persons with income-generating work by country background and permanent/temporary employment. Per cent.....	81
10.4 Persons with income-generating work by occupation. Immigrants. Per cent	81
10.5 Persons with income-generating work by occupation. Entire population. Per cent	81
10.6 Persons with income-generating work by occupation and education.....	82
10.7 Persons with income-generating work by occupation, education and gender. Per cent	82
10.8 Opportunity to use skills and knowledge in job. Per cent	84
10.9 Proportion that had been unemployed any time in the last 12 months. Per cent	85
11. Working environment	
11.1 Relative occupational breakdown among all employed persons in the immigrant population, broken down by immigrant men and women	86
11.2 Proportion who perceive their work as mentally taxing, by country background. Employed persons in the population as a whole and employed immigrants.....	89
11.3 Psychological and physical working environment in 1996 and 2005/2006 among employed immigrants. Share affected. Per cent	90
12. Income and expenses	
12.1 Median income after tax per consumption unit (EU scale) in 2005 for households where the main income earner is aged 25 to 55, by the country background of the main income earner	93
12.2 Proportion of persons in household with low income in 2005, by country background of main income earner. Per cent.....	94
15. Childcare	
15.1 Proportion of cash-for-care age children with cash-for-care, by country background. 2004.....	107
16. Norwegian language skills	
16.1 Proportion that has done a course on the Norwegian language, by gender and country background.....	111
16.2 Average number of hours of Norwegian language courses, by country background.....	111
16.3 Proportion who consider their Norwegian language skills to be poor or very poor, by gender and country background.....	112
16.4 Proportion who believe they have poor or very poor Norwegian language skills, by gender, country background and degree of employment.....	114
17. Violence and threats	
17.1 Proportion who have been the victim of serious threats in the last 12 months, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	117
17.2 Proportion who have been the victim of violence in the last 12 months, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	118
17.3 Proportion who have been the victim of theft or harm in the last 12 months, by country background and gender. Per cent	118

17.4 Proportion who have problems with criminals, violence or vandalism in the area they live in, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	119
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

18. Participation in organisations and media use

18.1 Proportion who are members of different organisations or associations. The population as a whole and the immigrant population from ten non-Western countries. Per cent.....	121
18.2 Membership of different organisations or associations among women and men in the immigrant population. Per cent	123
18.3 Media use among the immigrant population from ten non-Western countries and among the population as a whole. Per cent	124

19. Citizenship

19.1 Percentage of immigrants who have Norwegian citizenship, by country background. Per cent. Weighted	127
19.2 Percentage of immigrants who have Norwegian citizenship, by length of residence in Norway. Per cent. Weighted	128
19.3 Percentage born in Norway and the percentage of Norwegian citizens who obtained Norwegian citizenship at birth, by country background. Per cent. Weighted.....	128
19.4 Proportion who have another citizenship in addition to Norwegian among naturalised immigrants, by country background. Per cent. Weighted.....	129
19.5 Proportion who have another citizenship in addition to Norwegian among immigrants born with Norwegian citizenship, by country background. Per cent. Weighted.....	129
19.6 Percentage of immigrants who have applied for Norwegian citizenship, by country background. Per cent. Weighted	130
19.7 Percentage of immigrants who have applied for Norwegian citizenship, by country background and length of residence in Norway. Per cent. Weighted	130
19.8 Main reason for applying for Norwegian citizenship. Per cent. Weighted. (n=2019)	131
19.9 Proportion who think they will apply for Norwegian citizenship, by country background. Per cent. Weighted .	131
19.10. Main reason for applying for Norwegian citizenship. Per cent. Weighted. (n=537).....	131
19.11. Main reason for not applying for Norwegian citizenship. Per cent. Weighted. (n=68).....	132
19.12. Distribution of responses to the question "Would you apply for Norwegian citizenship if you could keep your original citizenship". Per cent. Weighted. (n=68).....	133

20. Experienced discrimination

20.1 Proportion who claimed that they had experienced discrimination in finding a job in the last five years, by country background. Per cent.....	135
20.2 Proportion who claimed that they had experienced discrimination in finding a job in the last five years, by country background and gender. Per cent	135
20.3 What are your own personal views of the reason(s) why you've been without a job over the period(s) you've spent unemployed? Percentage who gave different reasons.....	136
20.4 Proportion who state that they have been treated poorly or received poor service at the job centre on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	136
20.5 Proportion who claim to have been harassed at work on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Percentage of people with income-generating work	137
20.6 Proportion of respondents with income-generating work and the proportion of these who have experienced harassment on account of their foreign background.....	137
20.7 Proportion who have experienced discrimination in the housing market on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Per cent	138
20.8 Proportion who state that they have received poor treatment at an educational institution on account of their foreign background in the last five years, by country background and gender. Percentage of the people who have studied in Norway	139
20.9 Percentage of people denied access to a restaurant, pub, nightclub or other gathering place on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	140
20.10. Proportion of people who denied access to a restaurant, pub, nightclub or other gathering place on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	141
20.11. Percentage who have experienced discrimination in 0-7 areas	142

List of tables

1. Survey of living conditions among immigrants – how and why	
1.1. The 20 largest non-Western groups in the immigrant population by country background, 01.01.2004 and 01.01.2007.....	17
2. Non-response, generation and length of residence	
2.1. Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, living in Norway at the beginning of 1996 and in third quarter 2005, by country background. Per cent	23
2.2. Age on immigration to Norway for immigrants, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent	24
2.3. Median year of arrival and length of residence ¹ for immigrants aged 16-70 from selected non-Western countries, registered as living in Norway at the beginning of 1996 and in third quarter 2005, by country background and gender	25
2.4. Year of arrival for immigrants, aged 16-70, registered as living in Norway in third quarter 2005, by country background. Per cent.....	25
2.5. Age at the end of the year for immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent	26
3. Background from country of origin	
3.1. Grounds for residence in Norway for immigrants, aged 16-70, by country background and gender. Per cent .	28
3.2. Childhood home in country of origin for immigrants aged 16-70, who came to Norway aged 6 or older, by country background and gender. Per cent	28
3.3. Minority status among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent.....	29
3.4. Most commonly spoken language at home among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent.....	29
3.5. Main job in country of origin for immigrants aged 16-70, who came to Norway aged 6 or older, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	31
3.6. Highest completed education for fathers of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent	32
3.7. Highest completed education for mothers of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent	32
4. Ties to country of origin	
4.1. Ownership of land in country of origin among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent.....	35
4.2. Home ownership in country of origin among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent.....	35
4.3. Financial assistance to family in country of origin, proportion who give and frequency, among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent.....	35
4.4. Percentage of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, who have visited their country of origin during the last five years, by year and country background. Per cent.....	36
4.5. Percentage of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, who have been visited by someone from their country of origin during the last five years, by year and country background. Per cent	37
4.6. Percentage of the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, aged 16-70, who have satellite television, by country background. Per cent.....	37
4.7. Plans to return to their own or their parents' country of origin among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, by country background. Per cent	38
4.8. Extent of sense of belonging to Norway as a country among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005. Percentage and as an average on a seven-point scale, by country background	38
5. Housing	
5.1. Type of dwelling among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	41
5.2. Home ownership among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	42
5.3. Owners of rented dwellings among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	43

5.4.	Private landlord is a friend or relative among people who rent in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	43
5.5.	Proportion of people living in cramped conditions according to objective criteria among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	44
5.6.	Subjective assessment of the size of the dwelling among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent...	45
5.7.	Draughty rooms among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	45
5.8.	Decay, mould or fungus in home among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	45
5.9.	Exposure to street / road noise inside the home among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent...	46
5.10.	Bothered by street / road noise outside the home among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent...	46

6. Family in Norway

6.1.	Living with partner in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year, gender and country background. Per cent.....	49
6.2.	Marital status in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	50
6.3.	Spouse (and in 2005/2006: cohabitant) resident in Norway among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	50
6.4.	Spouse's / cohabitant's background (immigration category) as percentage of the number of married / cohabiting immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway, aged 16-70, by country background and gender.....	52
6.5.	Contact with children who are not part of the household among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year. ¹ Per cent.....	53
6.6.	Are the respondent's parents still alive? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent...	53
6.7.	Father's country of residence (if he is still alive). Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	55
6.8.	Mother's country of residence (if she is still alive). Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	55
6.9.	How often does the respondent see his/her parents / father / mother who live in Norway? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	56
6.10.	Does the respondent have any brothers and sisters (alive)? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	57
6.11.	Does the respondent have any brothers or sisters living in Norway (assuming they have siblings)? The situation among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	58
6.12.	How often does the respondent see his/her siblings who live in Norway? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	58
6.13.	Does the respondent have any other family members in Norway? The situation among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	59

7. Social contact outside the family (friends and neighbours)

7.1.	Does the respondent have a close friend in Norway? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year, gender and country background. Per cent.....	61
7.2.	Does the respondent have any good Norwegian friends? The situation among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	62
7.3.	Frequency of contact with close friends in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	63
7.4.	Proportion who have a close friend they confide in among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent...	63
7.5.	Number of families / households in the neighbourhood the respondent knows well enough to visit among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	64

7.6.	Do the families visited have the same immigration background as the respondent? Responses from immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	65
7.7.	Frequency of visits with neighbours among non-immigrants and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	65
7.8.	The proportion who spend time with work colleagues in their leisure time among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent.....	66
7.9.	The proportion who often or occasionally feel lonely among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent... 67	67
<hr/>		
8.	Religion	
8.1.	Religion the respondent was brought up in. By country background. Per cent.....	69
8.2.	Difficult to practise one's religion in Norway? By country background. Per cent.....	72
<hr/>		
9.	Education	
9.1.	Education taken abroad among immigrants who came to Norway at age 18 or over, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	75
9.2.	Education completed in Norway among immigrants who came to Norway at age 18 or older, by country background. Ranked according to the proportion who have taken education in Norway. Per cent	76
9.3.	Highest completed education taken in / outside Norway, by educational level, country background and gender. Aged 16 and over. Per cent.....	78
<hr/>		
10.	Work	
10.1.	Persons with income-generating work by country background. Per cent.....	80
10.2.	Persons temporarily employed according to employment terms/conditions. Per cent.....	81
10.3.	Persons with income-generating work by occupation and education. Per cent.....	83
10.4.	Proportion of immigrants who are employed according to highest level of education completed in or outside Norway. Per cent.....	83
10.5.	Number of hours worked per week in main occupation. Entire population and immigrants. Per cent	84
10.6.	Proportion who feel they are at risk of losing their job in the next few years. Per cent	85
<hr/>		
11.	Working environment	
11.1.	Proportion exposed to poor indoor climate, noise or cold. Per cent.....	87
11.2.	Exposure to poor indoor climate Per cent.....	87
11.3.	Physical working environment among employed persons. Employed persons in the population as a whole and employed immigrants. The percentage answering yes	88
11.4.	Does your work consist of constantly repeated tasks so you end up doing the same thing over and over for hours? Per cent.....	88
11.5.	What is your risk of stress-related injuries? Per cent	88
11.6.	Are you allowed to decide when and how often to take a break? Per cent.....	89
11.7.	Extent of control over own work. Per cent	89
11.8.	Are you personally subject to bullying or unpleasant teasing from your work colleagues?.....	90
<hr/>		
12.	Income and expenses	
12.1.	Reception of public benefits in the last 12 months. Proportion of yes answers in individual household in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent	95
12.2.	Proportion that over the last 12 months have had problems meeting the basic cost of living for food, transport and accommodation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, 16-70 years of age, by year and country background. Per cent.....	98
12.3.	Proportion that for most of the year was able (1996: unable) to pay an unexpected bill of NOK 5,000 (1996: NOK 2,000), in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, 16-70 years of age, by year and country background. Per cent.....	98
12.4.	Proportion that possesses various capital goods in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent.....	100
<hr/>		
13.	Unpaid work	
13.1.	Number of hours spent on housework per week by gender. Per cent	101
13.2.	Number of hours spent on housework per week by country background. Per cent	102
13.3.	Number of hours spent on housework among immigrants. Per cent.....	102
13.4.	Help/supervise others. Per cent answering yes.....	103
<hr/>		
14.	Spouse/cohabitant's work	
14.1.	Proportion of married/cohabiting couples who have spouse/cohabitant with income-generating work Per cent	104
14.2.	Employment of married/cohabiting couples Per cent.....	105

14.3. Employed spouse/cohabitant's employment. Per cent	105
14.4. Employed spouse/cohabitant's weekly working hours	105
<hr/>	
15. Childcare	
15.1. Is the child/children regularly minded by anyone other than their parents/guardians? The countries are ranked according to the percentage answering yes.	108
15.2. Arrangements for child "number one", among children regularly minded by others. Ranked by yes share....	109
15.3. Does the child/do the children in your household have mainly Norwegian friends, or friends with the same linguistic and immigrant background as themselves? Per cent.....	109
<hr/>	
16. Norwegian language skills	
16.1. Proportion who believe they have poor or very poor Norwegian language skills, by gender, country background and degree of employment ¹	114
16.2. Proportion who consider their Norwegian language skills to be poor or very poor in specified situations, by gender and country background ¹	115
<hr/>	
17. Violence and threats	
17.1. Proportion who feel very or slightly worried about being the victim of violence or threats when they go out alone in the place where they live, by country background and gender. Per cent.....	119
<hr/>	
18. Participation in organisations and media use	
18.1. Membership of organisations among different groups of immigrants, ranked. Per cent	122
18.2. Media use among different groups of immigrants. Per cent	124
<hr/>	
19. Citizenship	
19.1. Distribution of Norwegian citizens by means of acquisition and possession of dual nationality, and non-Norwegian nationals interested in obtaining Norwegian citizenship. Number and per cent	127
<hr/>	
20. Experienced discrimination	
20.1. Proportion who believe they have received poorer treatment, the same treatment or better treatment than a Norwegian person would have received, by country background. Per cent.....	140
20.2. Additive index for the number of reported instances of experienced discrimination. By country background.	142

Preface

This report presents the first results from the survey Living Conditions Among Immigrants (LKI) 2005/2006. A representative sample of 3,053 immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from the ten main non-Western immigrant groups in Norway were interviewed about a number of aspects of their living conditions. The results are compared with findings for the population as a whole taken from the regular surveys of living conditions and a number of other surveys. Where relevant, the results are also compared with findings from the survey Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 (LKI 1996).

The report provides a broad, descriptive presentation of most of the topics included in the survey, with the exception of the immigrants' health. The health-related questions will be reported in a separate publication later (see Blom 2008).

The 20 chapters have been written by six different authors who work in three different divisions at Statistics Norway: the Division for Social and Demographic Research (Svein Blom and Silje Vatne Pettersen), the Division for Social Welfare Statistics (Kristin Henriksen, Bjørn Mathisen and Kristian Rose Tronstad) and the Department of Social Statistics (staff) (Lars Østby).

Blom has run most of the tables from LKI 2005/2006, in addition to the parallel tables from the ordinary surveys of living conditions and the most recent culture and media use surveys. He has also adapted the relevant tables from LKI 1996. Henriksen has played an important role in ensuring the progress of writing and editing the report. Østby has made comments and suggestions along the way. Marit Berger Gundersen from the Division for Web and Publishing has been responsible for layout.

In connection with the survey, a documentation report written by Elisabeth Gulløy at the Division for Data Collection Methods is also being published (see Gulløy 2008). This provides more details about how the data were collected and other technical aspects of the survey, in addition to containing a copy of the questionnaire. Gulløy took over as project manager for execution of the survey from Tor Morten Normann in spring 2006. Amesto Translations AS has translated the original report (Blom and Henriksen 2008) from Norwegian to English, and Silje Vatne Pettersen has coordinated the production of the translated report.

In September 2008, Statistics Norway revised the terminology used in the statistical standard for classification of persons by immigration background, in addition to discontinuing the use of the terms immigrant population, and Western and non Western countries in its publications. Since the original report was published well before Statistics Norway's revision, the English version is only partially in compliance. The new terminology of the statistical standard is being used, while the terms immigrant population, and Western and non-Western countries have *not* been abandoned.

1. Survey of living conditions among immigrants – how and why

Lars Østby

Nowadays we have quite extensive knowledge about immigrants in Norway and their living conditions. Through the population statistics that are gathered and updated on an ongoing basis, we know “everything” about how many registered immigrants there are in Norway and their demographic behaviour (fertility, mortality, marriage patterns and migration). By using the statistical registers that Statistics Norway (SSB) has access to, we can gain a clear image of their participation in education and on the labour market, their income and how this is distributed between earned income, capital income and transfers such as social assistance and National Insurance benefits. These are hard facts, which are especially important for describing their financial situation. However, using data from these registers does not tell us anything about conditions linked to the country and the situation they left to come to Norway, their language skills, religion, working environment, local community, contact with their family and other social contacts, etc. For the population in Norway, this type of information is primarily gathered through interview surveys, especially the Survey of Living Conditions. In these surveys, the sample population is far too small to act as a basis for special analyses of immigrants’ living conditions. The purpose of this special survey of living conditions for immigrants is therefore to bring our knowledge about immigrants’ living conditions up to the same level as the knowledge we have about the rest of the population in Norway.

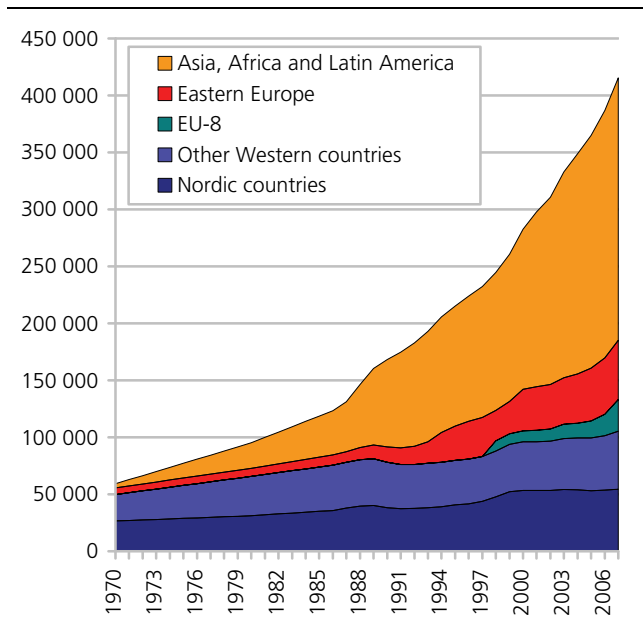
With this report, Statistics Norway presents the first results from the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 (LKI 2005/2006). We are also presenting a technical documentation (in Norwegian) of the design and execution of the survey (Gulløy 2008). Two surveys of this nature have previously been carried out, with similar reports published in Gulløy, Blom and Ritland (1997), Blom (1998) and Støren (1987). As with the previous reports, this latest survey was commissioned by the immigration authorities and financed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion (formerly this was the remit of the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development).

1.1. Background

The background to the survey is the need to acquire new and better data about immigrants’ living conditions, since this group is not sufficiently covered by Statistics Norway’s ordinary surveys of living conditions. Analyses we have carried out over many years using data from registers (see for example Østby 2004b, Henriksen 2007 and Aalandslid 2007) and analyses of the former surveys of living conditions have shown that in many areas immigrants’ living conditions vary from the general living conditions of the population as a whole. For example, unemployment is higher than average and very high in some groups. The proportion of people living under the poverty line is far greater, but they have a high degree of participation in the education system, and among persons born in Norway to immigrant parents even higher than average for their age group.

We have been able to carry out many parallel analyses among the immigrant population and the population of Norway as a whole on the basis of data found in public registers, but living conditions also include many dimensions that are not covered in the registers. For this reason, since the early 1970s Statistics Norway has carried out in-depth interview surveys on people’s living conditions in representative samples of the population. In general sample surveys of this nature, there will always be too few immigrants to enable us to give a relevant description of how living conditions vary between groups of immigrants. In addition, there are fundamental problems linked to the exceptionally high non-response rate in groups that have minimal contact with Norwegian society because they have just arrived in the country, they do not have a very good command of the language, they have a general distrust of authorities, etc.

In addition to the fact that we lack essential knowledge about the immigrant population’s living conditions, and about how they have developed over the ten years since the last survey, the immigrant population has also undergone some major changes in terms of size and composition. At the beginning of 2007, the

Figure 1.1. The immigrant population by country background 1970-2007

Source: Population Statistics, Statistics Norway

immigrant population¹ consisted of 415,000 people, which is almost 200 000 more than in 1996, when the last survey was carried out (see figure 1.1). This increase has been particularly marked in people with a background from Asia, Africa and Latin America (just over double, from 110 000 to 230 000); but in relative terms, the increase from Eastern Europe is far greater, with a fivefold increase from 16 000 to 80 000. This increase is due to the surge of refugees from the Balkans at the end of the 1990s and the wave of labour immigration from the new EU member states since 2004. Back in 1970, there were 6 000 immigrants from Eastern Europe and 3 500 from Asia, Africa and Latin-America; the remaining 50 000 immigrants were from other Nordic countries and other Western countries. For more information on the growth of the immigrant population, see Daugstad 2006b. Even without any major changes in the living conditions for the individual national groups, the changes in the composition of the immigrant population would have necessitated a new survey in the next few years.

1.2. Purpose

The main goals of the survey are to:

1. compare immigrants' living conditions with the general living conditions in Norway
2. compare living conditions among immigrants in 2006 with those in 1996
3. look at the situation for immigrants in Norway compared with the living conditions for immigrants in other countries

¹ This figure includes people resident in Norway born abroad to foreign-born parents and children born in Norway to immigrant couples. See section 1.5.

To achieve these goals, we have had to include variables and questions from various surveys of living conditions, and it was often difficult to strike a balance between the three defined objectives. The objectives had to be balanced against one another within the framework of a questionnaire that for professional and financial reasons ought not to require more than one hour's interview time. When we have had to make priorities, we have always put comparability with the rest of the population first, and comparability with the 1996 survey second. This does not mean that the other objectives (comparison with other countries or introduction of new types of variables) are not regarded as important; however these considerations could not be taken into account satisfactorily in the survey in hand. It would take a great deal of thorough work in a multi-national collaboration to form a basis for satisfactory international comparisons. The best solution might be to start with comparisons between a few countries that are able to define immigrants in the same way and that have comparable data and coinciding interests. Analyses of the significance of language, social networks and other "soft" variables require more extensive research than merely being a minor part of a survey with other higher priority objectives. This will probably lead to special surveys being carried out in the future focusing on topics where knowledge is still lacking.

It is important to note that the people interviewed cannot automatically be taken to be representative of that half of the non-Western immigrant population that comes from other countries than the ten nations that the sample was selected from. In some areas it may be that the difference in living conditions between people from Morocco and people from Turkey, or from India and Pakistan, are not so great, but we cannot ascertain this from this survey. That can only be based on the information from public registers. It is conceivable that living conditions of people who have very few compatriots in Norway will be different to those of people who can have a broad network of contact with people from the same country or who speak the same language etc.

Another express goal was that the survey should be firmly anchored in the immigrant communities by covering issues related to living conditions that are deemed important by the immigrant population. In order to achieve this, we conducted a qualitative study where focus groups made up of immigrants with varying backgrounds were involved in developing topics and the questionnaire (Daugstad and Lie 2004).

We can also use the 1996 survey to identify which topics are most relevant for the new survey. Topics from the last survey that have not been used much in analyses were simplified or omitted in the new survey. Topics that can largely be illuminated equally well using register data were abbreviated or removed. The last survey also revealed that more "soft" questions

were needed concerning social networks, language, etc. As analyses based on data in registers provide us with ever more knowledge about immigrants' living conditions in terms of demographics, education, work, finances, etc., the lack of data about variables such as language skills and command of Norwegian, network and social bonds, attitudes and values becomes ever more apparent. However, there is not much room for very many new questions.

In order to capture special aspects of immigrants' situation in the country they migrate to, we can make use of experiences and ideas from Swedish and Danish surveys of immigrants' living conditions (The Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 1999, Viby Mogensen and Matthiessen 2000). We also tried, as far as it was possible, to coordinate with the existing international collaboration on living conditions among immigrants, but we found little useful concrete input from surveys done in other countries. There is limited international collaboration in this area, and the work is dominated by the alternative data sources that exist and local issues in the individual countries.

1.3. Much of our knowledge is based on information in public registers

The Norwegian system of population statistics is based on data recorded in public registers. This means that as statisticians we are secondary users of information recorded in administrative registers. The central national population register is, in principle, a register of all the individuals in Norway who satisfy certain criteria concerning the duration of their stay and who are in Norway legally. Sample surveys are very useful in many contexts, but they often fall short in relation to small groups, such as immigrants from certain countries, and when the aim is to gather information from people with limited or no command of Norwegian. Sample surveys are a useful supplement to information from public registers concerning variables not included in the registers. In this Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants we have also included questions in areas covered by the registers, linked to the employment market and education. Regarding the labour market, we apply the same approach as in the general surveys of living conditions and ask questions that the information in the registers cannot answer, and we need to know the individual's employment status as grounds for these questions. Norway does not have a system that records immigrants' education on arrival in the country. As a consequence, there is no information about many people's education, especially recently arrived immigrants, so it is necessary to include questions about education. The register provides good coverage about people who received their education in Norway.

1.4. Sample

The first Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants was carried out in 1983 (Støren 1987). It

included five nationality groups of foreign citizens: the United Kingdom, Turkey, Pakistan, Vietnam and Chile. The 1996 survey included more nationalities. It was no longer considered necessary to include the United Kingdom as a reference group. Instead immigrants from the former Yugoslavia (apart from Bosnia-Herzegovina), Iran, Sri Lanka and Somalia were included in the sample. In connection with sampling, various factors played a role: the size of the groups, the extent to which they could be assumed to represent different types of immigration to Norway, the consideration of comparability with other surveys from Norway and abroad, and the wish to achieve a certain geographic spread in terms of regions of the world.

In 2005 the sample was drawn from the same eight groups as in 1996, with the addition of immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq. This represented the main groups of non-Western immigrants at the start of 2004, with a few exceptions. There has been widespread immigration from Iraq since around 2000, so this was an obvious group to include. There were already many immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina in the mid-1990s, but this group was the focus of a major comparative Nordic analysis, and it was not deemed relevant to also include it in the national survey. The design and execution of the survey, including the sampling plan, is described in Gulløy (2008).

As is shown in table 1.1, in 2004 there were more immigrants in Norway with a background from Poland, Russia and the Philippines (roughly 7 500 from each) than with a background from Chile (7 000). After Chile come India, Morocco, Thailand and Afghanistan. All four nations had more immigrants than Chile in 2007. The 1996 survey and the data from public registers show that Chileans represent a group with relatively few problems in terms of integration in Norway, not that this is a reason to omit them from the study. Furthermore, omitting the Chileans from the survey would reduce comparability with the 1983 and 1996 surveys and with the Swedish surveys of living conditions. If the financial framework allowed inclusion of more countries, the most obvious contenders would be India and Morocco, but each new country with a different language entails major expenses. In 2004, no-one foresaw that more immigrants would come to Norway from Poland than from any other country over the next few years, probably making Poland the second or third largest country of origin of immigrants to Norway by the time these results are published. Had we known this, we would have an interesting debate weighing up whether the people who migrate to Norway from Poland as an EU member state ought to be the subject of a special survey of living conditions. We chose not to include nations where a significant share of the immigrants come to Norway to marry people who do not have an immigrant background (such as the Philippines, Thailand and Russia) in the sample.

Table 1.1. The 20 largest non-Western groups in the immigrant population by country background, 01.01.2004 and 01.01.2007

	2004		2007
Pakistan	26 286	Pakistan	28 278
Vietnam	17 414	Iraq	21 418
Iraq	17 295	Somalia	19 656
Somalia	15 586	Poland	18 834
Bosnia-Herzegovina	15 216	Vietnam	18 783
Iran	13 506	Bosnia-Herzegovina	15 667
Turkey	12 971	Iran	14 662
Sri Lanka	11 918	Turkey	14 546
Serbia and Montenegro	11 070	Sri Lanka	12 757
Poland	7 590	Serbia	12 504
Russia	7 457	Russia	11 338
The Philippines	7 374	The Philippines	9 482
Chile	6 931	Thailand	8 688
India	6 836	India	7 622
Morocco	6 566	Afghanistan	7 297
Thailand	5 910	Morocco	7 286
Afghanistan	4 851	Chile	7 204
China	4 801	China	5 657
Croatia	2 983	Ethiopia	3 422
Ethiopia	2 659	Croatia	3 231
Macedonia	2 371	Lithuania	3 071

Source: Population Statistics, Statistics Norway

Table 1.1 also includes the figures for the size of the immigrant population at the beginning of 2007. Here we see that the clearly dominant countries of origin of immigrants to Norway in 2004 are no longer as representative of our main countries of origin of immigrants. Poland is now number 3 among the countries it might have been pertinent to include, and Somalia and Iraq have passed Vietnam in terms of number of immigrants. Growth in immigrants from Russia and Thailand has been 50 per cent, while growth in the number of immigrants from India, Chile and Morocco has been very modest.

1.5. The immigrant population has increased sevenfold since 1970

As we have seen, there has been a massive increase in the immigrant population since the new wave of immigration started at the end of the 1960s. Since then, we have seen an almost sevenfold increase in the total immigrant population, while the number of immigrants from countries outside Western Europe and North America is now 30 times higher. It began with labour migration around 1970. Family members then followed. Then refugees and asylum seekers started coming, in highly varying numbers (Daugstad 2006b). In recent years, Norway has had record-high labour immigration from new EU nations such as Poland and Lithuania. The major growth is the result of such varying processes as the demand for labour in the Norwegian labour market and the need for protection from war and persecution in the Balkans, Middle East and Africa.

There is extensive public interest in immigration, and people have very strong feelings, partly as a result of this explosive growth. In the national newspaper *Aftenposten's* debates, as per 11 January 2007,

129 000 entries had been recorded related to immigration, compared with the 3 500 under economy and 4 400 on the environment. The negative aspects of immigration and its consequences are especially apparent, and the media often focuses on them, further increasing attention.

Nevertheless, immigration is not a new phenomenon. The census in 1865 showed that 41 per cent of the population of Vadsø were immigrants, primarily from Finland. Back then, the number of people born abroad was 21 000 – 1.2 per cent of the total population. From then on until 1930, Norway saw a period of mass emigration, which was larger, relative to population size, than in any other country in Europe, with the exception of Ireland. Nevertheless, or perhaps precisely because of this, this was also a period of significant immigration to Norway, especially from Sweden. In 1900, there were almost 50 000 people born in Sweden living in Norway, which is far higher than the current figure of 35 000.

A few years ago, a book was published on the history of immigration (Kjeldstadli 2003), showing that there has been immigration to Norway ever since the Viking era and that this immigration has always been an economic necessity and has brought cultural enrichment. Nevertheless, problems have arisen in the encounter between traditional Norwegian culture and the foreign culture. However, historically only a handful of places in Norway have experienced immigration on the scale we have seen in the last few decades, and then the immigrants were primarily from our neighbours in Northern Europe.

Immigration affects population growth in Norway. Of an overall growth in the population of 311 000 from 1996 to 2007, 192 000 (slightly more than 60 per cent) is due to increases in the immigrant population. Of these 192 000, 25 000 are due to growth in the population with a background from Western Europe and North America. Most of the increase is due to net immigration to Norway, but the number of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents (children born in Norway of two parents born abroad) has more than doubled, from 32 000 to 73 500.

The definition of the immigrant population we use in Norwegian statistics encompasses people resident in Norway who were born abroad to parents born outside Norway (true immigrants) and the children immigrant couples have after arrival in Norway (before 2000, called “second-generation immigrants” in the statistics; then called “people born in Norway of two foreign-born parents”, and usually referred to as “persons born in Norway to immigrant parents” in this text). This definition has been chosen to enable us to identify groups that have demographic behaviour (especially marriage and childbirth patterns) that it is important

to be aware of when ascertaining developments in the population in Norway, and who have living conditions that are different from those of the rest of the population in some key areas. The definition Statistics Norway uses for the immigrant population is not the only option. However, our definition does largely coincide with that used in the few countries that have the same kind of underlying data as us. Coordinated censuses are carried out throughout the whole world every ten years. The preparations being done by the EU statistical office Eurostat and the United Nations for the 2010 Censuses mean that other countries too will soon start using similar definitions. In 2008 Eurostat is going to carry out a separate labour force survey for immigrants and can thus decide which variables the definition will be based on. In this context, it will be using information about the individual's own and their parents' country of birth.

1.6. Studies of living conditions serve many purposes

The common denominator for the projects related to immigrants that Statistics Norway has carried out is that they meet a need to describe aspects of Norwegian society that have changed rapidly over the last few decades – changes that there often seems to be limited knowledge about and that are also a central topic of political debate. Statistics Norway has a clear duty to describe and analyse differences in living conditions between important groups in the population, with the additional goal of recognising new trends in differences in living conditions.

New differences in living conditions, both within Oslo and on the national level, must be understood in the context of immigration. Some people believe that immigration creates a new, permanent underclass that is transferred from generation to generation (Wikan 1995), while others claim that the children of immigrants are very upwardly mobile. We have a clear duty to identify and understand these kinds of social stratification processes. We do not find evidence to support the hypothesis of a new permanent underclass (see Henriksen and Østby 2007).

Many of our analyses of immigrants' living conditions cast light on how their living conditions change over time as the immigrants acquire more experience of Norway, and as a new generation born in Norway to immigrant parents enters all areas of society (Østby 2004b, Henriksen 2006, Olsen 2006b, Daugstad 2006c, Aalandslid 2007, Henriksen and Østby 2007). In very many areas, such as marriage and fertility, work and education, we see clearly that immigrants are heading towards a more equitable role in Norwegian society, especially if we compare immigrants with persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. This is often regarded as a litmus test of integration, and an extra sample was drawn of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents

and immigrants who came to Norway at an early age in order to be able to study this group in more detail. The results from this supplementary study will be published later in 2008 (See Løwe 2008).

Each individual citizen, immigrants included, has a clear need to have the processes linked to immigration described and explained. The individual immigrant arrives in a society that may or may not be equipped to welcome him in a way that ensures that his meeting with society is unproblematic. One of the purposes of this survey is precisely to cast light on immigrants' journey into Norwegian society.

The issue has also been raised as to whether we attach too much importance to describing merely transitional problems that disappear by themselves with time. The empirical data that have been available until now show that some of the living condition problems are not of a transitory nature and that it is important to track developments over time in order to be able to implement measures as they become necessary. It has also been queried whether immigrants are not a group that already have enough problems in Norwegian society and why we feel the need to describe every aspect of their lives in such minute detail, and perhaps more thoroughly than many other, equally vulnerable groups. For a discussion of these and other similar issues, see Østby (2002).

The Council of Europe has been working on demographic descriptions of national and immigrant minorities (see for example the Council of Europe 2002). The European Commission on Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) has called for more data on inequalities between different ethnic groups in Norway and other countries, also pertaining to living conditions. One of the fundamentals of their work is the right of each individual minority to be recognised. For them, this means the right to be identified and counted, and thus gives the minorities a basis for analyses of inequalities, discrimination and differential treatment.

In February 2001, Statistics Sweden held a seminar in Stockholm on statistics and analysis of immigration and immigrants. Here, director-general of the then Swedish Integration Board, Andreas Carlgren, justified the necessity of generating knowledge about developments in immigrants' living conditions, claiming that failure to identify faults in society constitutes an abuse of power (Østby 2001).

1.7. Globalisation means more migration

There are many aspects of international migrations that make this a central topic in statistics and analyses. It is one of the most obvious manifestations of the current globalisation, both because ever more groups need protection against war and persecution, but also because of the great need, in Norway and elsewhere,

for labour that cannot be met by the domestic supply. Conflicts in faraway places are brought into our sitting rooms by all manner of media, and some of the victims of the conflicts are entitled to protection in Norway on request. But other aspects of globalisation are also important. We have ever more contact points around the world as a result of education and holidays abroad, as well as via the Internet and other virtual arenas. More and more people can afford to travel abroad these days. This means there are many more meeting places, entailing that more people resident in Norway make new contacts, friends and sometimes even find their life partner abroad. Oslo is a prime example of how globalisation is affecting Norway, with its 199 nationalities, but even small towns like Elverum have immigrants from 73 different countries. Båtsfjord, a small municipality in the far north in Finnmark with a mere 2,000 inhabitants, can count immigrants from 28 nations in its population.

1.8. Immigration means diversity

There are huge differences in degree of participation in the labour market, education, income, etc. and probably also in attitudes and values among immigrants from different countries. Diverse is the best description of the immigrant population in Norway. Even the largest single national group (from Pakistan) constitutes a mere 7 per cent of the total immigrant population. There are immigrants from 213 different nations and autonomous regions in Norway, meaning there are people from basically all over the world living in Norway. These countries are all very different, and there is no reason to believe that there will be fewer differences between the people from these countries who come to Norway. As a result of the major differences that exist within the immigrant population, trying to describe what an “average” immigrant in Norway does or believes is meaningless.

Averages always conceal differences that someone is interested in, but immigrants are a group where it is seldom relevant to provide figures without further subdividing the group into where they come from. If we treat each country separately, some of the groups become too small to be useful. It is impossible to include, say the 59 countries with fewer than 20 immigrants in Norway in our analyses, whereas the 15 nations that we have more than 10,000 people from can be used when it is relevant to talk about individual nations. Nevertheless, we must at all times bear in mind that there are major differences even within the different population groups. In many cases, we have to group nations together into regions or other categories.

1.9. The impact of changes in the composition of the groups

Quoting figures to compare trends in the group “immigrants” at two different points in time is often pointless because the immigrant population is

extremely heterogeneous and its composition changes so much over time. Unemployment among immigrants as a whole may have increased over a period as a result of the fact that new large groups of immigrants have arrived that will need several years to establish themselves on the labour market, at the same time as unemployment has sunk among all the groups that were included throughout the entire period. As the percentage of immigrants who have lived in Norway for only a short time increases, the proportion that receives social assistance will probably also increase. This may well happen at the same time as the percentage of recipients of social assistance decreases within all the individual groups. If we do not take length of residence and its variation into account, we cannot say anything about real changes in living conditions. Indeed, it is important when comparing factors for two groups of immigrants to know which differences are the result of differences in the composition of the two groups. For example, we constantly hear that integration of immigrants into the labour market is far more successful in Canada than in Norway.

The immigrants to Norway and to Canada come from very different countries and have different backgrounds in many ways. In Norway, a far higher share of the immigrants are refugees. In order to be able to ascertain whether integration is more successful in Canada than in Norway, we would have to have data for truly comparable groups of immigrants and we would definitely have to have information about employment rates by age for refugees from a number of individual countries. We do not have this information and it is therefore impossible to say whether integration into the labour market is actually more successful in one country or the other.

1.10. Have we cleared up all the questions concerning immigration and integration?

In this report we present an overall descriptive analysis of the findings of the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants. It will not be exhaustive or detailed enough in any one area; this would require far greater opportunity to concentrate on individual topics. Rather, we provide a broad overview, to be followed by more in-depth analyses of the individual topics in the years to come. The data will be made available to other researchers via the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD), and analyses will be performed within and outside Statistics Norway. Investing such large resources in creating a good source of data about the living conditions of groups of people for which it is quite demanding to get representative data (Gulløy 2008) means that it is crucial to exploit this source in the best possible way.

Although in this survey we have had the opportunity to investigate several dimensions that cannot be covered in the ongoing analyses of data in public registers,

there is still much to be done and many future challenges. These challenges vary broadly. One is to transfer the experiences we and others gain from the analyses of LKI back to our analyses of data from public registers, partly to introduce new perspectives into the analyses and perhaps also to be able to influence how the registers are used in these kinds of analyses. Another challenge consists of establishing a broader basis of surveys of attitudes in the immigrant population. For 15 years we have been investigating attitudes towards immigration and immigrants in representative samples of the population of Norway (Blom 2006), but for our understanding of the challenges linked to integration policy it would also be useful to have insight into the immigrant population's attitudes towards fundamental aspects of Norwegian society.

It is fairly safe to say central questions will be raised in the future that we were not aware of when LKI was being planned and which the data will therefore perhaps not be able to cast light on. In this report, we present analyses of immigrants' experiences of discrimination. This is a topic that, in light of all the attention on discrimination by people in authority in autumn 2007, might have been the subject of a separate special survey. The boom in labour immigration behind the record-high immigration figures in 2006 and 2007 is an example of an important topic that we do not have sufficient grounds to raise, but which may well be central in a new survey in ten years' time.

2. Non-response, generation and length of residence

Svein Blom

The survey presented in the chapters below is based on interviews with a statistically representative sample of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents with a background from ten of the largest groups of immigrants in Norway. They are from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Somalia and Chile. The immigrant population from these countries constituted a total of 145,000 people at the beginning of 2006, i.e. 51 per cent of the non-Western immigrants in Norway.

The sample we drew consisted of 500 people aged between 16 and 70 years who had been living in Norway for at least two years from each of the ten national groups. Our interviewers managed to conduct interviews with 3,053 people. This equals a response rate of 64.2 after omission of the people in the original sample who had left the country or died. Field work started in mid-September 2005 and ended in January 2007. Most of the interviews were carried out in 2006.

Although interview-based surveys have the unique advantage of allowing insight into attitudes and perceptions about phenomena not included in statistics generated from data in registers, there are of course also disadvantages associated with data acquired in interviews. The main disadvantages are linked to the reliability of the findings. As with all interview data, the findings are encumbered with statistical uncertainty. In light of the fact that we may not have managed to draw samples that correctly represent the target groups, and/or have a selective failure rate in our attempts to interview the people in the sample, the interview material will necessarily not provide an entirely representative picture of the situation for the whole target group. However, the fact that the sample was selected using acknowledged scientific procedures and the fact that probability estimates can be calculated for the individual variables, makes interview-based data a reasonably reliable source of knowledge.

2.1. Non-response and deviation

As already mentioned, we did not manage to obtain an interview with all the people in the sample. Some

people did not want to participate, and many were difficult to track down. Experience from past surveys of living conditions among immigrants, by Statistics Norway (Gulløy, Blom and Ritland 1997) and external surveys (Hagen, Djuve and Vogt 1994, Djuve and Hagen 1995), shows that it can be difficult to come into contact with non-Western immigrants for interviewing. This phenomenon has also been observed in studies abroad (Feskens, Hox, Lenvelt-Mulders and Schmeets 2007). Many immigrants move quite frequently, and they do not always notify the authorities of their new address. The recent trend towards people only having a mobile phone and no longer having a home phone number also entails challenges for interviewers. The established directories of telephone subscribers are often incomplete in terms of mobile phone numbers.

Similarly, an unknown number of individuals that the interviewers were unable to contact may have left the country and this ought to be registered as “departed” from the target group, instead of being included in the non-response figures. People considered departed are removed from the first “gross” sample (the 5000 selected individuals) before calculation of the non-response rate. As long as there is no certain information that they have left the country, they will normally be included in our calculations as non-response and thus push the non-response rate up.

The documentation report from the survey (Gulløy 2008) gives a detailed account of how the survey was carried out, the difficulties that arose along the way, and the deviations in the data material that non-response has caused. It is fairly safe to assume that the least integrated people and the people with the fewest resources are more likely to have dodged our attempts to contact them and will thus be underrepresented in the survey. We have tried to counteract this tendency by using interviewers who speak the relevant immigrant languages. A variety of methods have also been employed to track down the selected individuals.

In a number of tables in the documentation report, the size of the non-response rate is broken down according

to gender, age, immigration generation (immigrant or descendent) and geographical location. These analyses show that women have a higher non-response rate than men, while non-response in the individual age groups varies widely from one national group to another – probably randomly.

The results are also rather mixed in terms of non-response among immigrants compared with persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. For people with a background from Pakistan, Vietnam and Chile, non-response is greatest among the immigrants born abroad, meaning that persons born in Norway to immigrant parents are overrepresented in the final sample. For people with a background from Turkey and to a lesser extent also people from Serbia and Montenegro, the non-response rate is higher among the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, meaning that immigrants are overrepresented. In the other groups of immigrants, neither generation of immigrants is overrepresented. If selection had systematically been to the advantage of the best integrated, which we assume are the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, the Norwegian-born immigrants would probably have been overrepresented in all or most of the national groups (cf. table 2.1).

As regards geographical location, the tendency is that non-response is highest among immigrants living in Oslo. However, because Oslo for practical and economic reasons is somewhat slightly more strongly represented in the basic population from which the sample was drawn than other, less central municipalities (for more details about this, see Gulløy 2008), immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents living in Oslo are nevertheless somewhat overrepresented in the data material (the net sample). However, it is not believed that this represents any favourisation of the best integrated immigrants.

In terms of facts about phenomena for which there are reliable register-based statistics, for example employment and unemployment ratio in the individual immigrant groups or the number of students with an immigrant background in higher education, we would generally recommend that the statistics based on data from public registers be used. When topics covered by statistics based on data from public registers are also discussed in the interviews, we also reproduce the findings of the interview survey, but recommend attaching greatest importance to the register-based findings. However, any deviations between data from registers and those gathered in interviews is not necessarily only due to random errors in the interview data, weaknesses in the questionnaire or consciously or subconsciously misleading answers. They may also be due to the fact that the phenomena being mapped are defined slightly differently in the two data sources. A well-known example of this is unemployment, which is

defined slightly differently in the interview-based Labour Force Surveys (AKU) and in the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Organisation NAV's register-based unemployment figures (Næsheim 2002).

For a variety of reasons, carrying out interview surveys on immigrants' living conditions is a costly and time-consuming affair. The questionnaires have been translated into the main languages in the countries the respondents or their parents come from and into English. As already mentioned, interviewers with a background from the same countries have been trained in how to conduct the interviews in the respondents' native language if the respondent so wishes. Statistics Norway has also decided to give priority to face-to-face interviews, as opposed to telephone interviews, in order to minimise misunderstandings and communication problems. Similarly, we have also chosen to use printed questionnaires instead of electronically assisted interviewing, which means that all the responses have to be entered into a computer system afterwards. The work tracing addresses or telephone numbers of "missing" respondents was also very time consuming and resource intensive.

2.2. Comparison with other surveys

In contrast to the ordinary surveys of living conditions where the topics vary from one survey to the next on an annual basis, surveys of living conditions among immigrants are a relatively rare undertaking. As we have mentioned, in 2005 it was nine years since the last such survey was carried out: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 (Gulløy, Blom and Ritland 1997, Blom 1998). Where appropriate, we will report the findings of similar questions asked in 1996, to enable demonstration of any changes in living conditions over time.

We also want to be able to compare the findings with the data for population as a whole as formulated in identical or almost identical questions in the rotating surveys of living conditions carried out in the 2000s (LKU cross section 2001-2005) and the 2004 Culture and Media Use Survey. Here we have had access to the original data and have performed our own analyses on these to suit our needs. To ensure that differences in immigrants' settlement patterns around the country, in addition to differences in distribution by gender and age, do not impede comparison of the immigrants' responses with the responses for the population as a whole, we have chosen to weight the results for the population as a whole so that it has the same distribution by gender, age and geographical location as the immigrants (the ten nationalities together). It is thus not relevant to explain any differences between the immigrants and the population as a whole by referring to differences in the composition of the two populations in terms of these three dimensions.

An example: Since health is very closely linked to age, it is conceivable that any differences in health between the immigrants and the population as a whole in the immigrants' favour might be due to the fact that the immigrants are generally younger. By weighting the results from the regular surveys of living conditions, the age structure of the immigrants is "imposed" on the general population. This eliminates this source of error. The same also applies to the possibility that differences in type of housing between immigrants and the population as a whole is due to the fact that immigrants are more strongly represented in urban areas. Weighting eliminates this potential source of error as well.

The fact that several years may have passed between the time of the interviews in LKI 2005/2006 and the regular surveys of living conditions hardly undermines the opportunity for comparison. Drastic changes in the living conditions for established groups seldom occur in the space of a few years. In this respect, the dimension of time is more important in connection with comparison of results for immigrants in 2005/2006 with the results for immigrants in 1996. During the course of a ten-year period, noticeable changes can occur in immigrants' living conditions. However, this does not only have to be changes caused by external political and economic changes in society. The very demographic composition of the immigrant groups changes over time through immigration and emigration, births, deaths and ageing. In addition, the longer immigrants have been living in Norway, the more social and cultural capital they tend to acquire, the better their command of Norwegian, and the more able they are to take advantage of the resources offered by society in an effective way (Tronstad and Østby 2005, Blom 2004).

Many of the tables in this report also refer to the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions, which was the closest

survey we could compare with when analysing the living conditions data from the 1996 immigrant survey. In contrast to our practice now, back then we removed immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions so that the remaining group that we compared immigrants with was "the population minus the immigrant population" (which we called "Norwegians"). This is not indicated specially in the tables we present here, since the name "the population as a whole" is used as a table heading for the 1995 data too. It is also important to note that the 1995 data were also weighted then so that they had the same basic distribution in terms of age, geographical location and gender as the target population of the eight immigrants groups in Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 (cf. Blom and Ritland 1997).

2.3. More persons born in Norway to immigrant parents...

Statistics Norway's definition of the immigrant population includes people registered as living in Norway with two foreign-born parents and four foreign-born grandparents. This also encompasses children born in Norway of two foreign-born parents (and four foreign-born grandparents). Previously, these people were referred to as "second-generation immigrants"; nowadays we call them "persons born in Norway to immigrant parents". These people were included in our data material from 1996 and back then constituted 5 per cent of the net sample, i.e. the people who were actually interviewed (table 2.1). The largest share of persons aged 16 or over born in Norway to immigrant parents was in the group with a background from Pakistan (14 %). This was followed by the former Yugoslavia (minus Bosnia-Herzegovina) and Turkey (with 6 and 4 per cent respectively).

Table 2.1. Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, living in Norway at the beginning of 1996 and in third quarter 2005, by country background. Per cent

Respondent's immigration category	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	2560			335	257		296	298	357	387	314	316
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Immigrant without Norwegian background	95			94	97		99	86	100	99	100	98
Person born in Norway to immigrant parents	5			6	4		1	14	0	1	-	2
Not stated	0			-	-		-	-	-	-	0	-
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	3053	333	288		297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Immigrant without Norwegian background	91	99	98		92	100	99	70	86	96	99	92
Person born in Norway to immigrant parents	9	1	2		8	-	2	30	14	4	1	8
2005												
Percentage of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in the population	8,2	0,6	3,5		12,4	0,3	1,4	26,4	10,0	3,2	0,6	7,1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and population figures as per 01.01.2005 from Statistics Norway's population statistics.

Table 2.2. Age on immigration to Norway for immigrants, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Age on immigration to Norway	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	2480			315	246		293	261	357	384	312	312
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
0-5 years	4			2	4		0	11	5	1	-	2
6 years or older	96			98	96		100	89	95	100	100	98
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	2827	331	282		271	356	263	213	270	339	243	259
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
0-5 years	7	5	7		5	2	8	13	12	2	5	14
6 years or older	92	95	92		95	97	90	87	88	98	95	85
Don't know	1	-	1		0	1	2	1	-	1	1	0

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

Nine years after the Survey of Living Conditions in 1996, the share of persons aged 16 and over born in Norway to immigrant parents has almost doubled and constitutes on average 9 per cent in the new.² By 2005/2006, the share of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents with a background from Pakistan had increased to 30 per cent of the respondents and the almost non-existent share of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents with a background from Vietnam in 1996 had increased to 14 per cent. Among people with a background from Turkey and Chile too, the share of adult persons born in Norway to immigrant parents has increased from 4 to 8 per cent and from 2 to 8 respectively.³

Although some children with immigrant parents do not speak Norwegian when they start school – despite being born in Norway – most persons born in Norway to immigrant parents will usually have an advantage over people who migrate to Norway as adults. Potentially, persons born in Norway to immigrant parents will benefit from ten years of obligatory education in the Norwegian school and may continue on to upper-secondary school. By going to school in Norway, they will have friends who speak Norwegian and learn Norwegian in class. The employment statistics based on data from public registers show that persons born in Norway with two foreign-born parents are more easily integrated into the employment market than immigrants (Olsen 2006b). There are also lots of stories of children born in Norway to immigrant parents being asked to interpret for their parents in different practical situations. Against this background, we assume that the possibility for integration increases when a group

of immigrants has a larger share of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents aged 16 and over (and thus represented in our sample).

Even the immigrants who arrived in Norway as pre-school children will probably benefit from the fact that most of their childhood was spent in their country of immigration. In a way, they almost count as a person born in Norway to immigrant parents since they will have had all of their formal schooling in Norway. Table 2.2 shows the percentage of people who immigrated to Norway aged 0-5 and who were 16 or over at the time of the interviews, on the basis of the surveys in 1996 and 2005/2006.

In the 1996 survey, this group of young immigrants constituted only 4 per cent of our net sample, but this share had risen to 7 per cent by 2005 for the ten national groups involved in the survey. However, this difference is not significant and may be due to random aspects of the samples. The difference in the percentage is larger for some national groups, such as Iranians, Vietnamese and Chileans, but we have decided not to attach importance to this possible change in the composition of the two samples

2.4. Longer residence...

Another change worth noting in the samples used in the surveys of living conditions is an increase in the total length of time immigrants have lived in Norway. Even though new immigrants who have not been in Norway very long are continuously being added to the group of immigrants who are already here, the nine years that have passed from 1996 to 2005 have not been cancelled out by the short duration of residence of the recently arrived immigrants. If we take the median year of arrival for the individual national groups and for all the groups together, we find that the length of residence of the immigrants in the two surveys has increased. This provides grounds for us to expect that the degree of integration ought to be slightly better in 2005 than in 1996, because a larger share of the sample has been in Norway longer.

² Here and in all the other tables from Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006, we have weighted the results in the "total" column so that they are more affected by the values in the major national groups (for example, Pakistanis) than by the values in the small national groups in the total population (for example Chileans).

³ These figures are from the net sample. The corresponding register-based population figures as per 01.01.2005 are as shown in table 2.1: 26 per cent for Pakistanis, 10 per cent for Vietnamese, 12 per cent for Turks and 7 per cent for Chileans. Unfortunately we do not have the corresponding population figures as per 01.01.1996 as the selection foundation for the gross sample has been deleted.

Table 2.3. Median year of arrival and length of residence¹ for immigrants aged 16-70 from selected non-Western countries, registered as living in Norway at the beginning of 1996 and in third quarter 2005, by country background and gender

Median year of arrival	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Both sexes	1988			1990	1986		1988	1981	1987	1987	1991	1987
Men	1987			1989	1985		1988	1976	1986	1987	1990	1987
Women	1988			1990	1987		1989	1984	1988	1989	1991	1987
2005												
Both sexes	1993	1993	1994		1991	1999	1992	1986	1988	1990	1999	1988
Men	1993	1993	1993		1991	1999	1991	1984	1987	1988	1999	1988
Women	1993	1994	1995		1990	2000	1995	1987	1989	1993	1999	1988
2005 The population as a whole												
Both sexes	1993	1993	1994		1990	2000	1991	1986	1988	1990	1999	1988
Men	1993	1993	1994		1989	1999	1990	1984	1987	1988	1999	1988
Women	1993	1993	1995		1990	2000	1993	1987	1989	1993	1999	1988
Median length of residence (number of years)												
1996	8			6	10		8	15	9	9	5	9
2005	12	12	11		15	5	14	19	17	15	6	17

¹ Median length of residence was calculated using the population figures for LKI 2005/2006. Unfortunately we do not have the corresponding population figures for 1996.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006; population figures as per 01.01.2005 from Statistics Norway's population statistics.

Table 2.4. Year of arrival for immigrants, aged 16-70, registered as living in Norway in third quarter 2005, by country background. Per cent

Year of arrival	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
2005											
Net sample											
Number of people (N)	2840	331	281	272	357	266	216	270	340	243	264
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1967-1974	2	1	1	5	-	-	11	1	2	0	2
1975-1979	5	-	1	9	-	0	19	7	1	-	6
1980-1984	6	0	1	7	-	0	13	22	6	-	5
1985-1989	22	1	13	25	5	38	22	30	38	5	64
1990-1994	24	68	37	14	10	19	11	25	25	19	10
1995-1999	21	24	34	18	35	20	11	7	20	32	5
2000-2003	20	7	14	21	50	23	13	8	9	44	7
2005 The population as a whole											
Number of people (N)	92 538	20 722	7 409	7 905	10 984	9 998	13 345	10 933	7 176	8 895	5 171
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
-1974	3,4	1,0	4,7	6,0	0,1	0,3	14,8	0,1	0,9	0,1	2,2
1975-1979	5,2	0,3	1,2	10,0	0,0	0,4	18,3	8,0	1,3	0,1	8,2
1980-1984	6,6	0,1	1,1	10,4	0,2	0,9	12,0	26,2	4,9	0,2	5,6
1985-1989	21,3	1,0	11,0	23,1	4,5	39,8	21,2	25,3	38,8	9,3	63,1
1990-1994	24,6	69,3	32,0	16,4	12,5	19,9	10,7	26,9	23,5	19,7	9,0
1995-1999	19,6	22,2	33,4	18,1	32,1	18,9	12,0	6,6	20,4	26,6	5,7
2000-2003	19,3	6,0	16,6	16,1	50,5	19,8	10,9	6,9	10,2	44,1	6,2

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

We illustrate this point using median year of arrival among the respondents in 1996 and 2005, i.e. the years that divides an ordered distribution of the years of arrival into two equal parts, with 50 per cent above and 50 per cent below the median. The median is used instead of the arithmetic average, as average is more affected by a handful of extreme values than the median. The upper panels contain the figures from the two surveys' net samples; the second lowest panel contains the corresponding population figures for the survey in 2005/2006. The bottom panel shows median residence for the two samples' national groups. In 1996, the median year of arrival was 1988 for immigrants from the eight national groups included in

the Survey of Living Conditions⁴. This gives a median length of residence in Norway of eight years. Nine years later, in 2005, the median year of arrival for the ten national groups included in the new Survey of Living Conditions was 1993. This yields a median length of residence of 12 years in 2005 (table 2.3). In other words, length of residence in Norway has increased by four years for the sample as a whole.

We find the greatest increase in length of residence in Norway among immigrants from Chile and Vietnam.

⁴ The median year of arrival given in table 2.3 deviates slightly from the information in table 1.1. in Blom 1998, since the latter table also includes the year of birth of respondents with an immigrant background born in Norway. In table 2.3, persons born in Norway to immigrant parents have been removed.

Both had 1987 as their median year of arrival in 1996, and nine years median residence. In 2005 (nine years later), median year of arrival for these two nationalities is only one year later, i.e. 1988. This means that median length of residence in Norway for both these groups of immigrants has increased by eight years. Immigrants from Somalia have the smallest increase in length of residence, as there has been a new wave of immigration from Somalia since 2000. With a median year of arrival of 1991 in the 1996 survey and a median year of arrival of 1999 in 2005, the Somalis' median length of residence in Norway has only increased by one year in this period (from five years in 1996 to six years in 2005).

As we can see from table 2.3, there is a trend in several of the groups of immigrants for the men to have arrived in Norway slightly earlier than the women from the same country. This is especially so for immigrants from Sri Lanka, Iran, and Pakistan. However, for Iran there is deviation between the information based on the net sample and the entire population, as the difference in median year of arrival by gender is smaller when calculations are based on the actual population figures. There are also some other relatively small differences between the figures based on the sample and the population.

The distribution of year of arrival for the respondents in the 2005/2006 survey is shown in more detail in table 2.4. Here we see, for example, the very modest influx of Bosnians, Vietnamese, Sri Lankans and Chileans in the 2000s, while there is a huge wave of immigration from Somalia in the years immediately before and after the millennium. Some 60 per cent of Chileans were granted a residence permit in the second half of the 1980s, whereas nearly 70 per cent of the Bosnians arrived in the first half of the 1990s (as a result of the war in

Bosnia). There is much broader spread in when Turkish and Pakistani immigrants came to Norway.

2.5. ...and more senior citizens

The fact that the overall length of residence of the target population in the two surveys increases from 1996 to 2005 also entails greater spread in the age of the population. Whereas the oldest age group, 55-70 years, represented only 5 per cent of the sample in 1996, this share has almost doubled by 2005 (9 per cent). At the same time, there is a marked decrease in the age group 25-39 years (from 52 to 39 per cent). Of the ten groups interviewed in 2005/2006, it is the immigrant population from Bosnia-Herzegovina that is oldest, followed by the Chileans. Table 2.5 shows the age distribution in the net samples in 1996 and 2005, in addition to median age.

In the next chapter we present some aspects of the background of the different immigrant groups in the survey. In subsequent chapters, we will show trends in central aspects of living conditions since the last survey. The material presented in this chapter helps generate a hypothesis that there has been an improvement in integration since the last survey for some national groups. Even if the external framework conditions for integration of immigrants have not improved drastically in the decades that have passed, several of the national groups now have a larger share of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, and the immigrants have been in Norway longer. Both these factors ought to strengthen the likelihood of better integration. By contrast, there are relatively more older immigrants, reducing the likelihood of employment and increasing the likelihood of health problems and receiving benefits.

Table 2.5. Age at the end of the year for immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Respondent's age	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	2561			335	257		296	298	358	387	314	316
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
16-24 years	23			17	27		12	31	29	12	25	17
25-39 years	52			49	51		65	40	45	75	65	50
40-54 years	21			27	20		20	24	19	12	9	27
55-70 years	5			7	3		3	5	8	1	1	5
Median age (in years)	33			35	31		34	33	32	32	31	36
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	3053	333	288		297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
16-24 years	22	20	21		14	22	16	34	23	11	23	22
25-39 years	39	26	43		49	46	37	34	40	42	50	26
40-54 years	30	39	30		32	27	41	21	27	39	20	39
55-71 years	9	16	6		5	6	6	11	9	8	6	13
Median age (in years) net sample	35	41	35		34	34	38	31	33	38	30	39
Median age (in years) population	35	39	35		33	33	38	32	35	38	31	40

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

3. Background from country of origin

Svein Blom

It seems likely that various aspects of immigrants' background from their country of origin will affect how their lives unfold in Norway. Social status in their home country, and perhaps also their parents' social status; whether they migrated to Norway of their own free will or whether they fled to escape persecution; whether the immigrant belongs to the majority or a minority population in their country of origin; whether he/she grew up in the countryside or in a city – all these factors can have an impact on their integration in Norway. In later analyses, we take an empirical look at the significance of these individual factors for immigrants' living conditions in Norway. For the time being, we will have to make do with describing some aspects of the groups' background from their native countries.

3.1. Most immigrants in Norway are refugees

In the survey, we asked on what grounds the immigrant had been granted residence in Norway. This question was posed to the 91 per cent of the sample who had immigrated to Norway themselves (immigrants). The responses reveal that more than half came as refugees (see table 3.1). 16 per cent stated that they had been granted asylum, 33 per cent have been granted residence on humanitarian grounds and 6 per cent came as resettlement refugees (also called "UN refugees" or "quota refugees") from refugee camps abroad and were recognised by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The second most important reason for residence in Norway is related to family relations: 24 per cent came to Norway for family reunification and 14 per cent to establish a family (marriage). Only 6 per cent of immigrants from the countries covered in this survey came to Norway to work or study.

There may be grounds to attach less importance to the internal distribution between the various types of refugee status. Some people may have misunderstood the category "asylum" (previously called "political asylum") as meaning that they came to Norway as an asylum seeker. It is also possible that the distinction

between status as a resettlement refugee and asylum status is unclear, since resettlement refugees are often granted asylum. Below we will therefore discuss refugees as a single group. Fleeing from their native country is the main reason for residence in Norway among Bosnians, Serbs, Iraqis and Iranians in particular. Nine out of ten Bosnians have been granted residence as refugees, as have three out of four Serbs, Iraqis and Iranians. As expected, it is primarily among Pakistanis and Turks that work is a significant ground for residence, but still for only just under 15 per cent in either group. Marriage and family reunification are the main grounds for residence among immigrants from Pakistan and Turkey, while studying / education only plays a noteworthy role among immigrants from Sri Lanka.

There are also significant differences in the grounds for residence between the sexes. Women cite family-related grounds for residence far more often than men, while men more frequently cite fleeing from persecution and employment / work.

3.2. Most immigrants grew up in a city

The majority of immigrants who were five or older when they first came to Norway grew up in a city (see table 3.2). This is the case for eight out of ten Chileans and Iraqis and seven out of ten Iranians and Somalis. In many cases, they grew up in the capital. Childhood in a rural area is most common among immigrants from Turkey, Sri Lanka and Pakistan – at a rate of around four out of ten. On average, for the immigrants as a whole, growing up in a small town was about as common as growing up in the countryside. A quarter of the immigrants said they grew up in a small town. Four out of ten Bosnians grew up in a small town. There are grounds to assume that the transition to a modern Western society is harder for people who have migrated from a rural area in a developing country than for people who grew up in a city. Of course, the categories "small town" and "city" are slightly unclear, and we cannot be certain that the respondents all operate with the same scale when answering this question.

Table 3.1. Grounds for residence in Norway for immigrants, aged 16-70, by country background and gender. Per cent

Grounds for residence in Norway	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	2750	329	272	253	353	248	210	261	339	229	256
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Job / offer of work	4	2	3	13	1	4	11	-	2	0	5
Marriage	14	2	10	31	2	8	37	10	26	4	9
Family reunification	24	7	9	41	20	11	43	36	15	30	24
Studies / education	2	-	1	0	0	-	3	-	10	0	1
Asylum	16	2	14	8	18	23	2	36	24	18	24
Residence on humanitarian grounds	33	87	60	4	46	27	1	5	22	44	34
Resettlement refugee (quota refugee)	6	1	0	-	11	26	-	12	0	3	0
Other grounds. Specify	0	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
Immigrated as a child with parents	1	-	1	2	1	1	1	-	0	1	1
Don't know	0	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Men											
Grounds for residence in Norway											
Number of people (N)	1516	156	152	158	232	147	109	111	182	131	138
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Job / offer of work	6	3	5	17	1	4	20	-	3	1	6
Marriage	9	3	8	34	2	4	17	4	7	2	7
Family reunification	20	6	7	33	10	5	50	25	9	28	23
Studies / education	2	-	1	1	-	-	6	-	12	-	1
Asylum	18	-	18	10	19	22	2	51	34	15	22
Residence on humanitarian grounds	37	88	59	4	55	33	2	5	35	51	41
Resettlement refugee (quota refugee)	7	-	1	-	12	30	-	16	1	3	-
Other grounds. Specify	0	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1
Immigrated as a child with parents	1	-	2	2	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
Don't know	0	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Women											
Grounds for residence in Norway											
Number of people (N)	1234	173	120	95	121	101	101	150	157	98	118
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Job / offer of work	2	-	1	8	1	5	1	-	1	-	3
Marriage	21	1	12	27	2	14	58	15	47	6	13
Family reunification	30	9	12	55	41	19	37	45	23	33	25
Studies / education	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	8	1	-
Asylum	14	3	10	4	18	23	2	25	12	22	27
Residence on humanitarian grounds	28	86	63	2	29	18	1	6	8	35	26
Resettlement refugee (quota refugee)	5	1	-	-	8	21	-	9	-	2	1
Other grounds. Specify	0	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Immigrated as a child with parents	1	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	1	3

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 3.2. Childhood home in country of origin for immigrants aged 16-70, who came to Norway aged 6 or older, by country background and gender. Per cent

Where did the respondent grow up (urban / rural)?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	2564	313	252	239	345	227	185	231	333	220	219
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
In the country	23	17	31	41	7	8	38	28	39	16	3
In a small town	26	47	24	22	13	21	29	28	36	14	15
In a city	51	36	44	37	79	70	34	44	25	70	82
Don't know	0	-	-	-	0	1	-	0	0	1	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 3.3. Minority status among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent

Belongs to an ethnic minority in his/her country of origin?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3053	333	288	297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	26	5	37	22	45	40	8	5	88	27	7
No	74	95	63	78	54	59	91	94	11	71	92
Don't know	1	-	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	0

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 3.4. Most commonly spoken language at home among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent

Language most spoken at home.	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3040	333	288	297	357	269	308	314	353	234	287
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Albanian	5	1	64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arabic	4	-	-	-	38	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bosnian	9	80	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	2
Kurdish	9	-	-	11	51	23	-	-	-	-	-
Norwegian	24	17	23	22	7	28	38	30	18	12	40
Persian	4	-	-	-	-	42	1	-	-	-	-
Punjabi	3	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-
Serbian	1	0	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Somali	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	86	-
Spanish	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56
Tamil	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	79	-	-
Turkish	6	-	-	65	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Urdu	8	-	-	-	-	-	43	-	-	-	-
Vietnamese	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	69	-	-	-
Another language	2	2	1	1	3	5	3	1	1	-	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

3.3. Many refugees have minority status in their country of origin

In many of the ten countries whose migrants we have chosen to interview there are several ethnic groups with different cultural and religious backgrounds. The reason for some people fleeing from their home country is conflicts rooted in these differences. In many minority groups, identity is more closely linked to other people with the same minority status than to the national state they were born in. However, the public-register data we have about immigrants does not allow us to identify minority groups within the individual state. For this reason, we asked the respondents (including persons born in Norway to immigrant parents) whether they or their family “belong to any ethnic, national, linguistic or religious minority” in their or their parents’ country of origin. Every fourth person answered yes to this question (see table 3.3). The percentage of people who answered in the affirmative is especially high among people with a background from Sri Lanka (94 per cent). This is of course due to the fact that the vast majority of the immigrants from Sri Lanka are Tamils fleeing from the country’s Sinhalese authorities. In Sri Lanka, the

Tamils constitute just under 20 per cent of the population, while the Sinhalese are in the majority at 70 per cent. The national groups Serbia and Montenegro, Iraq and Iran also have large groups of people who define themselves as minorities (roughly four out of ten). These include people of Albanian and Kurdish origins. Turkey also has a Kurdish minority, which is represented in our sample. Least likely to report having minority status in their home country are immigrants with a background from Vietnam, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chile and Pakistan (approx. 5-8 per cent in each group).

3.4. Almost two thirds of the immigrants from Serbia and Montenegro speak Albanian

In addition to the question about minority status, the respondents were also asked about which language they speak most at home. This question provides an alternative way of determining whether the respondent belongs to a minority in their country of origin. In some national groups, there is a discrepancy between the answer to the question about minority status and the answer to the question about home language.

Speaking Norwegian at home is most common among immigrants from Chile, Pakistan, Vietnam and Iran (see table 3.4). Between three and four out of ten in these groups state that Norwegian is the language they speak most at home. The reason for this may be that they communicate best with their children in this way, if they have children born in Norway or who were very young when they immigrated to Norway. This is the situation for immigrants from Pakistan Vietnam and to a slightly lesser extent Chile. The immigrants from these countries have also been in Norway for a long time, meaning they have had plenty of time to master the language (cf. chapter 2).

The table also shows that almost two thirds of the people with a background from Serbia and Montenegro speak Albanian at home. Albanian speakers in Serbia and Montenegro are normally from the Kosovo province in south-western Serbia. They thus constitute a significantly larger minority share than the almost four out of ten in table 3.3. It is difficult to know how to reconcile this conflicting information. It is possible that some Albanian speakers regard Kosovo as the reference area and thus do not consider themselves members of a minority in this context. In Kosovo, Albanian speakers are in the majority.

By contrast, according to table 3.4, the percentage of people who speak Kurdish at home is lower among people with a background from Turkey and Iran (one and two out of ten respectively) than we would expect from the figures concerning minority identity for the same countries in table 3.3 (two and four out of ten, respectively). This discrepancy can be partly explained by the fact that some of the minority members speak Norwegian at home; nor must we overlook the fact that ethnic minorities are sometimes so assimilated into the majority culture in their country of origin that they are most comfortable speaking the majority language. The higher minority share for Iran probably also refers to groups with a different religion (Baha'i, Christian Yazdanism, together 8 per cent in the category "other religion" according to table 8.1). Among Iraqis, there is greater agreement between the percentage of self-declared minority members (45 per cent) and the percentage that speak Kurdish at home (51 per cent).

The only other national group where there is a discrepancy between the declared minority share and home language is Somalia. People with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Pakistan, Vietnam and Chile primarily use the language of their country of origin at home, and a small share use Norwegian. According to table 3.3, these countries have a minority share that is less than one in ten. Almost nine out of ten Sri Lankans claim they are part of a minority, at the same time as eight out of ten speak the minority language Tamil at home.

According to table 3.4, almost nine out of ten Somalis speak Somali at home. At the same time, one in four claim that they belong to a minority. Here we are unsure what minority identity they are talking about. It is unlikely to be a matter of a different religion since 99 per cent of Somalis state they are Muslims (cf. chapter 8). They probably mean that they belong to a minority clan or tribe.

3.5. Many women did not have a job in their country of origin

The question about what the immigrant did for a living in their country of origin before migrating was only asked of immigrants who were aged 6 years or older when they came to Norway. It seems likely that the professional skills and qualifications an immigrant acquired in their home country will affect the opportunities afforded to them on the labour market in Norway. Of course, the question about employment in their home country is irrelevant for immigrants who emigrated before they were old enough to start working. Almost 44 per cent, on average for all the national groups together, stated that they had not had a job in their country of origin (table 3.5). This figure is lower for men than for women, at 35 and 55 per cent respectively. Among the men, the countries with the highest share of immigrants who did not have a job are Sri Lanka, Somalia and Pakistan, at roughly 50 per cent. Among the women, the corresponding proportion is 80 per cent among immigrants from Pakistan and 70 per cent among immigrants from Turkey. This illustrates the fact that a lack of profession is not only due to emigration at a young age, but also reflects different gender roles. External factors such as unemployment can also play a part.

In the open response option, a number of respondents state that they did not have a job because they were still at school. We have since put these respondents into a separate category that constitutes almost 10 per cent on average. Among Iranian men, almost 30 per cent state that they were at school in their home country and therefore did not have a job on arrival in Norway. The corresponding share among women from Iran is almost half that figure. Several other national groups also cite schooling as an alternative to a work.

The three general types of jobs most commonly cited by women and men are "office worker", "labourer" and "independent businessman". In fourth place among the men was "craftsman". The profession "independent businessman" is most cited among Iranians and Somalis of both sexes (just under 20 per cent), and by Iraqi men. There are generally few immigrants who say they were doctors, lawyers or other "liberal professions". A little over 10 per cent of Pakistani and Vietnamese men were independent farmers or fishermen, while far fewer were non-freehold farm workers.

Table 3.5. Main job in country of origin for immigrants aged 16-70, who came to Norway aged 6 or older, by country background and gender. Per cent

Respondent's main job in their country of origin	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	2553	311	251	237	345	227	184	230	333	217	218
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Craftsman	4	9	10	6	4	2	1	4	4	1	3
Labourer	11	18	16	15	10	3	2	17	8	6	17
Office worker	16	24	13	8	22	22	10	6	14	11	28
Farm worker / non-freehold farmer	1	0	1	4	-	1	1	3	2	1	2
Independent farmer / fisherman	4	1	0	3	1	3	7	9	5	4	1
Independent businessman	7	1	2	4	8	19	4	7	4	16	4
Doctor / lawyer / other liberal profession	3	6	2	4	10	1	1	0	1	1	1
No job in country of origin	44	37	48	46	36	25	63	42	57	55	29
At school in country of origin	9	1	7	8	8	23	10	10	5	3	13
Other. Please specify.	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	0	1	1
Don't know	1	1	0	-	1	1	1	-	0	2	2
Men											
Respondent's main job in their country of origin											
Number of people (N)	1416	145	142	148	226	139	95	97	179	124	121
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Craftsman	6	14	15	10	7	2	1	4	5	1	4
Labourer	12	21	17	18	14	3	4	12	11	7	22
Office worker	15	17	13	12	22	19	13	8	10	12	22
Farm worker / non-freehold farmer	2	-	1	4	-	1	2	3	3	2	3
Independent farmer / fisherman	5	1	1	5	2	3	12	11	6	7	1
Independent businessman	9	1	4	7	12	19	7	4	6	16	7
Doctor / lawyer / other liberal profession	5	9	4	4	14	1	2	1	2	2	-
No job in country of origin	35	35	35	30	19	22	48	43	50	50	26
At school in country of origin	11	1	10	10	10	29	10	11	8	3	13
Other. Please specify.	0	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Don't know	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	2
Women											
Respondent's main job in their country of origin											
Number of people (N)	1137	166	109	89	119	88	89	133	154	93	97
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Craftsman	2	4	3	-	-	1	-	5	3	1	2
Labourer	9	15	14	10	2	3	-	21	4	5	9
Office worker	16	30	12	3	22	26	7	5	18	9	34
Farm worker / non-freehold farmer	1	1	2	5	-	-	-	2	1	-	2
Independent farmer / fisherman	2	1	-	-	-	3	1	8	3	1	-
Independent businessman	5	1	1	-	3	19	1	9	2	15	1
Doctor / lawyer / other liberal profession	1	4	-	5	2	1	-	-	1	-	3
No job in country of origin	55	39	65	71	67	28	79	41	65	61	33
At school in country of origin	7	2	3	6	5	15	11	9	3	2	12
Other. Please specify.	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Don't know	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	4	2

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

3.6. Many of the respondents' parents had not completed primary and lower secondary education

The respondents' own education from abroad – for most people their country of origin – is dealt with in a later chapter. Here we are reporting the answers to two questions about the respondents' parents' education. However, methodological studies have shown there are grounds to be cautious as regards indirect information provided in interview surveys, as there are more likely to be errors in information provided by people other than the person the question pertains to. For want of better data about the socio-economic status of the immigrants' childhood home

environment, we have nevertheless chosen to present this information here.

On average, one in four fathers have not completed primary and lower secondary education (see table 3.6). The percentage of fathers that have no education or did not complete primary and lower secondary education is highest among Iraqi immigrants, at almost 50 per cent. Next come the fathers of immigrants from Iran, Somalia and Turkey – all with one in three not having completed primary and lower secondary education. The highest proportion of fathers of immigrants who have completed primary and lower secondary education is found in the Turkish and Sri Lankan groups, at around 50 per cent. In terms of lower and higher university or college

education, an average of 18 per cent of immigrants' fathers have education at this level. This percentage is almost 30 per cent among fathers of immigrants from Iran and Bosnia, and 6 per cent among fathers of immigrants from Turkey. The percentage of fathers with higher education is not especially high for the fathers of immigrants with a background from Pakistan or Vietnam (12-13 per cent). It is interesting to note that the situation for Iranian fathers is polarised, as it is this group that has the largest share with higher education (28 per cent), at the same time as a third have not completed basic primary and lower secondary schooling.

The respondents also answered questions about their mothers' level of education. As expected, the proportion who have no education at all or who did not complete basic primary and lower secondary education is higher among the respondents' mothers

than among their fathers. On average for the national groups together, the share who had not completed primary and lower secondary education was 44 per cent among mothers of immigrants, i.e. 20 percentage points higher than for the fathers (see table 3.7). Seven out of ten Iraqi mothers have not completed primary and lower secondary education. The same is true of approximately six out of ten mothers of immigrants from Somalia, Turkey and Pakistan. Sri Lankan mothers are the mothers that have completed primary and lower secondary education to the greatest extent (almost six out of ten). The share of mothers of immigrants who have university-level education is around half that of the fathers, on average 8 per cent. It is the mothers from Chile, Bosnia and Iran that have the highest education at this level, at around 15 per cent. Almost no mothers of Turkish immigrants have higher education.

Table 3.6. Highest completed education for fathers of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent

Father's highest completed education	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288	297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No education	14	4	15	18	30	19	11	7	2	30	3
Started, but did not complete primary and lower secondary education	11	2	3	15	17	14	12	19	8	3	6
Primary / lower secondary education (usually 7 - 10 years of education)	29	20	30	51	20	20	36	29	50	13	22
Upper secondary education (usually 1 - 3 years of education)	25	45	30	9	13	17	25	22	26	25	39
University / college, first degree (1- 4 years)	13	21	19	5	13	19	10	10	11	14	14
University / college, second degree (5 years or longer)	5	6	2	1	6	9	3	2	3	10	10
Don't know	3	2	-	1	2	1	3	11	1	5	7

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 3.7. Highest completed education for mothers of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent

Mother's highest completed education	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288	297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No education	31	11	26	43	61	30	37	19	1	58	1
Started, but did not complete primary and lower secondary education	13	8	6	14	12	15	21	20	16	5	7
Primary / lower secondary education (usually 7 - 10 years of education)	31	37	40	37	12	18	28	35	58	20	34
Upper secondary education (usually 1 - 3 years of education)	15	30	21	4	6	21	8	13	19	10	36
University / college, first degree (1- 4 years)	7	11	7	1	6	14	5	5	5	5	13
University / college, second degree (5 years or longer)	1	1	0	-	2	1	-	0	0	1	4
Don't know	3	1	-	1	1	2	3	9	1	3	6

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

We also gathered information about their parents' profession in the country of origin (not shown in the table here). The answers here are reminiscent of the respondents' answers concerning their job in their home country, with the exception of the fact that almost everyone claimed their father had a job. Again, the main professional categories were office worker, labourer, independent businessman, independent farmer / fisherman and craftsman. For the national groups together, these professions constituted roughly 80 per cent for men. Among the mothers, "housewife" was the clearly dominant group. Among all the mothers together, 70 per cent were housewives. The percentage of housewives was highest among Pakistani mothers (90 per cent). Next came Iraqi, Turkish and Sri Lankan mothers, with approximately 80 per cent not working outside the home. Fewest housewives were reported by the respondents with a background from Vietnam and Chile (between 40 and 50 per cent).

out of ten said their father had higher education, while less than one in ten had mothers with higher education.

3.7. Conclusion

Over half of the immigrants in our sample were granted residence in Norway as refugees, and most of these were granted residence on humanitarian grounds. After refugees, the second most important grounds for residence are family related. Women have family related grounds for residence more frequently than men. Fewer than one in ten stated that they had been granted residence because of work or studies. These were mostly men. Over half of the immigrants in our sample who came to Norway aged 6 or older grew up in a city in their home country. This applies especially to immigrants from Iraq, Iran, Somalia and Chile. Every fourth immigrant in our sample claimed to belong to a minority in their country of origin. Combined with the information provided about the main language spoken at home, we find that the main minorities are Albanian speakers with a background from Serbia and Montenegro (presumably the Kosovo province in Serbia), Kurdish speakers with a background from Iraq, Iran and Turkey, and Tamils with a background from Sri Lanka. Nine out of ten Sri Lankans in Norway are Tamils; roughly two thirds of the immigrants from Serbia and Montenegro are Albanian speakers; and roughly half of the Iraqis are Kurds with a background from Iraq. Kurds constitute a smaller proportion of the people with a background from Iran and Turkey. Of the immigrants who were aged 6 or older when they first came to Norway, 35 per cent of the men and 55 per cent of the women stated that they had not had a job in their country of origin. Many were probably too young to have worked. Roughly 10 per cent stated that they were still in school. Among the respondents who said they did have a job, most were office workers, labourers, independent business men and craftsmen. Many of the respondents in our sample have parents who did not complete primary and lower secondary education: one in four men and almost four out of ten women. Two

4. Ties to country of origin

Svein Blom

The degree to which people with an immigrant background living in Norway maintain relations with family and friends in their country of origin varies quite widely. This is especially the case for immigrants who spent much of their life in their country of origin and wish to maintain contact with people in their former home country for various reasons. How extensive this contact is often varies according to how many key people in the individual's life still live in the country of origin, what the individual stands to gain by maintaining contact with them, how strong the social commitments to them are, and, not least, the extent to which national or supranational obstacles impede contact. These kinds of obstacles may be linked to the nature of the regime in the country the immigrant has left or fled from, or may be rooted in restrictions that the country that he or she has migrated to has imposed to limit access for visiting family members. Rules governing currency exports can also make it difficult or impossible to send a large one-off sum of money out of the country. There is also wide variation in how badly family members in the country of origin need assistance from the emigrated individuals.

In this chapter, we will review the answers to the questions in the interview intended to chart the extent to which immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents maintain and establish connections or ties of different types to people or institutions in their country of origin. This includes property ownership, financial assistance, visiting their country of origin and channels of communication that make it possible to keep up with events not covered by the Norwegian mass media. The respondents were also asked about whether they expected to stay in Norway or move (back) to their country of origin.

4.1. Some immigrants own land in their country of origin

Depending on the immigrant's views concerning the possibility and desirability of returning to their country of origin, permanently or for shorter periods, it may be interesting for them to invest in real property in their native country. Western currencies can buy more in the immigrants' native country than in the country they

have immigrated to, and invested funds will also bring status in their local community in their country of origin. Some people also own property in their country of origin that they inherited or bought before emigrating. There is not much information on how common it is for immigrants in Norway to own assets in their country of origin. We therefore wanted to ask some simple questions about these matters of all the respondents in the 2005/2006 Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants.

One question concerned ownership of land, a shop or "some other type of business" in the country of origin, alone or jointly with others. On average, one in ten answered that they own land in their country of origin (see table 4.1). The percentage of the population that answered yes to this question was greatest among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from Pakistan. Roughly every fourth Pakistani stated that he / she owns land in Pakistan. Among the people with a background from Chile, Iraq and Iran, only 6 per cent own land alone or jointly with others. This phenomenon is least common among people with a Vietnamese background (2 per cent).

Less than 2 per cent of the entire sample stated that they own a shop in their country of origin. This was most common among Somalis, with 3 per cent answering yes to this question. Only 1 per cent of the sample state that they own "some other type of business" in their country of origin, without stating what kind of business this is. A survey of living conditions among non-Western immigrants⁵ in Denmark in 1999 contained a similar question, and here the percentage with corresponding ownership interests in their country of origin (i.e. land, a shop or other business) was slightly lower on average than in our survey (the Rockwool Foundation Research Unit 1999).

⁵ The Danish survey used a sample consisting of the same nationality groups as ours, apart from Iraqis, Sri Lankans and Chileans, but included Poles and Lebanese Palestinians (cf. Viby Mogensen and Matthiessen 2000: 383ff.).

Table 4.1. Ownership of land in country of origin among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent

Do you own land in your country of origin?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288	297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Yes	11	11	14	14	6	6	24	2	8	9	6
No	88	89	85	85	94	93	76	89	92	91	93
Don't know	2	-	1	1	1	2	0	9	0	-	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 4.2. Home ownership in country of origin among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent

Do you own a dwelling abroad?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3053	333	288	297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Yes	16	15	17	35	6	9	34	2	7	6	10
No	84	85	83	65	94	91	66	98	93	94	90

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 4.3. Financial assistance to family in country of origin, proportion who give and frequency, among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent

Do you help your family in your country of origin financially, and how often?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288	297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	57	71	67	51	48	39	44	66	79	74	41
- every month	10	16	12	6	8	3	6	2	11	38	13
- at least once a year, but not every month	34	47	38	33	29	22	26	51	47	28	21
- less than once a year	12	8	17	13	11	13	11	13	22	9	8
No, I do not help	43	29	33	49	52	61	56	33	20	26	58
Don't know	1	0	-	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

4.2. Some people also own a home

In addition to owning land in their home country, some people also own a dwelling. In many cases, these phenomena are interlinked, as many people build a house on property they own. By combining the answer to the question about whether the respondent owns other dwellings than the one they currently live in and the answer to the question about whether, in this case, the dwelling is outside Norway, we find that a total of 16 per cent of our sample own a dwelling abroad (see table 4.2). Although "abroad" does not have to mean the respondent's country of origin, in most cases this is probably so. The tables show that more people own a dwelling abroad than land.

Among people with a background from Pakistan and Turkey, more than one in three own a second home abroad. By contrast, only 2 per cent of the Vietnamese and 6 per cent of the Iraqi and Somali immigrants own a second home abroad. The latter groups are more clearly "expelled" from the country they left than the majority of the immigrants from Turkey and Pakistan. It is therefore not pertinent for them to visit their country of origin in holidays and amass assets there.

4.3. More than half provide financial assistance

Many immigrants feel obliged to send money to family members in their country of origin. When asked in the 1996 Survey of Living Conditions if they "regularly send money to family or relatives in their home country", an average of one in three answered yes. The main recipients by far were the immigrant's parents. More than six out of ten of the respondents who said that they sent money said their parents were the recipient. Some people also sent contributions to their siblings and grandparents (Gulløy, Blom and Ritland 2007).

In the 2005/2006 survey, we did not ask *who* in the country of origin receives the money. Nor do we assume that money must be sent *regularly* to be of interest. Instead we asked whether the respondent ever helps their family in their country of origin financially. 57 per cent stated that they did (see table 4.3). The groups that state that they help their family financially the most are the Sri Lankans, Somalis and Bosnians. Between seven and eight out of ten answered yes to this question. The lowest "yes" share (roughly four out of ten) was found among immigrants from Iran and Chile.

In a follow-up question, we asked everyone who does provide financial support for their family in their country of origin to state how often they help. Respondents could choose between the following answers: (1) every month, (2) at least once a year, but not monthly, and (3) less than once a year. In table 4.3, how the relevant respondents answered this question is shown as sub-groups under the answer "yes" to the initial question. On average, only one in ten states that they help their family financially every month, with the obvious exception of immigrants from Somalia, where almost four out of ten state that they send money home every month. Immigrants from Vietnam also have a higher than average share who help their families financially: two thirds, but only 2 per cent do so monthly. Instead, half of them answer that they send money at least once a year, but not every month. Almost half of the immigrants from Bosnia and Sri Lanka also help their families financially at least once a year, but not every month. Almost two out of ten of the immigrants with a Sri Lankan and Serbian / Albanian background send money home less than once a year. At the same time, Sri Lankans are the national group with the most overall givers (eight out of ten).

4.4. More visits with family in country of origin

Personal contact between migrants and their family and friends in their home country also helps maintain important ties to the country of origin. The easiest and cheapest form of contact is by telephone. Cheap telephone cards have long been extensively available in areas where many immigrants live. However, we did not enquire about telephone contact with people in the country of origin in our interview. Instead we asked about visits.

Two out of three immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from the countries covered in our survey have visited their country of origin during the last five years (table 4.4). This figure is as high as nine out of ten among immigrants from Bosnia, Turkey and Pakistan. The proportion is also

high among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from Serbia and Montenegro and Sri Lanka (eight out of ten). Somalis and Iraqis are the two national groups that have visited their home countries the least. They both have short duration of residence in Norway and come from countries with ongoing armed conflicts. As we shall see later, they are also among the people who have the least extra money to spend on travel.

By comparing the answers in the 2005/2006 survey with the answers to a similar, but not identical question in the 1996 survey, we find that some national groups have a much higher percentage who visited their home country in 2005/2006 than was the case nine years earlier. This applies to the Sri Lankans (Tamils) for example, for whom the share that visited their home country increased by a massive 60 percentage points from 1996 to 2005/2006. A passing period of peace between the Tamil guerrillas and the authorities in the first half of the 2000s may have encouraged many Tamil refugees to go home for a visit. Also among people with a background from the former Yugoslavia, Iran, Vietnam and Somalia, the percentage who have visited their home country has risen significantly since the last survey.

Contact the other way, i.e. family and friends from the immigrant's country of origin visiting them in Norway, has also increased from 1996 to today, but not as markedly. The percentage of respondents who stated that they had received a visit from their country of origin during the last five years was 27 per cent in 1996 and 35 per cent in 2005/2006 (see table 4.5). Almost half of the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from Serbia and Montenegro, Iran, Pakistan and Chile answered that they had had a visit from their home country in this period. For some groups, such as Turks, Vietnamese and Sri Lankans, this represents a significant increase from 1996. For others, such as Iranians, Somalis and Chileans, there is no significant change.

Table 4.4. Percentage of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, who have visited their country of origin during the last five years, by year and country background. Per cent

Have you visited your family in your country of origin during the last 5 years?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	2561			335	257		296	298	358	387	314	316
Total	100,0			100,0	100,0		100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Yes	53			49	90		21	89	32	22	4	66
No	47			51	11		79	11	68	78	96	35
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288		297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	67	92	82		90	32	41	87	61	82	22	74
No	33	8	18		8	68	59	12	38	17	78	25
Don't know	0	-	-		2	0	0	0	0	0	-	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

Table 4.5. Percentage of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, who have been visited by someone from their country of origin during the last five years, by year and country background. Per cent

Have you been visited by a member of your family in your country of origin during the last 5 years?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	2520			328	256		294	289	354	380	310	309
Total	100,0			100,0	100,0		100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Yes	27			40	23		56	33	4	6	2	47
No	73			60	77		44	67	96	94	98	53
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288		297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	35	36	49		42	5	55	46	36	36	3	48
No	64	64	51		57	94	45	54	64	64	97	51
Don't know	0	-	-		1	0	0	-	1	0	-	0

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

Table 4.6. Percentage of the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, aged 16-70, who have satellite television, by country background. Per cent

Does the respondent have a TV with a private satellite antenna?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents										
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	1497	3049	333	288	297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	24	56	56	64	68	76	55	57	50	64	24	48
No	76	43	44	36	31	24	44	43	48	36	74	51
Don't know	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	-	2	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2006 Media Use Survey.

4.5. More than half of immigrants have satellite television

Keeping up to date with current affairs, culture and the general mood in one's country of origin by visiting is not always possible or practical. A functional alternative that many people take good advantage of is watching television programmes from their country of origin on satellite television. The traditional packages of television channels that distributors supply do not normally include channels from some of the countries included in this survey (with the possible exception of Turkish television). To watch television programmes from their home country, immigrants must therefore buy a parabolic antenna. The density of these distinctive, dish-shaped antennae on verandas and balconies in residential areas is often a good indication that many immigrants live in the neighbourhood. In principle, this equipment allows people to receive television broadcasts from their country of origin 24 hours a day, either as a supplement to Norwegian / Western programmes or as an alternative to them.

To chart the opportunities for this type of consumption of culture, we therefore asked the following question, which is also included in Statistics Norway's annual media use surveys: Do you / your household have a television connected to a privately owned satellite receiver?⁶ On average for all the groups, 56 per cent answered yes to this question (see 4.6). This is more

than double the rate for the population as a whole, where one in four answers yes. The population has been weighted to ensure it has the same distribution as our sample of immigrants in terms of age, gender and region. There is not overwhelming variation by national background among the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. In almost all the national groups at least half of the respondents have a satellite receiver. The exceptions are the immigrants from Chile and Somalia; for Chileans, the percentage is just under 50 per cent, but it is much lower for Somalis: one in four, which is the same as for the population as a whole.

For the record, it should be stated that we do not know how the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents use their satellite receivers or their motives for buying them. Nor do we know how much of their viewing time is spent watching channels from their country of origin as opposed to Norwegian channels. Some people may have bought a satellite receiver because they do not have access to the cable television. Another aspect that may well have an impact on interests and intellectual orientation is the part played by culture mediated via *video* and *DVD* in the individual's everyday life. Unfortunately, we have no data in this area.

4.6. A quarter hope to return

An important issue for immigrants is whether they expect to return to their country of origin at some point in time. The first labour immigrants that came to

⁶ The Media Use Surveys do not include the phrase "your household".

Norway at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s expected to return home after having worked in Norway for a while and saved up some money. Some of them have returned, but many have chosen to stay in Norway for the time being. It is probably less likely that persons born in Norway to immigrant parents will move permanently to their parents' home country. The individual's long-term plans must be assumed to have consequences for their desire to integrate. If they regard their stay in Norway as an interlude in life, they will probably make less of an effort to master the language, make friends among the majority population and learn about the nation's culture and history.

We asked all the respondents the following question to gain insight into any plans they might have to move back to their country of origin: "Do you think you'll ever move back to your country of origin, or that of your parents, to live there permanently?" The people who said they wanted to move back were then asked to state if they thought this would happen within the next five years, within five to ten years, or only when they are old. The answers are presented in table 4.7.

On average for all the immigrant groups, four out of ten answer no to returning, while almost the same proportion (37 per cent) say they "don't know". The remaining quarter think they will move back to their country of origin sooner or later. Very few, only 2 per cent, believe they will move back soon (i.e. within the next five years).

A little over 5 per cent think they will move back in the medium term (in the next five to ten years), while 17 per cent think it will not be until they are "old".

The answers vary according to country background. The people who are surest that they will not return (over 50 per cent) are the immigrants from Vietnam, Pakistan and Chile. Among the Vietnamese, six out of ten rule out returning. People with a background from Turkey are most positive towards returning. Among this group, almost four out of ten expect to return to their country of origin sooner or later – preferably later. The group that is most unsure about its plans for the future is the Somalis. Almost six out of ten answered "don't know" to the question about returning to their country of origin. There is also great uncertainty among the groups of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. Between four and five out of ten answer that they do not know if they will return to their home country in the future. It seems likely that Somalis and ex-Yugoslavians are uncertain about the political and social developments in their countries of origin. No-one can predict the prospects for Bosnians in a divided Bosnia-Herzegovina, for Kosovans in Serbia or for Serbs in an independent Kosovo – not to mention for Somalis in a country dominated by clans and ravaged by civil war. In this light, the high percentage of "don't knows" in these national groups seems quite an adequate response. Nevertheless, only between one and two out of ten immigrants from Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina directly rule out returning.

Table 4.7. Plans to return to their own or their parents' country of origin among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005, by country background. Per cent

Want to move back to their country of origin?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288	297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes, when I'm old	17	24	17	24	17	15	12	13	20	15	13
Yes, in 5-10 years	6	7	3	11	7	3	2	2	5	13	6
Yes, within 5 years	2	1	4	4	2	1	1	0	2	2	3
No	40	22	30	34	37	47	53	59	35	13	52
Don't know	37	46	47	28	37	35	31	27	38	57	26

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 4.8. Extent of sense of belonging to Norway as a country among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway in third quarter 2005. Percentage and as an average on a seven-point scale, by country background

Extent of sense of belonging to Norway as a country?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288	297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1- No sense of belonging to Norway	5	2	8	10	11	9	1	0	3	6	7
2	4	2	5	8	6	6	1	2	2	3	3
3	8	11	7	9	16	12	4	4	5	10	9
4	18	26	21	27	20	19	12	11	11	18	19
5	23	27	23	21	22	23	25	19	22	20	26
6	17	16	16	12	11	15	27	17	18	14	18
7- Strong sense of belonging to Norway	25	15	19	13	14	15	29	48	39	29	17
Don't know	0	-	-	1	1	0	-	0	-	0	0
Average on scale											
Both sexes	5,0	4,8	4,7	4,3	4,3	4,5	5,6	5,9	5,6	5,0	4,8
Men	4,9	4,8	4,7	4,2	4,4	4,4	5,5	5,8	5,7	4,9	4,6
Women	5,1	4,8	4,7	4,4	4,1	4,7	5,6	6,0	5,4	5,2	5,1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

4.7. Two thirds of immigrants have an above-average sense of belonging to Norway

Is it the case that people with few, weak ties to their home country identify most strongly with Norway as a country and vice versa? In order to test this theory, the respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their "sense of belonging to Norway" on a scale from 1 to 7 where 1 means "no sense of belonging" and 7 means "strong sense of belonging".⁷ The higher the number on the scale, the stronger the sense of belonging. It would take a more in-depth analysis than we are able to make here to provide a complete answer to the question, but we can reveal the distribution in the answers and indicate some possible correlations.

Table 4.8 shows that the majority in all the national groups are on the right-hand side of the scale, meaning they have an above-average sense of belonging to Norway. The most frequently chosen values are 7 and 5. Together almost two thirds of the respondents chose the values 5, 6 and 7. By comparison, only 17 per cent of the respondents chose the values 1, 2 and 3. If we work out the average for each of the nationality groups, the results show that people with a background from Vietnam express the strongest sense of belonging to Norway (value 5.9). In joint second place are Sri Lanka and Pakistan with an average value of 5.6 on the scale. Fourth is Somalia with 5.0, which is the average value for the sample as a whole. The other national groups express a sense of belonging to Norway below this average. The groups with the weakest sense of belonging to Norway are people with a background from Turkey and Iraq (4.3) – followed by Iran (4.5), with a slightly stronger sense of belonging.

4.8. Do weak ties to the country of origin yield strongest sense of belonging to Norway?

Let us now move on to the question of whether it is the people with the weakest ties to their country of origin who express the strongest sense of belonging to Norway and vice versa. Two cases at either end of the "sense of belonging" scale appear to support this theory. *Vietnamese* immigrants, who feel the strongest sense of belonging to Norway, are also the group that own the least land and property in their country of origin and least expect to return to their country of origin. Nor are they among the people who frequently visit or receive visitors from their country of origin or who have bought satellite television. People with a background from *Turkey* represent the other extreme. They express least sense of belonging to Norway, at the

same time as they dominate among the national groups that own land and property in their country of origin / abroad. They are among the groups that have visited their country of origin the most during the last five years, that most frequently have satellite television and that most expect to return to their country of origin.

Both these cases suggest that attraction to the country of origin is accompanied by a cooler relationship to the country they have immigrated to and vice versa. However, there are other cases – more than two – that appear to undermine this hypothesis. Let us look at the cases of people with a background from *Sri Lanka* and *Pakistan*. They both express the second highest degree of belonging to Norway, at the same time as they also rank high in terms of contact with their country of origin. Pakistanis are the group that ranks highest in terms of ownership of land and homes in the country of origin, while Sri Lankans have relatively the most people who help their family in their country of origin financially. Nor do Sri Lankans rule out the possibility of returning to their country of origin at some point in time. Pakistanis have a great deal of visit contact with their family in their country of origin, while Sri Lankans can compete with Turks in terms of having satellite TV.

Iraq and Iran represent a final example of the combination of belonging and orientation vis-à-vis the country of origin. They are among the countries with the weakest sense of belonging to Norway, at the same time as they have relatively weak ties to the country of origin in terms of property, financial assistance to their family and visit contact. Iranians are not particularly eager to return to their home country. In this case, however, it is probably the case that the weak ties to the country of origin are more the result of political circumstances than personal choice.

The overall conclusion is nevertheless that identification with and a sense of belonging to Norway do not seem to require a distant or cool attitude towards the country of origin and vice versa. It appears it is possible to "serve two masters".

⁷ This question has been taken from a Swedish study of ethnic discrimination under the auspices of the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations at Stockholm University (CEIFO) and has been used in several rounds of interviews. The strongest sense of belonging to Sweden was expressed by people from Denmark and India, and the least sense of belonging by people from Iran, Turkey and Asia (Lange 1997, 1999).

5. Housing

Svein Blom

Living conditions are affected by factors such as the type of dwelling people live in, whether they own their home or not, the size of the dwelling relative to the number of people living there and the standard of the building. The different types of dwelling and different forms of ownership can be perceived as a hierarchy with freehold detached houses at the top and private bed-sits or municipal rental accommodation at the bottom. In this kind of model, it is primarily the housing seeker's financial resources that determine where in the hierarchy the individual ends up. Normally, as a household's economy improves, they move up the housing hierarchy. Where in Norway the individual lives also plays a part. Freehold detached houses are far more common in sparsely populated areas, while blocks of flats and cooperative ownership are more common in large towns and cities.

Although the hierarchical dimension identifies a central aspect of the housing market, there are several other factors that also affect the individual's choice of dwelling. Household size, dwelling size, personal preferences and expectations regarding one's future life path all serve to add nuance to the picture. In urban areas, young, single people often prefer to live in a small dwelling close to the centre of town, whereas families with children often prefer large detached houses with a garden on the outskirts of town. Nevertheless, the financial resources the individual or household can mobilise form an important framework within which they must choose their home. In addition, as mentioned, there is variation in type of housing and form of ownership according to a regional dimension.

In addition to being a status indicator and an investment in periods with rising house prices, the dwelling also forms the material frame round the lives of the people who live there. Dwellings that are in a poor condition and have a low standard in terms of lighting, heating, sanitary conditions, cleanliness and structure will affect the quality of life of the inhabitants negatively. This also happens if the inhabitants risk having to move house at short notice when the lease expires. Housing thus has several concrete implications for the inhabitants' living conditions.

5.1. Housing type – most immigrants live in a block of flats

When asked in the survey Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 about the type of dwelling they lived in, 45 per cent of the respondents answered "Large building with a lot of apartments", which in practice means a block of flats or tenement building (see table 5.1). The percentage of immigrants living in a block of flats was largest among people with a background from Turkey, Pakistan and Somalia, at between 50 and 60 per cent. These are groups of immigrants that tend to live in urban areas, predominantly Oslo (Henriksen 2007). Among the various categories of housing, "detached house" came in second, at 25 per cent on average for all immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. People with a background from Vietnam and Serbia and Montenegro – who tend to live all over Norway (Henriksen 2007) – had the highest share of people living in a detached house, at 44 and 33 per cent respectively. Somalis were most weakly represented in the category "detached house" at 9 per cent. In joint third place overall came "terraced house / row house" and "house containing two, three or four apartments", at around 13-14 per cent each on average.

Compared with the situation for the population as a whole, the differences in type of housing remain apparent even if we "neutralise" the differences that are due to the fact that immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents have a different regional distribution to the rest of the population. According to the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions (cross section), the proportion of people living in a detached house in the population as a whole is 46 per cent, i.e. 20 percentage points higher than among the immigrants (25 per cent). At the other end of the scale, a smaller proportion of the general population lives in a block of flats (just over three out of ten). In terms of living in a terraced / row house or a house containing two, three or four apartments, there is less of a difference between the immigrant sample and the population as a whole.

Nevertheless, we must not overlook the possibility that some respondents may have erroneously stated that they own their home themselves when in fact they ought to have chosen the option "ownership through a cooperative or housing company". This may well be due to the fact that the difference between owning your home outright and through a cooperative is getting smaller. The new housing cooperatives act that came into force in 2003 has played a major part in this development (the Housing Cooperatives Act 2003).

If we ignore the distinction between people who own their homes themselves and people who own a share in a housing cooperative and combine the two categories of home ownership, we find that 63 per cent of immigrants

owned their home in 2005/2006. This is an increase of 9 percentage points since the last survey in 1996. This increase is at the expense of the proportion of people who rent. The percentage of people who rent is almost halved among immigrants from Iran and Pakistan and more than halved among immigrants from Vietnam and Sri Lanka. On average, the proportion of people who rent their home is now slightly over one in three. Among the two groups of immigrants that have come to Norway most recently, Iraqis and Somalis, the proportion who rent is considerably higher, at seven and eight out of ten. However, even among the Somalis we can discern a slight decrease in the percentage of people renting since 1996. Sri Lankans and Pakistanis have the lowest proportion of tenants, at around 15 per cent in 2005/2006.

Table 5.2. Home ownership among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Home ownership	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	1995												
Number of people (N)	3567	2552			335	257	295	298	355	387	310	315	
Total	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Owner occupied	53	22			27	22	22	25	20	19	3	23	
Housing cooperative or housing company Rents or has the right to use the dwelling by some other arrangement	19	32			19	43	18	48	32	33	5	33	
	29	46			54	35	60	27	48	48	93	44	
	2004												
Number of people (N)	3015	3053	333	288	297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Owner occupied	56	45	60	49	47	23	41	49	63	59	7	52	
Housing cooperative or housing company Rents or has the right to use the dwelling by some other arrangement	20	18	8	15	16	5	24	36	15	26	9	9	
	23	37	32	35	37	72	35	14	21	15	84	39	
Don't know	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

5.3. Private landlords and the municipalities are the main lessors

In a follow-up question put to the respondents who rent or have the right to use the dwelling by some other arrangement, we asked the tenants to specify who owns the dwelling they rent. This may be municipal housing allocated to disadvantaged tenants according to social criteria, for example. The City of Oslo has special municipal flats earmarked for refugees, but other economically disadvantaged immigrants can also get municipal housing after stringent means testing. Another important group of lessors is private individuals who offer rental accommodation in large tenement buildings, bed sits / studios and basement flats in their own home, or who rent out their home while they are away temporarily. Although all these cases are forms of renting, the social and legal dimensions of the lease may vary quite considerably. In some cases, stigma may be attached to living in a municipal flat. At the same time, the municipi-

pality is an impersonal landlord who does not keep an eye on the individual tenant in the same way as private landlords may wish to do.

The two main lessors in our survey among immigrants are "private or other" and the municipality. On average half of the people who rent their home rent from private landlords, compared with one in three who rent their home from the municipality (see table 5.3). The remaining 15 per cent of the people who rent their home rent from the state or county, a private institution or a company or organisation. The municipality is the main lessor among people who rent with a background from Serbia and Montenegro and Somalia. More than four out of ten lessees with a background from these countries rent their home from the municipality. Immigrants from Chile are the group of lessees that to the least extent rent from the municipality (only two out of ten of the people who rent).

Renting from private individuals is most common among immigrants from Sri Lanka, Iraq, Chile, Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina; roughly six out of ten of the people from these countries who rent their home rent from private individuals. Immigrants with a background from Somalia are the group of renters who rent least from private individuals (just under four out of ten lessees). However, the underlying figures for 2005/2006 are too small for some of the national groups, meaning that the percentages are not reliable. The distribution between different types of lessee was not significantly different in 1996. In the population as a whole, renting from private individuals was the clearly dominant form of lease in 1995 and 2004. The proportion of lessees who rented from the municipality was less than one in ten in both surveys.

In 2005/2006 we asked the people who rent from private individuals, both immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents a simple yes / no

question about whether their landlord is a relative or friend. This same question was put to the population as a whole in 2004. We assumed that the networks are strongest among the immigrants meaning that renting between friends or relatives would be more common among them than in the population as a whole. In fact, the opposite was true. In the population as a whole, one in three lessees in 2004 stated that their private landlord is a relative or friend, whereas this figure was one in four among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents on average (see table 5.4). However, the data reveal large variations among the immigrants in this respect. Remembering that using data from small samples can often provide a distorted image, the proportion of private landlords who are a friend or relative is just over four out of ten among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Turkey. The corresponding share among Somalis and Iraqis is roughly one in ten.

Table 5.3. Owners of rented dwellings among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Who owns the dwelling you live in?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
		1995											
Number of people (N)	586	1273			170	89		177	71	163	186	284	133
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
The municipality	5	36			48	43		28	41	40	14	38	29
The state or county	3	3			1	-		3	1	6	4	1	4
Private institution	2	7			1	3		3	10	3	10	12	17
Company or organisation	5	6			4	5		9	7	1	14	3	5
Private or other	85	50			45	49		58	41	50	58	46	46
		2004											
Number of people (N)	503	1146	105	101		109	257	94	44	65	53	206	112
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
The municipality	7	33	31	44		32	26	39	32	26	15	44	19
The state or county	3	3	2	2		3	3	6	2	5	2	2	5
Private institution	4	6	5	12		-	4	3	14	8	11	6	8
Company or organisation	12	7	4	1		6	7	5	9	3	8	11	7
Private or other	74	50	57	41		59	60	46	41	55	62	36	59
Don't know	-	1	1	1		-	0	-	2	3	2	1	2
		2005/2006											
Number of people (N)													
Total													
The municipality													
The state or county													
Private institution													
Company or organisation													
Private or other													
Don't know													

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

Table 5.4. Private landlord is a friend or relative among people who rent in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Is your landlord a relative or friend?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents										
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
		2004										
Number of people (N)	382	590	60	41	64	154	43	18	36	33	75	66
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	34	24	23	32	42	11	14	(56)	53	49	8	18
No	66	75	77	68	58	88	86	(44)	42	52	91	80
Don't know	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	-	1	2
		2005/2006										
Number of people (N)												
Total												
Yes												
No												
Don't know												

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Table 5.5. Proportion of people living in cramped conditions according to objective criteria among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Live in cramped conditions according to objective criteria	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	1995	1996											
Number of people (N)	3552	2452			333	255	283	289	338	381	270	303	
Total	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Yes	13	53			47	57	43	71	53	36	68	36	
No	87	46			53	43	57	29	47	64	32	64	
	2004	2005/2006											
Number of people (N)	3014	3053	333	288		297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	12	45	25	61		41	56	33	58	30	46	65	29
No	88	55	75	39		59	44	67	42	70	54	35	72

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

5.4. Almost half of immigrants live in cramped conditions...

One characteristic of the home that has a direct impact on living conditions is the size of the dwelling in relation to the number of people who live there. If there are many people and few rooms, this affects the individuals' freedom of movement and opportunity to develop and means people cannot retire to another room to be alone if they so desire. Of course, the definition of what constitutes a sufficient number of rooms for a given number of people is historically and culturally determined. Most of us have heard tales of families of ten living in two rooms and a kitchen in the period between the two world wars. Nowadays, we define a household as cramped if the dwelling has fewer rooms than household members. According to this definition, one person living alone in one room is also regarded as living in cramped conditions. Below we call this definition "objective", since it defines overcrowding as an unambiguous given in the ratio between number of inhabitants and number of rooms in the home. However, the choice of criteria has of course been determined subjectively.

Using this definition, 45 per cent of the population in the ten groups of immigrants live in cramped conditions (see table 5.5). There is large variation among the groups, from six out of ten from Somalia and Serbia and Montenegro to three out of ten from Iran, Vietnam and Chile and one in four from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the population of Norway as a whole, on average only 12 per cent live in cramped conditions according to these criteria. This percentage has remained fairly stable since 1995. By contrast, the table shows that the percentage of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents living in cramped conditions has sunk by an average of 10 percentage points from 1996 to 2005. The decline in the percentage of people living in cramped conditions has been largest among people with a background from Vietnam, Turkey and Pakistan. Again, these are the groups that have been living in Norway the longest.

5.5. ...but far fewer think their home is too small

The fact that the perception of overcrowding varies between cultures and communities is clearly illustrated in table 5.6. When asked whether their home is the right size, too small or too large, 18 per cent of the population as a whole state that it is too small. This is 6 percentage points *higher* than the results yielded by the objective criteria for overcrowding. By contrast, only 23 per cent of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents on average think their home is too small. This share is 22 percentage points *lower* than the share who live in cramped conditions according to the objective criteria. In other words, there is a 30 percentage point difference in overcrowding among the population as a whole and the ten groups of immigrants if we use the objective criteria for overcrowding, but this difference is reduced to only 5 percentage points if we use the inhabitants' subjective assessment.

There is also a drop in the proportion of the sample who subjectively assess their home as "too small" from 1996 to 2005/2006. The average decrease is 7 percentage points and is found in all the nationality groups for which there are comparative figures. The biggest decrease is among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents with a background from Iran and Chile (16 percentage points). Somalis and Iraqis are the two groups that most frequently assess their home as being too small.

5.6. Homes are not more draughty, but are in worse condition

One purpose of a dwelling is to provide protection against the elements, such as cold and heat, draughts, damp, outside noise, etc. Of the many questions we could have asked about the quality of the dwelling, we chose to ask one about draughtiness, one about structural damage caused by damp, and two about noise and sound insulation. All the questions were simple yes/no questions. One of the reasons that we did not include more questions about the quality of the dwelling is that there seemed to be relatively few, minor differences between immigrants and the rest of the population in terms of housing quality in 1996.

Table 5.6. Subjective assessment of the size of the dwelling among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Size of the dwelling according to subjective criteria	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	1995	1996											
Number of people (N)	3562	2549			335	257		293	297	358	385	310	314
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Too small	23	30			23	36		41	29	24	21	51	39
Not too small	77	70			77	64		59	71	76	80	49	61
	2004	2005/2006											
Number of people (N)	3015	3053	333	288		297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Right size	76	72	86	71		71	60	70	77	78	79	53	70
Too small	18	23	12	24		24	37	25	17	15	16	46	23
Too large	6	5	3	6		5	3	4	6	8	5	1	7
Don't know	0	0	-	-		-	-	0	-	-	-	-	0

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

Table 5.7. Draughty rooms among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Are any of the rooms draughty?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents										
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	2001	2005/2006										
Number of people (N)	3976	3053	333	288	297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	16	16	7	12	27	26	22	10	9	16	21	18
No	84	83	93	88	72	73	76	89	91	83	78	80
Don't know	0	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	1	0	2

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2001 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Table 5.8. Decay, mould or fungus in home among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Do any of the rooms have decay, mould or fungus?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents										
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	2004	2005/2006										
Number of people (N)	3015	3053	333	288	297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	5	9	6	6	8	21	10	3	5	3	19	12
No	95	91	94	94	91	78	87	96	95	97	80	87
Don't know	0	1	-	-	1	1	2	0	-	-	1	2

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

This impression is initially supported by the answers to the question concerning whether any of the rooms in the dwelling are draughty. An average of 16 per cent of the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and 16 per cent of the population as a whole answer yes to this question. The data for the population as a whole are from the 2001 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section, roughly five years prior to the survey among immigrants, although this is hardly likely to make much of a difference. Draughty rooms are most common among people with a background from Turkey and Iraq; around one in four of the people from these countries state that they have this problem (see table 5.7).

The question whether any of the rooms had decay, mould or fungus reveals large differences between the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant

parents and the population as a whole. Here 5 per cent of the general population answered yes, compared with 9 per cent of the immigrants (see table 5.8). Two national groups stand out as having a significantly higher yes percentage than the others: Iraqis and Somalis. Two out of every ten in these groups claim that they have decay, mould or fungus in some of the rooms in their home. Their homes are probably older and/or more poorly maintained than the other groups' dwellings.

Neither of these questions (draughty rooms and rooms with decay, mould or fungus) could be compared directly with any of the questions in the 1996 survey. The 1996 survey contained a question about whether there was decay in the windows or floor. Roughly the same proportion (7-9 per cent) answered yes to this question among the immigrants and among the population as a whole.

5.7. More traffic noise in immigrants' homes

A question in the 1996 survey about noise revealed a difference in the answers between immigrants and the rest of the population. The question was worded "Are you – in this house/flat – normally bothered by noise from street/road?" 23 per cent of the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents answered yes to this question, compared with 15 per cent of the rest of the population (see table 5.9). Somalis were most affected by noise. One in three answered yes to this question. The question was reiterated with slightly different wording in 2005/2006: "Do you normally find you hear a lot of road or street noise when you're in your home?" 20 per cent of the immigrants / persons born in Norway to immigrant parents answered yes to this question, compared with 15 per cent of the population as a whole. Almost four out of ten Somalis answered yes to this question, followed by immigrants from Iran and Iraq, with one in four.

It may well be that these data reflect the situation in Oslo, where immigrants are overrepresented in areas that tend to have more noise problems in the inner city east and the suburbs to the east, often close to major traffic arteries.

We also asked about noise immediately outside the home. The question read: "How much would you say the road or street noise bothers you when you're right outside your home?" The respondents could choose between the answers "bothers me a lot", "bothers me quite a bit", "bothers me very little" and "doesn't bother me". On average for all the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and for the population as a whole, the percentage that answered "bothers me a lot" or "bothers me quite a bit" were roughly the same, 15 and 16 per cent respectively (see table 5.10). It is difficult to understand why the tendency we saw in the previous question is not repeated here. However, there were quite substantial differences among the different nationalities of immigrants in their answers. Again, immigrants from Somalia and Iraq are the two groups who found the noise outside home very or quite bothersome: almost three out of ten Somalis and two out of ten Iraqis. The immigrants least bothered by noise outside their home were people with a background from Vietnam and Chile (just under one in ten).

Table 5.9. Exposure to street / road noise inside the home among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Normally hear road noise in your home?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1995		1996											
Number of people (N)	3567	2552			335	257		295	296	358	386	311	314
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	16	23			20	27		23	19	25	22	33	27
No	84	77			80	73		77	81	75	78	68	73
2004		2005/2006											
Number of people (N)	3015	3053	333	288		297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	15	20	14	20		23	24	24	16	13	16	39	21
No	85	79	86	80		76	76	74	83	87	84	61	78
Don't know	-	1	0	1		1	0	2	0	-	-	-	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

Table 5.10. Bothered by street / road noise outside the home among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

How much are you bothered by noise from the street / road?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents										
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
2004		2005/2006										
Number of people (N)	3015	3053	333	288	297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bother me a lot	5	6	5	6	5	8	4	7	2	6	10	4
Bothers me quite a bit	11	10	8	6	10	12	10	10	6	11	18	5
Bothers me very little	23	20	23	15	16	12	20	29	17	22	15	18
Doesn't bother me	62	64	64	73	68	68	62	54	75	60	54	71
Don't know	-	1	-	-	1	0	4	0	-	0	2	2

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

5.8. Conclusion

The immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in our ten national groups are less likely to live in a detached house than is the case in the population as a whole; nevertheless, the percentage of immigrants living in a detached house has risen by 9 percentage points since 1996. The percentage of immigrants living in a block of flats has gone down by the same proportion. At the same time there has been an increase in the percentage of immigrants who own their own home, as owner occupiers or through a housing cooperative, of 9 percentage points. Almost two thirds of our sample now state that they own their home. Immigrants who rent their home primarily rent from the municipality or a private individual. Roughly a quarter of the people who rent from a private individual know the landlord as a friend or relative. 45 per cent of the immigrants live in a house that our society would deem cramped according to traditional criteria, but only just over 20 per cent of them consider their home too small. Nevertheless, fewer immigrants live in cramped conditions (and perceive them to be so) than in 1996. Relatively more immigrants live in a house where there is a lot of noise from the street and decay than in the population as a whole. Two national groups stand out as having worse housing in most areas than others: Somalis and Iraqis. These are also the two groups that have lived in Norway the shortest time.

6. Family in Norway

Svein Blom

Housing, work and income are material goods that have a large impact on people's living conditions. But "man does not live by bread alone". Interaction with other people is also important, and especially people with whom one has strong, emotional ties. In this chapter we are going to look at immigrants' contact with their immediate family, i.e. spouse / cohabitant, parents and siblings, and some people in the extended family, such as grandparents, aunts and uncles and cousins. People's emotional ties to members of their family are not always necessarily harmonious, but they are nevertheless ties and relations that have existed for many years, in many cases since birth. Barriers in these relations – because the people involved live in different countries or in some other way are hard to meet – are stress factors that can diminish quality of life. The report on immigrants' living conditions based on the data from 1996 revealed that a sense of loneliness was far more common among immigrants than the rest of the population (Blom 1998). In a multivariate analysis, we showed that people who lived with their partner, their parents or had siblings in Norway were less lonely.

As we saw in chapter 2, the population in some of the national groups has aged in the years between the surveys conducted in 1996 and 2005/2006 (cf. table 2.5). This is the case for immigrants with a background from Turkey, Iran, Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Chile. At the same time, some of the groups have seen an increase in the number of young immigrants born in Norway, which has partially compensated for the ageing of the original immigrants. This applies primarily to Turks, Pakistanis and Vietnamese, but also to Chileans (cf. table 2.1), although there are too few persons born in Norway to immigrant parents with a background from Chile to justify them being included in our supplementary survey (cf. chapter 1). These kinds of demographic changes will affect other figures, such as the percentage of people living with their partner, the distribution of civil status, how many people have siblings and parents still alive, etc. Some changes can also be perceived as signs of assimilation or integration. The fact that fewer immigrants are now cut off from immediate family members, at the same time as there is less close contact with people that have

moved here since fewer people live in the same household, can be perceived as a form of adaptation to the predominant family patterns in Norway.

6.1. Lower percentage of couples living together among immigrants than in the population

The ordinary Survey of Living Conditions in 1995 showed that six out of ten non-immigrants lived with their life partner, i.e. were married or cohabiting (see table 6.1). Data were collected from a weighted sample with the same characteristics in terms of age, sex and geographical location as the immigrants in the 1996 Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants. On average, the percentage of immigrants living with their partner in 1996 was slightly higher, at just under seven out of ten. There was quite wide variation by country background in terms of whether people were married or cohabiting. Only the immigrants with a background from Chile had a slightly lower percentage of people living with their partner than among non-immigrants, while Turks and Pakistanis had a much higher proportion of people living with their partner, at almost eight of ten.

In 2005/2006, the percentage of people living with their partner (married or cohabiting) had gone down in some groups of immigrants, reducing the difference from the average for the population as a whole (weighted for age, gender and location). The main decline has been among immigrants from Pakistan, Somalia and Chile, whereas we have seen the opposite trend among Sri Lankans, where the proportion of people living with their partner has risen by almost 20 percentage points. Compared with people from the former Yugoslavia in 1996, the percentage of people living with their partner is also lower among immigrants with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro in 2005/2006. While the percentage of the general population who was married or cohabiting in 2004 was roughly 59 per cent, it was lower for immigrants with a background from Iran, Somalia and Chile in 2005/2006. As we shall see later on, some married people do not have their spouse with them in Norway. The percentage of people actually living with their partner will thus be slightly overestimated for these groups.

Table 6.1. Living with partner in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year, gender and country background. Per cent

Respondent's marital status	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	1995												
Number of people (N)	3568	2483			331	253		292	276	343	378	304	306
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Married	38	64			65	72		53	79	56	65	58	44
- of which men	38	61			68	65		48	78	53	57	57	43
-of which women	39	67			62	83		61	81	59	80	60	45
Cohabiting	21	5			7	5		8	0	4	2	1	14
- of which men	23	5			7	7		10	1	3	2	1	18
-of which women	19	4			7	2		3	-	5	4	2	10
Not living with partner	40	32			28	23		40	21	40	32	41	42
	2004												
Number of people (N)	3015	3050	333	288		297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Married	37	61	61	61		71	68	50	65	56	84	54	38
- of which men	38	61	61	60		71	69	50	62	54	84	54	36
-of which women	36	62	61	63		72	67	51	67	58	84	53	41
Cohabiting	23	4	8	6		4	-	4	1	4	1	2	14
- of which men	21	4	10	7		4	-	4	1	3	3	3	14
-of which women	24	3	5	5		3	-	4	-	5	-	-	14
Not living with partner	41	35	32	33		25	31	46	35	40	14	44	48
Don't know	-	0	-	-		0	0	-	0	0	0	1	0

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

One striking difference between immigrants and the population as a whole is the proportion of people cohabiting. While the proportion of cohabitants in the population as a whole (in the 1995 data: non-immigrants) is more than two out of ten in both 1996 and 2005/2006, the proportion is much lower among immigrants – on average 4-5 per cent. The highest percentage was found among Chileans, at 14 per cent in both surveys. Then followed Iranians and immigrants from the former Yugoslavia in 1996 and from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro in 2005/2006. The lowest percentage of cohabitation was among Pakistanis and Somalis in 1996 and Pakistanis and Iraqis in 2005/2006.

The religiously founded taboo against sexual relations outside marriage has not been relativised to any great extent in the societies many of the immigrants come from. This is especially so in orthodox Muslim societies. Cohabitation is also very uncommon among the immigrants from Sri Lanka, whose main religion is Hinduism (cf. chapter 8).

More men than women dare to challenge the taboo of living with their partner outside marriage. A certain double moral in the religious norms helps serve this, in that women's sexuality is traditionally more closely guarded than men's, and women breaching the norms entail stronger sanctions from the family and greater loss of honour than men. Vietnamese and Chilean women seem more equal in working life than other female immigrants and are probably also afforded greater freedom to choose their partner and how they

wish to conduct their relationship. Our data on cohabitation according to gender appear to testify to this trend.

At the same time, it is noteworthy that the percentage of married people tends to be higher among women than men, especially in the data from 1996. This is primarily the case among immigrants with a background from Turkey, Iran and Sri Lanka, but not among people from the former Yugoslavia. The reason that more women are married may be that more women than men have been granted residence in connection with establishing a family and family reunification. In this case, it is a prerequisite that the arriving immigrant is married to someone who lives in the country or gets married shortly after arrival. In 2005/2006, the difference between men and women in terms of the percentage that were married was smaller, although it still exists in some national groups (such as Pakistanis, Vietnamese, Chileans and people from Serbia and Montenegro).

6.2. Slight drop in the proportion of married people from 1996

Formal marital status in 1996 and nine years later (see table 6.2) also provides insight into the background for the changes in people living together outlined above. Among *Pakistanis*, the large decrease in the proportion of married people is a result in the large influx of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents who are now old enough to be included in the adult population since 1996 and who tend to postpone marriage (cf. Daugstad 2006d: 71). Table 6.2 reveals that the

proportion of unmarried Pakistanis rose from 20 to 32 per cent from 1996 to 2005/2006. Among *Iranians*, by contrast the decrease in the proportion of married and cohabiting people is linked to the increase in the percentage of divorced and widowed people and the decrease in the percentage of unmarried people. Here, the proportion of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents over the age of 16 is so low (2 per cent) that it does not affect the proportion of unmarried people, as opposed to among Pakistanis, where the percentage of Norwegian-born immigrants has doubled from 14 to 30 per cent (cf. table 2.1). As we saw for the Pakistanis, the decrease in the proportion of married people among *Chileans* from 44 per cent to 38 per cent is probably

linked to the influx of young persons born in Norway to immigrant parents who postpone marriage. This has upped the percentage of unmarried people from 32 to 43 per cent in this group. There does not appear to be any consistent increase in the proportion of divorced / separated people among the people with a background from Chile, even though the group as a whole is older (cf. table 2.5). The increase in the percentage of married people among the *Sri Lankans* from 65 to 84 per cent is simply due to the fact that many of the unmarried people have got married and probably also a number of married people immigrating to Norway. At the same time, the proportion of unmarried people has decreased by 20 percentage points.

Table 6.2. Marital status in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Respondent's marital status	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents												
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile	
	1995													
Number of people (N)	3568	2483			331	253			292	276	343	378	304	306
Total	100	100			100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100
Unmarried	51	29			26	22			35	20	37	32	26	32
Married	38	64			65	72			53	79	56	65	58	44
Widowed	1	1			2	1			2	-	1	1	2	1
Separated	1	3			3	2			5	0	2	1	6	11
Divorced	9	4			4	3			7	1	4	1	8	12
	2004													
Number of people (N)	3015	3041	333	288		296	356	269	306	312	352	242	287	
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Unmarried	52	28	31	28		15	24	30	32	33	12	25	43	
Married, registered partner	37	62	61	61		72	69	50	65	56	84	54	38	
Widow / widower / surviving partner	1	2	4	1		2	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	
Separated / separated partner	1	2	1	2		5	2	3	1	1	1	5	6	
Divorced, divorced partner	9	6	3	8		6	4	13	1	8	2	11	12	
Don't know	-	1	0	-		0	1	1	0	1	-	2	0	

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

Table 6.3. Spouse (and in 2005/2006: cohabitant) resident in Norway among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Percentage of people with spouse (and in 2005 also cohabitant) resident in Norway	Total	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile	
1996													
Number of people (N)	1517			216	182		154	217	193	245	174	136	
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
Yes	96			97	97		97	94	99	98	82	97	
No	4			3	3		3	7	1	2	18	3	
2005/2006													
Number of people (N)	2008	227	194		223	244	146	200	188	302	135	149	
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Yes	95	98	97		96	92	97	97	96	98	75	93	
No	5	2	1		4	7	3	3	2	2	23	3	
Don't know	1	0	2		-	1	-	1	2	-	2	5	

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

All in all, we see that only Chileans have as low a proportion of married people as the population as a whole,

with just under four out of ten, once we have adjusted the age profile of the population to match that of the

immigrants through weighting. The proportion of married people is twice as high among Sri Lankans as among Chileans, at eight out of ten. The proportion of divorced and separated people in the population together constitute one in ten (again assuming the same age distribution as the immigrants), while the percentage of divorced and separated people is 16-18 per cent among immigrants with a background from Iran, Somalia and Chile and only 2-3 per cent among immigrants with a background from Pakistan and Sri Lanka. These percentages are based on sample data, but are in reasonable agreement with the data from public registers.

6.3. One in five married Somalis do not have their spouse with them

The quality of life of married people is also affected by whether their spouse is in the country or not. In 1996 we concluded that living with a partner prevented loneliness, but of course this only applies to people who actually live together, i.e. that their spouse is actually in the country (Blom 1998). The question about where the respondent's spouse is living was repeated in the new survey of living conditions and this time was also asked of people who said that they were cohabiting, even if the term "cohabitant" implies that the people actually live together. Table 6.3 shows the answers of the married and (in 2005/2006) cohabiting respondents.

The table shows that the proportion of people whose spouse / partner lives abroad is roughly one in twenty on average, which is about the same as in 1996. The proportion has been calculated on the basis of the people who stated that they are married or cohabiting. Two national groups stood out in 2005 with especially high proportions of absent partners: Iraqis at 7 per cent and Somalis at a staggering 23 per cent. In 1996 too, married Somalis had the highest percentage of people whose spouse lived abroad. Pakistanis were in second place back then, with a percentage roughly equal to that of the Iraqis in the latest survey. Today, the proportion of married Pakistanis living without their spouse is half that.

If we combine the information in table 6.3 with that in table 6.1, the proportion of people living with their partner (married or cohabiting) is reduced by a couple of percentage points in most of the groups. The combined table would then show the percentage of people actually living with their partner. For Iraqis, the percentage goes down by 5 percentage points to 63 per cent. This is still slightly higher than in the population as a whole, where approx. 60 per cent of people actually live with their partner. Among Somalis, the

percentage of people living with their partner sinks by 13 percentage points, ending up at around 42 per cent. This is much lower than in the population as a whole and is probably a factor in why life in Norway seems difficult for this group.

6.4. One in ten spouses are not immigrants, one in twenty are persons born in Norway to immigrant parents

This time we tried to gain a better understanding of the background of the people our informants are married to or live with. As in the last survey, we asked if their spouse was born in Norway. However, this time we also asked this question of people cohabiting with their partner. 12 per cent answered that their spouse / cohabitant was born in Norway – a doubling since 1996. In 1996 there were very few persons born in Norway to immigrant parents who had reached a marriageable age, so we assumed that by far the majority of the people born in Norway were not immigrants ("Norwegians") (Blom 1998: 38). In the latest survey we also asked whether the spouse's / cohabitant's *parents* were born in Norway (both, only one or neither), since we realised that spouses born in Norway are not necessarily without an immigrant background, but might be descendents of parents born abroad. We found that on average one in ten immigrants had a spouse / cohabitant with at least one parent born in Norway. In table 6.4 we have linked the answers about the respondents' own and their parents' country of birth and grouped the results so that they conform with Statistics Norway's division into immigration category.

The table tells us both how large a percentage of the married / cohabiting immigrants are married to or cohabit with a non-immigrant, i.e. a person with at least one parent born in Norway. The table also shows how large a proportion of the spouses / cohabitants are Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, i.e. people born in Norway with two foreign-born parents. On average for all the national groups, 7 per cent of the spouses / cohabitants in 2005/2006 did not have an immigrant background. This means they were born in Norway to two parents born in Norway. Other non-immigrants are the 2 per cent who have one parent born in Norway and people born abroad of two parents born in Norway. Together, this yields a non-immigrant share of 10 per cent. The percentage of non-immigrants among spouses / cohabitants varies by country background from 3-4 per cent among Somalis, Sri Lankans and Pakistanis to 15 per cent among Turks and 38 per cent among Chileans.

Table 6.4. Spouse's / cohabitant's background (immigration category) as percentage of the number of married / cohabiting immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents resident in Norway, aged 16-70, by country background and gender.

Spouse's / cohabitant's background (immigration category)	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	2008	227	194	223	244	146	200	188	302	135	149
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Immigrant	85	85	90	79	94	85	84	80	96	94	54
Person born in Norway to immigrant parents	4	2	2	6	0	1	11	4	-	1	3
Non-immigrant	10	11	7	15	5	13	4	13	4	3	38
- of which without immigrant background	7	7	5	14	3	12	3	9	2	3	32
Don't know	1	2	2	-	0	1	1	3	-	2	5
Men											
Number of people (N)	1105	111	105	137	162	86	103	82	163	79	77
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Immigrant	83	79	87	74	91	87	78	82	96	94	57
Person born in Norway to immigrant parents	5	2	-	8	1	1	15	5	-	1	4
Non-immigrant	10	16	12	18	7	11	6	9	4	3	35
- of which without immigrant background	8	10	9	17	5	9	4	5	3	3	31
Don't know	2	3	2	-	1	1	2	5	-	3	4
Women											
Number of people (N)	903	116	89	86	82	60	97	106	139	56	72
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Immigrant	88	91	93	87	99	82	91	78	97	95	50
Person born in Norway to immigrant parents	3	2	3	4	-	2	7	4	-	-	3
Non-immigrant	8	6	2	9	1	17	2	16	3	4	42
- of which without immigrant background	6	3	1	8	-	15	1	11	1	4	32
Don't know	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	6

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

We also see that among immigrants it is slightly more often *men* than women who have a cross-cultural relationship with a non-immigrant. However, this does not apply to Iranians, Vietnamese and Chileans, where there is a higher percentage of spouses / cohabitants with a Norwegian background among the *women*. We observed the same pattern in 1996, when the percentage of immigrants with a spouse born in Norway was generally higher among men, with the exception of Chileans (Blom 1998: table 8.3). Cross-cultural marriage was slightly less common back then (on average 6 per cent). Using the 1996 data, we found that immigrants in cross-cultural marriages had higher levels of employment and higher household income per consumption unit than immigrants married to another immigrant (Blom 1998: 39).

Table 6.4 provides figures on how large a proportion of the spouses / cohabitants are persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. The average for all the national groups is 4 per cent. It is slightly more common among men than women that an immigrant's spouse / cohabitant is a person born in Norway to immigrant parents (in other words, it is the female in the relationship who is slightly more often Norwegian-born to immigrant parents). This applies in particular to men with a background from Pakistan and Turkey, whose spouses are persons born in Norway to

immigrant parents in 15 per cent and 8 per cent of the cases respectively. The corresponding figures for women with a background from these two countries shows that 7 and 4 per cent respectively of their husbands / cohabitants are persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. It is often assumed to be an advantage for well-integrated immigrants to find a spouse that has grown up in the country where they are going to live and work (i.e. a person born in Norway to immigrant parents), instead of "importing" a spouse from their country of origin.

All in all, on average roughly 85 per cent of the married / cohabiting immigrants in our ten national groups are married to or live with an immigrant. Most of them choose a person with the same national background as themselves. The percentage of spouses / cohabitants who are immigrants varies from around 95 per cent among immigrants from Sri Lanka, Iraq and Somalia to almost 55 per cent among Chileans. Approximately one in ten spouses / cohabitants are non-immigrants (i.e. have at least one parent who was born in Norway) while barely one in twenty are persons born in Norway to immigrant parents.

6.5. One in five have daily contact with children outside the household

Some immigrants have children who are not part of their household. These may be divorced men whose children live with their mother. Another example is parents whose children have grown up and left home. It may be relevant to investigate the degree of contact with the child(ren). In 1996, this question was only put to respondents over the age of 30 with children who were 16 or older. This is the same as in the surveys of living conditions among the general population in 1995 and 2002. In the most recent survey among immigrants, these restrictions were not included. Instead we asked all the respondents who stated that had children outside the household how often they see their own children who are not part of the household.

Two out of ten answered “more or less every day” in the most recent survey (see table 6.5). The proportion that gave the same answer nine years earlier was slightly higher, roughly one in four. When the same question was put to the population in the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions, the proportion of non-immigrants who had daily contact with their children outside the household was only half that (13 per cent, weighted value). In the 2002 Survey of Living Conditions, the proportion of people who had daily contact with their children outside the household had risen to 17 per cent in the population as a whole. This is close to the corresponding share among the immigrants. We are not presenting the percentages for the individual national groups here, as the basis figures for many of the groups were very small.

In the population as a whole in 2002, on average only 2 per cent of people see their children aged 16 or older who are not part of the household less frequently than once a year. Among immigrants in 2005/2006, the corresponding figure is 8 per cent, but this may potentially include children younger than 16. When

the frequency of contact is as low as less than once a year, it is reasonable to assume that these may be children who do not live in Norway; among the immigrants, most probably in their country of origin or as a refugee in a third country.

6.6. Half of immigrants' parents are still alive

People's parents can play an important, supporting role in adult life too. The fact that one or both parents are alive is a support and resource for many people. This also applies to immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. Support can range from child minding to financial assistance and advice to care in times of emotional crisis.

Table 6.5. Contact with children who are not part of the household among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year.¹ Per cent

How often does the respondent see children who are not part of the household?	Non-immigrants	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents
	1995	1996	2002	2005/2006
Number of people (N)	1313	247	2146	512
Total	100	100	100	100
More or less every day	13	25	17	21
About once a week, but not every day	44	45	45	36
About once a month, but not every week	22	11	19	16
A few times a year, but not every month	18	11	17	13
Less than once a year	3	8	2	8
Don't know	-	-	0	7

¹In 1995, 1996 and 2002, the question was only asked of respondents aged 30 or older with children aged 16 or older.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions.

Table 6.6. Are the respondent's parents still alive? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Are the respondent's parents still alive?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
		1995											
Number of people (N)	3566	2555			335	257		295	298	358	386	312	314
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes, both	65	56			52	66		55	61	56	45	40	54
Yes, father	6	6			5	4		7	5	8	8	8	8
Yes, mother	18	24			21	20		27	20	23	32	34	23
No, neither	11	15			22	11		12	14	13	16	18	15
		2004											
Number of people (N)	6081	3050	333	288		297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes, both	64	53	48	56		54	48	56	63	60	47	31	61
Yes, father	4	6	4	6		8	5	6	5	4	7	9	4
Yes, mother	18	23	22	22		28	28	23	13	19	29	40	18
No, neither	14	17	24	17		11	19	15	19	16	17	18	16
Don't know	0	1	2	-		0	1	0	0	2	-	1	1
		2005/2006											
Number of people (N)	6081	3050	333	288		297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes, both	64	53	48	56		54	48	56	63	60	47	31	61
Yes, father	4	6	4	6		8	5	6	5	4	7	9	4
Yes, mother	18	23	22	22		28	28	23	13	19	29	40	18
No, neither	14	17	24	17		11	19	15	19	16	17	18	16
Don't know	0	1	2	-		0	1	0	0	2	-	1	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2002, cross section.

In our sample of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents aged 16-70 from ten non-Western countries, slightly more than half (53 per cent) had both parents alive at the time of the interview (table 6.6). Men tend to die younger than women, so it is less common for an immigrant's father to be alive and their mother dead – indeed, this is the case for only 6 per cent of the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. By contrast, just under a quarter (23 per cent) of the sample have their mother, but not their father, still alive. The remainder have lost both parents and constitute a total of 17 per cent of the immigrant sample. This was the situation in 2005/2006. Some of the differences between the national groups are due to differences in the age structure that we have not tried to standardise.

The situation in 1996 was fairly similar for the eight groups of immigrants we interviewed. The proportion who still had one or both parents was slightly higher in 1996 (by roughly 3 percentage points), possibly because the people we interviewed were slightly younger. However, the difference is so small that is probably not statistically significant. In both 1995 and 2002, a similar question about whether their parents were still alive was put to a representative sample of the population as a whole in the ordinary surveys of living conditions. Once the responses are weighted to match the age, gender and geographical profile of the immigrants, we found that around 10 percentage points more of the general population still had both parents at both surveys (i.e. 64-65 per cent). The proportion of people who had lost both parents was slightly smaller in the general population (in 1995 among non-immigrants) than among the immigrants, at 11 per cent in 1995 and 14 per cent in 2005/2006.

If we take a closer look at the distribution in the individual national groups in 2005/2006, we see that just over three out of ten Somalis still have both parents. This a much lower figure than in any of the other national groups. Nevertheless the immigrants from Somalia are not the group that most frequently has lost both parents. Topping the list is the Bosnians, who have the most old people of the ten immigrant groups, with a quarter who have lost both their parents. Somalis are the group that most frequently has one parent alive, but seldom both. We assume this is connected to the unrest in the country they have fled from. Life expectancy is also generally low in Somalia.

By contrast, the proportion of respondents with *both* parents still alive is greatest among Pakistanis. 63 per cent still have both their parents – which is twice as many as the Somalis and roughly the same as the population as a whole. The fact that so many Pakistanis still have both their parents is probably linked to the large number of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in the youngest age group who

thus have relatively young parents. The situation is similar for immigrants from Vietnam and Chile, where almost six out of ten still have both their parents in both groups.

6.7. More immigrants have their parents in Norway since 1996

Whether a person's parents live reasonably close by (read: in Norway) – assuming they are still alive – must also be assumed to be significant for the role they are able to play in their (grown-up) children's lives. We therefore asked respondents whose parents are still alive whether their mother and father live in Norway, in the respondent's country of birth or in another country. Table 6.7 shows the results for father's place of residence now and in 1996.

The table shows that the percentage of immigrants whose father lives in Norway has risen by an average of 14 percentage points from 1996 to 2005/2006. In 2005/2006, on average half of the people whose father is still alive stated that he lived in Norway, and four out of ten said that their father lived in their native country. Only 6 per cent of immigrants have their father in a country other than Norway and their country of birth. The fact that the percentage of immigrants whose father lives in Norway has risen over the years applies to all the national groups that can be compared over time, with the exception of Turks. The proportion of immigrants from Turkey whose father lives in Norway has gone down by 8 percentage points.

We also asked the same question about where immigrants' mothers live. The results are presented in table 6.8. As for fathers, only a minority of immigrants stated that their mother lived in Norway in 1996. Almost six out of ten said their mother lived in their country of birth in 1996. Since then, it has become more common for immigrants to have their mother living in Norway, meaning that there are now roughly equal proportions of immigrants whose mother lives in Norway and immigrants whose mother lives in their native country. On average for all the immigrant groups, the proportion whose mother lives in Norway has risen by 10 percentage points since 1996.

In three national groups, six out of ten immigrants have their mother living in Norway in 2005/2006 (out of the respondents who stated that their mother is still alive) – Pakistanis, Vietnamese and Bosnians. Bosnians and Vietnamese often tend to move as a family unit. This may be part of the reason for the slightly higher proportion of people from these countries having their mothers in Norway. In addition, it must not be forgotten that the Vietnamese and Pakistani populations now have more descendants in Norway who are reaching adult age. The proportion of immigrants whose father is in Norway among respondents from Bosnia, Vietnam and Pakistan whose father is still alive

is also higher than for any of the other national groups. Half of the immigrants with a background from Chile have their mothers in Norway, whereas the other groups are more likely to have their mother in their native country than in Norway. Six out of ten immigrants from Turkey, Iraq and Sri Lanka state that their mother lives in their country of birth. It is also the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant

parents who most frequently have their father living in their country of birth. Almost two out of ten immigrants with a background from Somalia state that their mother lives in a third country, but we do not know which country. It may be another Western asylum country or, more probably, they live as refugees in a neighbouring country in Africa.

Table 6.7. Father's country of residence (if he is still alive). Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

In what country does your father live (if he is still alive)?	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	1521			191	179		181	196	228	204	150	192
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
In Norway	39			37	45		16	51	57	12	16	30
In the father's country of birth	55			56	46		75	45	39	81	67	65
Other country	6			7	9		9	4	4	7	17	5
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	1771	174	177		182	188	167	208	200	190	100	185
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
In Norway	53	64	48		37	39	41	72	73	28	39	51
In the father's country of birth	40	31	45		59	55	47	24	26	59	50	43
Other country	6	5	6		4	6	11	3	2	13	10	5
Don't know	0	-	1		1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

Table 6.8. Mother's country of residence (if she is still alive). Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

In what country does your mother live (if she is still alive)?	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	1988			245	218		240	239	280	294	231	241
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
In Norway	36			34	37		20	46	54	12	13	32
In the mother's country of birth	58			59	55		71	52	42	84	65	65
Other country	6			7	8		9	3	4	5	22	3
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	2331	235	223		241	270	212	232	245	269	176	228
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
In Norway	46	60	42		31	32	36	64	63	25	27	50
In the mother's country of birth	47	33	50		63	62	56	31	34	62	53	46
Other country	7	7	8		5	5	8	4	2	13	19	4
Don't know	1	0	0		1	0	-	1	0	0	1	-

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

Table 6.9. How often does the respondent see his/her parents / father / mother who live in Norway? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

How often does the respondent see his/her parents / father / mother who live in Norway?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	1995	1996											
Number of people (N)	2410	645			84	87	50	109	161	36	35	83	
Total	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Live with them	14	62			54	48	48	80	58	67	54	52	
More or less every day	10	15			14	26	18	13	12	8	11	18	
About once a week, but not every day	30	15			21	15	20	6	18	19	23	18	
About once a month, but not every week	21	4			6	5	2	1	6	3	9	8	
A few times a year, but not every month	24	4			4	5	8	1	6	-	-	4	
Less than once a year	2	1			1	1	4	-	-	3	3	-	
	2002	2005/2006											
Number of people (N)	4605	1088	145	100		85	90	82	159	168	74	59	126
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Live with them	15	44	39	51		28	38	37	62	36	47	32	36
More or less every day	8	17	23	13		25	28	15	11	17	18	17	14
About once a week, but not every day	29	22	22	21		28	17	29	20	21	14	25	23
About once a month, but not every week	22	8	9	9		11	9	9	3	10	11	14	16
A few times a year, but not every month	22	7	6	4		4	3	7	3	14	11	5	8
Less than once a year	4	1	1	1		2	-	2	1	1	-	5	4
Don't know	-	1	-	1		2	6	1	1	-	-	2	-

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2002, cross section.

6.8. Fewer immigrants live with their parents

We asked the immigrants whose father or mother or both are still alive to indicate how often they have contact with one or both of their parents. Table 6.9 only shows the answers for immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents who have at least one parent living in Norway.

Over four out of ten immigrants / persons born in Norway to immigrant parents live with their parents. In 1996, the corresponding figure was six out of ten on average. Pakistanis had the highest proportion at eight out of ten, while the lowest (roughly five out of ten) was among immigrants from Iran, Turkey and Chile. When we posed the question about contact with parents nine years later, the proportion of immigrants living with their parents has decreased across the board. One explanation may be that it tends to be the youngest respondents who live with their parents and that this group makes up a smaller proportion of our sample in 2005/2006. Looking at this more closely, we found that the proportion of respondents in the age group 16-24 years has sunk significantly from 1996 to 2005/2006 for the respondents with a background from Vietnam and Turkey (cf. table 2.5). For the other nationalities, the proportion in the youngest age group has either risen or remained stable.

Closer investigation reveals that the percentage of immigrants living with their parents has dropped dramatically in the oldest age groups. In the age group 16-24, 57 per cent of the respondents lived with their parents in 2005/2006. This figure drops to 7 per cent in the age group 25-39 and to 4 per cent in the age group 40-59. In 1996, 80 per cent of 16-24 year olds were living with their parents. In the age group 25-34, the corresponding figure was 34 per cent and in the age group 35-44, 21 per cent (Blom 1998: 43). This shows that there has been a dramatic decline in the percentage of people who live with their parents in adult life during the nine to ten years between the two surveys. There has also been a sizeable drop among young people.

We interpret this as an indication of an adaptation to a more Western lifestyle among many of the groups of immigrants. In this part of the world, we regard it as normal to break away from the family home and set up a separate household at the very latest when the individual is starting a family of their own. As table 6.9 shows, in 1995 only 14 per cent of non-immigrants stated that they live with their parents. Most of these were probably young people still at school. In the age groups 25-34 and 35-44, the percentage of people living with their parents was 6 and 2 per cent respectively (Blom 1998: 43).

In patrilineal family systems, a newly wed woman leaves the family she grew up with and moves in with her husband's childhood family. In other systems, the opposite may happen. In both cases, the outcome is that parents continue to live as members of their son's or daughter's newly established family. This family unit then assumes responsibility for supporting and caring for the parents in their old age. This used to occur in the old Norwegian farming society too, but nowadays the modern welfare state has assumed much of the responsibility for the welfare of senior citizens.

6.9. Fewer people live with their siblings

In 1996, almost all the immigrants who were interviewed in the Survey of Living Conditions had siblings who were still alive. In 2005, on average 4 per cent of the respondents said that they did not have any brothers and sisters. According to data from the ordinary surveys of living conditions in 1995 and 2002, 7-9 per cent of the population with the same age, gender and geographical profile as the immigrants do not have a brother or sister (see table 6.10). The fact that there are relatively more people in the general population who do not have any brothers and sisters than among immigrants is probably due to the fact that only children are more common in the population as a whole than among immigrants. The fact that the proportion of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents who do not have a sibling has increased from 1996 to 2005 may be due to a number of factors: the sample is older and for this reason some people have lost some siblings; recently arrived refugees may have lost part of their family before they came to Norway; and immigrants who have been in Norway for longer have adopted more typically Norwegian fertility patterns. We find the highest

proportions of people without any siblings in 2005/2006 (between 5 and 9 per cent) among immigrants with a background from Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia and Vietnam.

However, only a little over half of the immigrants who have siblings have a brother or sister living in Norway. This proportion has risen from an average of 51 per cent in 1996 to an average of 55 per cent in 2005/2006 (see table 6.11). In most of the groups we can track over time, this proportion of people with a brother or sister living in Norway has increased by roughly 10 percentage points. However, the trend is reversed among Turks – down from 60 to 55 per cent in the period 1996-2005/2006. Immigrants with a background from Turkey were also the exception to the rule in terms of the proportion who have a parent living in Norway. Of the individual national groups, Iraqis and Somalis have the fewest siblings in Norway, which is as expected, as they also have the shortest duration of residence in Norway. However, in nine years, the proportion of people who have a brother or sister living in Norway has risen from 34 per cent to 44 per cent among Somalis.

We also asked the respondents who do have a brother or sister in Norway how often they see them. A similar question was asked in the surveys of living conditions in 1995 and 2002. These surveys did not specify that the siblings had to be resident in Norway, but was probably the case for most people. Only a fraction of the differences we observe in the responses between the population as a whole and the immigrants will be due to the fact that a member of the general population has siblings who live abroad.

Table 6.10. Does the respondent have any brothers and sisters (alive)? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Does the respondent have any brothers and sisters (alive)?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	1995												
Number of people (N)	3556	2550			331	253		292	276	343	378	304	306
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	91	99			99	100		99	99	99	100	100	99
No	9	1			1	-		1	1	1	1	-	1
	2002												
Number of people (N)	6081	3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	93	95	92	99		97	94	98	98	90	98	91	96
No	7	4	8	1		2	5	2	2	9	2	8	3
Unwilling to answer	0	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know	-	1	1	-		1	0	-	-	1	0	2	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2002, cross section.

Table 6.11. Does the respondent have any brothers or sisters living in Norway (assuming they have siblings)? The situation among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Does the respondent have any brothers or sisters in Norway (assuming they have siblings)?	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	2535			330	257		292	276	343	378	304	306
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	51			48	60		35	61	59	39	34	48
No	49			52	40		65	39	41	61	66	52
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	2908	305	286		289	337	263	301	282	346	222	277
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	55	47	51		55	40	45	71	77	47	44	57
No	45	53	49		44	60	55	29	23	53	55	43
Don't know	0	-	-		0	-	0	-	-	1	1	-

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

Table 6.12. How often does the respondent see his/her siblings who live in Norway? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

How often does the respondent see his/her siblings who live in Norway?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1995													
Number of people (N)	2410	1222			157	156		100	188	212	153	105	151
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Live with them	8	32			24	26		21	44	37	24	24	17
More or less every day	6	19			26	24		17	25	9	11	15	14
About once a week, but not every day	26	28			28	33		33	19	34	28	29	34
About once a month, but not every week	29	11			9	10		9	9	11	21	15	13
A few times a year, but not every month	29	8			13	3		15	3	8	14	12	17
Less than once a year	2	3			1	4		5	2	1	3	5	6
2002													
Number of people (N)	5277	1486	144	145	160	73	118	214	215	161	98	158	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Live with them	9	26	21	30	13	37	20	38	25	14	22	21	
More or less every day	6	17	22	21	24	16	13	17	14	12	14	10	
About once a week, but not every day	25	29	28	23	34	22	26	29	32	34	27	31	
About once a month, but not every week	27	15	18	14	16	19	21	8	16	18	18	20	
A few times a year, but not every month	28	10	10	9	9	1	16	6	9	16	13	15	
Less than once a year	5	3	1	3	4	4	2	2	3	6	4	4	
Don't know	0	0	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	1	-	

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2002, cross section.

Table 6.12 shows that the proportion of people who say that they live with a sibling is much higher among immigrants than in the population as a whole. In the general population, this group constitutes just under 10 per cent, once differences in distribution by age, gender and geographical location have been eliminated. Among immigrants, the proportion who live with a sibling was 32 per cent in 1996 and 26 per cent in 2005/2006 on average. The reason for the difference between the immigrants and the population as a whole must be that close family relations are maintained more rigorously by immigrants, either for financial reasons or because the expectation of leaving the

childhood home at a young age is less predominant among them. Nevertheless, we can observe a decrease in the number of people who say that they live with a sibling in several groups of immigrants: Turks, Pakistanis, Vietnamese and Sri Lankans. Better financial ability to be able to live in a separate household and/or influence from society's norms may have contributed to this development. We also noted above that the proportion of immigrants in the youngest age group who live at home with their parents went down from 1996 to 2005/2006.

Similarly, we saw in the chapter on housing that the degree of overcrowding went down slightly from 1996 to 2005/2006. The fact that siblings have moved out and established their own households would also serve to reduce overcrowding. In 2005/2006, Turks were the group with the fewest respondents who said they lived with a sibling (13 per cent), while Pakistanis and Iraqis most frequently shared a home with a sibling (37-38 per cent).

At the same time as the proportion of people who live with a sibling is greater among immigrants than in the population as a whole, the percentage of respondents who have daily contact with their siblings is also greater among immigrants. The figures for daily contact do not include the people who live with their siblings. In the population as a whole, the proportion of the respondents who have daily contact with their siblings is 6 per cent, compared with just under two out of ten among immigrants. By contrast, six out of ten people in the population as a whole have contact with their siblings on a monthly basis or less frequently, compared with less than half (22 per cent in 1996 and 28 per cent in 2005/2006) among the immigrants. As already mentioned, part of this difference may be due to the fact that the survey among the general population did not specify that the siblings had to live in Norway, but this will have only a very small impact.

6.10. More people also have other relatives in Norway

Having other close relatives in Norway, such as grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins for example,

must also be assumed to contribute to a sense of belonging among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. From 1996 to 2005/2006, there was a general increase in the proportion of the sample who had other relatives in Norway. Table 6.13 shows the answers to a question about other relatives living in Norway. The question did not specify that these relatives had to still be alive. In other words, a no can mean either that the respondent does not have this kind of relative or that the relative in question does not live in Norway.

The smallest increase is in the proportion of people whose parents-in-law live in Norway. The share of people who have grandparents in Norway has doubled in the course of the nine years between the two surveys, but even so, grandparents are still the smallest category of relatives found in Norway. This is due to the fact that many people have lost their grandparents and the fact that there is very limited opportunity for family reunification. There has been an average increase of 6 percentage points in the proportion of immigrants that have uncles, aunts and cousins in Norway. Overall, it is immigrants with a background from Pakistan and Vietnam that have most relatives other than parents and siblings living in Norway. Turks and Sri Lankans also have a lot of relatives here. The two groups that have the fewest family members in Norway are Iraqis and Iranians. For Iraqis, their short duration of residence is one obvious reason for this. It is harder to determine the reason for this among Iranians.

Table 6.13. Does the respondent have any other family members in Norway? The situation among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Does the respondent have any other family members in Norway? Percentage who say yes.	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	2549			333	257		295	295	357	387	312	313
Parents-in-law	13			15	16		13	13	14	6	4	16
Grandparents	3			4	3		1	3	4	0	2	3
Uncles / aunts	22			21	34		6	30	25	17	11	15
Cousins	31			33	52		12	36	31	33	16	19
Other family members	18			17	27		11	25	12	20	14	15
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Parents-in-law	14	17	10		20	7	14	17	18	9	5	13
Grandparents	6	9	3		3	4	6	10	11	5	4	5
Uncles / aunts	28	20	23		41	15	20	46	36	20	18	24
Cousins	37	29	37		51	18	18	57	42	40	34	30
Other family members	32	27	22		38	16	17	50	41	42	27	27

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

6.11. Conclusion

A healthy family network is often a plus in life, especially for migrants who often need practical support, security and a sense of belonging. In unfortunate cases, family relations may also serve to limit the individual's opportunity to develop freely. On average, the immigrant population with a background from the ten countries we have interviewed live with their partners to the same degree as the population as a whole. Roughly two out of three people live with their life partner (married or cohabiting). Far more of the immigrants are married, compared to the population as a whole, while the proportion of people cohabiting is considerably lower. Roughly 5 per cent of the sample have not brought their spouse with them to Norway. These are primarily Somalis. The proportion of Somalis actually living with their partner is thus actually only just over four out of ten. Almost 85 per cent of the immigrant population's spouses are immigrants themselves and have parents born abroad. The remaining 15 per cent are a mix of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and non-immigrants ("ethnic Norwegians"). The average ratio between them is 1:2. Just over half of the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in our survey still have both their parents, which is a slightly lower share than in the population as a whole (controlled for age). The percentage of immigrants whose parents live in Norway (of the people whose parents are still alive) has risen by 10-15 percentage points from 1996 to 2005/2006. Many immigrants live with their parents, but these are mostly the youngest people in our sample. The percentage of people living with their parents has sunk significantly in all age groups since 1996. Almost all of the immigrants have siblings, and more than half have one or more siblings living in Norway. It is more common for immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents to live with a sibling than in the population as a whole, but this is slightly less common in 2005/2006 than in 1996. Many immigrants also have some more distant relatives (such as uncles, aunts and cousins) living in Norway.

7. Social contact outside the family (friends and neighbours)

Svein Blom

To feel at home in a society, it is also important to have social contact with people outside one's immediate family. In this chapter we are concentrating on friends, neighbours and contact with colleagues outside work hours. These are contacts that are nurtured voluntarily on the basis of shared interests, activities, attitudes or mutual attraction. Like relationships within the family, there are certain external constraints that affect this contact (for example, living in the same area or working together), but generally the individual is much freer to initiate and break off this type of social contact on the basis of personal preferences than is the case in family relations.

As mentioned, we found in the last survey of immigrants' living conditions that a larger proportion of non-Western immigrants report being lonely than in the population as a whole (Blom 1998). In addition to a good family network, contact with friends and neighbours also serves to protect individuals against loneliness. In particular contact with friends that do not have an immigrant background and frequent contact with several neighbours were found to be associated with feeling less lonely. In this chapter, we will review the status of degree of contact in these areas based on the new data on living conditions.

7.1. Nine out of ten have good friends, but only six out of ten have a close Norwegian friend

First we will look at some indicators of the range of friendships. As in 1996, the immigrants were asked if they had a close friend who lived nearby or somewhere else in Norway. In table 7.1 below, we have combined the answers concerning the question about friends who live nearby with the answers about friends who live elsewhere in Norway.

The table shows that a high proportion of people have a close friend in Norway – more than nine out of ten – and that this figure may have risen slightly (according to the table by 4 percentage points) from 1996 to 2005/2006. If this increase is real, it is probably the result of the immigrants having been in Norway longer. Pakistan, Vietnam and Somalia are among the individual countries that have seen the greatest increase the proportion of people who have a close friend in Norway. In 1996, Vietnam and Somalia were the two countries with the lowest score in this area. In 2005, there is very little difference between the ten countries, although Vietnam is still 6 percentage points below average. In the population as a whole in the age group 16-70, pretty much everyone has at least one close friend.

Table 7.1. Does the respondent have a close friend in Norway? The situation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year, gender and country background. Per cent

Does the respondent have any good friends in Norway?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents												
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile	
	1995													
Number of people (N)	3568	2553			334	257		295	297	357	387	313	313	
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	
Yes	99	89			96	91		93	88	77	96	84	92	
- of which men	99	91			95	93		94	88	84	96	88	92	
- of which women	99	86			99	88		90	88	69	94	79	91	
No	1	11			4	9		8	12	23	4	16	8	
	2002													
Number of people (N)	6081	3049	333	288		297		357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	99	93	97	92		93		91	93	94	87	98	92	94
- of which men	98	94	96	94		92		92	91	97	93	97	93	97
- of which women	99	92	98	91		96		89	95	92	82	98	91	91
No	1	6	2	7		5		8	6	5	12	2	7	5
Don't know	0	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	-	1	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2002, cross section.

Table 7.2. Does the respondent have any good Norwegian friends? The situation among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Does the respondent have any good friends in Norway who are Norwegian?	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	2553			334	257		295	297	357	387	313	313
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	59			81	59		65	54	45	67	37	69
- of which men	65			79	69		72	61	51	70	42	68
-of which women	53			84	43		55	44	39	63	31	69
No	41			19	41		35	47	55	33	63	31
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	57	72	65		53	45	64	46	51	69	49	75
- of which men	61	75	72		54	47	57	58	58	76	54	74
-of which women	52	70	56		51	39	73	33	44	62	42	77
No	42	26	33		45	53	35	53	48	31	49	23
Don't know	2	2	2		2	2	2	1	2	-	2	2

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

Having ascertained that the respondent had friends, they were then asked whether any of their close friends are "Norwegian". Although the question may leave some doubt about the definition of "Norwegian", this does not seem to have stopped the respondents from answering. Almost six out of ten answered yes in 1996 (see table 7.2). The highest score was eight out of ten from the former Yugoslavia, followed by almost seven out of ten among Chileans and Sri Lankans. The lowest yes score was among immigrants from Somalia, at less than four out of ten.

In 2005/2006, the proportion of people with a close Norwegian friend is unchanged compared with 1996. According to our analyses, the average has sunk by 2 percentage points to 57 per cent. Among Bosnians and people from Serbia and Montenegro, this figure is some 10-15 percentage points lower than among immigrants from the former Yugoslavia in 1996. Also among Pakistanis and Turks, the proportion has gone down slightly, despite the fact that these groups now have a longer mean length of residence. Not unexpectedly, Iraqis have the lowest proportion of people who have a close Norwegian friend. They have been in Norway the shortest time of all the nationalities interviewed. However, the difference between immigrants from Iraq and immigrants from Pakistan is surprisingly small, even though the latter have almost four times as long median length of residence. Obviously, having lived in Norway for a long time is not the only prerequisite for forming friendships with Norwegians. The data reveal that it is primarily the women who pull the percentage down among the Pakistanis. In 1996, Somalis had the lowest score in terms of having a close Norwegian friend. Immigrants from Somalia, Vietnam and Chile all score higher in this area now.

The table also shows that, across the board, men do better than women when it comes to having Norwegian friends. The exceptions in 2005/2006 seemed to be immigrants from Iran especially and to a lesser extent from Chile. Men probably have more contact with society than women in many of these immigrant groups, not least because men tend to work more than women. Differences in gender roles in this area have probably contributed to men more often having non-immigrants friends.

The fact that the proportion of immigrants who have a close Norwegian friend has not risen for several of the groups between the two surveys is surprising and disappointing. Friendship requires that both parties make an effort to approach one another, so it is not only up to the immigrants to establish contact.

7.2. Slightly less contact with close friends

On the whole, immigrants and the general population have relatively frequent contact with their friends. In 1996, on average seven out of ten immigrants spent time with good friends on a daily or weekly basis. In 2005/2006, this proportion had dropped to six out of ten (see table 7.3). This is lower than in the population as a whole, where the proportion of people in contact with close friends was eight out of ten according to the 2002 Survey of Living Conditions. Iranians are the group that have least daily or weekly contact with friends (only five out of ten). Somalis are the national group that have less than annual contact with friends. One in ten Somalis sees their close friends so seldom, whereas the average for all the immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents here is 3 per cent.

Table 7.3. Frequency of contact with close friends in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

How often does the respondent spend time with good friends?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996													
Number of people (N)	2018				291	210		247	238	214	343	235	240
Total	100				100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
More or less every day	23				23	31		17	29	18	16	25	22
About once a week, but not every day	49				55	50		47	48	52	41	56	39
About once a month, but not every week	24				20	17		26	19	27	35	17	30
A few times a year, but not every month	4				2	2		9	2	3	8	3	8
Less than once a year	0				-	-		-	1	-	0	0	1
2002													
Number of people (N)	5996	1263	172	118		111	109	104	132	138	162	96	121
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
More or less every day	26	18	18	20		16	18	17	18	20	16	15	22
About once a week, but not every day	53	42	49	42		56	36	32	42	41	40	40	45
About once a month, but not every week	17	28	29	27		21	28	34	30	25	31	23	26
A few times a year, but not every month	3	9	4	7		5	15	14	7	12	10	12	7
Less than once a year	0	3	-	3		-	2	4	2	2	3	10	2
Don't know	0	1	1	2		2	2	-	1	-	-	1	-
2005/2006													
Number of people (N)	5996	1263	172	118		111	109	104	132	138	162	96	121
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
More or less every day	26	18	18	20		16	18	17	18	20	16	15	22
About once a week, but not every day	53	42	49	42		56	36	32	42	41	40	40	45
About once a month, but not every week	17	28	29	27		21	28	34	30	25	31	23	26
A few times a year, but not every month	3	9	4	7		5	15	14	7	12	10	12	7
Less than once a year	0	3	-	3		-	2	4	2	2	3	10	2
Don't know	0	1	1	2		2	2	-	1	-	-	1	-

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the 2002 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Table 7.4. Proportion who have a close friend they confide in among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Does the respondent have a close friend they confide in?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents										
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
2002												
Number of people (N)	6081	3049	333	288	297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	90	71	81	73	67	57	71	72	68	83	72	73
- of which men	86	71	80	74	66	60	70	72	73	81	71	69
- of which women	95	72	83	71	70	53	73	72	64	85	73	77
No	10	28	18	27	32	42	29	26	31	17	27	26
Don't know	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	-	1	1
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	6081	3049	333	288	297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	90	71	81	73	67	57	71	72	68	83	72	73
- of which men	86	71	80	74	66	60	70	72	73	81	71	69
- of which women	95	72	83	71	70	53	73	72	64	85	73	77
No	10	28	18	27	32	42	29	26	31	17	27	26
Don't know	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	-	1	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2002 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

7.3. Fewer immigrants have a friend they can confide in

In the new survey of living conditions, we also asked whether the respondents have anyone close to them who they can talk to in confidence, apart from members of their family. This question was not asked in 1996. The idea is that it takes a little more to answer yes to this question than the question whether the respondent has any "good friends". According to the ordinary Survey of Living Conditions in 2002, nine out of ten people in the general population (weighted to give the same distribution in terms of age, gender and geographical location as the immigrants) answered yes to this question. When divided by gender, the proportions were 86 per cent among men and 95 per cent among women (see table 7.4).

By contrast, the proportion who have a friend they confide in among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents is seven out of ten, i.e. nearly 20 percentage points lower. Looking at the average for all the national groups, there is no difference between men and women. The differences within the individual national groups vary slightly in both directions. Bosnians and Sri Lankans have the highest proportions, at eight out of ten, but this is still lower than in the population as a whole. Iraqis have the lowest proportion, at barely six out of ten. Among immigrants with a background from Vietnam, the proportion with a friend they confide in is slightly below average.

Table 7.5. Number of families / households in the neighbourhood the respondent knows well enough to visit among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Number of families / households in the neighbourhood the respondent visits	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents										
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia
1995		1996										
Number of people (N)	3560	2553		335	257	295	297	357	387	312	313	
Total	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
None	39	29		28	15	51	23	31	14	33	43	
One	17	15		16	7	15	14	18	12	20	17	
Two	15	17		15	11	13	17	19	29	22	15	
Three or four	17	22		26	21	13	25	23	25	17	16	
Five or more	12	18		15	47	8	22	10	20	8	9	
2001		2005/2006										
Number of people (N)	3976	3049	333	288	297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
None	27	29	23	32	21	38	45	19	33	22	20	51
One	13	13	11	17	11	12	18	9	12	12	18	17
Two	14	17	22	17	11	17	12	20	19	19	20	13
Three or four	20	23	28	17	18	20	13	31	24	24	26	11
Five or more	26	17	15	16	38	11	10	21	11	23	15	6
Don't know	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	-	1	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the 2001 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

7.4. Same degree of contact with families in the neighbourhood

Amicable relations with people in the local community is one aspect of social life that many people value. Pretensions of intimacy and mutual openness in relations with our neighbours are usually much lower than in traditional friendships, since few people get to choose their neighbours. However, most people think it wise to nurture good neighbourly relations since both parties may be able to provide each other with support and help when the need arises. In the long term, neighbours often become friends if the people involved find they get on.

Several different surveys of living conditions have asked *how many* families or households in the neighbourhood the respondents know so well that they visit one another occasionally. The immigrants' responses are strikingly similar in 1996 and 2005/2006 (table 7.5). Roughly three out of ten say none. Three out of ten say one or two families, and the remaining four out of ten are on visiting terms with three or more families. These figures are the average for all the immigrants together. Of the individual countries, it is primarily Iran and Somalia that have the highest proportion (nearly half) who state that they do not have any social contact with neighbouring families. This situation is the same nine years later, when they have also been joined by Iraq. At the other end of the scale are immigrants from Turkey who stand out as having the biggest network of families they have social contact with in the neighbourhood. Almost four out of ten people with a Turkish background state that they are on visiting terms with five or more families. Immigrants with a Turkish background tend to live in relatively concentrated areas in Oslo and Drammen,

and it is very possible that they are referring to other families from Turkey in this context. Sri Lankans and Pakistanis also tend to be concentrated in the capital. Among these groups, many people state they are on visiting terms with five or more families in the neighbourhood.

As regards the population as a whole, the degree of contact with people in the neighbourhood is on roughly the same level as among the immigrants. In the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions there seemed to be a slightly higher proportion of people (nearly four out of ten) not on visiting terms with their neighbours, but a few years later (in 2001), this figure had dropped to just under three out of ten, which is the same as among the immigrants.

In a follow-up question in both surveys among immigrants, we asked whether the families the respondents have social contact with have "the same immigration background" as them. This question is ambiguous and can be taken to mean whether these families are immigrants or whether they have a background from the *same* country or ethnic group as the respondent. We assume the latter interpretation. According to this interpretation, neighbours with an immigrant background, but from a different country or ethnic group to the respondent, will result in a "no" or a "both" answer, like people without an immigrant background. The answer "both" in this context is for when the respondent has social contact with several families in their neighbourhood, some of whom have the same immigrant background and some of whom do not.

Table 7.6 shows that a small majority of these families have the same immigration background as the respondent. The proportion was a few percentage points higher in 2005/2006 than in 1996. Note that people who do not have social contact with families in the neighbourhood are not included in this table. Over six out of ten immigrants with a background from Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan and Sri Lanka state that the people they visit have the same immigration background as them. This supports the hypothesis that concentrations of people with the same background in a small area is an important cause of this extensive contact. In 1996, more than 60 per cent of the immigrants from Vietnam and Somalia said that the families that they had social contact with had the same immigrant background, but this proportion has since decreased for these groups. We find the largest proportion of “no” answers to this question among

Chileans (45 per cent). Chileans are probably the group that has the most social contact with non-immigrants.

7.5. Only one in ten have daily contact with their neighbours

The 1995 Survey of Living Conditions included a question about how often the respondent “spends time with neighbours”. This question was included in the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants in 1996 and was repeated in the 2005/2006 survey, but unfortunately it has not been included in subsequent regular surveys of living conditions. In 1995, just under one in ten non-immigrants stated that they spent time with their neighbours more or less daily (see table 7.7). Roughly four out of ten spent time with their neighbours less than once a year.

Table 7.6. Do the families visited have the same immigration background as the respondent? Responses from immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Do these families have the same immigration background as the respondent?	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1996												
Number of people (N)	1797			242	218		144	225	247	334	208	179
Total	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	53			31	65		39	63	65	46	61	37
Both	26			24	25		22	26	17	44	27	18
No	21			46	9		40	9	17	10	12	45
Don't know	1			-	1		-	2	0	-	-	-
2005/2006												
Number of people (N)	1130	115	109		138	137	81	126	97	149	111	67
Total	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	56	40	46		65	66	47	67	55	69	48	36
Both	26	40	24		20	26	25	24	28	20	35	16
No	17	19	30		15	9	27	9	17	11	17	45
Don't know	1	1	-		-	-	1	1	1	-	-	3

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006

Table 7.7. Frequency of visits with neighbours among non-immigrants and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

How often does the respondent spend time with neighbours?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1995													
Number of people (N)	3541	2512			335	253		274	297	352	383	305	313
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
More or less every day	9	22			39	18		10	32	19	11	10	9
About once a week, but not every day	19	23			28	29		10	29	21	23	23	14
About once a month, but not every week	15	12			10	14		11	9	12	20	16	7
A few times a year, but not every month	18	12			9	6		13	7	22	19	6	12
Less than once a year	39	32			15	32		57	23	27	27	45	58
2005/2006													
Number of people (N)		3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total		100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
More or less every day		12	41	11		7	4	9	9	19	7	6	6
About once a week, but not every day		23	29	26		18	12	13	31	24	20	27	15
About once a month, but not every week		17	10	15		13	16	12	25	12	23	27	18
A few times a year, but not every month		14	9	13		13	21	10	14	14	22	11	14
Less than once a year		31	9	34		49	40	50	18	30	26	22	46
Don't know		3	2	1		2	7	6	3	1	1	7	2

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions.

Table 7.8. The proportion who spend time with work colleagues in their leisure time among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by country background. Per cent

Does the respondent spend time with one or more work colleagues in their leisure time?	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents										
	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	2005/2006										
Number of people (N)	2204	238	214	216	198	197	202	246	303	167	223
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	58	68	59	62	49	59	50	68	58	50	51
- of which men	64	71	67	68	57	58	63	77	66	56	48
- of which women	49	65	46	49	26	61	28	59	48	40	54
No	37	30	40	37	47	39	44	30	40	25	47
Don't know	5	2	1	2	5	2	6	3	3	25	3

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

The results from 1996 revealed that several groups of immigrants spent much more time with their neighbours than was usual among non-immigrants. Four out of ten immigrants with a background from the former Yugoslavia stated that they spent time with neighbours every day. The corresponding figure for Pakistanis is three out of ten. The average for all the groups was two out of ten.

In the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006, the proportion of respondents who have daily contact with their neighbours has dropped to the same level as among non-immigrants in 1995, namely around one in ten. Immigrants with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina constitute a notable exception here, in that four out of ten claim to have contact with neighbours more or less every day. Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents from Vietnam also have slightly unusual results in that two out of ten have daily contact with their neighbours. Incidentally, this is exactly the same proportion as nine years earlier. For the other immigrant groups, the proportion who have daily contact is less than one in ten. Nationalities with especially seldom social contact with their neighbours are Turks, Iranians, Chileans and Iraqis. 40-50 per cent of these groups spend time with their neighbours less than once a year. The responses to this question may appear self-contradictory at first glance for immigrants with a background from Turkey, since they have also stated that they have contact with five or more families in the neighbourhood that they know well. A possible explanation here is that the respondents are thinking more about friends who live nearby than neighbouring families who live in the same stairwell whom they say hello to, but never visit.

7.6. Six out of ten workers spend time with their work colleagues in their leisure time

We know from Statistics Norway's surveys of attitudes (Blom 2006) that many people come into contact with immigrants through their work. This is the case for roughly 40 per cent of the adult population. Among immigrants and other employees, there is often a high

degree of coincidence between whom people work with and whom they spend time with outside work hours. To shed more light on this, we asked a question about social contact with work colleagues in leisure time. The question was taken from a Swedish survey carried out in 1996 (the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 1998: 78) and was worded: "Do you ever meet any of your current co-workers socially in your free time?" In the Norwegian survey, the question read "Do you spend time with one or more of your work colleagues in your leisure time?"

Among the Swedish employees, 40 per cent of the Turks, 37 per cent of the Iranians, 34 per cent of the Chileans and 50 per cent of the Poles answered yes to this question. With the exception of the Turks, it was more common for women than men to spend time with their colleagues in their free time. In our survey from 2005/2006, the proportions who answered yes to this question were even higher than in Sweden: on average almost six out of ten (58 per cent) (see table 7.8). People who do not work were not included when the percentages were calculated, as in the Swedish survey.

The Vietnamese and Bosnians are the two national groups that spend most time with their colleagues in their leisure time. This is less common among Iraqis, Somalis, Pakistanis and Chileans. Nevertheless, at least half of them do occasionally socialise with their colleagues in their free time. There is relatively large variation between the sexes, on average 15 percentage points in the favour of men. Only among the Iranians and Chileans is the proportion of women who socialise with their colleagues greater than the proportion of men.

7.7. Immigrants are lonelier than the population as a whole

As already mentioned, the data from 1996 show that immigrants are generally lonelier than people without an immigrant background. 43 per cent of the immigrants interviewed stated that they often or occasionally felt lonely (12 percent "often"), while the corresponding figure for non-immigrants was 17 per

cent (3 per cent “often”). Do we see the same pattern in 2005/2006? The answer is yes, although the proportion who “occasionally” feel lonely is 5 percentage points lower in 2005/2006 than in 1996 (table 7.9). The proportion of immigrants who often or occasionally feel lonely in 2005/2006 is 38 per cent. In the population as a whole, the proportion of people who “occasionally” feel lonely has also increased by 5 percentage points from 1995 to 1998. Nevertheless, the proportion of people who often or occasionally feel lonely is 16 percentage points higher in the immigrant population in 2005/2006 than in the population as a whole in 1998 (with values for the general population weighted).

In 1996, the proportion who often or occasionally felt lonely was greatest among immigrants with a background from Iran and Somalia, at a little over six and five out of ten respectively. In 2005/2006, only people with a background from Iraq and Iran had (almost) such a high proportion of people who feel lonely. Among Somalis, this proportion had sunk to 35 per cent. Otherwise, Turkey stands out with almost 45 per cent of the population stating they are often or occasionally lonely. The least lonely group in 2005/2006 were the Pakistanis, with a proportion that is only slightly higher than the average for the

population as a whole. In most of the national groups, the women are lonelier than the men.

The fact that the proportion of people who feel lonely is slightly, but not much, lower in 2005/2006 compared with 1996 makes sense when we consider the developments in social contact within and outside the family in the intervening years. The proportion of people living with their partner has not changed, and there has not been an increase in the proportion of people that have brought their spouse to Norway. The number of families that the individual has contact with in the neighbourhood has remained unchanged, while the frequency of contact with neighbours has dropped off. By contrast, more immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents have their parents, siblings and other members of their family in Norway, but the proportion of people living with family members has gone down. The proportion of people with close Norwegian friends has remained pretty much unchanged, but they do not spend as much time with good friends as before. Altogether, these changes probably mean that immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents have a slightly stronger social anchoring among family and friends than was the case ten years ago, but some tendencies also suggest the opposite is true.

Table 7.9. The proportion who often or occasionally feel lonely among the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Does the respondent often, occasionally, rarely or never feel lonely?	The population as a whole	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents												
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile	
	1995													
Number of people (N)	3559	2549			331	253			292	276	343	378	304	306
Total	100	100			100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100
Often	3	12			12	9			24	7	9	10	18	14
- of which men	3	10			10	7			20	6	9	11	17	9
-of which women	3	14			15	13			30	9	9	9	18	20
Occasionally	15	31			33	28			41	30	31	24	36	28
- of which men	13	30			31	31			45	28	31	20	32	26
-of which women	18	32			35	24			35	33	31	29	41	29
Rarely	27	18			22	15			16	15	15	25	18	24
Never	56	40			33	48			19	49	45	42	28	34
	1998													
Number of people (N)	3079	3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288	
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Often	2	13	7	17		17	19	22	8	8	9	12	12	
- of which men	2	11	8	14		18	17	16	6	4	10	8	8	
-of which women	3	15	6	21		16	23	29	9	12	9	17	16	
Occasionally	19	26	33	22		26	40	28	17	24	19	23	26	
- of which men	17	24	28	16		22	37	28	16	19	19	25	23	
-of which women	22	28	37	29		34	46	28	17	27	20	21	29	
Rarely	34	21	21	18		23	17	25	25	19	20	12	31	
Never	44	40	39	42		33	23	25	50	48	52	49	30	
Don't know	0	1	0	1		1	1	0	1	1	-	4	1	

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 1998

8. Religion

Kristian Rose Tronstad

The Constitution lays down that there is freedom of religion in Norway, but the public religion of the state is Protestant Christianity (evangelical Lutheran). Although many immigrants belong to a different religion than that of the Church of Norway, many of the respondents said it was easy for them to practise their religion in Norway. Among the ten groups of non-Western immigrants included in this survey of living conditions, approximately six out of ten were raised as Muslims.

8.1. Religion and integration

After the terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London, there has been much debate concerning religion and religious practice. The authorities and the general public in many European countries fear acts of terrorism by Islamic fundamentalists. As a result of increasing scepticism towards Islam, more Muslims are experiencing discrimination (the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2006).

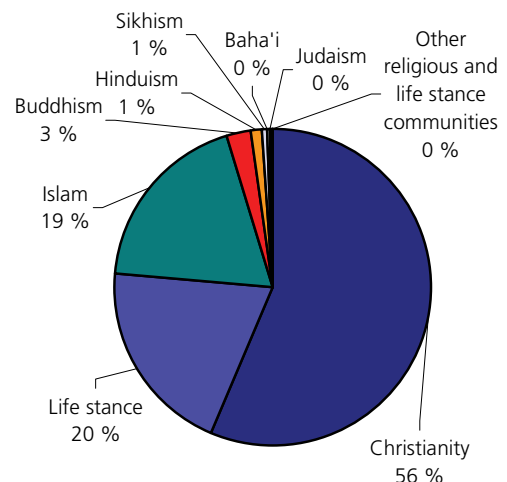
Religion and religious practice are topics that usually belong to the private sphere, in the sense that individuals are free to believe in what they choose. In terms of immigrants' participation in working life, there is little doubt that immigrants who work are more likely to integrate better than those who do not. However, it is far more controversial to suggest that the extent to which a Chilean is still a practising Catholic or has left their childhood faith can be taken as an expression of successful integration. The fact that immigrants have different religious convictions than the majority population may pose a challenge for integration of immigrants, but interpreting the immigrants' religious beliefs as a positive or negative is problematic. At the same time, it is difficult for a state founded on one religion to relate neutrally to other religious convictions.

In Norway, implementation of the obligatory school subject "Christian education, religion and lifestyle" (KRL) in primary and lower secondary schools and the debate around the right to wear religious headwear are manifestations of the fact that religious minorities and philosophical communities feel their freedom of faith is being compromised.

Membership of religious communities outside the Church of Norway on the rise

Increased immigration over the last 30 years is one of the reasons for the rise in the number of members of alternative religious and life-stance communities outside the Church of Norway. In 1971, approx. 100,000 people were members of religious and life-stance communities other than the Church of Norway, whereas at the beginning of 2006 almost 400,000 people, or roughly 8 per cent of the population, stated they were not a member of the Church of Norway. Christian congregations outside the Church of Norway had a total of 216,100 members and constitute 56 per cent of all the members of alternative religious and life-stance communities. The largest is the Roman Catholic Church with more than 45,000 members, followed by Pentecostal congregations with almost 40,000 members. Islam is the religious community that has seen the greatest growth. In 1971, there were almost no people Registered in Muslim religious communities, but in 2006 they had almost 72,000 members – almost 19 per cent of all the people registered. The Norwegian Humanist Association was the largest life-stance community by some 20 per cent, with 77,200 members.

Figure 8.1. Members of religious and life-stance communities outside the Church of Norway 2006



Source: Statistics Norway, Members of religious and life-stance communities outside the Church of Norway, 2006

In the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants, the respondents were asked about the religious faith they were brought up with and whether they still adhere to the same religion. The survey also provides an indication of how important religion is in the immigrants' lives, their religious activity, and how easy or difficult it is for them to practise their religion in Norway. The last Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants (1996) also contained a question about the immigrants' attendance at religious gatherings. This question is not directly comparable with the questions posed in this survey, but we can draw some comparisons.

The ordinary surveys of living conditions contain little information about religion and religious practice in the population as a whole. The exceptions here are the Survey of Values in Norway (1996) and the Culture and Media Use Survey, which include questions about participation in meetings of religious and philosophical communities (Vaage 2004). The European Social Survey (ESS) is conducted in more than 20 countries with varying topics. In 2006, the respondents were asked about religious activities and the significance of religion in their life. The questions in ESS use a slightly different scale than in the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants, but using ESS as our source, we can make a few simple comparisons of the significance of religion in the population of Norway as a whole with the immigrants in the survey of living conditions.

8.2. Most Muslims

Islam and Catholicism are the two most common religions among non-Western immigrants. On average for all the national groups in the survey, more than six out of ten were raised as Muslims, while one in ten were raised as Catholics. Hinduism and Buddhism are two other major world religions that are relatively poorly represented in our sample, at roughly 6 per cent each. Another 6 per cent state that they were not brought up with a religion.

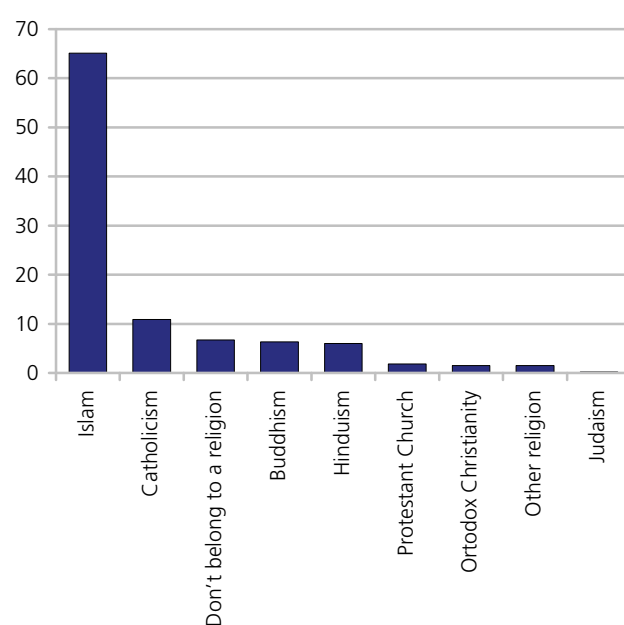
8.3. Tell me where you come from and I'll tell you what you believe...

There is huge variation in faith among the various national groups. Immigrants from Pakistan and Somalia were almost always raised as Muslims. A large majority

(nine out of ten) of the immigrants from Iraq and Turkey were also raised as Muslims. Seven out of ten immigrants from Iran were raised as Muslims, but half of the Iranians in Norway state that they do not adhere to this religion today.

There is also a relatively large proportion of Muslims among immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and from Serbia and Montenegro, at 66 and 77 per cent respectively. In Serbia and Montenegro, orthodox Christianity is the most common religion adhered to by an estimated 65 per cent of the population. However, in our sample, only some 10 per cent of the immigrants from Serbia and Montenegro are Orthodox Christians. The reason for this relatively large difference is that the majority of the immigrants in Norway from Serbia and Montenegro are refugees from the Kosovo province, where most people are Albanians and Muslims. Among immigrants from the former Yugoslavia we also find a sizeable group who state they were raised without a religion.

Figure 8.2. Religion the respondent was brought up in. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 8.1. Religion the respondent was brought up in. By country background. Per cent

	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3036	328	288	295	357	266	307	310	353	245	287
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Islam	65	66	77	93	94	70	98	0	1	99	0
Catholicism	11	6	3	0	3	2	1	33	18	0	78
Don't belong to a religion	7	24	11	4	1	18	1	5	1	0	6
Buddhism	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	1	0	0
Hinduism	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	73	0	0
Protestant Church	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	5	0	12
Orthodox Christianity	2	4	8	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	2
Other religion	2	0	0	2	1	8	0	2	0	0	3
Judaism	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

The immigrants from Chile are an exception with Catholicism as the dominant faith. More than eight out of ten Chileans in Norway were raised as Catholics. Immigrants from Vietnam and Sri Lanka have a more varied religious background than the other immigrant groups in the survey of living conditions. Five out of ten Vietnamese were raised as Buddhists and three out of ten as Catholics. Immigrants from Sri Lanka are predominantly Hindus (seven out of ten), but two out of ten are Catholics.

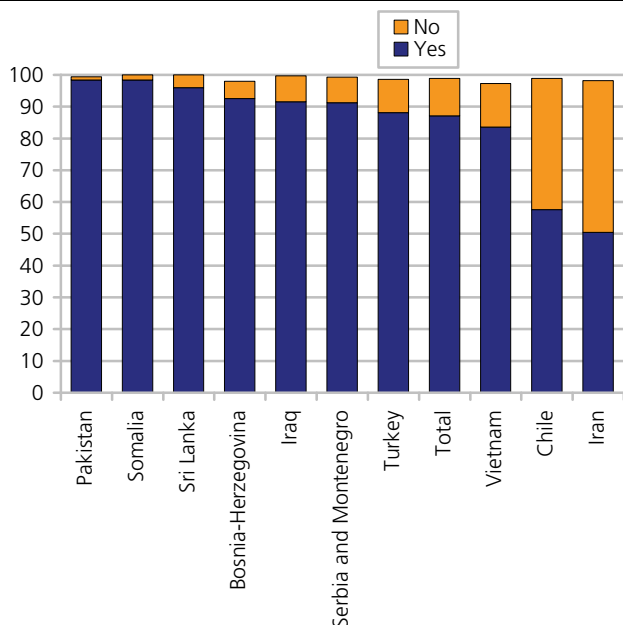
Our sample has a higher proportion of Muslims than in the immigrant population as a whole, because there are relatively many Muslim countries among the top ten immigrant countries.

8.4. Do the immigrants still belong to the same religion?

The immigrants who were brought up with a religion were then asked if they still belonged to this religion. The purpose of asking this question was to find out whether immigrants change their religious conviction after having settled in Norway, or if they continue to practise the religion they were brought up with.

Seven out of eight say that they have kept the religion they grew up with, but there is large variation between the national groups. Roughly half of all the Iranians say that they no longer belong to the religion they were raised with. This must be seen in the context of the fact that many Iranians in Norway are secular and have fled from a religious regime. Chileans tend to have a relatively high drop-out rate, with four out of ten saying that they no longer belong to the religion they were brought up with. Among immigrants from Serbia-Herzegovina, Turkey, Iraq and Vietnam, approx. one in ten have

Figure 8.3. Do you belong to this religion today? By country background. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

abandoned their childhood faith, compared with only 1-2 per cent of immigrants from Somalia and Pakistan.

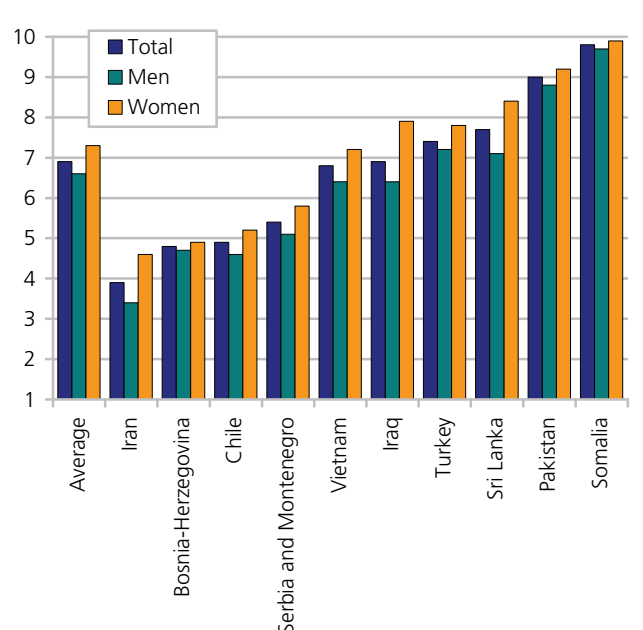
8.5. How important is religion in your life?

In the survey, the respondents were asked to rank how important religion is in their life on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means “not important at all” and 10 means “very important”. 5 was taken as the midpoint on the scale. This scale must be taken as running from secular to religious, where a score of 1 means the respondent has a secular worldview, and 10 means that religion is a very important part of the person’s life. In the survey, one in ten immigrants say that religion is not at all important in their life, while four out of ten say that religion is very important. Roughly one in ten place themselves in the middle of the scale.

Iranians are the most secular immigrant group, with 40 per cent saying that religion is not important to them. Around 25 per cent of the immigrants from Chile and Bosnia-Herzegovina say the same, compared with just under 20 per cent of the immigrants from Serbia and Montenegro saying that religion is not important in their lives. Somalis represent the other extreme, with nine out of ten saying that religion is very important. 65 per cent of Pakistanis state that religion is very important, whereas a little under 50 per cent of Turks Sri Lankans choose score 10.

Figure 8.4 shows the mean score for how important religion is for women and men with different national backgrounds. If we look at the immigrant population as a whole, the mean score is 6.9, and in all the groups, women claim to be more religious than men: 7.3 compared with 6.6 respectively. The gender difference is

Figure 8.4. Ranking how important religion is in your life. 1 = not important at all 10 = Very important. By country background and gender



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

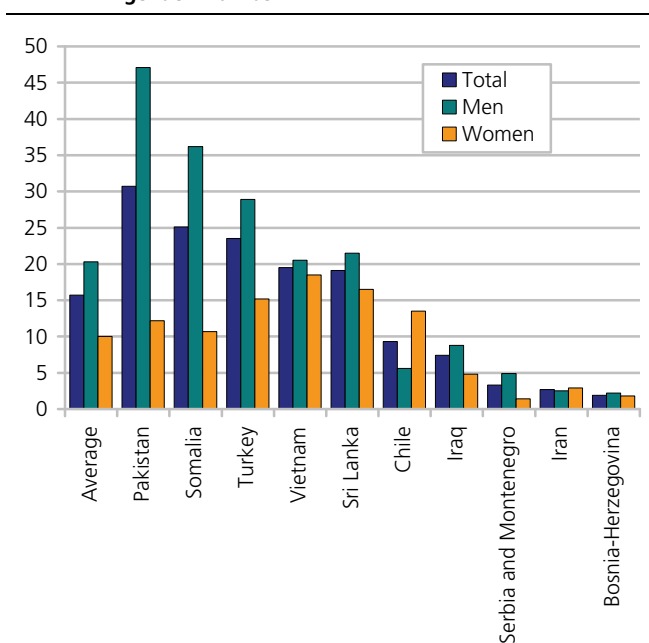
greatest among Iraqis and Sri Lankans. Immigrants from Somalia and Pakistan are the most religious with an average score of 9.8 and 9.0 respectively, while immigrants from Iran, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and Chile all have a score of 5 or less and are thus the most secular of the immigrants in the survey.

8.6. Religiosity in the population as a whole

As already mentioned, there is no directly comparable data on the importance of religion in the ordinary surveys of living conditions that cover the entire population. However, we can gain an overview of the importance of religion for all Norwegians by looking at the data from the European Social Survey (ESS). In the ESS in 2006, the respondents were asked to plot themselves on a scale from 0-10, where 0 indicated that they are not religious and 10 indicated that religion is very important in their lives. The scale used in ESS is thus slightly different from the one we used in our Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants, where the lowest score was 1. The survey showed that roughly 15 per cent of the Norwegian sample stated that they were not religious (score 0); and with a mean score 3.8, the population of Norway was ranked as the one of the least religious populations in Europe. The corresponding scores in Sweden and Denmark were 3.6 and 4.3, while Cyprus and Poland were the most religious nations with average scores of 7.0 and 6.6 respectively.

We found an average score for the ten non-Western immigrant groups in our survey of 6.9 per cent. This indicates that religion is generally more important to non-Western immigrants than in the population as a whole.

Figure 8.5. Over the last 12 months, how many times have you attended religious gatherings or prayers arranged by a religious community? By country background and gender. Number



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

8.7. Religious activity

The question about how important religion is in immigrants' lives revealed that immigrant women are slightly more religious than their male counterparts, but this difference is not reflected in religious activity. On average men with a non-Western background attend 20 religious gatherings or prayers arranged by a religious community⁸ a year. By contrast, immigrant women attend half as many gatherings on average: 10 a year.

However, there is greater variation in degree of religious activity among the national groups than between women and men. While Bosnians go to the Mosque a couple of times a year, Pakistanis go on average 30 times a year. Somalis and Turks are also frequent Mosque-goers, with an average of 25 visits a year. It should be pointed out that there are huge differences between the sexes among Pakistanis, Somalis and Turks, with men being far more religiously active than women with the same background. On average, Pakistani men go the Mosque 50 times a year, Somali men 35 times and Turkish men just under 30 times a year, whereas women with the same background attend religious gatherings 12, 11 and 15 times a year respectively. Religious activity is lower in the other national groups, and the gender differences are smaller. Women with a background from Chile stand out here in that they are more religiously active than men with the same background.

Different settlement patterns may also serve to explain some of the huge difference we see in religious activity. While Pakistanis, Turks and Somalis are largely concentrated in Oslo, and many Turks also live in Drammen, Bosnians tend live all over Norway. For Iraqis, among whom a relatively large proportion state that religion is very important in their lives, length of residence may help explain the surprisingly low level of religious activity. Many Iraqis have come to Norway quite recently as refugees, and it often takes some time for recent arrivals to establish a religious community or move to a place where there is a Mosque where they feel at home.

8.8. Religiosity and national country background

If we look at the two dimensions of religious activity and the importance of religion the individual's life together (see figure 8.6), we find a clear correlation between people's faith and life. People who say that religion does not play an important role in their life are also less religiously active.

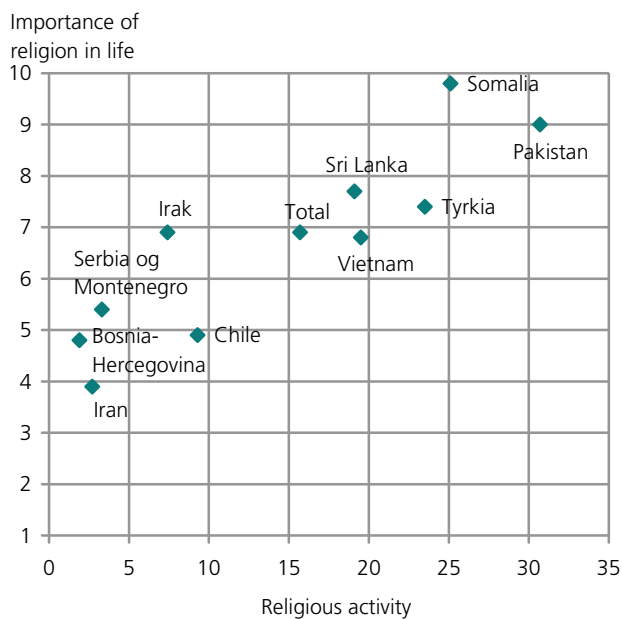
The findings here indicate that people from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and Iran, most of whom were raised as Muslims, are more secular than Muslims with a background from Pakistan, Somalia and

⁸ This does not include baptisms, confirmations, weddings or funerals.

Turkey. They are less religiously active, consistently state that religion plays a minor role in their life, and many no longer believe in the religion they were raised with.

In the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996, the respondents were also asked about degree of religious activity, but were asked to choose between six predefined groups of frequency of religious activity. It is therefore not possible to compare the results directly. However the figures from 1996 do reveal that Iranians attended the fewest religious gatherings then too, along with immigrants from the former Yugoslavia (as it was called back then, and it did not include Bosnia-Herzegovina). Then followed Sri Lankans, Somalis, Chileans and Vietnamese. In 1996, the Somalis were a relatively new refugee population in Norway, and with time they seem to have become more religiously active as a group, supporting the theory proposed concerning Iraqis in the last paragraph. As in 2006, in 1996 Pakistanis and Turks were most active in terms of attending religious gatherings and organised prayer meetings.

Figure 8.6. Religious activity and the importance of religion, by country background



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

According to the Culture and Media Use Survey from 2004, the population's average level of religious activity, measured in the number of religious gatherings attended, was just over four meetings a year. Average level of religious activity measured in number of gatherings attended is thus three times higher for the immigrants in this survey than in the population as a whole.

8.9. How easy is it to practise one's religion?

On average for all the national groups, a little over 60 per cent believe that it is easy or very easy for them to practise their religion in Norway. Roughly 20 per cent think it is neither easy nor difficult, while 15 per cent think it is difficult.

At 30 per cent, the Pakistanis have the highest proportion of people who think it is difficult to practise their religion, followed by Somalis and Sri Lankans with around 20 per cent. It is interesting that so many immigrants from Sri Lanka, who are not Muslims, report that it is difficult to practise their religion. Sri Lankans are one of the national groups that experience least discrimination in other areas, such as in working life. For the other national groups, the proportion who find it difficult to practise their religion is around 10 per cent. Among Iranians, more than 20 per cent do not know whether it is easy or difficult to practise their religion in Norway. In light of the other findings about the immigrants from Iran, it may be pertinent to take this as indicating that many Iranians are not religious and therefore do not have any opinions on this matter. All the other groups have a much lower share who do not know.

The answers about how easy or difficult it is to practise their religion in Norway tend to indicate that it is generally easy to practise one's religion in Norway. Nevertheless, we must not overlook the fact that more than a quarter of the immigrants from Pakistan think it is difficult or very difficult to practise their religion in Norway.

Table 8.2. Difficult to practise one's religion in Norway? By country background. Per cent

	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3050	333	288	297	357	269	307	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Very easy	18	13	21	27	30	21	12	13	19	18	14
Easy	43	34	35	33	48	31	47	55	45	45	52
Neither easy nor difficult	20	36	31	25	11	19	12	20	14	21	18
Difficult	12	10	12	7	8	4	24	9	19	14	8
Very difficult	3	3	1	6	1	2	4	1	2	2	2
Don't know	4	4	0	2	3	23	1	2	0	0	6

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

8.10. Religion is more important for immigrants than for others, and most important for Muslims

Islam is the religion that most (six out of ten) of the immigrants in the survey grew up with and still believe in. If we combine the answers about how important religion is in their lives and how religiously active the immigrants are, we find large variation even among the national groups with a large Muslim population. Somalis, Pakistanis and Turks seem more religious than immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and especially Iran.

Women state that religion plays a more important role in life than men with the same country background, but women attend prayers or service half as often as men.

Religion is one of the topics covered in the European Social Survey (ESS). According to ESS, the inhabitants of Norway have one of the lowest average scores for the importance of religion compared with other countries in Europe. The figures in this survey can be compared with the findings of ESS and the Norwegian Culture and Media Use Survey (2004), and indicate that religion plays a much more important role for non-Western immigrants and that they attend religious gatherings more frequently than the population as a whole.

A majority of non-Western immigrants claim it is easy for them to practise their religion in Norway. Nevertheless, almost 30 per cent of immigrants from Pakistan, which is the largest group of immigrants in Norway, say it is difficult for them to practise their religion.

9. Education

Kristin Henriksen

In this chapter, we will cast light on a number of aspects regarding the immigrants' education. First we will describe the level of education immigrants who came to Norway as adults had upon arrival. Then we will look at how many of these have gone to school in Norway. We will then look at the level of education the immigrants had at the time they were interviewed, regardless of whether this education is from Norway or abroad. There are major differences between the groups regarding how well educated the immigrants were when they came to Norway, and these differences have been reinforced during their time in Norway. However, we will also see that immigrants from Somalia, who came to Norway with very little education, have been among the keenest to get an education here.

9.1. Far higher educational level than the registers suggest

In Norway we have plenty of information about education that immigrants take in Norway. Data about examinations taken at Norwegian educational institutions are routinely entered into a register of the population's highest education (BU). However, we do not have routines for recording the education that immigrants took abroad before immigrating to Norway when they arrive in Norway. To rectify this, Statistics Norway has therefore carried out two surveys, in 1990 and 1999, to systematically chart the level of education among the people born abroad that we do not have educational data on.^{9[1]} Nevertheless, the BU register is incomplete in terms of immigrants' educational level. This concerns recently arrived immigrants in particular who have arrived after the last survey in 1999, but a sizeable proportion of the data is also missing for immigrants who arrived before 1999. On average in 2005, we lack data on educational level for four out of ten immigrants from non-Western countries.

A comparison of the data in the register on the level of education among immigrants from 2001 (which

^[1] A similar charting may be conducted in connection with the census in 2011.

includes the results of the 1999 survey) with the information provided in connection with LKI reveals major deviances in recorded educational levels. All the groups have higher self-reported level of education in LKI than in 2001 – a difference that varies between 9 per cent and 21 per cent in the various groups. For example, 21 percentage points more Iraqis state that they have higher education in our survey than this group has according to the information in the register from 2001. However, the ranking among the immigrant groups remains basically the same. The same four groups are at the top and at the bottom of the list according to both the public register data and LKI. According to both sources, immigrants from Iran and Chile have the highest levels of education, and immigrants from Turkey and Somalia have the lowest.

The disparities between LKI and the data in the register are probably partly due to the fact that LKI is a smaller sample survey than the surveys conducted in 1990 and 1999. It also seems likely that the people who respond to sample surveys in each immigrant group are people with higher than average education for the group. And vice versa: that the people who were selected but do not want to or are unable to take part are the individuals with a below-average educational level. The surveys in 1990 and 1999 were part of the census, and participation was mandatory, reducing the likelihood of so-called selective non-response. At the same time, it is conceivable that some immigrants have taken higher education in Norway or overseas since the survey in 1999, meaning that the educational level of the various groups is in fact higher now – especially in groups that have not had a large influx of new immigrants.

9.2. Most Iranian women have higher education

In the interview, we asked the respondents about the highest level of education they have completed in Norway or elsewhere. First, we will look at the level of education of immigrants who were aged 18 or over when they came to Norway when they arrived here (see table 9.1). They may have immigrated at various times.

Table 9.1. Education taken abroad among immigrants who came to Norway at age 18 or over, by country background and gender. Per cent

	N		Not completed any education, 9 years or less	Primary and lower secondary education, 9 years or less	Upper secondary education	Higher education
Total	2012	Total	17	23	36	24
	1092	Men	12	20	40	28
	920	Women	23	26	32	19
Bosnia-Herzegovina	231	Total	12	9	50	29
	103	Men	10	6	50	34
	128	Women	14	11	50	24
Serbia and Montenegro	205	Total	9	19	53	19
	114	Men	4	11	61	24
	91	Women	15	30	42	13
Turkey	188	Total	12	46	26	17
	117	Men	6	42	30	22
	71	Women	21	52	18	8
Iraq	285	Total	16	22	24	38
	194	Men	11	20	26	43
	91	Women	26	28	19	26
Iran	201	Total	9	11	43	36
	117	Men	8	12	51	28
	84	Women	11	10	32	47
Pakistan	135	Total	13	42	27	19
	58	Men	7	40	24	29
	77	Women	17	43	29	12
Vietnam	159	Total	45	25	20	9
	63	Men	46	16	25	11
	96	Women	45	31	17	7
Sri Lanka	269	Total	3	19	60	18
	140	Men	4	19	59	18
	129	Women	2	20	61	17
Somalia	174	Total	40	22	22	14
	92	Men	23	23	31	24
	82	Women	60	22	13	4
Chile	165	Total	6	8	53	33
	94	Men	6	10	53	30
	71	Women	4	6	54	37

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

If we group together people who immigrated as adults by country background and gender, some of the groups end up quite small. For example, only 63 Vietnamese men who came to Norway as adults were interviewed. This means the figures are not very certain, and we must bear this in mind when interpreting these data.

All in all, 17 per cent of the adult immigrants state that they had not completed primary and lower secondary education when they arrived in Norway. 23 per cent had completed primary and lower secondary education only, 36 per cent had completed upper secondary education and 24 per cent had higher education.

The educational level at immigration may provide an indication of the "integration potential" of adult immigrants on arrival in Norway. As we will see, there are large differences among the various immigrant groups, and there are also significant gender differences

within several of the groups. This may help to explain the considerable differences in employment among the various groups and between women and men within the groups. Female immigrants consistently had a lower level of education than male immigrants on arrival in Norway. 23 per cent of the adult women state that they had no education at all when they came to Norway, and 26 per cent only had primary and lower secondary education. This was the case for only 12 and 20 per cent of the men respectively. The fact that more women than men lack basic schooling reflects practice in some of the countries the immigrants come from, where greater priority is given to sending boys to school than girls.

The gender differences are especially large among immigrants from Somalia. While six out of ten Somali women state that they had not completed primary and lower secondary education when they came to Norway, "only" 23 per cent of the Somali men said the same. Immigrants from Vietnam also tend to have a low level of education, with almost half of the immigrants not having completed primary and lower secondary education when they came to Norway. This was the case for both women and men.

Among the women, two groups in particular stand out, where almost everyone has completed primary and lower secondary education as a minimum: the women from Sri Lanka (98 per cent) and the women from Chile (96 per cent). Among the men, in all the groups, apart from Somalia and Vietnam, as we have already mentioned, at least 90 per cent of the men have completed primary and lower secondary education or more. Iraqis are a very heterogeneous group in terms of education. Some Iraqis arrive in Norway with no education, especially women; but Iraqis are also one of the national groups with the highest proportion of people with higher education. More than four out of ten Iraqi men state that they had higher education when they came to Norway.

The immigrants from Iran are the only group where far more women than men state that they had higher education when they arrived in Norway. Almost half of the Iranian women who immigrated as adults had higher education, compared with almost three out of ten Iranian men. Incidentally, it is among the female immigrants from Iran that we find the highest percentage of respondents stating that they had higher education when they came to Norway. Among the immigrants from Chile too the gender difference is in the women's favour, but only by 7 percentage points.

In some groups, three out of ten immigrants or more state that they had higher education when they came to Norway. They are women from Chile and Iran, and men from Chile, Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Pakistan.

9.3. One in four have completed an education in Norway

How many of the immigrants who came to Norway as adults have completed an education in Norway? One in four immigrants state that this is the case – and this figure does *not* include basic Norwegian classes provided by the Adult Education Services (Voksenopplæringen). As shown in table 9.2, 11 per cent have taken upper secondary education in Norway and 8 per cent have taken higher education.

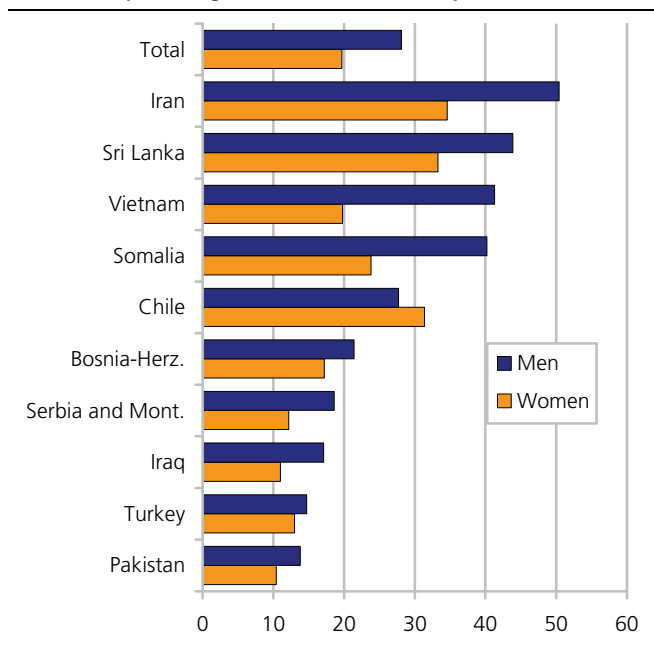
It may be easier for people to continue an educational project in Norway if they have already embarked on one in their country of origin. As we have already seen, Iranians are the group with the highest number of people who had higher education when they came to Norway, and they are also the group that has taken the most education since arriving in Norway. Almost half of the Iranian immigrants have completed an education here, and of these, half have completed higher education. Many Somalis had no education when they came to Norway, and it seems many of them rectify this in Norway. Every third Somali immigrant that came to Norway as an adult has completed an education here. Bearing in mind that many Somalis have not been in Norway very long, we will probably see more Somalis with education from Norwegian in the future.

Immigrants with a background from Turkey and Pakistan also had a low level of education when they arrived in Norway, but many of them have been in Norway for many years. Very few people in these groups have completed an education in Norway. These are immigrants who came to Norway as either labour immigrants before the immigration stop in the 1970s or through family reunification later on. For the first group in particular, it would be very unnatural to embark on a course of education in Norway.

We saw previously how male immigrants tended to have a higher level of education on arrival in Norway than their female counterparts. This gender difference has been further reinforced in Norway, since

immigrant men are more likely to go back to school after arrival in Norway than immigrant women, as shown in figure 9.1. 20 per cent of the immigrant women who came to Norway as adults say that they have completed an education here, compared with 28 per cent of the men. The immigrants from Chile are the only group where more women than men have completed an education in Norway, but the difference is small (4 percentage points). In the general population, women have caught up with men in terms of participation in the educational system. More young women than young men pursue a higher education, and in 2004/2005 for the first time, more women than men completed an education lasting more than four years at universities and colleges in Norway (Hollås 2007).

Figure 9.1. Percentage who completed an education in Norway among immigrants who came to Norway at age 18 or older, by country background. Ranked according to percentage of men who have completed an education



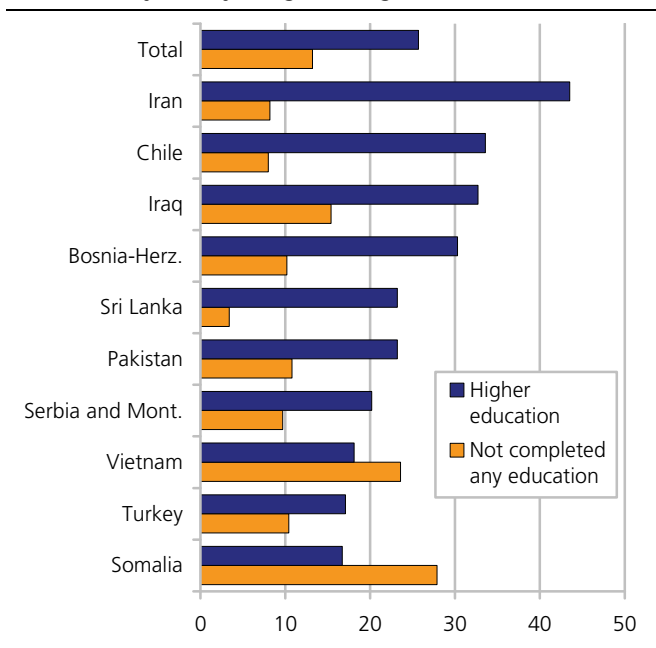
Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 9.2. Education completed in Norway among immigrants who came to Norway at age 18 or older, by country background. Ranked according to the proportion who have taken education in Norway. Per cent

	Number of people (N)	Not completed any education	Primary and lower secondary education, 9 years or less	Upper secondary education	Higher education	Other
Total	1997	76	2	11	8	3
Iran	196	56	1	18	19	6
Sri Lanka	268	61	1	19	13	6
Somalia	172	67	9	14	8	2
Chile	164	71	0	12	12	5
Vietnam	159	72	1	18	4	5
Bosnia-Herzegovina	231	81	0	7	9	3
Serbia and Montenegro	203	84	1	10	3	2
Iraq	284	85	2	6	4	3
Turkey	185	86	1	5	5	3
Pakistan	135	88	0	2	6	4

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 9.2. Proportion with higher education and no education, by country background. Aged 16 and over



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

9.4. One in four immigrants from Vietnam has no education at all

Let us now look at the highest level of education the immigrants had at the time they were interviewed, regardless of whether this education is from Norway or abroad. A Somali who reports having upper secondary education from Somalia and primary and lower secondary education from Norway will be ascribed upper secondary education. We are looking at the whole sample, i.e. everyone over the age of 16, immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents alike.

Immigrants with a background from Iran were among the people with the highest level of education when they came to Norway, and they have also to a large extent taken education *in Norway*. It is therefore only natural that this group has the highest mean level of education (see figure 9.2). This is still the case in 2001, according to the register data, although, as mentioned, the proportion of people with higher education is much lower according to the register. In *Living Conditions Among Immigrants*, a massive 44 per cent state that they have higher education: 35 per cent have a first degree and 9 per cent have extended higher education. Many of the immigrants with a background from Chile, Iraq and Bosnia-Herzegovina also have higher education: just over three out of ten. We find the lowest levels of education among the immigrants with a background from Somalia, Turkey and Vietnam, where 17-18 per cent state to have completed higher education.

In the groups that have lived in Norway longest, the sample interviewed will include persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. Since people born in Norway to

immigrant parents tend to attain a higher level of education than immigrants (Henriksen 2006), they may have pulled the average up, especially among the Pakistanis, but also among the Vietnamese and Chileans. At the same time, most of the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents are still very young, and roughly half are of an age where it is not usual to have completed a university education (aged 20 or younger), meaning that this effect will primarily manifest itself in the figures for upper secondary education.

As we have seen, 17 per cent of the people who came to Norway as adults state that they had no education at all when they arrived. Indeed, 13 per cent still have no education from their country of origin or from Norway, as illustrated in figure 9.2. These are primarily people with a background from Somalia (28 per cent) and Vietnam (24 per cent). The nationalities with the fewest people without any education are Sri Lanka (3 per cent) and Iran and Chile (both 8 per cent).

Those with no education at all are likely to be unemployed. Somalis clearly have the lowest employment rate and the highest proportion of people who have not completed any education. We find the highest levels of employment in the groups where fewest state that they have not completed any education – such as the immigrants from Sri Lanka, Chile and Iran. The fact there is such a high employment rate among the Vietnamese, despite their low level of education, is probably the result of the fact that many Vietnamese have lived in Norway so long that they have built up considerable practical experience. This suggests that while it may take a long time for people without an education to find employment, it is not impossible. There is more about the relationship between education and work in the chapter on work.

9.5. Men have a higher level of education than women

We have seen above that many more immigrant men than immigrant women who came to Norway as adults had already completed higher education before they came, and there are also more immigrant men than immigrant women who have completed an education in Norway. It therefore comes as no surprise that in the immigrant population there are more men than women who have higher education (see table 9.3). The gender differences are particularly marked among people with a background from Somalia, Iraq, Turkey and Serbia and Montenegro. For example, 24 per cent of the men from Somalia state that they have higher education, compared with only 8 per cent of the Somali women. Similarly, there are 16 per cent more Somali men than women who have completed upper secondary education, and far fewer men than women who do not have any education at all (45 compared with 15 per cent).

Table 9.3. Highest completed education taken in / outside Norway, by educational level, country background and gender. Aged 16 and over. Per cent

		Highest completed education in / outside Norway	N	Not completed any education	Primary and lower secondary education, 9 years or less	Upper secondary education	Higher education
Immigrants total	Men		1678	10	18	43	28
	Women		1370	18	20	38	23
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Men		157	9	8	52	30
	Women		176	11	7	50	31
Serbia and Montenegro	Men		158	5	9	62	24
	Women		130	15	26	43	15
Turkey	Men		181	6	39	33	22
	Women		116	17	43	28	10
Iraq	Men		235	11	19	32	37
	Women		122	25	23	26	25
Iran	Men		159	7	9	41	42
	Women		110	10	6	36	46
Pakistan	Men		162	7	28	36	28
	Women		144	15	26	38	18
Vietnam	Men		144	22	13	44	18
	Women		169	25	21	34	18
Sri Lanka	Men		188	4	15	55	25
	Women		165	3	16	58	21
Somalia	Men		139	15	17	44	24
	Women		105	45	18	28	8
Chile	Men		155	8	11	52	27
	Women		133	8	9	39	42

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

In some groups, the gender differences are small: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iran, Vietnam and Sri Lanka. One group distinguishes itself: 16 percentage points more women than men from Chile state that they have higher education, while more Chilean men than women do not have education above upper secondary education level. More Chilean women than men had higher education when they came to Norway, and this difference has continued to grow in Norway.

9.6. One in ten descendants have studied abroad

In this chapter, descendants are defined as people born in Norway to immigrant parents and people who immigrated to Norway before their sixth birthday. They were asked whether they have studied in countries other than Norway and if so, what education they have completed. A total of 11 per cent have completed some form of education abroad – 13 per cent of the women and 11 per cent of the men. Thus, it is not particularly commonplace for this group to receive their whole or parts of their education abroad. Of the people who did study abroad, roughly equal numbers took primary and lower secondary education, upper secondary education or higher education abroad. The descendants in the sample are so young that the

number who take higher education is bound to increase over time. And of course, we were unable to interview the individuals who were overseas studying at the time the interviews were held, meaning that it is possible that the proportion is in fact slightly higher in reality. If we divide the descendants into groups according to country background, the numbers become too small to be reliable, and only among the descendants with a background from Pakistan, Vietnam and Chile are there more than 50 in the sample. In these groups, 16, 7 and 17 per cent respectively have taken some form of education abroad, but we do not know where they studied.

9.7. Level of education decisive for prospects

The immigrants who come to Norway are a very diverse group. Some come from countries with well-established educational systems, such as Iran. Others come from countries where only the luckiest few get to go to school. In few countries is the situation as dire as in Somalia, where there has not been a public school system since the collapse of the Somali state in 1991. It goes without saying that the school system in the country of origin will affect the level of education the immigrants have on arrival in Norway, but the reason for their migrating also plays a part. Political refugees, of which we have many from Iran, will be a different type of immigrant than a family-reunification immigrant from rural Turkey. It is therefore only natural that there are large differences in educational level and participation in the education system in Norway.

As is the case for the rest of the population, the level of education an immigrant has will affect how their life develops in many areas. The higher the level of education you have, the greater the chance of success in many areas of life. In the chapter on work, we will see that higher education improves the immigrants' opportunity to enter the employment market, and immigrants with a higher level of education tend to have different types of jobs than those with less education. Higher education also has a positive impact on media use, language skills and political participation. To name but a few. It is beyond the scope of this report to look at these correlations in any detail, but these are areas that can and ought to be studied more closely in the future.

10. Work

Bjørn Mathisen

The labour market is probably the most important arena for successful integration of immigrants. Furthermore, a key objective of integration policy is for immigrants to find employment, thereby achieving economic independence. The degree of participation in working life is also a good indicator of integration in general. It is therefore important to take a closer look at the degree of participation in working life among immigrants.

The chapter describes the degree of participation in working life, employment facts relating to employed persons such as occupation and extent of temporary employment, number of hours worked per week, opportunity to use skills and knowledge in one's work and extent of unemployment.¹⁰

10.1. Income-generating work

In the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants the sample was asked whether they had had income-generating work lasting at least one hour over the last week. We also capture employment among those who were absent from work during the week in question. This is in line with the employment definition in the regular Labour Force Survey (LFS).

According to the ordinary 2003 Survey of Living Conditions (LKU) the employment share for the entire population was 75 per cent (table 10.1). In comparison, the responses to the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants show a total of 57 per cent of immigrants had income-generating work. The age composition of the immigrant population differs

considerably from the entire population. The group of employed immigrants is by and large younger. Consequently, the data for the population as a whole are weighted by age so that the numbers are comparable.

The variation by country background is relatively large. Those with a background from Sri Lanka had the highest employment percentage, with 71 per cent. Next are Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro with, respectively, 67 and 65 per cent. At the bottom of the 10 countries included in the survey are Somalia and Iraq, with 36 and 43 per cent.

If we look at Statistics Norway's register-based employment statistics for immigrants for fourth quarter 2006 we largely confirm the relative difference between the country backgrounds, but the numbers here are somewhat lower because there will be a non-response bias in the sample survey compared with the register-based full coverage/count.

(<http://www.ssb.no/emner/06/01/innvregsys/tab-2007-06-20-09.html>)

The gender gap in employment among immigrants is considerable, but varies a lot from group to group (figure 10.1). The employment gap is clearly the smallest among those from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here, 65 per cent of the women and 69 per cent of the men have income-generating work. Next are Vietnam, Chile and Iran. The number of years immigrants from these four countries have lived in Norway has become relatively lengthy. The biggest difference between the sexes is found among those from Somalia, Iraq and Pakistan. These three groups also have the lowest overall rate of employment. A large percentage of immigrants from Somalia and Iraq arrived in Norway relatively recently. While the gender gap for Pakistanis appears stable despite long-term residence, the difference is also relatively large among immigrants from Turkey.

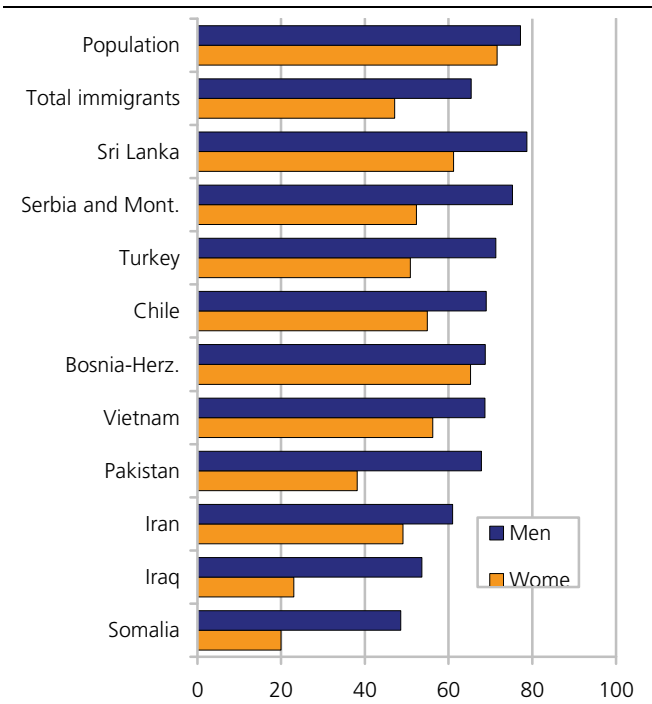
¹⁰ One in ten employees in the sample is a person born in Norway to immigrant parents, and only among those with a background from Pakistan do Norwegian-born persons represent a considerable share (one in three). There are too few employed persons born in Norway to immigrant parents to be able to do a good analysis of this group. Consequently, we will treat persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants as a single group here, and for the sake of simplicity we will usually refer to this group as "immigrants". For example, we will also call "immigrants with a background from Pakistan" Pakistanis, even though it is not correct to call persons with Norwegian citizenship who are Norwegian-born to immigrant parents Pakistanis. Statistics for the population as a whole were collected from the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Table 10.1. Persons with income-generating work by country background. Per cent

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3489	3049	333	288	297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	75	57	67	65	63	43	56	54	62	71	36	63
No	25	41	32	33	36	53	41	45	36	29	61	35
Don't know	0	2	2	2	1	4	3	1	2	1	3	2

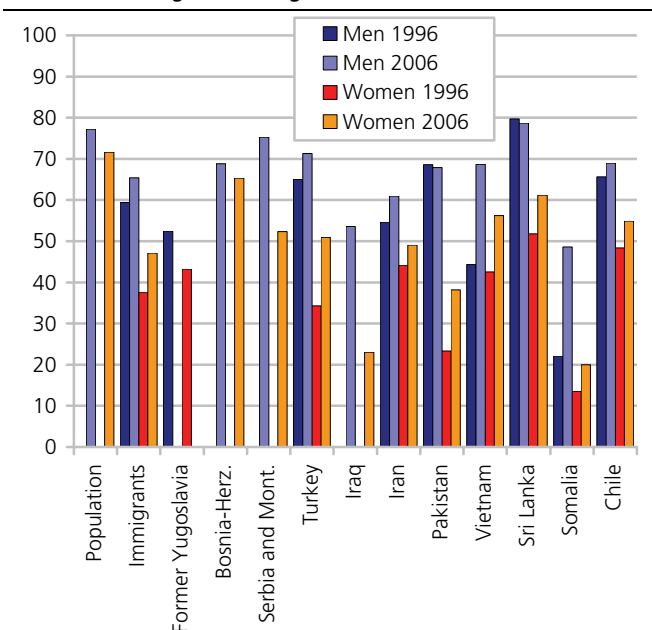
Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Figure 10.1. Persons with income-generating work by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Figure 10.2. Persons with income-generating work by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Compared with the 1996 Survey of Living Conditions the degree of employment increased from 50 to 57 per cent. At 9 percentage points, the increase among women is, relatively speaking, the largest, bringing the employment rate to 47 per cent. Among men, employment increased 6 percentage points, to 65 per cent. However, broken down by gender and country background, men from Somalia and Vietnam have had the largest increase since 1996, with, respectively, 27 and 24 percentage points (figure 10.2).

10.2. Permanently or temporarily employed

The degree of association to working life for a group can be examined further by asking those who are employed whether they are permanently or temporarily employed. This question was asked only of employees, not those who are self-employed. In response to the permanent or temporary employment question 76 per cent answered that they were permanently employed, while 23 per cent answered that they were temporarily employed (figure 10.3). Here, temporary means the position is time-limited. The highest percentage is found among immigrants from Iraq and Somalia, with 38 per cent, while the lowest percentage of temporary employees were from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chile, Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Turkey, all under 20 per cent. In general it can be said that groups with a more marginal connection to working life appear to a higher degree to be temporarily employed. Compared with the results from the 1996 Survey of Living Conditions there has been a considerable increase in the percentage of those with permanent employment. This applied then to 68 per cent of immigrants who were employed. Compared with the entire population, immigrants had a relatively high degree of temporary employment. In the entire population 11 per cent were temporarily employed against 23 per cent of immigrants.

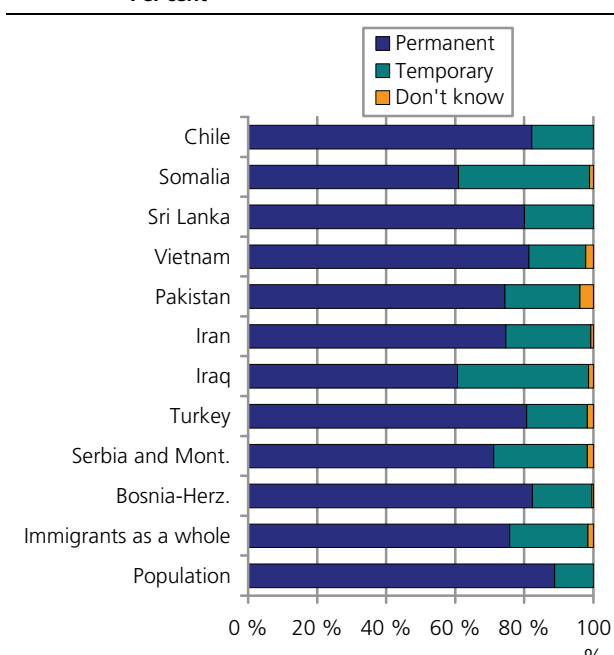
Among immigrants, men are temporarily employed to a lesser degree than women, 18 versus 28 per cent. Women from Iraq and men from Somalia appear to have the largest percentage of temporary employees, while women from Vietnam and Bosnia-Herzegovina and men from Sri Lanka appear to have the lowest share. The data do not provide a basis for specifying this more accurately.

Table 10.2. Persons temporarily employed according to employment terms/conditions. Per cent

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole
Number of people (N)	270	381
Total	100	100
Through employment measures	3	12
On a contract, or as part of a project	21	15
As additional assistance, paid on an hourly basis, seasonal work	20	18
As a temporary member of staff	43	30
As an apprentice, trainee or research student	6	8
Other	6	9
On a probationary period	3	7
Don't know	0	3

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Figure 10.3. Persons with income-generating work by country background and permanent/temporary employment. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

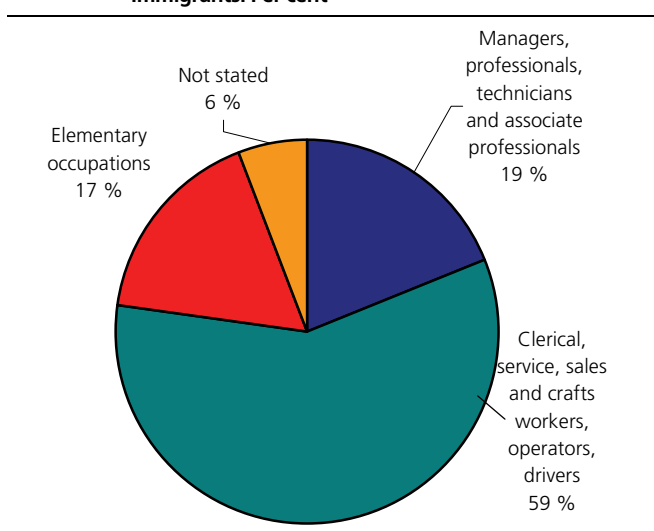
Those who answered that they were temporarily employed were asked further about employment terms and conditions. Most of the temporary employees state that they were temps (30 per cent), while 18 per cent are additional assistance and 15 per cent are employed on a contract or project basis (table 10.2). Furthermore, 12 per cent are on employment measures and 8 per cent are apprentices or trainees. In the entire population the share of temporary employees who say they are temps is considerably higher (43 per cent). On the other hand, the percentage employed through employment measures is far lower, 3 per cent. The temp percentage is twice as big among women compared with men, while men are employed more frequently than women through employment measures and on contract.

10.3. Occupation

Occupation describes the work tasks performed by the persons, and does not in principle take the education, occupational status or trade of the worker into consideration. This is distinguishable from businesses that describe the activities of the entire undertaking. Occupational categorisation means that similar jobs are grouped together, i.e. workers are classified by occupation.

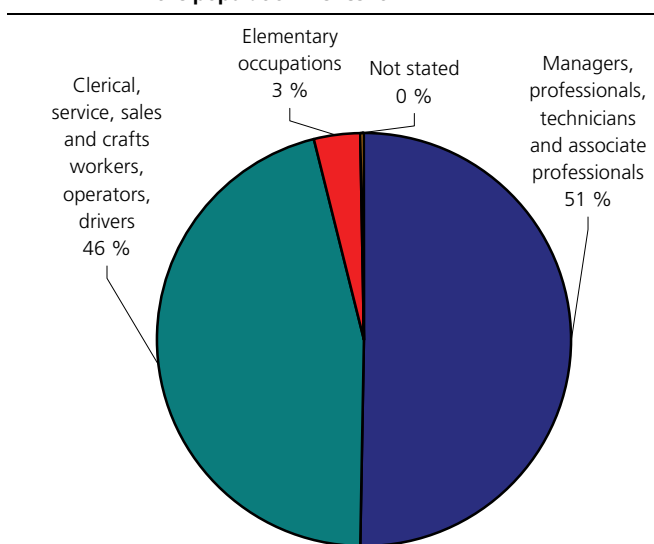
When we take a closer look at the occupations of people with an immigrant background the breakdown is quite different from that of the population as a whole. In the entire population half of employees are employed in three occupational categories: managers, professionals and technicians and associate professionals. Among immigrants fewer than one in four works in these occupations. On the other hand, immigrants are overrepresented in elementary occupations and in service and sales occupations (figures 10.4 and 10.5).

Figure 10.4. Persons with income-generating work by occupation. Immigrants. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 10.5. Persons with income-generating work by occupation. Entire population. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Immigrants appear to be overrepresented particularly in elementary occupations (17 versus 3 per cent). According to the Standard Classification of Occupations, this field consists of occupations involving simple and routine tasks that mainly require the use of hand tools and physical work. Some examples of occupations in this category are cleaners, food preparation assistants, kitchen helpers, garbage collectors and storage labourers.

Furthermore, immigrants are very clearly under-represented in occupations requiring a professional or college education and management occupations (19 versus 51 per cent). Professional occupations include occupations that normally require a university or college education of at least 4 years' duration. The category includes research, teaching, consulting, medical treatment and artistic activities as well as administrative and senior official work in public administration. Technician and associate professional occupations normally require 1-3 years of training beyond upper secondary education in technical, social and scientific fields, health care, education, business, public administration, entertainment, sport, religion and information.

10.4. Occupation and education

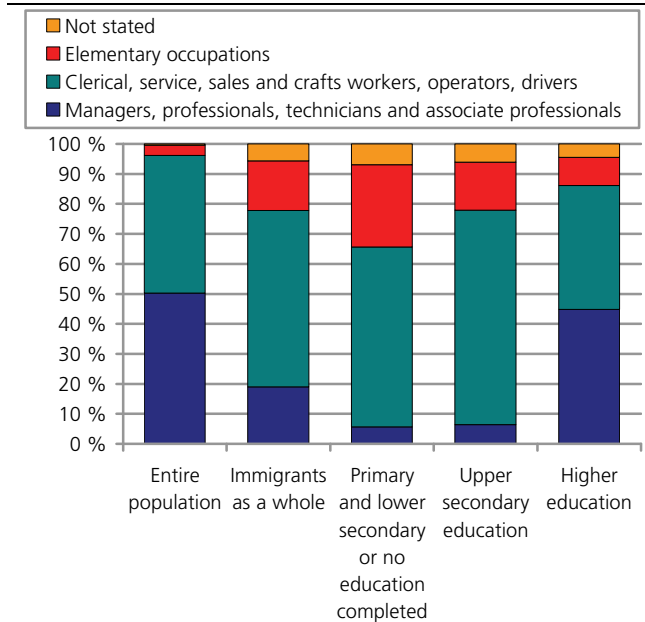
Norway has reliable statistics on the education of the population. They include both type and level of the education. Statistics Norway collects the numerical data directly from schools. It is more problematic to describe qualifications earned abroad, particularly when the education was completed before the person became a resident of Norway. This is a considerable problem when Statistics Norway is to describe the education of the immigrant population. In the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants respondents are asked directly about the highest level of education that they have completed. This is an important contribution to knowledge about this group's level of education. (See separate chapter).

Furthermore, the data here provide a unique opportunity to look at the connection at the individual level between an immigrant's education and the occupation in which they work. As figure 10.6 and table 10.3 show there is a connection between the education level of immigrants and the occupation in which they work. But even among immigrants with a higher education there is a smaller percentage who work as professionals, technicians and associate professionals and managers than the corresponding share for the population as a whole (45 versus 50 per cent). In fact, nearly 10 per cent of immigrants with a higher education work in elementary occupations. In the entire population only 3 per cent work in such occupations regardless of educational background. Unfortunately, we lack comparable figures for the education of the entire population.

When we look at the connection between education and occupation among economically active immigrants the gender differences are virtually absent (figure

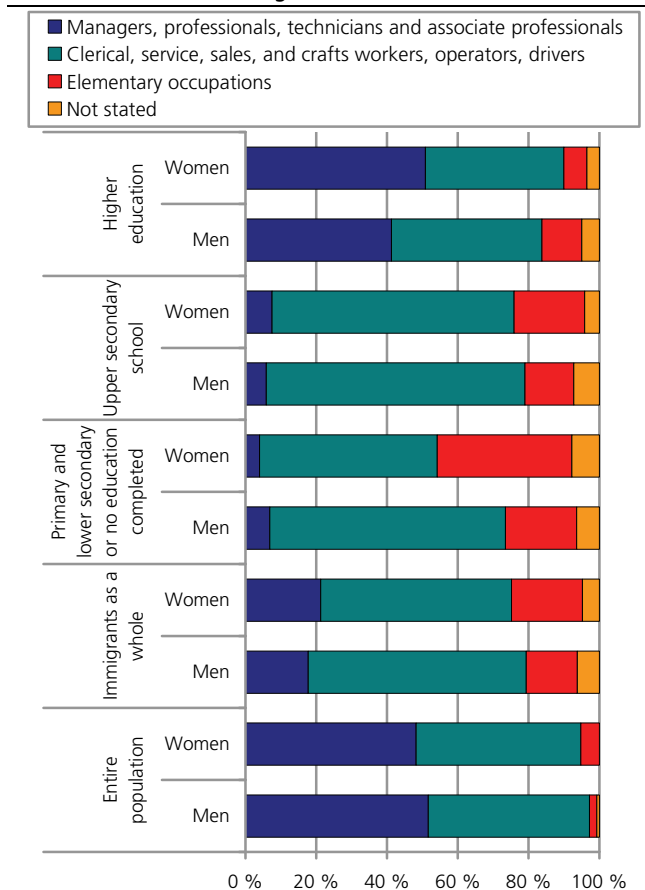
10.7). The only exception is among those with a compulsory or uncompleted education. In this group women work to a considerably greater degree than men in elementary occupations (38 versus 20 per cent).

Figure 10.6. Persons with income-generating work by occupation and education. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Figure 10.7. Persons with income-generating work by occupation, education and gender. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Table 10.3. Persons with income-generating work by occupation and education. Per cent

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole	Primary and lower secondary education, or no education completed	Upper secondary education	Higher education	Other
Number of people (N)	2560	1779	391	792	571	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Not stated	0	6	7	6	5	-
Managers	9	1	1	1	1	4
Professionals	17	6	1	1	16	5
Technicians and associate professionals	24	12	3	4	28	30
Clerical support workers	7	6	5	7	6	8
Service and sales workers	20	30	25	38	23	19
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	2	0	0	0	0	-
Craft and related trades workers	10	9	9	12	5	16
Plant and machine operators, drivers	8	14	22	15	7	4
Elementary occupations	3	17	27	16	9	15

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Table 10.4. Proportion of immigrants who are employed according to highest level of education completed in or outside Norway. Per cent

Highest level of education completed in or outside Norway	Both sexes	Men	Women
Number of people (N)	3048	1678	1370
Immigrants as a whole	58	66	49
Haven't completed any education	37	48	30
Primary and lower secondary education, 9 years or less	46	55	35
Upper secondary education, 1 year	52	61	40
Upper secondary education, 2 years or more	64	71	56
Higher education (college/university), 1-2 years	63	67	58
Higher education (college/university), 3-4 years	79	78	79
Higher education (college/university), 5 years or more	79	81	74
Other	58	71	43

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Not until we look at how large a percentage of men and women are actually working are the gender gaps in relation to education level evident. First of all, there is a very clear correlation for both genders that a higher level of education equals a higher degree of employment (table 10.4). Furthermore, we see that the gender gap in the degree of employment is reduced in step with the level of education. For example, for persons who have not completed any education, 48 per cent of the men are employed compared with only 30 per cent of the women. For people with a three to four-year university or college education, 78 per cent of the men and 79 per cent of the women are employed.

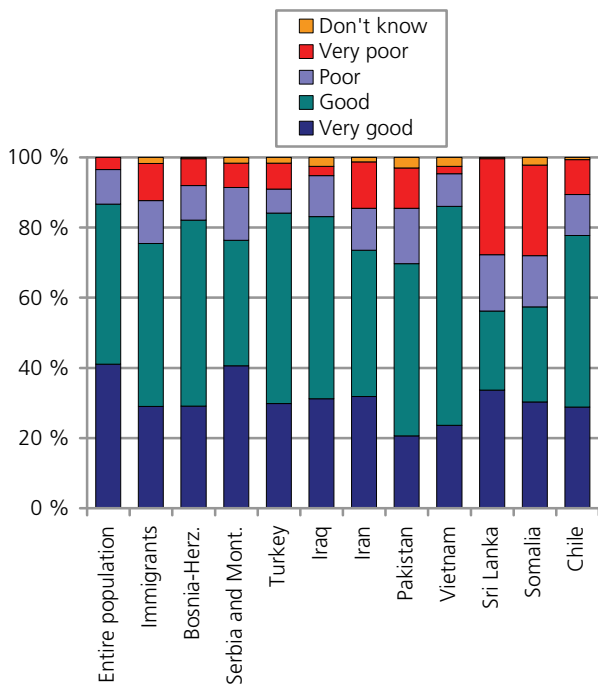
10.5. Opportunity to use skills and knowledge in job

For individuals and society alike it is important that participants in working life are able to make the greatest possible use of their skills and knowledge in their job. For the individual it involves the feeling of contributing their knowledge and talents. From a purely economic standpoint, productive use of the

knowledge and skills of the population is beneficial to society.

For the entire group of immigrants with jobs, three out of four deem their opportunity to make use of their skills and knowledge in their job as good (figure 10.8) or very good. Most satisfied are the Vietnamese with 86 per cent, followed by Turks and Bosnians with, respectively, 84 and 82 per cent. Least satisfied are those with a background from Sri Lanka and Somalia (56 and 57 per cent). As a group, Sri Lankans otherwise usually do well in any job context. Around one in four Sri Lankans and Somalis judge the opportunity their jobs provide to use their skills and knowledge as very poor. In the population as a whole the percentage who believe they have very good opportunities to use their skills and knowledge in their job is around 10 percentage points higher than the average for immigrants. The share who believe their opportunities are good is about the same (approximately 46 per cent).

Figure 10.8. Opportunity to use skills and knowledge in job. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

Table 10.5. Number of hours worked per week in main occupation. Entire population and immigrants. Per cent

	Entire population	Immigrants
1-19 hours	12	14
20-29 hours	7	10
30-39 hours	51	53
40+ hours	31	22
Don't know	0	2

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.

In 1996 too, employees with a background from Sri Lanka emerged as the group that was most critical with respect to the opportunity to use their own resources in their job. On a six-point scale 41 per cent of Sri Lankans were on the critical side of the scale. They were followed by those with a background from the former Yugoslavia, with 40 per cent, and Somalia, with 31 per cent (Gulløy, Blom and Ritland 1997:90).

10.6. Number of hours worked per week

Normal working hours among immigrants is 30-39 hours per week (table 10.5). This is equivalent to a normal, full-time job. On average this is the case for over half. 22 per cent work 40 hours or more per week, and 14 per cent work 1-19 hours per week. Most of those with short working hours (1-19 hours) are found among Pakistanis, Iraqis and Somalis. Most with long working hours (40 or more hours) have a background from Iran and Turkey. Most of those with “normal working hours” of 30-39 hours are found among those from Sri Lanka, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro (64 per cent).

In 1996 too working 30-39 hours per week (52 per cent) was the norm. On the whole the breakdown of working hours in 1996 was much the same as in 2006. But the percentage who worked 40 or more hours was somewhat higher in 2006. In 1996 it was mainly Pakistanis who worked 40 or more hours, followed by Iranians and former Yugoslavians (32 per cent). The largest percentage who worked 19 or fewer hours came from Sri Lanka. People with a background from Sri Lanka were furthermore the group that mostly worked normal hours (72 per cent) (Gulløy, Blom and Ritland 1997:76).

Compared with the entire population there are no great differences in working hours in 2005/2006, apart from that the share who work 40 or more hours per week is somewhat higher in the population as a whole than among immigrants (31 versus 22 per cent).

10.7. Unemployed any time in the last 12 months

Above we have described the percentage of each group that was employed in 2006. Those who were not employed may either have been completely outside the labour force or, for example, employed through employment measures or unemployed. To survey the extent of unemployment the respondents in the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants were asked whether during any period in the last 12 months they had been without work and had actively sought work at the same time, for example by visiting a job centre, reading advertisements or submitting applications for work. A further criterion is being able to begin a job on short notice. This is in line with the ILO’s internationally recognised manner of defining unemployment, which is also used in Statistics Norway’s regular Labour Force Survey (LFS).

On average, 24 per cent say they had been in the situation of being unemployed and actively seeking work over the course of the last 12 months. The share is the largest among Somalis (38 per cent) and smallest for Vietnamese (16 per cent), Turks and Pakistanis (19 per cent) (figure 10.9). Overall, the percentage was about the same as in 1996. At that time, Somalis (44 per cent) and Iranians (41 per cent) had the highest share who had been unemployed over the course of the past year. For those with a background from Somalia, the share that had been unemployed fell 6 percentage points from 1996 to 2006 while it fell by fully 18 percentage points for those from Iran. For those with a background from Turkey and Chile there was also a considerable decline from 1996, by 10 and 9 percentage points, respectively.

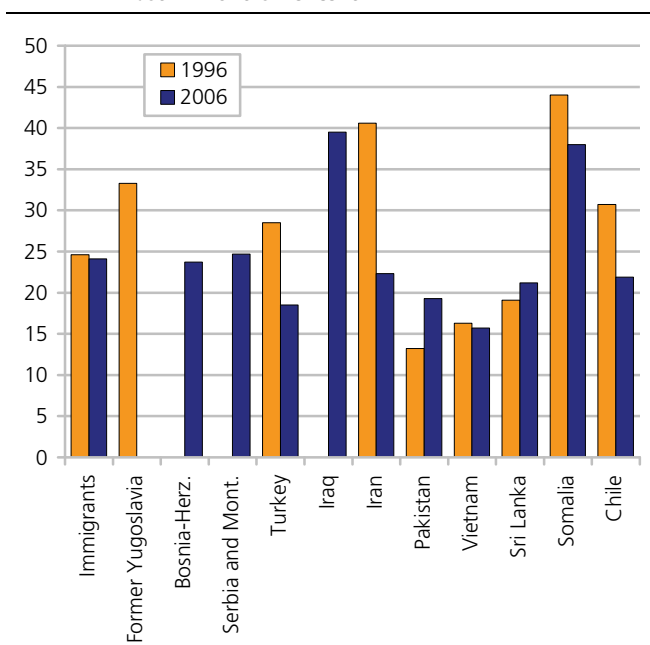
For two of the ten country backgrounds described here there was an increase from 1996 to 2006 in the percentage that had been unemployed over the course of the past year. They were Pakistan and Sri Lanka with, respectively, an increase of 6 and 2 percentage points. Because of the numbers in these two large groups, the average reduction was not larger.

Table 10.6. Proportion who feel they are at risk of losing their job in the next few years. Per cent

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	2561	1780	223	187	188	154	151	165	194	249	89	180
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes, on account of the company going out of business	2	4	7	2	4	10	2	1	4	4	5	5
Yes, on account of work reductions	10	9	11	3	4	8	13	2	10	15	23	8
Yes, for other reasons	7	12	13	23	11	22	7	9	7	9	10	11
NO	80	73	69	71	79	58	77	84	74	72	62	74
Don't know	2	2	0	2	2	3	1	4	6	1	1	2

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions

Figure 10.9. Proportion that had been unemployed any time in the last 12 months. Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006

10.8. At risk of losing job

Nearly three out of four immigrants answered no to the question of whether they are at risk of losing their job due to the company going out of business, work reductions or other reasons over the next few years (table 10.6). 4 per cent answered “Yes, on account of the company going out of business” and almost twice as many answered “Yes, on account of work reductions”. The fear of losing a job is the greatest among Iraqis and Somalis. People with a Pakistani background are the least afraid of losing their job.

Nearly 2 out of 3 had no fear of losing their job in 1996, i.e. somewhat fewer than in 2006. This may be connected with the fact that unemployment was somewhat higher in 1996. In 1996, Sri Lankans were the least fearful of losing their job, followed by

Pakistanis. Persons from the former Yugoslavia had the greatest fear of losing their job. In the population as a whole 80 per cent had no fear of losing their job in 2003, a somewhat higher share compared with immigrants in 2006.

10.9. Summary

The share of employment among our immigrants was 57 per cent, against 75 per cent in the entire population. The numbers for the general population have been weighted by age, sex and residence pattern for immigrants.

Compared with the entire population immigrants had a relatively high degree of temporary employment. In the entire population 11 per cent were temporarily employed against 23 per cent of immigrants.

Compared with the entire population there are no great differences in working hours, apart from that the share who work 40 or more hours per week is somewhat higher in the population as a whole than among immigrants (31 versus 22 per cent).

The immigrant population appears to be particularly overrepresented in elementary occupations (17 versus 3 per cent) and clearly underrepresented among managers and in occupations requiring a professional or college degree (19 versus 51 per cent).

In fact, nearly 10 per cent of immigrants with a higher education work in elementary occupations. In the entire population only 3 per cent work in such occupations regardless of educational background.

11. Working environment

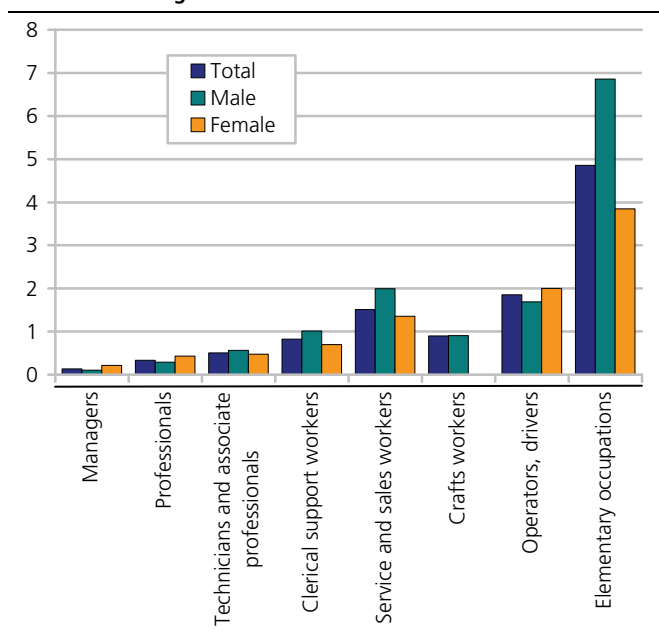
Kristin Henriksen

Work is a source of income and/or self-realisation. For some, work is also physically and mentally taxing. Immigrants are not more exposed to poor indoor environments than the population as a whole. However, they have less control over their work, are subject to a greater degree to accidents, bullying and teasing, and work is perceived to a far greater degree as mentally taxing.

As the chapter on work showed, immigrants work to a greater degree than average as operators and drivers, and in sales and service occupations. The probability of an immigrant having an elementary occupation is fully five times that of non-immigrants. In addition, far more immigrants fall under the “unknown occupation” code. At the same time immigrants are underrepresented among clerical workers, technicians and associate professionals, professionals and managers. This is illustrated in figure 11.1, which shows the probability of employed persons in the immigrant population working in a selection of occupations compared with the population as a whole. To find this, we have divided the percentage of immigrants in the various occupations by the share of the population as a whole. The columns that exceed 1 in the figure show that immigrants are overrepresented in the occupation, while they are underrepresented if the column is below 1.

From the general Survey of Living Conditions we know that the various occupational groups experience their psychological and physical working environment differently (see inter alia Normann and Rønning 2007 and <http://www.ssb.no/emner/06/02/arbmiljo/>). For example, those working in education and nursing experienced the poorest indoor climate. The differences we will uncover between immigrants and all employed persons in how they experience their working environment is largely due to disparities in the breakdown of occupations. However, there is no room here for a detailed analysis of these differences.

Figure 11.1. Relative occupational breakdown among all employed persons in the immigrant population, broken down by immigrant men and women



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

The questions about working environment were of course asked only of the members of the sample who were employed, 1 780 persons in all.¹¹ If the employed immigrants are broken down by country background, the groups become relatively small, particularly if they are again divided into women and men. In this chapter we will consequently focus the most on differences between immigrants and the population as a whole and look less at differences between the nationality groups, even though these can be quite large. The groups become too small to compare women and men internally in the nationality groups. One in ten employees in the sample is a person born in Norway to immigrant parents, and only among those with a background from Pakistan do Norwegian-born persons represent a considerable share (one in three). There are too few employed persons born

¹¹ This applies to persons who answered yes to the questions “Did you do any income-generating work lasting at least 1 hour over the last week?” or “Do you have income-generating work which you were temporarily absent from or on holiday from over the last week?”

in Norway to immigrant parents to be able to do a good analysis of this group. Consequently, will treat persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants as a single group here, and for the sake of simplicity we will usually refer to this group as “immigrants”. For example, we will also call “the immigrant population with a background from Vietnam” Vietnamese, even though it is not correct to call persons born in Norway Vietnamese. The statistics for the population as a whole were collected from the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions.¹²

11.1. Immigrants are less exposed to poor indoor climate...

As table 11.1 shows, employed immigrants are almost equally exposed as all employed persons to noise or cold in their daily work. Men are far more exposed than women to noise and cold, both among immigrants and the population as a whole.¹³ Exposure to noise and cold is largely connected with physical and outdoor work, occupations that have been traditionally (and are) dominated by men.

Relatively many employed persons state that they are exposed to poor indoor climate, measured by the question whether the respondent has been exposed to draughts, dry air, poor ventilation or “other”. In the population as a whole four out of ten report that they are exposed to one or another form of poor indoor climate, 33 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women. Among immigrants, 30 per cent are exposed to the same, and it is just as common among women as among men. In other words it is particularly immigrant women who stand out positively given that 20 percentage points fewer report poor indoor climate compared with all employed women. In general, teaching and health care occupations stand out as having a poor indoor climate. In our survey the categories are too rough for us to have statistics on whether immigrant women in the sample are underrepresented in these occupations, so that we cannot examine whether this is the reason immigrant women experience better indoor climate than the average among women.

As table 11.2 shows, immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Chile stand out to the greatest degree in having one or another form of poor indoor climate (42-43 per cent), while those from Somalia (12 per cent) are decidedly the least bothered. Iraqis and Sri Lankans also have a small share reporting a poor indoor climate (19-20 per cent).

Table 11.1. Proportion exposed to poor indoor climate, noise or cold. Per cent

	All employees			Employed immigrants		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number of people (N)	2 561	1 324	1 237	3 049	1 679	1 370
Loud noise	16	20	10	19	23	13
Cold	22	28	13	22	26	16
Indoor climate:						
Exposed to any form of poor indoor climate:	41	33	50	30	30	30
Draughts	9	9	9	16	18	13
Dry air	19	11	29	20	20	21
Poor ventilation	22	20	25	20	20	20
Other	13	12	15	11	13	8

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Table 11.2. Exposure to poor indoor climate Per cent

	N	Percentage not exposed to any form of poor indoor climate	Percentage exposed to one or more forms of poor indoor climate	Don't know
All employees	2561	59	41	0
Employed immigrants	1780	63	30	7
Bosnia-Herzegovina	223	56	43	1
Serbia and Montenegro	187	63	31	6
Turkey	188	60	32	9
Iraq	154	73	19	8
Iran	151	62	29	9
Pakistan	165	58	29	13
Vietnam	194	66	31	3
Sri Lanka	249	78	20	2
Somalia	89	80	12	8
Chile	180	48	42	10

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

11.2. ...but are more exposed to strain and accidents

Immigrants were also asked about their ergonomic work environment, which includes whether employees have to stand or walk most of the workday, have work involving repeated, one-sided hand or arm movements or do heavy lifting daily. Working environment ergonomics problems are more widespread among immigrants than in the population as a whole (see table 11.3). For example, 66 per cent of all employees stated that they stood or walked most of the time at work, against 75 per cent of immigrants.

Women are more frequently exposed than men to certain types of strain. Women, particularly immigrant women, are more exposed to skin contact with detergents or disinfectants, and women work standing or walking to a somewhat greater degree than men. However, men do a lot more heavy lifting than women, and immigrant men do a lot more heavy lifting than the average among all employed men. This is probably connected with the occupations women and men have.

¹² As already mentioned, we have chosen to weight the results for the population so that they have the same composition in terms of geographical location, gender and age as the immigrants (the ten nationalities together). This eliminates differences between the immigrants and the general population based on demographical differences.

¹³ The question about noise was worded as follows: “In your day to day work, are you exposed to so much noise that you have to stand close to your colleagues and shout in order to be heard? Yes/No”, and the question about cold reads: “In your day to day work, are you exposed to the cold, i.e. doing outdoor work in the winter, working in cold rooms, etc.? Yes/No”.

Table 11.3. Physical working environment among employed persons. Employed persons in the population as a whole and employed immigrants. The percentage answering yes

	All employees			Employed immigrants		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
In your day to day work, do you have to have skin contact with detergents or disinfectants?	24	23	26	29	25	34
Do you work standing up, or do you walk about?	66	63	69	75	72	79
Does your work involve repeated, one-sided hand or arm movements?	52	53	51	63	64	60
Do you have to lift anything weighing more than 20 kg on a daily basis?	23	27	18	36	42	27

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Table 11.4. Does your work consist of constantly repeated tasks so you end up doing the same thing over and over for hours? Per cent

	Number of people (N)	Almost all the time	About three quarters of the time	Half the time	A quarter of the time	Rarely or never
All employees, total	2 561	16	8	12	10	55
Men	1 324	15	9	11	10	55
Women	1 237	17	6	12	10	54
Employed immigrants, total	1 780	41	9	15	9	24
Men	1 111	44	9	14	10	22
Women	669	37	9	16	9	26

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Table 11.5. What is your risk of stress-related injuries? Per cent

	N	Great	Average	Small
All employees, total	2561	23	36	41
Men	1324	21	36	43
Women	1237	27	36	38
Employed immigrants, total	1780	22	33	44
Men	1111	23	34	43
Women	669	20	32	46

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

16 per cent of all employees responded that their work consisted nearly all of the time of constantly repeated tasks, so they end up doing the same thing over and over for hours (see table 11.4). The same applies to far more employed immigrants – fully four out of ten, and there is barely any difference between women and men. Those from Pakistan and Somalia think they have the most routine work (56 and 51 per cent, respectively). On average, 24 per cent of immigrants rarely or never have constantly repeated tasks, far fewer than among all employed persons (55 per cent). This is the situation particularly for many from Chile (39 per cent), while only 12 per cent of those from Pakistan are in the same situation. However, these numbers are uncertain due to small samples.

Despite that immigrants in general appear to have more repetitive and heavy work than the average, more immigrants do not say that they feel that they are at risk of stress-related injuries (see table 11.5). 22 per cent of immigrants say that the risk of stress-related injuries is great, 33 per cent say it is average and 44 per cent say it is small. This is about the same breakdown as among all employed persons. Among all employed persons, women are more at risk than men of sustaining such injuries, while among employed immigrants men are

somewhat more at risk than women. Most Vietnamese and Iraqis regard the risk as small (59 per cent and 55 per cent). Among those who regard the risk of stress-related injuries as great, immigrants with a background from Turkey rank the highest (35 per cent), followed by those from Iran (27 per cent).

Compared with employed persons in general, it is three times more common among employed immigrants to have been involved in one or more accidents during working hours. In general we know that operators/drivers are more subject to accidents than others in connection with work, and figure 11.1 showed that immigrants are overrepresented in such occupations. 11 per cent of immigrants have been involved in accidents serious enough to lead to absence from work apart from the day on which the accident happened, against just 4 per cent of all employed persons. Men are somewhat more at risk than women, while the gender gap is greater among immigrants (13 versus 8 per cent) than among all employed persons (4 versus 3 per cent). Iranians stand out by being more at risk than others. Fully 19 per cent of Iranians have been absent from work due to an accident, compared with just 4 per cent of Vietnamese. However, compared with other immigrants Iranians do not work to a greater degree in accident-prone occupations.

11.3. Less control of own work

Employed immigrants have a smaller degree of self-determination over their own work compared with employed persons on the whole. They can also decide to a lesser degree when to take a break from work, and they feel to a far greater extent that the work is controlled by machinery or conveyor belts. In addition, the work of employed immigrants consists to a much greater degree of repeated tasks.

Table 11.6. Are you allowed to decide when and how often to take a break? Per cent

	All employees			Employed immigrants		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number of people (N)	2561	1324	1237	1780	1111	669
Almost all the time	67	72	59	44	48	36
About three quarters of the time	7	8	6	6	6	6
Half the time	7	6	9	10	9	11
A quarter of the time	5	4	7	12	11	14
Rarely or never	14	11	19	27	25	30

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Table 11.7. Extent of control over own work. Per cent

		N	A lot	To some extent	To a small extent	Not at all
Is your work controlled by machinery/conveyor belt?	All employees	2561	12	10	16	61
	Men	1324	13	12	18	58
	Women	1237	12	9	14	66
Is your work controlled by colleagues/customers?	Employed immigrants	1780	26	18	19	36
	Men	1111	30	20	18	32
	Women	669	19	15	22	41
Is your work controlled by colleagues/customers?	Employed immigrants	1780	39	26	16	17
	Men	1111	39	26	16	18
	Women	669	39	26	16	16

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

67 per cent of all employed persons are allowed to decide nearly all the time when to take a break from work, e.g. to get up and stretch or take a breather in some other way (see table 11.6). The same is far less common among employed immigrants (44 per cent). 27 per cent of immigrants can rarely or never make this decision themselves, against just 14 per cent of all employed persons. The share that almost always can make their own decision when to take a break varies somewhat, from 49 per cent of employed persons from Pakistan to 36 per cent of employed persons from Sri Lanka. At the same time, it is also least common among Sri Lankans to rarely or never make their own decisions when to take a break. The picture is therefore not one-dimensional.

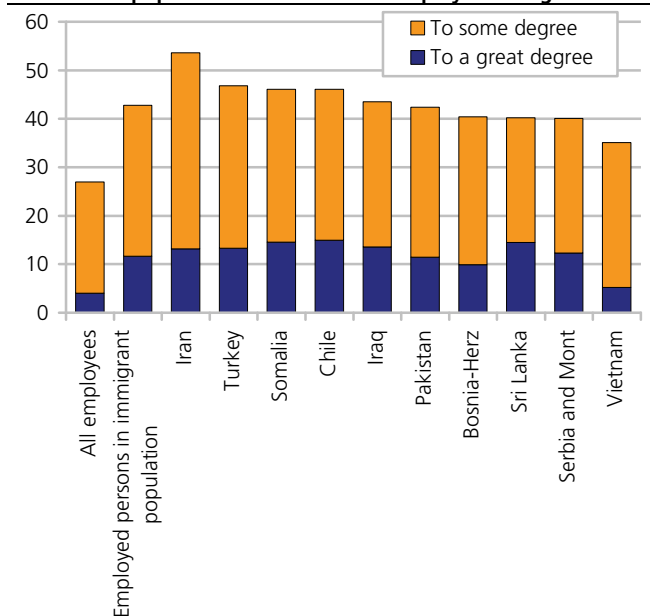
The share who feel their work is controlled to a great extent by machinery or conveyor belts is more than twice as high among immigrants compared with all employed persons (26 versus 12 per cent). Men experience this to a greater extent than women (see table 11.7). It is even more common among immigrants to feel their work is controlled by colleagues, customers, clients, pupils or similar (39 per cent), but there are no differences here between immigrant men and immigrant women.^{14[5]}

Those from Somalia, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq are among the groups where most respond that the work is largely controlled by machinery or conveyor belts (33-30 per cent), while over half of those from Turkey answered “not at all” (56 per cent). Among those who think the work is largely controlled by colleagues and customers we also find many from Pakistan, Iran and Somalia (47-48 per cent), in addition to Serbia and Montenegro (50 per cent).

11.4. 43 per cent think work is mentally taxing

One in eight employed people with an immigrant background perceive their work as highly mentally taxing – against just 1 out of 25 employees in the population as a whole. To the question “Do you perceive your day to day work as mentally taxing?”, just 56 per cent of the employed immigrants answered “no”, against 73 per cent of all employed persons. Furthermore, 23 per cent of all employed persons answered that they perceived their work as mentally taxing to some extent, against 31 per cent of employed immigrants.

Figure 11.2. Proportion who perceive their work as mentally taxing, by country background. Employed persons in the population as a whole and employed immigrants.



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

^{14[5]} This question was split into two parts among all employed persons; one question deals with customers and clients and one with workmates. Consequently, it is not possible to compare the responses with the responses of the immigrants.

Table 11.8. Are you personally subject to bullying or unpleasant teasing from your work colleagues?

	All employees			Employed immigrants		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number of people (N)	2484	1272	1212	1780	1111	669
Yes, one or more times a week	0,2	0,1	0,3	3,0	3,1	2,7
Yes, one or more times a month	1,5	1,2	1,8	6,6	6,9	6,1
No	98,3	98,6	97,8	89,2	89,1	89,5
Don't know/don't want to answer	0,1	0,1	0,0	1,2	0,9	1,7

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

While there are relatively small differences between the different nationality groups, Iranians have the highest degree of perceiving their work as mentally taxing (54 per cent). "Only" 37 per cent of Vietnamese say the same (see figure 11.2). There are small differences between the genders on this question.

11.5. One in ten is subject to bullying or unpleasant teasing

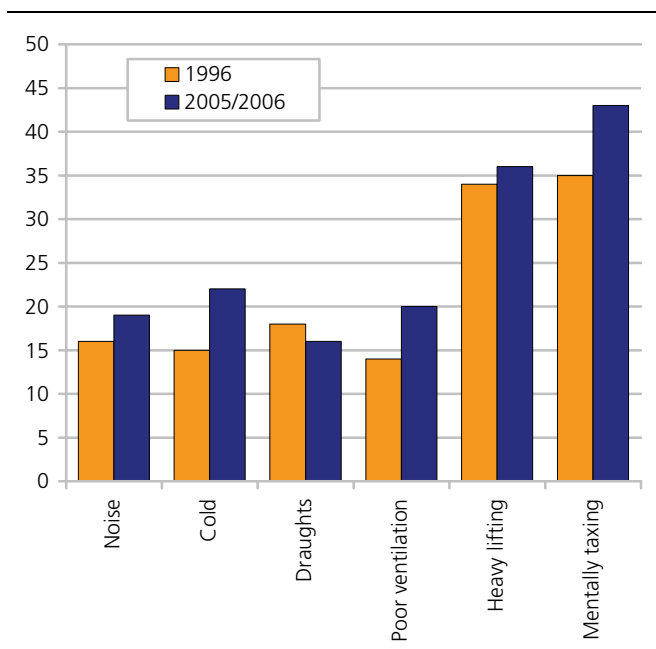
Very few immigrants experience being subject to bullying or unpleasant teasing by workmates, although immigrants are more subject to this than the average of all employees. One in ten immigrants is subject to bullying or unpleasant teasing one or more times a month, and among them 3 per cent are bullied or teased one or more times a week (table 11.8). Among all employed persons just 0.2 per cent experience this weekly or more often, and 1.5 per cent one or more times per month. This is least common among Sri Lankans, where 3 per cent answer that they are subject to bullying or unpleasant teasing monthly or more often. People from Turkey and Pakistan are relatively little subject to bullying and teasing (5-6 per cent). Fully one in five Somalis answer that they are bullied or teased monthly or more often, and this is nearly just as common among Iranians (17 per cent).

Immigrants were asked whether their co-workers are mostly Norwegians or immigrants. 58 per cent answer that they mostly are Norwegian, 15 per cent mostly immigrants and 25 per cent have about equal numbers of Norwegian and immigrant co-workers. The differences between women and men are not particularly big. Is it the case that those who mainly have Norwegian co-workers are bullied more or less than those who mostly have immigrant co-workers? The numbers show that the background of co-workers does not play a particularly big role in whether someone is bullied or teased. Among those who have Norwegian co-workers, 11 per cent answer that they are bullied to a great or some extent. Both those who mainly work with other immigrants, and among those who have both immigrant and Norwegian co-workers, 8 per cent answer that they are subject to unpleasant teasing or bullying to some or a great extent.

11.6. Increase in perception of work as mentally taxing since 1996

Many of the questions asked in 2005/2006 were not asked in 1996, and a number were asked in a different form. There are therefore few options for comparing the psychological and physical working environment of immigrants in 2005/2006 with 10 years earlier. The questions about indoor climate and exposure to noise and cold have been changed somewhat but probably not so much so as to make a comparison impossible (see facts box). As figure 11.3 shows, the changes are not great. Reporting noise and heavy lifting was more common in 2005/2006 than in 1996, while fewer were exposed to draughts. More were exposed to cold and poor ventilation, but this may also be due to changes in how the questions were worded. The psychological situation at work appears to have deteriorated since 1996, when 35 per cent of employed immigrants perceived their work as somewhat or highly mentally taxing, against 43 per cent 10 years later. This question is identical in the two studies.

Figure 11.3. Psychological and physical working environment in 1996 and 2005/2006 among employed immigrants. Share affected. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006

11.7. Iranians – well qualified and frustrated?

We have shown here that employed immigrants have a qualitatively poorer perception of their work situation than the case is for all employed persons. However, they have less control over their work, are subject to a greater degree to accidents, bullying and teasing, and work is perceived to a far greater degree as mentally taxing.

The answers immigrants give to questions about their working environment draws a picture of Iranians as a particularly frustrated group. Employed Iranians have somewhat less control over their own work, clearly experience more accidents and report slightly more teasing and bullying than the average. But they are not more subject to physical stress, repetitive tasks, heavy lifting or poor indoor climate than the average. Nevertheless, they worry more about stress-related injuries. Iranians are the group that perceive their work as mentally taxing to the greatest degree. At the same time we know that Iranians are the best educated of the national groups that have been interviewed, but still have some of the lowest employment rates in the sample. Iranians believe to a greater degree than the average that they are discriminated in the labour market or by employment services, with only Somalis feeling more discriminated, and among the unemployed is the small group of Iranians who largely believe that discrimination is the reason they do not have a job. Employed Iranians are overrepresented in jobs requiring a college degree and underrepresented in elementary occupations compared with other immigrants, and Iranians do not feel to a lesser degree than others that they can use their skills and abilities in their work. Perhaps we see here that Iranians are an example of how work is perceived relatively speaking. The subjective perception of work that objectively speaking is not very bad depends on qualifications, previous experience and expectations.

Wording of the questions in 1996 and 2005/2006

A few small changes were made in the wording of the questions concerning working conditions in 1996 and 2005/2006. Some of the changes may have had an impact on the distribution of the answers.

Question about noise: In 1996 the question was divided into two parts. First, those interviewed were asked whether they are usually exposed to noise in their work. If they answered yes, they then had to answer how often they were exposed to so much noise that they had to stand right next to each other to be heard (Daily more than half of working hours/daily less than half of working hours/periodically, but not daily/Rarely or never). In 2005/2006 only one question was asked: "In your day to day work, are you exposed to so much noise that you have to stand close to your colleagues and shout in order to be heard?" Yes/No.

Question about cold: In 1996 the question read: "In your work are you usually exposed to cold, i.e. below 10 degrees (Celsius)?" Yes/No. In 2005/2006 we asked: "In your day to day work, are you exposed to the cold, i.e. doing outdoor work in the winter, working in cold rooms, etc.?" Yes/No

The change is so significant that it may have an impact on what people answer. For example, will "usually" be interpreted as more seldom than "daily". The increase in the extent can also be connected with the fact that cold has been made a subjective experience, regardless of the thermometer.

The question about heaving lifting was marginally changed: In 1996 the question read: "Do you have to lift anything weighing more than 20 kg in your work, and if so, how often?" In 2005/2006: "Do you have to lift anything weighing more than 20 kg on a daily basis, and if so, how many times a day do you have to do this?" Here, the response options are identical, but the order in which they are given has been reversed, so that the option reading "at least 20 times a day" came first in 2005/2006, while "no" came first in 1996. It can be easier to choose the first response option, which may have contributed to the share of those responding that they do not have to do heavy lifting going down.

In 1996, the question about ventilation read: "Do you usually work in insufficiently ventilated premises?" Yes/No. In 2005/2006 the question read: "In your day to day work, are you exposed to a poor indoor climate in the form of poor ventilation?" Yes/No. "Insufficiently ventilated premises" is more difficult to understand than "poor indoor climate in the form of poor ventilation", which may have caused fewer to answer in the affirmative in 1996 than in 2005/2006. The question about mental stress was the same.

12. Income and expenses

Svein Blom

Income can be viewed as compensation for participating in society's creation of value in the form of paid work or business activities. In addition, the term income also includes returns on bank deposits or securities and government transfer payments to compensate for the loss of earned income and even out social differences. The size of the income determines how much of society's goods and services an individual can acquire. In other words, the size of an income has a major bearing on living conditions.

For most members of society, income from employment is their most important source of income. On average, income from employment accounted for 60 per cent of households' total income in 2005 (Statistics Norway 2007a). The value of the individual's efforts in the labour market depends on the competence of the economically active individual and the supply and demand of qualifications that the economically active individual can offer. Education and innovative qualities will normally raise earned income. An unevenly distributed resource such as education is converted via income to standard of living differences in other areas such as housing, culture, health, leisure, travel, etc.

An important factor that affects the level of expenses is how many people live on the income. If the household consists of many nonworking persons, expenses can easily be high and reduce the social benefit of high incomes.

12.1. Lower income after tax among immigrants

In the living conditions survey we asked whether the size of the income, for both the respondent and the household (if the respondent lives in a multi-person household). Both questions were to be answered by choosing one of eight predefined income ranges. To the question about the respondent's own income one in ten men and one in four women answered that they did not have any income. Given the definition of income, they would at least benefit from some transfers from society. On closer inspection it was also found that many of those who said that they were without income, received social assistance, housing allowance and assistance for

educational purposes (loans and grants). Asked about the size of their household's income, just over one in ten responded that they did not know, and among Somalis the share was as high as four out of ten. Answers like these indicate that these data are not the most dependable sources of information about income. In addition, income must be viewed in relation to the size of the household. Since the sample has been drawn with individuals as units, large households will be somewhat overrepresented in the material and must be weighted down with a household weight that has not been constructed at this time.

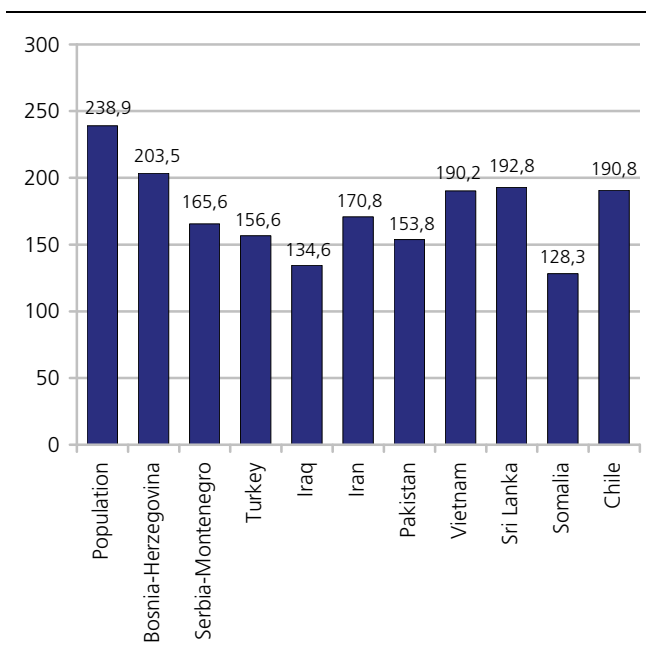
Pending the coupling of microdata from the income register to the individual respondent, we present here instead aggregated data from the income register for the 2005 assessment year for all households in the country with a main income earner aged 25 to 55, broken down by country background. The income term that is used is income after tax (see the definition in the box) and the amounts that are presented are added at the household level for all income earners and divided by the number of consumer units in the household. This is how we ensure that differences in the size of the household do not disturb the ability to make comparisons.

Income after tax is the sum of earned income (employee and self-employment income), capital income and transfers (pensions, unemployment benefit, child allowance, housing allowance, social assistance etc.), less assessed taxes and negative transfers (employment-related pension premium and paid child support). For most households this will correspond to disposable income for consumption and saving.

Calculation of the number of consumer units is done in accordance with what is called an *equivalence scale*. The scale indicates how many times larger an income must presumably be in a multi-person household than in a single-person household in order for them to have the same (*equivalent*) standard of living. Experts do not agree as to which equivalence scale is the best. The disagreement is about the significance of economies of scale. Consequently, many draft scales exist. Figure 11.2 uses what is called the EU scale (see box).

Under the EU scale the first adult is accorded a weight of 1.0, the next adult a weight of 0.5 and each child a weight of 0.3. The total consumer weighting of a household consisting, for example, of two adults and two children is thus 2.1. This means it must have 2.1 times more income than a single person in order to have a comparable standard of living.

Figure 12.1. Median income after tax per consumption unit (EU scale) in 2005 for households where the main income earner is aged 25 to 55, by the country background of the main income earner¹



¹ The main income earner here is an immigrant or person born in Norway to immigrant parents.

Source: Income statistics for households, 2005.

Figure 12.1 shows median household income after tax per consumption unit for the various nationality groups taking part in our survey. Median income means the income that divides the group in the middle when the households are sorted by ascending or descending size of income. Country background in the figure refers to the country background of the main income earner, and the main income earner must be in the most economically active age, 25 to 55. The data cover all households in the country that meet these criteria. Income level, defined in the same manner for the entire population, is also presented for comparison. The data for the entire population have not been weighted in the same manner as in other tables and figures in the publication. By restricting the main income earner's age to 25 to 55, a control for age is still achieved (even though place of residence and gender are not controlled as in other tables).

For the population as a whole median household income after tax in 2005 is about NOK 240,000 per consumption unit. Highest among immigrant groups is

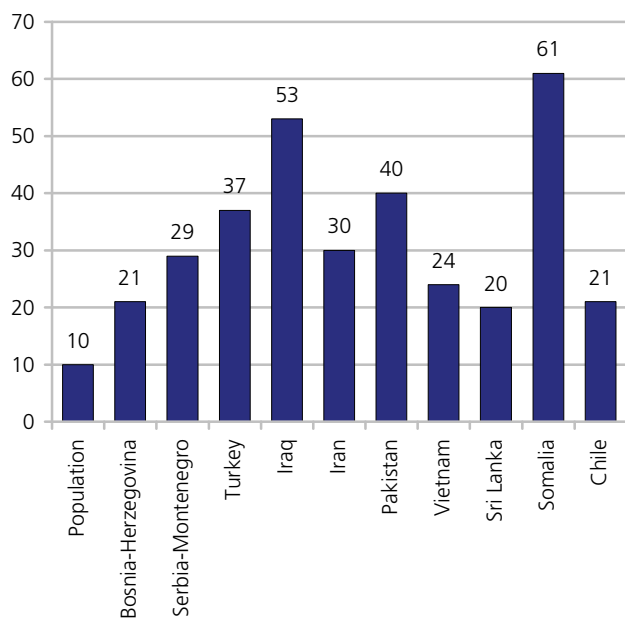
households where the main income earner has a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their income per consumption unit is NOK 204,000, i.e. 85 per cent of the general population's income level. In the next three places are Sri Lanka, Chile and Vietnam with a median income of about NOK 190,000 per consumption unit. This represents 80 per cent of the income level of the general population.

Next come four nationality groups with a median income after tax of between NOK 171,000 and NOK 154,000 per consumption unit. This corresponds to between 72 and 64 per cent of the general population's income level. The four countries in descending order are Iran, Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey and Pakistan. At the bottom of the income hierarchy are Iraq and Somalia with NOK 135,000 and NOK 128,000 in median household income after tax per consumption unit. This accounts for just over half of the general population's level of income (56 and 54 per cent). The employment ratio in the individual national group has of course a lot to say for the income level of the group. Length of residence and household size are additional factors. The larger the household, the more consumption units share the income (even though economies of scale are calculated). Later on, when register-based income information is available at an individual level, we can examine the factors that affect income size in more detail.

12.2. More immigrants in the low-income group

If the focus is directed at persons at the lower end of the income distribution, we can calculate a low-income share within the individual national group. A number of definitions of low-income exist, (see for example Mogstad 2005 and Epland 2005). A much used approach is to identify the income that demarcates the part of the general population that has an income below 40, 50 or 60 per cent of the median income in the general population. The EU draws the line at 60 per cent of the median, and this is the definition that is used here. With 60 per cent of the median income after tax per consumption unit (calculated according to the EU scale) the share of the general population with low income is 10 per cent. Students are excluded, and main income earners are aged 25 to 55, see figure 12.2. The share shrinks considerably if relatively permanent affiliation with the low-income group, for example three years in a row, is required. With a low income limit of 50 per cent of the median and a duration requirement of three years (though without any requirement regarding the age of the main income earner), the share of the low-income group is not larger than 3 per cent according to 2002-2004 income data calculations (Epland and Normann 2007: table 12.2.)

Figure 12.2. Proportion of persons in household with low income¹ in 2005, by country background of main income earner². Per cent



¹ Low income is defined as 60 per cent of median income after tax per consumption unit (EU scale) for households with main income earner aged 25 to 55.

² Main income earner here is immigrants or persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, and students are excluded.

Source: Income statistics for households, 2005.

For fiscal year 2005 the low-income limit according to the EU method of calculation (60 per cent of households' median income after tax per consumption unit) is NOK 143,000. For the population as a whole, 10 per cent of the population lie as previously said below this level of income. In addition to the share of low-income earners in the general population, figure 12.2 shows similar shares for the ten national groups in our survey of living conditions.

The figure shows about the same pattern with respect to the order of the countries in figure 12.1, apart from that the countries that had short columns in the previous figure now have long columns and vice versa. Two minor changes can nevertheless be observed. Sri Lanka has taken the lead ahead of Bosnia-Herzegovina with respect to having a small percentage with a low income, and the same is true of Serbia and Montenegro compared with Iran.

Households with a Sri Lankan background have a low-income share that is twice as high as the entire population, i.e. 20 per cent. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Chile are "right behind" with 21 per cent, while Iran has a low-income share of 30 per cent. Households with a Pakistani background have a 40 per cent low-income rate. As expected Iraq and Somalia have the highest low-income shares with, respectively, 53 and 61 per cent. These shares are not directly comparable with those we found in the 1996 survey, since we used a different equivalence scale (OECD) and a different

low-income threshold (50 per cent of the median). Then, Pakistan and Somalia were the two countries with the highest low-income share (Blom 1998).

12.3. Immigrants receive social assistance, housing allowance and cash-for-care more often

As mentioned, economic transfers from the state are also part of the income of members of society. Various individual pension and national insurance schemes that were adopted in the first half of the 1900s were integrated into a single regime in 1967 in the Act relating to National Insurance. The Act was renewed in 1997. Most national insurance benefits are taxable, but a number of the other benefits are tax exempt: Child allowance, housing allowance, social assistance, basic and home care allowance, lump sum maternity grant and cash-for-care. In our interview survey we listed a number of benefits and asked whether anyone in the household had received any of these in the last 12 months. Table 12.1 repeats the responses to this question in both 1996 and nine years later. By comparison, we also show what the population as a whole answered to the most of these questions in the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions. Further studies of this subject should for that matter rather be based on register data to which they are coupled, rather than interview data.

The first benefit is *daily unemployment allowance*. According to the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Organisation (NAV) this is a benefit to which an employee is entitled if he/she has had earned income above a minimum level the last calendar year and has experienced a decrease in working hours of at least 50 per cent. Moreover, the person in question must register as a real job seeker and not be a student or pupil.

In our 2005/2006 survey an average of 13 per cent of immigrants stated that someone in the household had received daily unemployment allowance in the last 12 months. The share was somewhat the same in the entire population in 2003. The highest percentage of daily unemployment allowance recipients occurs among Sri Lankans and Chileans, nearly two out of ten. At the same time, these national groups have relatively high employment and relatively low registered unemployment. The lowest percentage of daily unemployment allowance recipients is otherwise found among Pakistanis. Particularly many Pakistani women are outside the labour market and do not seek work. This illustrates that the percentage of daily unemployment allowance recipients among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents largely also reflects the share that participates in the workforce, not just the percentage of the workforce that is registered as unemployed.

Table 12.1. Reception of public benefits in the last 12 months. Proportion of yes answers in individual household in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Have received benefits the last 12 months, yes percentage	Entire population	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	1995												
Number of people (N)		2543-9			334-5	257		294-5	294-6	354-7	385-6	308-11	311-3
Unemployment benefit		17			12	24		23	14	16	21	14	21
Rehabilitation benefit, aid		7			8	9		5	10	5	1	3	7
Benefits for divorced, separated and single providers		4			2	3		4	1	4	1	10	12
Social assistance		26			39	24		36	10	35	10	66	17
Housing allowance		16			22	19		23	8	15	5	43	15
Sick pay		10			10	16		4	16	8	7	2	12
Lump sum maternity grant		8			5	5		3	12	8	10	18	5
Assistance for educational purposes (loan, grant)		20			15	14		36	14	25	17	21	23
	2003												
Number of people (N)	3488	3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Unemployment benefit	14	13	14	11		13	13	14	8	14	22	14	18
Rehabilitation benefit, aid	9	12	7	12		16	10	15	12	13	11	8	11
Benefits for divorced, separated and single providers	3	4	2	5		2	2	8	2	5	1	10	4
Social assistance	6	14	14	15		9	33	16	3	11	4	32	10
Housing allowance	3	13	11	13		8	29	19	5	9	3	30	9
Sick pay	12,7*	14	12	12		19	5	25	12	20	17	5	17
Lump sum maternity grant		8	3	5		8	11	9	8	6	5	15	5
Assistance for educational purposes (loan, grant)		21	19	18		14	19	23	22	24	13	18	23
Cash-for-care		9	14	7	14	17	15	13	16	11	18	20	6

* Share of respondents who over the last 12 months have had consecutive sick leave of more than 14 days.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

The next question was about the share of the household receiving *rehabilitation benefit* and/or *rehabilitation aid*. The purpose of rehabilitation benefit is to cover living expenses while the person carries out vocationally-directed rehabilitation, i.e. measures to return to work following sickness, injury or disability. The actual vocationally-directed rehabilitation can be working in ordinary or sheltered activities or training, i.e. vocationally-directed courses or training within the ordinary educational system. In all, an average of 12 per cent of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents said in 2005/2006 that someone in their household has received rehabilitation benefit or aid. The share is 3 percentage points lower in the population as a whole (in 2003). Households with a background from Turkey and Iran have the highest rate with respect to receiving rehabilitation benefits (15-16 per cent). It is difficult to see any special reason for this as they are neither the oldest nor youngest of the nationality groups.

4 per cent of immigrants have someone in the household who has received *benefits for single mother or father*. This is about twice the share that has received this benefit in the general population. The

benefits are paid to unmarried, divorced or separated providers who have sole care of a child/children and have been a member of national insurance for at least three years. The benefits include a transitional allowance, childcare benefit, education benefit and relocation subsidy to start working. Transitional benefit is a living expenses allowance for persons temporarily unable to provide for themselves by working due to caring for children. Education benefit is a benefit for single providers who go to school to become able to support themselves by working. Iranians and Somalis are the two groups with the highest percentage of persons receiving benefits for single mothers or fathers. These two national groups also have the largest percentages of divorced and separated persons. Chileans also have many divorced and separated persons, but surprisingly the share of benefit recipients is just at the average level for them (in contrast to 1996 when it was far higher).

Economic assistance is a benefit for covering living expenses should one's income be too low to live on. While state norms for the amount of social assistance have been prepared, municipalities are free to gauge

their benefits in relation to these norms. The assistance is meant to be a temporary discretionary benefit pending the employment or transfer of the recipient to a permanent social security scheme. In 2006, 2.6 per cent of the general population received economic assistance. The highest recipient share was in the 20-24 age group. Nearly 8 per cent in this age group received social assistance (Statistics Norway 2007b). According to table 12.1 the proportion with one social assistance recipient in the household was 6 per cent of the general population in 2003 weighted by the same age, gender and residence profile as immigrants. The corresponding share among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents was 14 per cent in our survey. The share was particularly large among Somalis and Iraqis, at around one in three. This must be seen in light of their short length of residence. Statistics show that the percentage of social assistance recipients among refugees drops with increasing residence period (Blom 2004, Daugstad 2007). In our survey the proportion with one social assistance recipient in the household was particularly low among Pakistanis, at just 3 per cent.

If the household has low income and high expenses, it may have grounds to apply for *housing allowance*. Housing allowance is administered by the Norwegian State Housing Bank and the municipalities. People with certain types of social security benefits (old age, disability or survivor pension, basic and home care allowance, rehabilitation benefit and introduction benefit) and people with social assistance as their only income for at least one year are entitled to housing allowance. The relatively close connection between the criteria for social assistance and housing allowance appears to be reflected in the statistics on who receives housing allowance. The distribution of the shares who receive social assistance and housing allowance in the different national groups is rather similar. As with social assistance, Somalis and Iraqis are the biggest benefit recipients. The percentages receiving housing allowance are the lowest among Pakistanis and Sri Lankans. According to table 12.1 the share of recipients in the general population is 3 per cent, against 13 per cent among immigrants.

Sickness benefit is meant to provide compensation for the loss of earned income for economically active persons who are unable to work due to illness or injury. According to LKI 2005/2006 an average of 14 per cent of households have had a member who has received sick pay in the last 12 months. Similar numbers for the entire population are difficult to find, but in the 2003 Survey of Living Conditions 13 per cent of the respondents answered that they had had consecutive absence from work of more than 14 days due to illness in the last 12 months. The share would have been higher had the perspective been expanded to all members of the household. The national groups with

the largest share of sick pay recipients are Iranians, Vietnamese and Turks/Kurds, at about two out of ten. Sri Lankans and Chileans also have high shares (17 per cent). Note that only persons who have held a job in the last 12 months can report receiving sick pay. This is likely the explanation for the low shares reported by Iraqis and Somalis (5 per cent).

Parental benefits in connection with birth or adoption is a benefit scheme to enable parents (one or both) to be home with a child during the initial period after the birth/assumption of care, without incurring economic hardship. For an applicant to have the right to parental benefit she/he must have been employed for at least six of the last ten months. Income must also exceed a certain minimum amount. The scheme has been gradually expanded over time. Today the benefit period is 44 weeks with 100 per cent economic coverage and 54 weeks with 80 per cent coverage. If the woman has *not* earned the right to maternity benefits she may receive instead a *lump sum maternity or adoption grant*. On average, of the ten immigrant groups in LKI 2005/2006, 8 per cent said that someone in their household had received a lump sum maternity grant in the last 12 months. Somalis and Iraqis are the two national groups that have received the most lump sum maternity grants, 11 and 15 per cent, respectively. This is associated with the number of births, but also that many women from these countries are not sufficiently economically active to receive parental benefits.

The share of the households that have a member receiving *assistance for educational purposes* in the form of *loans and/or grants* is around two out of ten, whether it applies to immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents or the population as a whole. This accords well with the answers to another question in the survey about the respondents who go to school at least ten hours per week. There too the share of yes answers is around two out of ten. This indicates that it is largely the respondent in the household who receives a loan or grant from the State Educational Loan Fund. This biggest discrepancy applies to Somalis who to a far greater degree answer that they go to school/study (34 per cent) than the share who answer that someone in their household receives assistance for educational purposes (18 per cent). If both answers are correct, this must mean that many Somalis do not receive financial assistance for the education they are pursuing.

Cash-for-care is the final support scheme mentioned in the question on reception of public benefits. The support is given to parents of children aged one to three who do not have a full-time place in a kindergarten receiving public operating funds. The point is to compensate those who choose childcare arrangements other than those subsidised by the state.

The purpose is to promote greater fairness in the distribution of public funds among those who use kindergartens and those who do not, thereby giving parents greater real freedom in their selection of childcare arrangements. The scheme has been criticised for having adverse effects, particularly for children of immigrants, who by receiving cash-for-care risk being isolated with their family instead of meeting other children and learning language and social conventions together with other children in a kindergarten. Particularly immigrant parents with little income and many children may find it tempting to use cash-for-care. According to our interview data an average of 14 per cent of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in the survey received cash-for-care at least once in the last 12 months, compared with 9 per cent in the population as a whole (with the same age, gender and residence profile as immigrants). Chileans and Bosnians have the lowest share of cash-for-care recipients (6-7 per cent), while Somalis, Sri Lankans, Turks/Kurds and Pakistanis have the largest share (16-20 per cent). However, the share receiving cash-for-care in different groups varies not only by the desire in each group to use the scheme, but also by the size of the target group of potential recipients. The share who recently gave birth is highly decisive here. For a more detailed study of cash-for-care recipients among immigrants see Daugstad (2006a). There is evidence here that a larger percentage of cash-for-care age children with a non-Western immigrant background are users of cash-for-care than children in the entire population. As of September 2004 the figures were 78 and 62 per cent, respectively.

With respect to the share receiving the individual benefits in 1996, there are some differences and some similarities. The similarities appear to dominate the picture. There is little change evident in benefits to single providers (divorced and separated), housing allowance, lump sum maternity grants and loans/grants from the State Educational Loan Fund. With respect to unemployment and social assistance, there is a decline in the share of recipients, particularly for social assistance. While 26 per cent said in 1996 that someone in their household received economic assistance, this share was nearly cut in half (14 per cent) in 2005/2006. Likewise, the share of recipients of daily unemployment allowance has been reduced from 17 to 13 per cent. A probable contributing factor here is that the economic trends in the mid 2000s were better than in 1996. In addition is the increase in the residency periods of many immigrant groups. The general level of the number of social assistance cases per 1,000 inhabitants also declined from 37 to 28 from

1996 to 2006 (Statistics Norway 2007b: appendix table 1).

However, the percentage that according to our data has received rehabilitation benefits and aid and sick pay has increased slightly during the years between the two surveys, from 7 and 10 per cent, respectively, to 12 and 14 per cent, respectively. Both of these benefits are related to loss of ability to work in connection with illness and will as such not only correspond to the increase in the share of elderly among immigrants (cf. chapter 2), but also higher employment. The cash-for-care scheme first entered into force in 1998 and was thus not included in the questions on public benefits in 1996.

12.4. Immigrants have greater problems with expenses

The amount of expenses is naturally key to the capacity of an income to cover the expenses. The ratio between the size of the income and expenses is crucial for an economic actor's "control of his or her finances". Two questions in the 2005/2006 Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants address this. The questions were also asked in 1996.

One of the questions is whether the respondent or her/his household over the last 12 months "have had problems meeting the basic cost of living, e.g. buying food, transport or accommodation". If so, "how often?". The answers for all immigrant groups as a whole were on average strikingly similar in 1996 and nine/ten years later. At both times 31 per cent responded that they often or occasionally had difficulties (table 12.2). One in ten answered "often" and two out of ten answered "occasionally". In contrast, non-immigrants in 1995 and the general population in 2004 admitted having similar financial problems at only half the rate at each level ("often", "occasionally").

If immigrant groups are ranked according to the share who in 2005/2006 often or occasionally had problems meeting the basic cost of living, this does not deviate much from the ranking by income level according to figure 12.1. The income term used for the figure has otherwise been corrected for the variation in expenses following from different household sizes. Iraqis and Somalis report the largest share of financial problems; with people with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina reporting the smallest share. This accords with the order of the national groups by income according to figure 12.1. At the level below Bosnians follow Vietnamese, Sri Lankans and Chileans, which also fits well with the order by income level.

Table 12.2. Proportion that over the last 12 months have had problems meeting the basic cost of living for food, transport and accommodation in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, 16-70 years of age, by year and country background. Per cent

Problems meeting the basic cost of living	Entire population	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1995		1996											
Number of people (N)	3554	2549			335	257		295	296	358	386	310	312
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Often	4	11			9	21		15	8	9	4	24	11
Occasionally	10	20			22	26		28	12	22	14	27	27
Rarely	13	13			13	13		9	8	20	15	21	14
Never	74	55			56	40		49	72	49	67	28	48
2004		2005/2006											
Number of people (N)	3015	3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Often	5	11	6	11		9	19	14	11	5	7	16	10
Occasionally	9	21	13	15		23	36	25	20	16	15	28	11
Rarely	11	15	11	16		12	12	13	25	12	16	16	19
Never	75	52	71	57		55	33	48	44	66	63	39	59
Don't know	0	1	-	1		1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

Table 12.3. Proportion that for most of the year was able (1996: unable) to pay an unexpected bill of NOK 5,000 (1996: NOK 2,000), in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, 16-70 years of age, by year and country background. Per cent

Able (1995/6: unable) to pay an unexpected bill ¹	Entire population	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
1995		1996											
Number of people (N)	3554	2549			335	257		295	296	358	386	310	312
Total	100	100			100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	15	37			35	41		53	25	41	26	55	46
- of which men	13	36			33	42		52	24	41	24	54	43
- of which women	17	38			37	39		54	27	40	28	55	50
No	85	63			65	59		48	75	60	75	46	54
2004		2005/2006											
Number of people (N)	3015	3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Yes	73	55	67	58		60	31	46	62	66	64	31	60
- of which men	76	57	71	71		60	33	46	65	72	64	35	57
- of which women	70	53	63	43		61	29	46	59	62	62	25	64
No	27	44	33	41		39	67	54	37	32	36	67	39
Don't know	0	1	1	1		1	2	0	1	2	0	2	1

¹In 1995/1996: Unable to pay unexpected bill of NOK 2,000?
In 2004/2005-2006: Able to pay unexpected bill of NOK 5,000?

²An error in the data for Chile in 2005/2006 due to translation error in the Spanish interview form (cf. Gulløy 2008) is corrected here. For everyone interviewed with the Spanish questionnaire 'yes' is coded 'no' and vice versa.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the Surveys of Living Conditions for 1995 and 2004, cross section.

The biggest deviation between the two rankings applies to the relative relationship between Iran and Pakistan. While Iranians' income after tax per consumption unit is NOK 17,000 above that of Pakistanis, Pakistanis report fewer problems than Iranians in meeting the basic cost of living (a difference of 8 percentage points in the share who often or occasionally have problems). Since according to the income register Iranians have the smallest households while Pakistanis have the largest (an average of 2.5 and 3.8 persons, respectively), this can indicate that Pakistani immigrants have a greater

ability than Iranian immigrants to utilise economies of scale by having larger households. In that case, the relevant equivalence scale (the EU scale) does not take this sufficiently into account. Other possibilities are of course that Iranian immigrants and persons born in Norway to Iranian parents have a different consumption pattern, or that Pakistani immigrants and persons born in Norway to Pakistani parents have larger incomes than listed in the register. Nor should the possibility that at-home members of the household create value through unpaid domestic production of goods and services be underestimated.

Table 12.2 otherwise shows that most national groups that can be compared over time from 1996 to 2005/2006, have a decline in the share reporting financial problems in connection with meeting the basic cost of living over the last 12 months.

The second question about the financial situation was worded as follows: "Were your finances such that you/the household would have been able for most of the year to meet an unexpected bill of NOK 5,000 for dental work or repairs?" The share that answered in the negative to this question in 2005/2006 was on average 45 per cent (table 12.3). That means that 45 per cent admitted having problems meeting an unexpected expense of the stated amount. In the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, 27 per cent of the general population answered in the negative to the same question (of not being able to pay a bill of NOK 5,000). In other words, the proportion with problems in the entire population was 18 percentage points lower compared with immigrants.

Problems paying a NOK 5,000 bill were most widespread among Somalis and Iraqis. Two out of three admitted they would have problems here. Those reporting the least problems were Bosnians and Vietnamese, with "just" one in three answering no as to whether they could pay such a bill. Here too Iran had a higher share of self-reported financial problems than people with a background from Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey and Pakistan. According to figure 12.1 people with a background from Iran had a higher household income after tax per consumption unit than people with a background from these three countries. However, the proportion having a *low income* is about the same among the main income earners from Iran and Serbia and Montenegro, while it is lower among income earners from Iran than among income earners from Pakistan and Turkey (cf. figure 12.2). As mentioned it is possible that the largest immigrant households¹⁵ have developed special skills in exploiting economies of scale or producing goods and services in the home by unpaid work.

It would be interesting to see if the share reporting financial problems to the latter interview question had also decreased since 1996, but unfortunately this is difficult to determine. Table 12.3 shows the answer breakdown to similar questions posed in 1996. The wording was then: "Were your finances such that you would not have been able for most of the year to meet an unexpected bill of NOK 2,000 for dental work or home repairs?" We note that there is a negation in the question that does not occur in 2005/2006. Consequently, it is those who answer "yes" to the question who admit problems who should be compared with

those who answer "no" in 2005/2006. On average for the eight immigrant groups 37 per cent answered yes in 1996. In 2005/2006 the share answering no is on average 44 per cent. The share admitting having problems meeting an unexpected bill is thus 7 percentage points *higher* in 2005/2006 than in 1996. However, the obvious conclusion that financial problems have increased since 1996 rests on a couple of erroneous premises. The effect of changing the formulation of the question by including a "not" has not been determined and should not be underestimated. Just as important is that the real value of 5,000 kroner in 2005/2006 is just over double the real value of 2,000 1996 kroner in 2006 when inflation is taken into account.¹⁶ Consequently, it is just logical that more admit to having problems when the size of the bill is doubled.

12.5. Little difference in possession of ordinary capital goods

In conclusion in this chapter we repeat results from a handful of questions about whether the respondent or her/his household possesses various capital goods. If the respondent does not have these goods, it may be interpreted as an indication of a lack of money, but it can also be due to differing preferences. For example, not having a car can be a result of a deliberate choice due to the availability of functional alternatives (public transport).

The share of immigrants from countries in our surveys who possess a *car* has increased by 5 percentage points and is now on average 65 per cent (table 12.4). This is just over 10 percentage points lower than in the entire population. Practically all national groups that can be compared over time have increased their share of possessing a car in the years 1996-2005/2006. Men are slightly more likely than women to possess a car. Sri Lankans rank first, with more than 80 per cent possessing a car. Somalis, Chileans and Iraqis rank at the bottom with, respectively, 29, 56 and 58 per cent.

Possessing a *washing machine* is more evenly widespread than cars among immigrants and in the general population. We have no data from 1996 to do a comparison. On average, the share possessing a washing machine is 7 percentage points higher in the general population than among the average of the immigrant groups (95 against 88 per cent). Persons from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro possess washing machines at the same rate as the general population. The lowest rate is among Somalis, with 77 per cent. Gender gaps are small with respect to possessing a washing machine. To the extent a gender gap exists women possess one more often than men.

¹⁵ The average household size among main income earners aged 25-55 from Serbia and Montenegro and Turkey is 3.4. and 3.3 respectively according to the income register.

¹⁶ Measured by the same scale: NOK 2,000 in 1996 equals NOK 2,470 in 2006, and NOK 5,000 in 2006 equals NOK 4,048 in 1996, according to Statistic Norway's consumer price calculator.

Table 12.4. Proportion that possesses various capital goods in the population as a whole and among immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, aged 16-70, by year and country background. Per cent

Proportion that possesses	Entire population	Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents											
		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Montenegro	Former Yugoslavia	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
	1995												
Number of people (N)	3563	2551			331	253							
Car	81	61			58	58			55	66	73	64	17
- of which men	86	62			58	60			54	66	75	63	19
- of which women	74	60			59	56			56	66	71	65	15
	2004												
Number of people (N)	5489	3049	333	288		297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Private car	78	66	73	74		64	58	67	67	79	82	29	56
- of which men	81	69	80	79		66	60	70	72	85	80	35	58
- of which women	76	62	68	67		61	54	62	63	75	83	20	54
Washing machine	95	88	96	96		87	87	91	87	90	85	77	91
- of which men	95	88	96	97		88	84	91	85	89	82	80	87
- of which women	95	90	96	94		85	93	92	88	91	89	72	96
	2006												
Number of people (N)													
PC	91	80	83	79		78	70	84	86	82	91	60	85
- of which men	92	81	89	84		79	69	86	85	85	89	63	83
- of which women	91	79	77	72		77	73	81	88	80	93	57	87
PC w/Internet	85	74	76	72		71	64	76	83	76	84	54	79
- of which men	86	74	82	76		71	60	79	82	79	85	56	76
- of which women	83	73	72	66		71	70	70	85	73	82	51	82

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006 and the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions, EU-SILC 2004 and the 2006 Media Use Survey.

The respondent or her/his household was also asked whether they possess a PC. The share of yes answers here is 80 per cent among the immigrant population and 91 per cent in the general population. Possession of a PC is the lowest among Somalis (60 per cent) and Iraqis (70 per cent) and highest among Sri Lankans (91 per cent) – the same share as in the general population. On average for all the groups as a whole there is virtually no gender gap, neither among immigrants nor in the general population.

Those who answered that they possessed a PC were asked a follow-up question about whether the computer was connected to the Internet¹⁷. It turns out that just over nine out of ten PC users also have an Internet subscription. There is little difference here between the national groups (not shown). If the share possessing a PC is combined with the percentage of PC users with access to the Internet, we get the share of everyone who has a PC with access to the Internet. This is 74 per cent among immigrants in our survey and 85 per cent in the general population (given the same age, gender and residence distribution as immigrants). The percentage with a PC with access to the Internet is largest among Sri Lankans and Pakistanis (at the level of the population in general) and smallest among Somalis (54 per cent).

¹⁷ The questions to the population whether the respondent/household possesses a car and washing machine stem from the EU-SILC 2004 (Statistics on Income and Living Conditions). The questions whether the respondent/household possesses a PC and, if applicable, an Internet subscription stem from the 2006 Media Use Survey.

12.6. Conclusion

Controlled for varying household sizes the income after tax of immigrants is clearly lower than that of the general population. Starting with the income of the middle person in the income distribution (median income), it is from 15 to 45 per cent lower among our ten immigrant groups than in the population as a whole. At the top of the income hierarchy are people with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sri Lanka. At the bottom are people with a background from Somalia and Iraq. The proportion having what is called a low income according to EU calculations (60 per cent of the median income) correspondingly yields a low-income rate of 10 per cent in the general population against between 20 and 60 per cent among our immigrant groups. These differences are also reflected in immigrants' answers to questions about how easy or difficult it is for them to tackle the basic cost of living or unexpected expenses. To some degree the immigrants we have interviewed receive certain social transfers more often than the average in the general population. This applies, for example, to social assistance, housing allowance and cash-for-care. There is little difference for other benefit schemes. That fact that the income of non-Western immigrants is generally lower than that of the rest of the population has not substantially affected their access to capital goods normally possessed by households (such as a car, washing machine and PC). Somalis and Iraqis represent a possible exception here.

13. Unpaid work

Bjørn Mathisen

A family's financial situation depends not only on income in the form of money, but also a supply of home-produced goods and services. Unpaid work in the household produces goods such as childcare and food on the table. Home-produced goods are an addition to the family's consumption options beyond that bought with cash income. Families where both parents are working have less time to produce goods in the household, such as minding children, and this reduction in unpaid work represents a cost of obtaining two incomes for the family.

13.1. Housework

On average around 69 per cent of immigrants spend 5 hours per week doing housework. This is distributed evenly between those who spend from 5-9 hours (24 per cent), those who spend from 10-19 hours (23 per cent) and those who spend over 20 hours per week (21 per cent). Among those who spend the most time on housework are people with a background from Sri Lanka and Pakistan. 11-12 per cent of them spend 40 hours or more per week on housework (see table 13.1 and 13.2).

Male immigrants spend a little more time on housework than men in the population as a whole. On average, 57 per cent of men who are immigrants spend more than 5 hours per week on housework, while 50 per cent of men in the entire population are above 5

hours per work. This difference is probably due mainly to the difference in degree of participation in the labour force. There is also a difference between female immigrants and women in the entire population. While 78 per cent of women in the population as a whole spend more than 5 hours per week on housework, the rate for female immigrants is 84 per cent. Nearly 2 out of 5 of them say that they spend more than 20 hours per week on housework.

The average number of hours spent on housework in 1996 was somewhat higher than in 2006. 71 per cent of immigrants spent 5 or more hours. Fully 32 per cent spent 20 hours or more per week, while the corresponding share in 2006 was 10 percentage points lower. In 1996 Sri Lanka and Somalia had the most persons who spent 20 or more hours per week on housework, 57 and 44 per cent, respectively. In 2006 this share was down to 39 and 25 per cent, respectively. During the same period there was a decrease in time spent on housework for the population as a whole.

Figures for the entire population are based on 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross-section. The results have been weighted with respect to age, gender and place of residence in the country according to the immigrant population's target population.

Table 13.1. Number of hours spent on housework per week by gender. Per cent

	Entire population			Immigrants as a whole		
	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women
Number of people (N)	3015	1549	1466	3049	1679	1370
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Less than 5 hours	37	49	22	29	42	15
5- 9 hours	34	34	34	24	28	18
10-19 hours	23	15	32	23	21	26
20-29 hours	5	1	9	12	6	20
30-39 hours	1	0	2	4	1	8
40 hours and above	1	0	1	5	1	11
Don't know	1	1	0	2	2	2

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions

Table 13.2. Number of hours spent on housework per week by country background. Per cent

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole	Bosnia-Herc.	Serbia and Mont.	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3015	3049	333	288	297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Less than 5 hours	37	29	27	33	39	27	32	34	27	18	19	36
5- 9 hours	34	24	24	25	26	22	28	25	21	15	22	29
10-19 hours	23	23	28	21	22	27	21	14	29	26	31	20
20-29 hours	5	12	15	8	9	12	10	10	14	21	14	10
30-39 hours	1	4	4	5	3	7	3	4	5	7	6	2
40 hours and above	1	5	1	7	0	4	4	11	3	12	6	2
Don't know	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	3	1	3	1

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2004 Survey of Living Conditions

Table 13.3. Number of hours spent on housework among immigrants. Per cent

	Non-employed			Employed		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number of people (N)	1269	568	701	1780	1111	669
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Less than 5 hours	26	40	15	32	42	14
5- 9 hours	19	24	15	27	30	23
10-19 hours	22	23	21	24	20	31
20-29 hours	15	7	22	10	5	18
30-39 hours	7	2	10	3	1	6
40 hours and above	9	1	14	3	1	7
Don't know	3	3	3	1	1	1

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Employment appears to have made the biggest difference in the group of immigrants who spend more than 20 hours per week on housework. The share of non-employed persons doing more than 20 hours of housework per week is twice that of employed persons (31 per cent compared with 16 per cent). Both immigrant men and women appear to reduce their housework by proportionally the same amount when they have paid work. 10 per cent of non-employed men do more than 20 hours of housework per week, against 7 per cent of employed men. Similarly, nearly half of non-employed women do more than 20 hours of housework per week, compared with about one-third of immigrant women who are employed.

13.2. Helping and supervision of others

In addition to whether they do unpaid work in their own home the respondents in the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants were asked whether they help and supervise others. They were asked whether they help and supervise parents, other relatives or neighbours and/or friends.

Pakistanis (39 per cent), Vietnamese (37 per cent) and Bosnians (25 per cent) provide the most help to parents. Giving the least help are those with a background from Chile (8 per cent), Serbia and Montenegro and Iran (11 per cent). On average, 22 per cent of all groups of immigrants help and/or supervise

parents. This will naturally depend on whether their parents live in Norway. In comparison, the share of the entire population that helps and supervises their own parents is 13 per cent.

Asked whether they help and/or supervise other relatives, 21 per cent said that they did. The share is highest among Vietnamese (40 per cent), Sri Lankans (36 per cent) and Turks (28 per cent). It is lowest among immigrants from Serbia and Montenegro, Chile and Iraq with, respectively, 5, 9 and 9 per cent. In the same way as above, the results here are related to the extent to which they have relatives in Norway that they can help. The share in the entire population is 19 per cent.

Furthermore, respondents were asked whether they help or supervise neighbours and/or friends to whom they are not related. The percentage answering yes to this question is on average nearly 3 out of 10. The largest yes share occurs among Sri Lankans (54 per cent) and Somalis (52 per cent). The smallest yes share occurs among those from Chile (12 per cent) and Serbia and Montenegro (14 per cent). The percentage of the population as a whole answering yes is 19 per cent.

We have not undertaken a comparison of the help and supervision results from the 1996 Survey of Living

Conditions since there are many indications that the questions failed to capture the occurrence of help and/or supervision at that time.

In the 10 immigrant groups we are looking at in LKI it is consistently more common to help out relatives and friends than the average for the population in Norway. In particular, it is more common to help parents and

neighbours and friends. There are quite a few differences among the nationalities, with Pakistanis and Vietnamese coming first in helping parents, while Vietnamese and immigrants from Sri Lanka rank first in helping other relatives, and among those from Sri Lanka and Somalia it is very common to help neighbours and friends.

Table 13.4. Help/supervise others. Per cent answering yes

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Help/supervise parents	13	22	25	11	19	13	11	39	37	14	17	8
Help/supervise other relatives?	19	21	11	5	28	9	9	26	40	36	22	9
Help/supervise neighbours and/or friends?	19	29	20	14	32	34	16	21	37	54	52	12

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2001 Survey of Living Conditions

14. Spouse/cohabitant's work

Bjørn Mathisen

As described in the chapter on work the labour market is probably the most important arena for successful integration of immigrants. Furthermore, a key objective of integration policy is for immigrants to find employment, thereby achieving economic independence. For persons who are married or cohabiting, the participation of a spouse/cohabitant in working life will contribute greater economic independence in relation to help from the government. The degree to which a spouse's participation in working life contributes to increased integration is a more complex question that we do not answer here. However, the questions asked in the survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants allow a closer look at this question and how spouses mutually adapt to the situation. We know little about the adjustments immigrants make.

14.1. Spouse/cohabitant with income-generating work

Asked whether spouses/cohabitants have income-generating work, 57 per cent of married/cohabiting couples answered yes (table 14.1). The highest yes shares occur among Chileans (78 per cent) and Bosnians (75 per cent), the lowest among Somalis (29 per cent) and Iraqis (35 per cent). Pakistanis and Turks rank in the middle with, respectively, 50 and 54 per cent.

The probability of having an employed partner will naturally be connected with the general employment level of the group to which one belongs. What may be interesting to look at here is the gender differences within the individual groups. The gap is the biggest among those with a background from Pakistan. 68 per

cent of married Pakistani women list having a partner with income-generating work, while just 31 per cent of Pakistani men answer the same. This is a difference of 37 percentage points. The differences are also large among those from Sri Lanka and Turkey, with a difference of 28 and 27 percentage points, respectively. For Chile and Bosnia-Herzegovina the gender gap tips slightly the other way, with just a few more men having a wife who is employed. Vietnam also has a minimal gender gap.

If we go back to the 1996 Survey of Living Conditions, we find that a total of 49 per cent of married/cohabiting immigrants answered in the affirmative to having a spouse/cohabitant with income-generating work. This is considerably lower than the 57 per cent who answered yes in 1996. This increase is completely parallel with the development in the employment level among all immigrants (50 to 57 per cent).

14.2. Employment among married/cohabiting couples

If we couple the responses about the spouse's work with the responses about the respondent's own employment, we can identify a married/cohabiting couple's joint connection with the labour market. As stated in table 14.2, 41 per cent of immigrants in a couple relationship are in a couple relationship where both are employed. 38 per cent are part of a couple where only one is employed, while 21 per cent are in a couple relationship where both are unemployed. Corresponding figures for the entire population are 77 per cent for both with work, 19 per cent for one with work and 5 per cent for both without work.

Table 14.1. Proportion of married/cohabiting couples who have spouse/cohabitant with income-generating work Per cent

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Both sexes	84	57	75	67	54	35	62	50	64	68	29	78
Men	80	49	76	64	43	29	57	31	63	55	24	79
Women	90	67	74	71	70	46	68	68	64	83	37	77

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2001 Survey of Living Conditions

Table 14.2. Employment of married/cohabiting couples Per cent

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	1821	1901	222	189	215	224	141	194	181	295	102	138
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Both have a job	77	41	65	51	38	25	43	28	48	51	14	64
One has a job	19	38	23	34	40	35	36	51	35	42	42	29
Neither has a job	5	21	12	16	23	40	21	21	17	7	44	7

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2001 Survey of Living Conditions

Table 14.3. Employed spouse/cohabitant's employment. Per cent

	Entire population			Immigrants		
	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women
Number of people (N)	1511	704	807	1123	530	593
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Self-employed	12	6	18	11	6	14
Employed	88	94	82	86	90	83
Family member without a set, agreed wage	0	0	0	2	3	1
Don't know	.	.	.	1	2	1

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2001 Survey of Living Conditions

Table 14.4. Employed spouse/cohabitant's weekly working hours

	Entire population	Immigrants as a whole	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	1511	1123	166	127	115	79	87	96	115	200	30	108
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1-19 hours	10	9	2	9	7	17	6	12	10	12	20	11
20-29 hours	8	10	8	16	14	17	13	8	4	9	7	12
30-29 hours	56	60	80	63	45	49	53	48	71	71	50	51
40+ hours	25	19	8	11	31	15	28	31	15	8	17	23
Don't know	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	-	1	7	3

Source: Statistics Norway, Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2001 Survey of Living Conditions

There are somewhat large differences between the various country backgrounds with respect to the number of employed persons per married couple. The numbers here will naturally reflect the general degree of employment for the various groups, but also provide an insight into how participation in working life is distributed internally in the couple relationship. The largest share of both with jobs is found among immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Chile with, respectively, 65 and 64 per cent. With respect to couples where neither of the parties is employed, the share is largest among Somalis and Iraqis with, respectively, 44 and 40 per cent. Having only one member of a couple employed is the most common among Pakistanis (51 per cent) and least common among those with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

14.3. Spouse/cohabitant's employment

11 per cent of all married/cohabiting immigrants have a spouse/cohabitant who is self-employed, while 86 per cent have a partner with ordinary employment (table 14.3). While 14 per cent of the women had a spouse/cohabitant who was self-employed, the corresponding number for men was 6 per cent. There is little difference from the share of married/cohabiting couples who are self-employed in the entire population. In the entire population, 12 per cent of those with an employed spouse/cohabitant had one who was self-employed. The rate was 18 per cent among women and 6 per cent among men.

The highest share of self-employed spouses/cohabitants occurs among Iranians and Pakistanis (16 per cent). The lowest share of self-employed spouses/cohabitants occurs among Somalis and Sri Lankans (3

and 4 percent, respectively). In 1996, 9 per cent of spouses/cohabitants were self-employed, with the highest share among Pakistanis (16 per cent) and lowest share among Somalis (0 per cent), Sri Lankans and Vietnamese (5 per cent).

14.4. Spouse/cohabitant's working hours per week

For all immigrant groups as a whole fully 60 per cent have a spouse/cohabitant who works 30 to 39 hours per week. This is a slightly larger concentration on the most common working hours range than for the respondent personally (cf. table 10.5). Most cohabitants/spouses who work 30-39 hours per week have a background from Bosnia (80 per cent), with Sri Lankans and Vietnamese sharing second place (71 per cent). Working hours of 40 hours or more per week is the most widespread among Turks (31 per cent) and Iranians (28 per cent). Somalis (20 per cent) have the highest percentage on short working hours (1-19 hours per week).

We see a similar distribution in the general population. Slightly more work more than 40 hours in the general population than in the immigrant population (25 per cent against 19 per cent).

15. Childcare

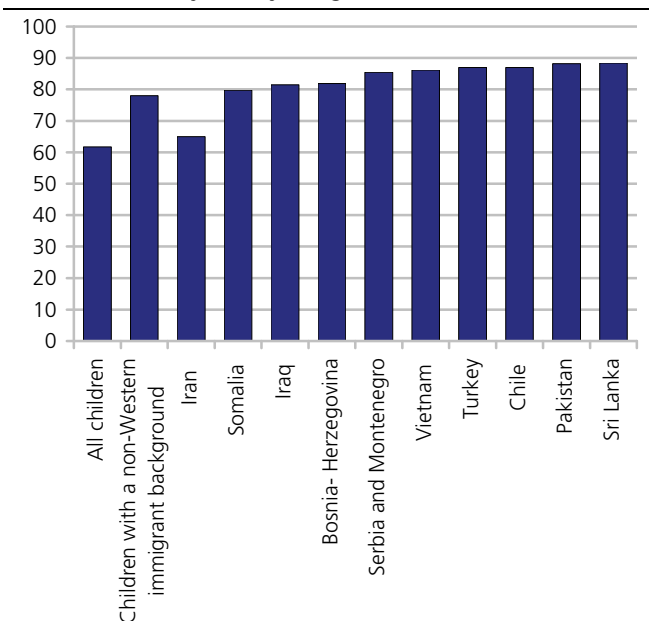
Kristin Henriksen

Kindergarten is a potential integration arena, a place where children learn Norwegian and develop language comprehension and social skills. This is one of the reasons free core hours were introduced for four and five-year-olds in Groruddalen for both minority-language speaking and Norwegian-speaking children. Do immigrant parents choose different childcare solutions than other parents? In this chapter we will see that this is the case – immigrant parents are less likely to entrust the care of their children to others.

15.1. Fewer in kindergarten and more with cash-for-care

Kindergarten coverage has increased steadily in recent years, from 63 per cent in 2001 among all children aged 1-5, to a rate of 80 per cent in 2006. The coverage among children aged 0-5 was lower, but it too increased from 54 per cent to 67 per cent during the same period.¹⁸

Figure 15.1. Proportion of cash-for-care age children with cash-for-care, by country background. 2004



Source: KOSTRA

¹⁸ For kindergarten statistics in 2001, see <http://www.ssb.no/emner/04/02/10/barnehager/arkiv/>. For 2006 statistics, see <http://www.ssb.no/emner/04/02/10/barnehager/>

In 2001 all municipalities began reporting the number of minority language-speaking children in kindergarten, defined as all children with a language other than Norwegian, Swedish, Danish or English as their native language.¹⁹ The coverage among these children aged 0-5 was 48 per cent in 2006, far lower than among all children in this age (67 per cent).²⁰

As figure 15.1 shows, the use of cash-for-care²¹ among children with a non-Western country background is substantially higher than among all children of cash-for-care age (78 per cent compared with 62 per cent in 2004). The high level of use applies to all national groups included in the survey of living conditions. Only those from Iran had a cash-for-care use close to the average of all children (65 per cent). In comparison, nine out of ten relevant age children with a background from Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Turkey received cash-for-care. For more about cash-for-care use among children with a non-Western background, see Daugstad 2006a.

15.2. Immigrants leave childcare to others to a lesser degree

In the survey of living conditions respondents are asked whether their children are regularly minded by anyone other than their parents or guardians, and if so, what arrangements they have. This applies to those who have children born in 1995 or later.

How common it is to have children of this age varies between the different groups. On average this applies to 46 per cent. It is most common among those from Sri Lanka (64 per cent), least common among those

¹⁹ Some municipalities began reporting this as early as 1989.

²⁰ In the published statistics the coverage share among minority children is listed as 46.1 per cent, but here English-language and Nordic children are included in the denominator, see <http://www.ssb.no/emner/04/02/10/barnehager/>. Statistics on minority children aged 1-5 have not been published.

²¹ "Cash-for-care" is a cash benefit that may be granted for children between one and three years of age. The benefit can be provided for a maximum of 23 months and the child must not have a full-time place at a publicly maintained day care institution. For more information see Chapter 12 in this report or <http://www.nav.no/805369180.cms>

from Bosnia-Herzegovina (30 per cent). In addition to fertility differences, it is a factor of the age distribution of the different groups, where among those from Sri Lanka there are many couples of the age where it is common to have small children, while among those from Somalia, for example, young men who are alone in Norway are in the majority.

In all, 38 per cent of those with children born in 1995 and later answered that their children are regularly minded by others (see table 15.1). There are small differences between the different groups. It is most common among children with a background from Sri Lanka to be minded by others (46 per cent), least common among children with a background from Pakistan (30 per cent).

Fully 11 per cent on average do not know whether others regularly mind their children, and among Vietnamese 18 per cent do not know this. Many are also unsure of what applies to their children in response to questions about various childcare arrangements. The high percentages of “don’t know” answers may be connected with the fact that the respondents are uncertain about how the questions are to be interpreted, including the meaning of terms such as “regularly”. The differences between immigrant men and women are not large with respect to the percentage of “don’t know”. A cross-section of the entire population was asked the same questions in a Survey of Living Conditions in 2003, and it is therefore possible to compare the responses of immigrants with the responses of the general population²². At that time only one per thousand answered “don’t know”, so only immigrants had problems answering this question.

In the entire population 64 per cent answered that their children are regularly minded by others than the parents, compared with 38 per cent of immigrants. As mentioned this question was asked in 2003, 2-3 years before it was asked of immigrants, at a time when kindergarten coverage was lower than it was when the LKI was conducted. In other words, had the question been asked of the entire population at the same time as immigrants, there would have been an even bigger difference between the population as a whole and immigrants when it comes to how many regularly let others mind their children.

²² As already mentioned, we have chosen to weight the results for the population so that they have the same composition in terms of geographical location, gender and age as the immigrants (the ten nationalities together). It is thus not relevant to resort to explanations of any differences between the immigrants and the population as a whole by referring to differences in the composition of the two populations in terms of these three dimensions.

Table 15.1. Is the child/children regularly minded by anyone other than their parents/guardians? The countries are ranked according to the percentage answering yes

	N	Yes	No	Don't know
Population as a whole (in 2003)	1040	64	36	0
Immigrants as a whole	1409	38	51	11
Sri Lanka	224	46	43	11
Vietnam	131	43	39	18
Somalia	112	41	54	5
Turkey	165	41	48	12
Iran	99	41	53	6
Bosnia-Herzegovina	99	39	55	6
Chile	87	38	52	10
Serbia and Montenegro	159	36	60	4
Iraq	188	35	56	9
Pakistan	145	30	53	17

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and 2003 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

15.3. Who minds the children if they are cared for by others?

Those interviewed may have several children born in 1995 or later. They were therefore asked about the arrangements they have for each child, and we will primarily present the answers to “child number 1”, which will be the oldest child.

Among parents who regularly have others mind their child, nearly half, 45 per cent, answered that their child goes to a family nursery, day nursery (kindergarten) or playground. As table 15.2 shows, this is most common among those from Turkey (60 per cent) and least common among those from Pakistan (25 per cent). However, the don’t know share is large (15 per cent), and more men than women are uncertain as to the childcare arrangements for their children. Since the questions also involved childcare arrangements for children over kindergarten age, it is not possible to draw conclusions about kindergarten coverage from these numbers. The differences in the share can just as well be connected with the different age distribution among children in the immigrant groups as with the tendency to have children in a kindergarten.

A quarter of immigrants responded that their children are minded free of charge by relatives or friends, and here we see major differences among the groups. This is the most common among parents with a background from Chile, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Pakistan and Vietnam (around 4 out of 10). The lowest yes share is for parents with a background from Somalia and Iraq (4-6 per cent), but it is also low among people with a background from Iran, Sri Lanka and Turkey.

On average only 6 per cent of parents answered yes to whether the child is minded by home help, au pair, nursemaid or childminder. The yes share is evenly low among all, although parents with a background from Vietnam are the highest with 13 per cent. However, a very large number answered don’t know, which again could indicate that the question was difficult to understand.

Table 15.2. Arrangements for child "number one", among children regularly minded by others. Ranked by yes share

	Is the child minded free of charge by relatives or close friends?				Immigrants as a whole	Is the child minded by home help, childminder?			Immigrants as a whole	Does the child go to day nursery, playground?		
	N	Yes	No	Don't know		Yes	No	Don't know		Yes	No	Don't know
Immigrants as a whole	552	24	58	19	Immigrants as a whole	6	72	22	Immigrants as a whole	45	41	15
Chile	33	42	42	15	Vietnam	13	77	11	Turkey	60	27	13
Pakistan	44	41	52	7	Bosnia-Herzegovina	8	80	13	Iran	56	20	24
Vietnam	56	39	54	7	Sri Lanka	7	79	15	Vietnam	52	43	5
Bosnia-Herzegovina	39	39	49	13	Iraq	6	70	24	Sri Lanka	50	36	15
Serbia and Montenegro	57	32	47	21	Turkey	6	64	30	Bosnia-Herzegovina	46	51	3
Turkey	67	16	61	22	Pakistan	5	84	11	Chile	46	42	12
Sri Lanka	103	14	72	15	Serbia and Montenegro	4	63	33	Serbia and Montenegro	44	35	21
Iran	41	12	39	49	Chile	3	76	21	Iraq	39	36	24
Iraq	66	6	70	24	Somalia	2	78	20	Somalia	39	46	15
Somalia	46	4	76	20	Iran	0	46	54	Pakistan	25	64	11

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 15.3. Does the child/do the children in your household have mainly Norwegian friends, or friends with the same linguistic and immigrant background as themselves? Per cent

	Number of people (N)	Don't know	Norwegian friends	Friends with the same background	Both	Don't want to answer
Total in 1996	1430	6	22	9	62	1
Total in 2005/2006	1409	21	23	8	47	1
Bosnia-Herzegovina	99	17	35	12	35	-
Serbia and Montenegro	159	12	30	4	54	1
Turkey	165	17	30	10	42	1
Iraq	188	19	21	11	49	-
Iran	99	21	43	6	28	1
Pakistan	145	28	9	10	52	1
Vietnam	131	31	14	3	52	1
Sri Lanka	224	17	20	7	56	-
Somalia	112	15	21	7	47	9
Chile	87	20	43	6	32	-

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 1996 and 2005/2006.

Some of those interviewed have two, three or more children. However, because there are so few there are very small numbers if we look at each national group. In general it appears that the parents have about the same childcare arrangements for child number two as for child number one, but slightly fewer answer that child number two is minded free of charge by relatives or close friends. Comparisons are difficult to make since the questions about specific childcare arrangements asked of the general population in 2003 are not worded completely the same as those asked of immigrants.

15.4. Half of the children have both Norwegian friends and friends with an immigrant background

Do immigrant children mainly have friends with the same linguistic and immigrant background as themselves; do they play mostly with Norwegian children, or both? The question was asked of those who had children born in 1995 or later, i.e. the children were 10-11 years of age or younger at the

time of the interview. As many as one in five does not know the main background of their children's playmates. It is probably a factor of parents finding it difficult to relate to the term "mainly" rather than them not knowing who their children's friends are. Perhaps the question is interpreted as whether their children have Norwegian friends *at all*. The term "Norwegian" can perhaps also be problematic for some. However, the share who said they did not know about the background of their children's friends was lower in 1996: on average just 6 per cent.

Nearly half (47 per cent) of all parents with children in the relevant age groups answered that their children's playmates have both Norwegian background and immigrant background. Over half of parents with a background from Sri Lanka (56 per cent), Serbia and Montenegro (54 per cent), Pakistan and Vietnam (52 per cent) believe that their children have both Norwegian friends and friends with the same background. Nearly a quarter (23 per cent) answered that the children mainly have friends with a "Norwegian

background". Iranians and Chileans are the two groups that largely answer that their child has Norwegian friends (43 per cent). It is least common for children of Pakistani (9 per cent) and Vietnamese background (14 per cent) to have only Norwegian friends.

8 per cent of the parents believe the playmates mainly have the same background as the child, and the difference between the groups is not big.

In 1996 far more answered that their child's friends had both types of backgrounds (both Norwegian and immigrant background), but far fewer answered "don't know". There are small changes from 1996 in the share who answered that their child's friends mainly had a Norwegian background or friends with the same background. The higher don't know level may have several reasons, including that the parents actually don't know because their child largely plays with children of many different linguistic and immigrant backgrounds.

One hypothesis is that whether their child plays with children with or without an immigrant background is connected with where they live in Norway. If they live somewhere in the country where there are few other children with the same background, it is natural for them to have many Norwegian playmates. In larger cities with many immigrants there are potentially more playmates with the same background, such as the case is, for example, for children with a Pakistani background in Oslo or a Turkish background in Drammen. The answers from the interviewed Pakistani and Turkish parents may indicate that this is the case. It is in these groups that we find the most parents who answer that their children mainly have friends with the same background. However, children with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina are also among those who largely appear to have friends with the same background. This is a group that lives relatively spread around Norway, which should indicate that these children would be the least likely to mainly have friends with the same background. However, the differences are rather small and the numbers are relatively uncertain since parents answer on behalf of their children, and many also appear to be uncertain with respect to the main background of their children's playmates. We will therefore not read too much into these statistics.

15.5. Other childcare arrangements among immigrants

In this chapter we have seen that immigrant parents are less likely to entrust the care of their children to others. From before we know that it is far more common for immigrant parents of small children to use cash-for-care, and less common for them to go to a day nursery (kindergarten) (see Daugstad 2006a and <http://www.ssb.no/emner/04/02/10/barnehager/>). Nor is it surprising that, compared with the general

population, far fewer immigrants answer that their children are regularly minded by others. Among them it is most common to have the child (i.e. the oldest child) in a family nursery, day nursery (kindergarten) or playground, while a quarter of immigrants let their children be minded free of charge by relatives or friends. While a small minority of 8 per cent believe that their children mainly have friends with the same immigrant and linguistic background as themselves, the vast majority believe that their children play both with "Norwegian" children and children with the same background or mainly with "Norwegian" children.

16. Norwegian language skills

Kristin Henriksen

Having a good command of Norwegian is often necessary for economic, social and political participation in society. Knowing Norwegian makes it easier for people to exercise their democratic rights and establish contact and friendships with people outside their immediate circle. An immigrant's Norwegian language skills will be connected to some degree to how long he or she has lived in Norway. But, as we shall see, it is not necessarily so that groups that have lived in Norway for many years have a good command of Norwegian. More important for having a command of the language is participation in working life, which can explain, as we shall see, why many women from Pakistan and Turkey have a poor command of Norwegian.

16.1. Most have done a course on the Norwegian language...

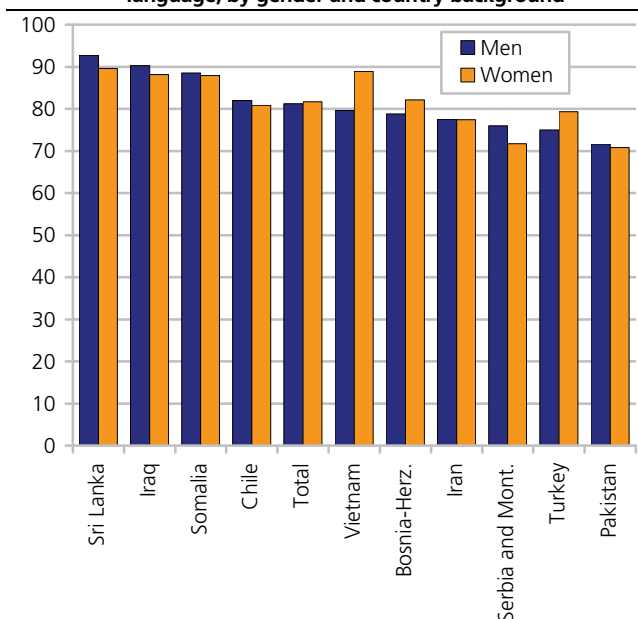
Those interviewed were asked whether they had done a course on the Norwegian language and, if so, how many hours of study they had done (see figure 16.1). These questions were only asked of immigrants who

came to Norway after they had turned six. The share stating that they had received language training has increased since 1996 – from seven out of ten to eight out of ten. Refugee groups such as Iraqis, Somalis and Sri Lankans are most likely to state that they had been taught Norwegian (around nine out of ten), while seven out of ten Pakistanis attended Norwegian language courses. In other words, no group has more than three out of ten who has not received any training. About just as many women as men have attended Norwegian language courses, including if we look at the individual groups. As mentioned in the box above, the training offered to immigrants has varied according to the time residency was established and reason for immigration, while the share who received language instruction varies relatively little.

16.2. ...and Somalis still receive the most hours of instruction

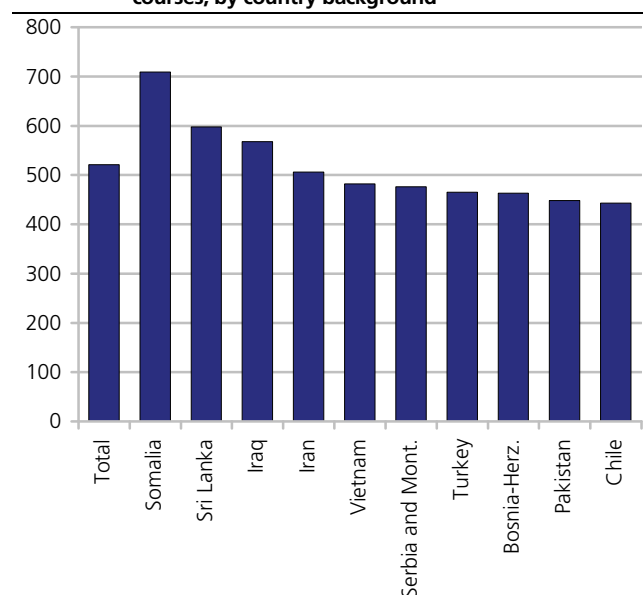
Somalis have received the most training, with an average of around 700 hours. This is a group where four out of ten adult immigrants came to Norway without

Figure 16.1. Proportion that has done a course on the Norwegian language, by gender and country background¹



¹ Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants of preschool age at arrival are excluded.
Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 16.2. Average number of hours of Norwegian language courses, by country background¹



¹ Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants of preschool age at arrival are excluded.
Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

any form of education whatsoever, so it is consequently not surprising that they need considerable training. The other groups vary little, from an average of 440 hours (Chile) to 600 hours (Sri Lanka) (see figure 16.2). The average for all immigrants is 521 hours, equal for men and women. Very few, only 3 per cent, have had more than 1,000 hours of instruction, but among Somalis, one in ten have had that many hours. Somalis also received the most instruction of all in 1996.

Many groups do not show any particular differences between men and women as far as how many hours of instruction they have received. In the Turkish group women have an average of 150 more hours than men, and in the Iranian and Sri Lankan groups women have just over 70 hours more. In the Pakistani group the opposite is true – men received 78 hours more than women, and in the Somali group the difference of 65 hours was in favour of men. 8 per cent of all do not know how many hours they have had.

16.3. Why have no language courses been offered?

Those interviewed were asked why they had not been taught Norwegian, if that was the case. Among those who had not been taught Norwegian 18 per cent said they lacked training because they had not been offered courses. While 8 per cent of the women answered that lack of childcare was preventing them from attending Norwegian language courses, hardly any men gave this answer. Some answered that they had not taken any courses because they weren't interested, due to illness or because the level of the course was wrong for them (6-7 per cent for each of these grounds). Very few said that they had not been given an opportunity because the course was too far from their home, or because they were still on a waiting list (1 per cent). Fully 57 per cent did not fit into any of these categories, and answered "other".

16.4. More women than men judge their Norwegian language skills to be poor

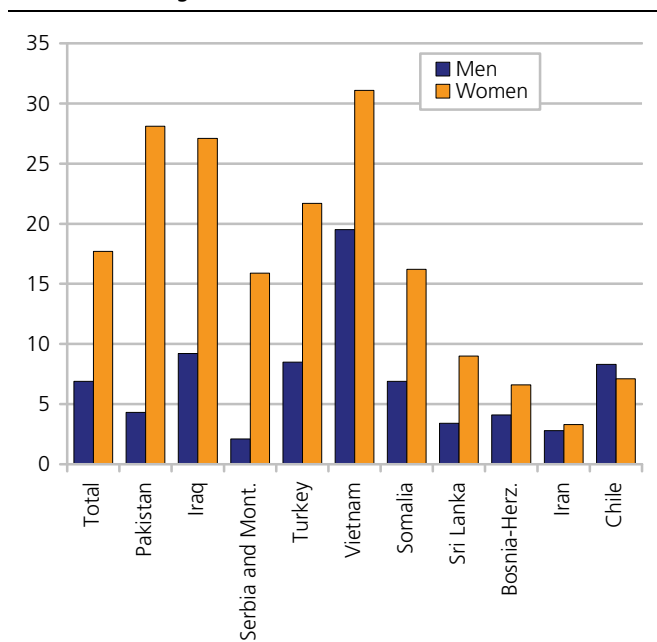
A new survey conducted by the Reading Centre at the University of Stavanger charts the reading and maths skills of adult immigrants. It shows that many non-Western immigrants had major problems with reading and maths. Even if the results are better among persons born in Norway to immigrant parents the distance to the control group of "ethnic Norwegians" is also considerable in this group. Education level is the most important success factor when it comes to development of reading and maths skills (Gabrielsen and Lagerstrøm 2007). As we shall see the survey of living conditions confirms these findings; many immi-

grants struggle to make themselves understood in Norwegian, and quite a few immigrant women in particular have major problems in this respect. Although we are not looking here at Norwegian language skills in relation to education level, this should be a subject for later studies.

Those interviewed were asked how well they speak Norwegian and could choose between very good, good, average, poor and very poor. Here we will just look at immigrants who were at least 6 years old when they immigrated, and exclude persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants of preschool age at arrival.

More immigrant women than immigrant men consider their Norwegian language skills to be poor or very poor, and in some of the national groups the difference is to some extent quite large (see figure 16.3). Much of the difference is probably due to immigrant women participating to a lesser extent than immigrant men in working life, and in some groups the gender gap in employment is considerable. It is also conceivable that women are more critical of their skills than men, though we are unable to give an answer to such a hypothesis.

Figure 16.3. Proportion who consider their Norwegian language skills to be poor or very poor, by gender and country background¹



¹ Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants who were of preschool age at arrival are excluded.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Political measures

The LKI respondents arrived in Norway at very different times. Some came to Norway at the end of the 1960s, others had been in Norway for just two years when they were interviewed. Much has happened with respect to public programmes for teaching Norwegian to immigrants since the first labour immigrants arrived, which means that the respondents have not all had the same options regarding Norwegian language courses.

Providing free Norwegian language courses with social studies for adult immigrants has been a public responsibility since the mid-1970s. In the beginning the courses were aimed at labour immigrants, but in 1982 refugees and other immigrant groups were included in the programme. Until 1987 the programme was 240 hours or somewhat more within a specified time frame in special cases. The number of hours was increased in 1987 to 500 hours for asylum seekers, while labour immigrants still received 240 hours. In 1991 the programme was restructured; the number of hours offered to refugees and persons granted a residence permit for humanitarian reasons was increased to 750 hours, while asylum seekers no longer received an offer of publicly funded Norwegian language courses before the application was decided. Labour immigrants kept their 240 hours. Starting in 1994 other immigrants began receiving up to 500 hours of free Norwegian language courses, and starting the 1996/1997 school year asylum seekers were again included in the programme.

Until 1 January 1994 all immigrants over the age of 16 with work and residence permits beyond three months were covered by the offer of free Norwegian language courses. Some groups were offered a maximum of 750 hours. This includes all LKI respondents resident after the mid-1970s and up to 1994. Because these programmes covered the respondents in the 1996 Survey of Living Conditions, hardly any had received more than 750 hours of instruction.

In 1998 the programmes were redesigned. Until then the residency grounds of the immigrants determined whether he or she was entitled to language courses. From 1998 all resident immigrants were entitled to courses, and the educational background of the immigrants determined how much Norwegian language instruction they were entitled to. If their education corresponded to a Norwegian primary and lower secondary education or more, they could receive 850 hours, while people with no or very little education could receive up to 3,000 hours. It was up to the individual to decide whether they would attend courses at all and how many hours of instruction they wanted to complete. Today, this system is called a “transitional programme” and covers persons who were resident before 1 September 2003 but after 1998.

Refugees and persons granted residency on humanitarian grounds and their family members resident after 1 September 2003 fall under the introduction programme. It became obligatory from 1 September 2004. The LKI respondents had to be resident before 1 September 2003, and therefore fall outside the programme. Nevertheless, there may be some LKI participants who have participated in the introduction programme since some municipalities were included in a trial arrangement where the programme started before it became mandatory for all municipalities. In LKI 3.6 per cent answered that they receive pay through the introduction programme, though some people who fall outside the programme (for example labour immigrants from Pakistan) answer yes to this question, which could indicate that the question has not been easy to answer. For more about the introduction programme, see <http://www.ssb.no/emner/04/02/50/introinnv/>. For more information about the development of Norwegian language instruction programmes, see *Proposition no. 50 (2003-2004) to the Storting*.

“Ny sjanse” (New Chance) is a qualification programme for immigrants who after living in Norway for many years do not have a permanent connection with the labour market and depend on social assistance.

We do not know how many of the 513 New Chance participants are included in the LKI sample, but since the number of people enrolled in “New Chance” is so small it is highly unlikely that they will be represented to any extent in the LKI sample. For more about New Chance, see IMDi 2006.

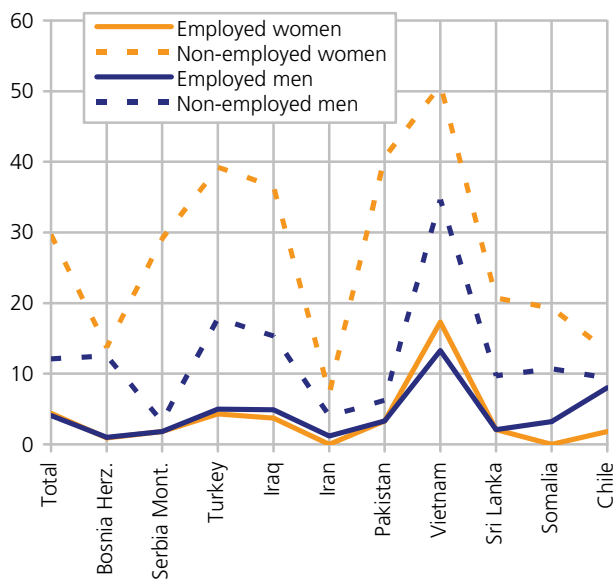
On average 18 per cent of immigrant women believe that their Norwegian language skills are poor or very poor, against just 7 per cent of the men. There are particularly large gender gaps in immigrant groups where it is also the case that men are employed to a much greater extent than women. This applies to those from Pakistan and Turkey, where 28 and 22 per cent, respectively, of the women believe that they have a poor or very poor command of Norwegian, against 4

and 9 per cent of the men (see figure 16.3). In the sample, around four out of ten of the women from Pakistan and half of the women from Turkey are employed, against around seven out of ten of the men from these countries. There are also big gender gaps in both employment and Norwegian language skills among those from Iraq, Somalia and Serbia and Montenegro. The Vietnamese set themselves apart in that both men and women think they have a poor

command of Norwegian. At the same time employment in this group is relatively high, among both women and men. This should give them better opportunities to learn the language. Vice versa one can say that despite poor Norwegian language skills Vietnamese have managed well in the Norwegian labour market.

Immigrants from Iran, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chile and Sri Lanka regard their Norwegian language skills as relatively good, and there are fewer gender differences here than among the other groups. Employment is also relatively high in these groups, and it is in these three groups, and among Vietnamese, that we find the smallest gender gaps in employment.

Figure 16.4. Proportion who believe they have poor or very poor Norwegian language skills, by gender, country background and degree of employment¹



¹ Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants who were of preschool age at arrival are excluded.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 16.1. Proportion who believe they have poor or very poor Norwegian language skills, by gender, country background and degree of employment¹

	Women				Men			
	Employed		Non-employed		Employed		Non-employed	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
Total	568	4	569	30	974	4	451	12
Bosnia-Herzegovina	113	1	51	14	105	1	40	13
Serbia and Montenegro	57	2	55	29	112	2	31	3
Turkey	46	4	46	39	119	5	45	18
Iraq	27	4	85	37	123	5	98	15
Iran	49	0	42	7	86	1	51	4
Pakistan	30	3	59	41	61	3	32	6
Vietnam	75	17	57	51	75	13	26	35
Sri Lanka	95	2	58	21	144	2	31	10
Somalia	19	0	78	19	62	3	65	11
Chile	57	2	38	13	87	8	32	9

¹ Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants who were of preschool age at arrival are excluded.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

In figure 16.4 and table 16.1 we have divided immigrants into groups according to whether they are employed or non-employed. Certain groups then become particularly small. In fact the sample has as few as 19 employed Somali women who came to Norway after they turned 6 years of age. The figure showing shares who believe they have poor or very poor Norwegian language skills must therefore be read with great caution. Nevertheless we see a clear trend. It is more common for those who are not employed to think they have a poor command of Norwegian than those who are employed. Moreover, we see that it is just as uncommon for employed men and women to believe that they struggle with Norwegian, while women who are not employed struggle to a greater degree with Norwegian than men who are not employed. While we see this clearly if we look at the group as a whole, we also find these differences in the different immigrant groups at varying levels. This is, among other factors, probably due to more women than men never having had a job.

We saw earlier that the median length of residence of most groups was longer in 2005 than in 1996. One could expect that a longer residence period would have a positive impact on Norwegian language skills, but this does not appear to be the case. Among both Turks and Pakistanis, the percentages who believed that they had a poor or very poor command of Norwegian in 2005/2006 were remarkably the same as in 1996²³. These are groups who were in both surveys and had a median length of residence that was five years longer in 2005 than in 1996. While among Vietnamese the average residence period has increased by as much as eight years, just as many, one in four, considered their own Norwegian language skills to be poor or very poor in 1996 and in 2005/2006. It is conceivable that language skills in particular will improve appreciably among immigrants who entered the workforce after 1996. It may also be the case that both length of residence and labour force participation mean something for the standards on which the evaluation is based. The language level perceived as satisfactory after five years will perhaps be perceived as poor after 15 years because the people they are being compared with will have made considerable improvements in their Norwegian language skills during the ten years that have elapsed.

16.5. ..the Norwegian language skills of many women are insufficient in daily life

In addition to the general assessment of their Norwegian language skills, immigrants were asked how good they believe their Norwegian language skills are in various situations in daily life (see table 16.2). As in the general

²³ In 1996 persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants who arrived before the age of 6 are included in the data on language skills so that the figures are not directly comparable. We will therefore not do more detailed comparisons.

question it is still the case that women consider their Norwegian language skills to be poorer than men in the given situations, and it is the same national groups who appear to have the biggest problems with Norwegian.

On average, around one in five of the women in the ten immigrant groups believe they speak poor or very poor Norwegian when it comes to chatting with Norwegians out on the street (17 per cent), with a doctor about health problems (21 per cent), understanding the news on radio and TV (20 per cent) or reading Norwegian newspapers (21 per cent). It is less common among men to evaluate their skills as being poor or very poor in these situations – the share who believe they have poor or very poor skills varies between 6 and 10 per cent in the specified situations. Immigrants have the biggest problems – both men and women – in replying in writing to a newspaper advertisement about a job. 32 per cent of the women believe they have poor or very poor Norwegian language skills here, compared with 17 per cent of the men.

In some immigrant groups it is almost equally uncommon among men and women alike to evaluate their Norwegian language skills as being poor or very poor in the various daily situations. This applies to immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iran, Sri Lanka and Chile. In these groups, relatively few women and

men believe that they have poor Norwegian language skills. We find large gender gaps in the other groups, some of whom have been in Norway a long time. As previously mentioned, in terms of having a command of Norwegian, being employed is probably more important than having lived in Norway for a long time. This explains why many women from national groups that have lived in Norway a long time believe that their command of Norwegian is so poor that they have problems managing in daily life. For example, more than one in four women from Pakistan and Vietnam and one in five women from Turkey believe that they have poor or very poor Norwegian language skills when it comes to chatting with Norwegians out on the street. Among men, those from Turkey, Iraq and Vietnam had the highest extent of believing they have problems with the language in the specified situations, though the extent of their problems was far less than those of the women of these countries.

There are small differences in the response breakdowns of the situation-specific questions in relation to the question about general Norwegian language skills. This indicates that immigrants *do not* assess their skills differently when they are asked about specific situations than when they are asked a general question about their Norwegian language skills.

Table 16.2. Proportion who consider their Norwegian language skills to be poor or very poor in specified situations, by gender and country background¹

		Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia and Montenegro	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	Total	2610	314	259	256	345	235	183	238	331	230	219
	Men	1451	146	146	164	227	142	94	103	177	131	121
	Women	1159	168	113	92	118	93	89	135	154	99	98
General: How well do you speak Norwegian?	Men	7	4	2	9	9	3	4	20	3	7	8
	Women	18	7	16	22	27	3	28	31	9	16	7
Chatting with Norwegians out on the street?	Men	6	3	3	7	10	6	6	13	3	5	5
	Women	17	7	19	20	24	6	27	26	7	18	7
Talking to a doctor about medical problems?	Men	8	5	7	11	10	7	8	15	4	5	4
	Women	21	10	27	23	30	10	33	27	10	20	8
Understanding the news on radio and TV?	Men	8	3	1	12	14	8	10	19	2	6	4
	Women	20	8	16	23	27	10	36	33	8	17	6
Reading Norwegian newspapers?	Men	10	6	3	13	15	11	10	15	6	7	6
	Women	21	9	20	24	35	7	38	28	8	22	8
Replying in writing to a newspaper advertisement about a job?	Men	17	8	6	24	23	20	17	31	10	9	16
	Women	32	13	29	39	50	17	56	43	10	32	16

¹ Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants who were of preschool age at arrival are excluded.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

16.6. Work is important for Norwegian language skills

We opened with a few observations about how important it is to speak Norwegian to gain access to Norwegian society. The responses the immigrants give us indicate that many have a difficult time making themselves understood in Norwegian in specified daily situations, with women in particular reporting poor Norwegian language skills. Among the groups who recently arrived in Norway, such as Iraqis and Somalis, it is natural that their Norwegian language skills are still relatively poor in general. More worrisome is the fact that many people in established immigrant groups have major problems with Norwegian; this is not only particularly true of women from Turkey and Pakistan, but also of men and women from Vietnam, who have a higher level of employment. The large differences between men and women are probably linked to large gender gaps in employment. Immigrants in working life have a better command of Norwegian than those outside the workforce. At the same time it is easier to get a job when one speaks good Norwegian; it becomes a reinforcing cycle. Unfortunately there is no opportunity here to take a closer look at the factors affecting Norwegian language skills, and how these skills affect integration in other areas, but this can and should be a subject for later studies.

17. Violence and threats

Kristin Henriksen

Immigrants are not exposed to more violence and threats than the population as a whole, and they are less likely to be the victims of theft and harm. However, there are major differences within the immigrant population, as is also the case in different segments of the general population. Immigrants with a background from Iran are an exception in that they are frequently the victims of violence and/or threats and have also experienced most theft or harm, while immigrants with a background from Vietnam and Sri Lanka are the least exposed groups.

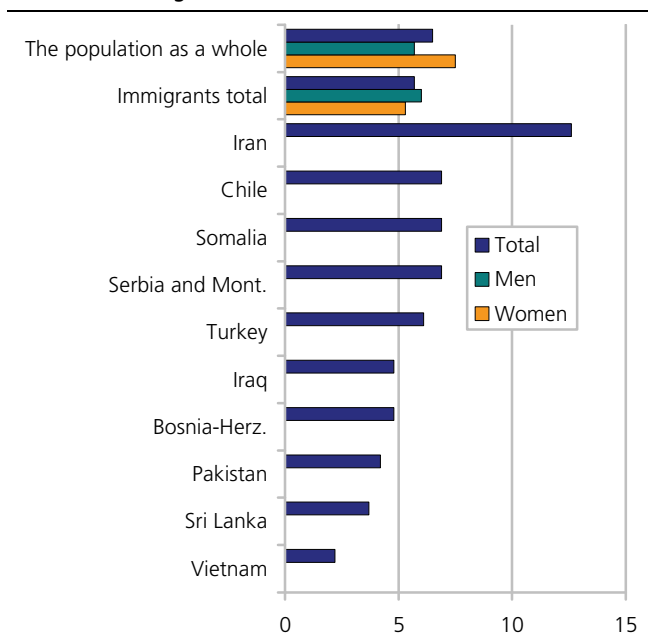
It is not easy to gauge the “true” scope of violence and threats. Questions about this are often experienced as sensitive, and it is especially difficult to ascertain figures about violence and threats in the home, among immigrants and the general population alike. It is conceivable that violence and insecurity are coloured by one’s origins. People from a violent society who have witnessed several episodes of violence a week may find Norway relatively peaceful and safe. By contrast, people who have lived in Norway for a long time may have a different standard for what they perceive as violent and threatening.

One in ten employees in the sample is a person born in Norway to immigrant parents, and only among those with a background from Pakistan do Norwegian-born persons represent a significant share (three out of ten). We will treat persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants as a single group here, and for the sake of simplicity we will usually refer to this group as “immigrants”. For example, we will also call “the immigrant population with a background from Vietnam” Vietnamese, even though it is not correct to call persons born in Norway Vietnamese.

17.1. Same level of exposure to violence and threats as the population as a whole...

Only a minority of the respondents state that they have been the victim of violence and/or serious threats during the last year. Roughly 6 per cent of the immigrants interviewed have been the victim of violence and the same number have been the victim of threats. Some people have experienced both, but we have not calculated this as a percentage. In the population as a whole, it is slightly less common to have been the victim of violence, but a similar proportion has experienced serious threats (see figures 17.1 and 17.2).²⁴

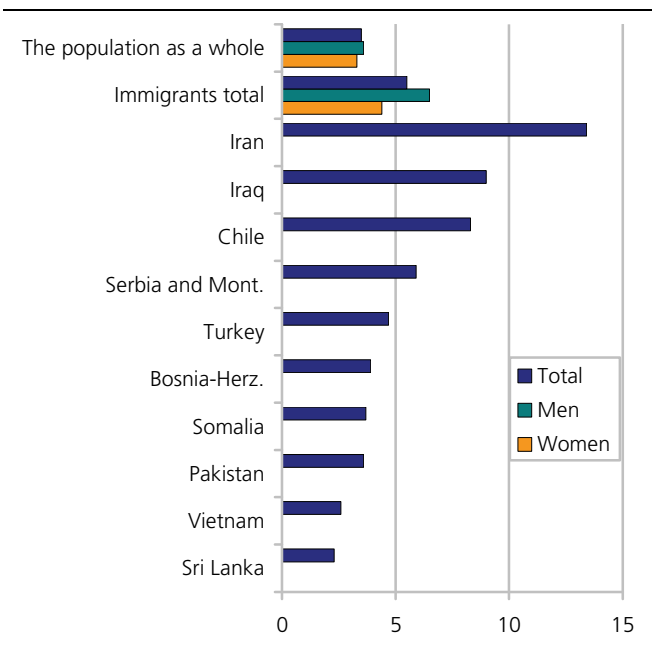
Figure 17.1. Proportion who have been the victim of serious threats in the last 12 months, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006, 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

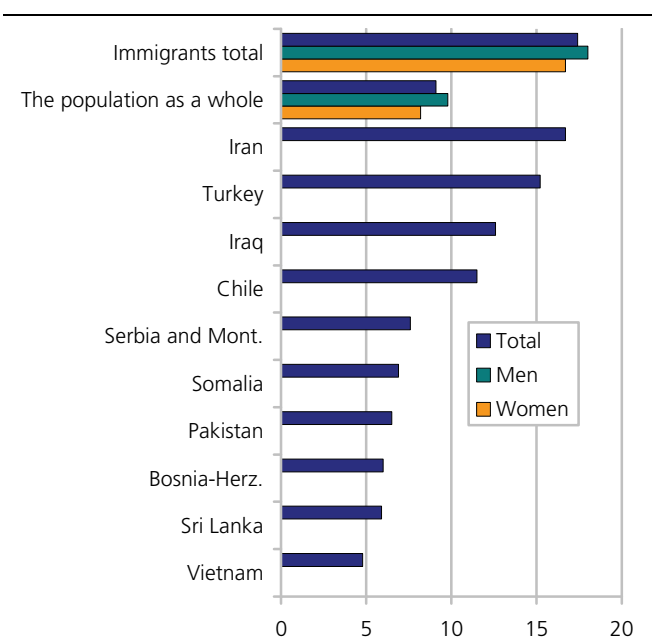
²⁴ As described in the box, the questions concerning violence were not identical. The question put to the population as a whole consisted of two parts: first they were asked if they had ever been the victim of violence that left visible marks; then they were asked if they had ever been the victim of violence that did not leave visible marks. It is not clear what kind of effect this may have had.

Figure 17.2. Proportion who have been the victim of violence in the last 12 months, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006, 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Figure 17.3. Proportion who have been the victim of theft or harm in the last 12 months, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

Iranians are the national group that most frequently report being victim of violence and/or serious threats, and this applies to men and women alike. The national groups that encountered least violence and threats were immigrants from Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Slightly more men than women in the immigrant population state that they have been the victim of violence (7 per cent compared with 4 per cent), while

the percentages who have been the victim of serious threats are roughly equal (6 per cent compared with 5 per cent). In the population as a whole, women were more often the victim of threats, while women and men experience the same (low) level of exposure to violence.

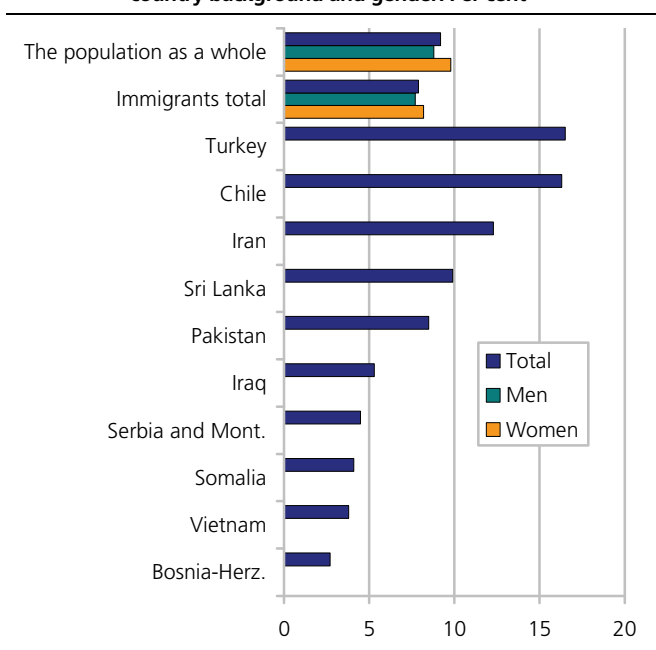
17.2. ..and fewer experience theft

On average, 9 per cent of the immigrant population answer that they have been the victim of theft or harm during the last 12 months, which is far below the level in the general population of 17 per cent (see figure 17.3). Immigrant men are marginally more exposed to crimes of this nature than immigrant women (10 per cent compared with 8 per cent). It is the same groups that experience most theft and harm that also experience most violence and threats. Here too, it is Iranians who are most affected: 17 per cent answered yes to this question, followed by Turks (15 per cent) and Iraqis (13 per cent). The national groups that encountered least theft and harm were immigrants from Sri Lanka, Vietnam and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Along with the immigrants from Pakistan, these are the groups that have experienced least violence and threats of violence. This question was not included in the 1996 survey among immigrants.

17.3. Worried despite the low exposure rate

The respondents were asked whether they have any problems with criminals, violence or vandalism in the area they live in. In 1996, violence was not specified in this question, and back then, 18 per cent of the respondents answered yes to this question, compared with 8 per cent in 2005/2006. There is a fairly even distribution between women and men in the immigrant population on this issue. Some of the decrease observed over the ten-year period may be due to the different wording of the question. On the one hand, it is conceivable that including the question about violence means the question covers a larger complex, which would be expected to raise the percentages who answer yes, all other things being the same. On the other hand, at least in theory, “problems with criminals” already covers “violence”, meaning that the impact of including violence in the question might be that the question is considered more “serious”, raising the threshold for answering yes. It is also possible that the decrease in the number of people who experience crime is due to an actual reduction in crime, violence or vandalism in the area where the respondents live. For example, there has been a marked drop in the number of people who report burglaries and thefts from homes and cars in recent years (in the population as a whole) (Stene 2007). All the national groups, apart from the Sri Lankans, report fewer problems in their local community. Problems are most commonly reported by immigrants with a background from Turkey, Chile and Iran, and least commonly reported by immigrants with a background from Bosnia, Vietnam and Somalia. This pattern is roughly the same as in 1996 (see figure 17.4).

Figure 17.4. Proportion who have problems with criminals, violence or vandalism in the area they live in, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and EU-SILC 2004.

Table 17.1. Proportion who feel very or slightly worried about being the victim of violence or threats when they go out alone in the place where they live, by country background and gender. Per cent

	Number of people (N)	Very worried	Slightly worried
The population as a whole	3015	1	9
Men	1549	0	4
Women	1466	2	16
Immigrants total	3049	2	10
Men	1679	2	8
Women	1370	2	12
Bosnia-Herzegovina	333	1	20
Serbia and Montenegro	288	3	10
Turkey	297	3	10
Iraq	357	5	8
Iran	269	2	13
Pakistan	276	1	9
Vietnam	313	1	3
Sri Lanka	353	2	10
Somalia	245	2	6
Chile	288	3	9

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

However, the change for the good is not reflected in the number of people who are *worried* about becoming the victim of violence or threats when they go out alone in the place where they live. On average only 2 per cent of the immigrants say that are very worried, and 10 per cent say they are slightly worried, which has remained unchanged since 1996 and is similar to the levels in the population as a whole (see table 17.1).

Worrying is not always equated to exposure. We find this in the ordinary surveys of living conditions too, where, for example, we see the greatest difference in risk of exposure and scope of fear of violence and threats among the oldest women. Nor is it necessarily the immigrant groups that are most exposed to crime that are the most worried. Immigrants with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina stand out in particular in that they are very worried about crime despite being among the groups that least frequently report being the victim of violence and threats (see table 17.1). By contrast, very few people with a background from Vietnam are worried about violence and threats in the neighbourhood. This seems founded, since hardly any of them have been the victim of crimes of this nature in the last 12 months.

In 1996, it was people from Iran and Somalia who were most worried. Ten years later, the Iranians are still among the groups that worry the most (second only to immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina), but the Somalis seem to feel more secure than in 1996. In 1996, 23 per cent of the Somalis stated that they were worried, compared with 8 per cent in 2005/2006.

There is a far smaller difference between men and women in the immigrant population than in the population as a whole (see table 17.1). In the general population, 18 per cent of women and 4 per cent of men say they are worried about violence or threats in their neighbourhood. By comparison, the difference between the sexes is only 4 per cent in the immigrant population (14 per cent against 10 per cent). The ordinary surveys of living conditions show that women are more exposed to violence in their immediate surroundings than men. This is probably part of the reason why women are generally more worried than men when they are in their local environment (Stene 2007).

17.4. Iranians experience most violence, Vietnamese experience least

The immigrant population experiences violence and threats on roughly the same level as the population as a whole, and on average they have as few worries when they go out alone in the area they live in. There is one area where there is a marked difference from the general population: theft and harm. Far fewer immigrants state that they have been the victim of this in the last 12 months than the average for the population. Here we do not differentiate between persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and immigrants born abroad, which it might be interesting to do in subsequent analyses. Could it be the case that persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, who generally do better academically and in working life than immigrants, are less exposed to violence, threats and insecurity?

It appears that fewer immigrants state that they have problems with criminals, violence and vandalism in the neighbourhood than ten years ago. We say “appears” because it may be that some of the difference is due to the different wording of the question. Fear is not always proportionate to risk. Iranians are most frequently the victim of violence and threats, theft and

harm, but people from Bosnia-Herzegovina are far more worried about crime when they are out and about in their neighbourhood. Least worried are the immigrants with a background from Vietnam and Sri Lanka, and according to the survey, they also have the fewest encounters with these kinds of negative experiences.

Comparisons using a weighted population...

In 2004, a cross section of the population was asked a number of questions about violence and threats in connection with the annual Survey of Living Conditions. This means it is possible to compare the results from this survey with the results for the immigrant population. As already mentioned, we have chosen to weight the results for the general population so that they have the same composition in terms of geographical location, gender and age as the immigrants (the ten nationalities together). This eliminates differences between the immigrants and the general population based on demographical differences. Careful readers may notice that the figures for the population as a whole that we quote here are not the same as those published immediately after the Survey of Living Conditions was published (<http://www.ssb.no/emner/03/05/vold/>). For example, 3.6 per cent of the unweighted population answered that they have been the victim of threats, but this becomes 6.5 per cent in the weighted population.

... who are asked more questions

The cross-section surveys contain far more questions, which go into more detail, about crime than the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants; for example, about when the event occurred, how often it has happened, whether the victim knew the perpetrator, any consequences of the event (reported to the police, injuries), etc. The fact that the person being interviewed is asked more questions and given more time to reflect on events may mean that more episodes are reported by more people than was the case in the survey among immigrants.

About the small changes in the questions since 1996

The wording of the questions in the surveys of living conditions among immigrants in 1996 and in 2005/2006 is slightly different. The changes in the way the questions are formulated will affect the respondents' answers to a certain extent, meaning they are not entirely comparable with the findings of the earlier survey.

LKI 2005/2006 contains the following questions:

1. In the next few questions, we'd like to look at how much you've encountered violence or theft. Over the last 12 months, have you been the victim of violence? Yes/No.
2. Over the last 12 months, have you been the victim of threats that were so serious that they caused you fear? Yes/No.
3. Have you been the victim of theft or harm over the last 12 months? Yes/No.
4. Do you have any problems with criminals, violence or vandalism in the area you live in? Yes/No.
5. Have you been worried lately about becoming the victim of violence or threats when you go out alone in the place where you live? Would you say you were very worried, slightly worried or not worried?

In LKI 1996, question no.1 consisted of two parts: First the respondents were asked if they had ever been the victim of violence that left visible marks, then they were asked if they had ever been the victim of violence that did not leave visible marks.

This question is identical in the two surveys.

The 1996 survey did not include question no. 3.

In 1996 question no. 4 asked about crime and vandalism in the neighbourhood, but not violence.

Question no. 5 has changed from being only about violence to also including threats.

The 2004 Survey of Living Conditions in the population as a whole contains the same questions as in LKI 1996, apart from the fact that question no. 3 was included, but not question no. 4, as this was included in EU-SILC 2004.

18. Participation in organisations and media use

Kristin Henriksen

Social participation through membership of organisations and use of media can function as a measure of integration and a *means* of integration. It goes without saying that social involvement also has an intrinsic value for all members of society, not only immigrants. However, the type organisations individuals are members of and how they use the media reflect and affect integration. An immigrant who is a member of an immigrants' association and who only uses media in his/her native tongue will probably be less integrated than an immigrant who is a member of a political party and reads Norwegian newspapers. In this chapter, we will see how immigrants tend to join fewer organisations than the general population, and that Somalis and Iranians are especially avid users of various media.

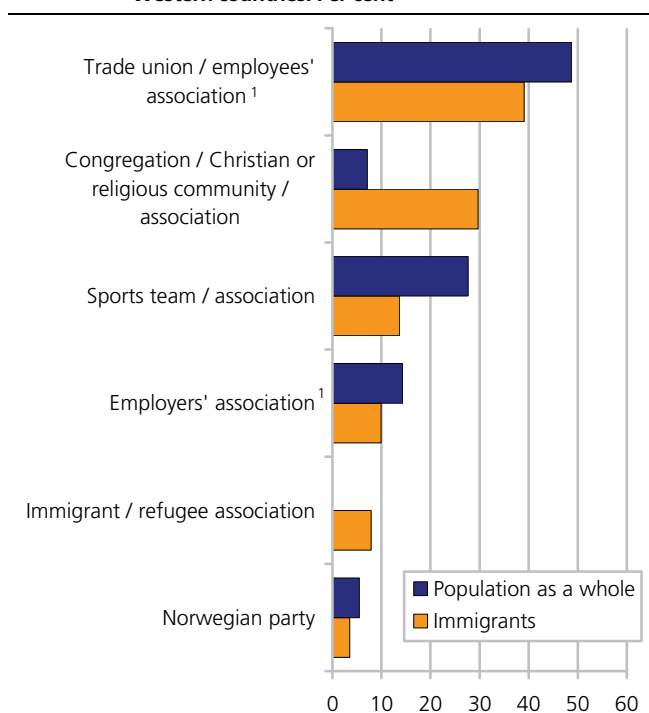
18.1. Three out of ten immigrants are members of religious associations

The ten immigrant groups in this survey are less frequently members of sports clubs, employer associations, trade unions and political parties than the population as a whole (see figure 18.1).²⁵ The percentage of people who are members of a union has been calculated on the basis of the immigrants in employment, and as we shall see, union membership is 10 percentage points lower in the immigrant population than in the population as a whole.²⁶ The percentage of employed immigrants who are members of a trade union has risen by 3 percentage points since 1996, while it has remained roughly unchanged in the population as a whole.

²⁵ The sources of the figures for the population as a whole are the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section, for participation in organisations and Norwegian Cultural Barometer 2004 for media use. As already mentioned, we have chosen to weight the results for the population so that they have the same composition in terms of geographical location, gender and age as the immigrants (the ten nationalities together). This eliminates differences between the immigrants and the general population based on demographical differences.

²⁶ Here we treat immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents as a single group, which we call the immigrant population. For the sake of simplicity, we sometimes write "immigrants" instead of "members of the immigrant population", or "Vietnamese" instead of "immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents with a background from Vietnam", even though it is not correct to call people born in Norway Vietnamese. "People with an immigrant background" is another synonym for "the immigrant population".

Figure 18.1. Proportion who are members of different organisations or associations. The population as a whole and the immigrant population from ten non-Western countries. Per cent



¹ The percentage of the respondents who were organised in a trade union / employees' association or employers' associations was calculated on the basis of the immigrants in employment.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

It is four times as probable that a person with an immigrant background is a member of a religious community or association than the average for Norway, and this is the area where we find the largest differences between immigrants and the population as a whole. 30 per cent of immigrants are members of a religious association of some kind, compared with 7 per cent of the population as a whole. In 1996, the figure for mean membership of a religious association among immigrants was roughly the same. Membership of a religious association is well above average in all the national groups, with the exception of the immigrants with a background from Iraq and Iran. We find the highest percentage among the people with a

Membership of Muslim communities

Statistics Norway does not have statistics from registers on the number of Muslims living in Norway or the number of Muslims who are part of a religious community or association. However, Statistics Norway does have figures on how many people in Norway are members of Islamic communities that receive a *government grant*, and we also know how many immigrants come from countries with a Muslim majority (i.e. where more than 80 per cent of the population is Muslim, see Opsal (1994)). Many of these people are not themselves Muslims (which may be part of the reason they fled to Norway in the first place). In 2006, roughly half of the immigrant population with a background from a Muslim country was registered as a member of an Islamic community that receives a government grant. Bearing in mind the fact that many religious communities do not receive a government grant and do not therefore require members to register, it is likely that a far higher proportion of the immigrants are members of a religious community (regardless of whether it receives a government grant or not), and certainly higher than the proportion suggested by the findings of LKI. This is also supported by the qualitative preliminary study to the Survey of Living Conditions. The people who performed the preliminary study found that many of the immigrants they interviewed were members of a religious organisation, but forgot to mention it. The interviewers had to specify that participation in a religious community was covered by this question (Daugstad and Lie 2004).

membership of religious communities or associations, it seems likely that many Muslims do not state that they are members of the Islamic Community either (see the box for a more detailed explanation).

Membership of a sports team or association is only half as common among the interviewed immigrants as among the population as a whole (14 per cent against 28 per cent). Very few immigrants are members of political parties, and this is also fairly uncommon in the population as a whole. It is interesting to note that this is most common among immigrants with a background from Somalia, where 7 per cent are politically active. It is least common among immigrants with a background from Vietnam, where only 0.3 per cent are members of a Norwegian political party. It comes as no surprise that the Vietnamese do not join political parties, since this group is among the groups of non-Western immigrants with the lowest turn-out at recent elections. Voter participation among Somalis with a right to vote in Norway in 2005 was higher than among the Vietnamese, but still lower than in many other national groups (Aalandslid 2007). We also find this same difference in political participation if we look at the lists of candidates for the local elections in 2007. On a national basis, there were 48 Somalis on parties' lists, compared with just 11 Vietnamese. Iranians were the most politically active, with 100 candidates up for election, followed by immigrants with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina (77) and people with a background from Pakistan in third place (59). For more information about electoral list nominees, see <http://www.ssb.no/emner/00/01/20/kfvalgkand/>

background from Pakistan (54 per cent), Somalia (46 per cent) and Vietnam (40 per cent) (see table 18.1). The majority of people born in Norway to immigrant parents do not mention membership of the Church of Norway. With such low figures for self-reported

As shown in figure 18.2, immigrant men are slightly more active in organisations and associations than women, but the difference is small.

Table 18.1. Membership of organisations among different groups of immigrants, ranked. Per cent

	Number of people (N)	Member of a trade union / employees' organisation*	Member of a Norwegian political party	Member of a congregation / religious community	Member of a sports team / association	Member of an immigrant / refugee association
The population as a whole	3 015	49	6	7	28	-
Immigrants total	3 049	39	4	30	14	8
Bosnia-Herzegovina	333	42	3	17	17	16
Serbia and Montenegro	288	35	2	14	12	4
Turkey	297	45	6	39	13	6
Iraq	357	25	3	7	8	4
Iran	269	44	5	8	18	5
Pakistan	306	30	3	54	11	2
Vietnam	313	38	0	40	11	12
Sri Lanka	353	51	5	29	24	11
Somalia	245	47	7	46	13	18
Chile	288	44	4	17	22	3

*) The percentages were calculated on the basis of persons in employment (population as a whole: N=2261, immigrants: N=1780).

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Survey of Living Conditions, cross section.

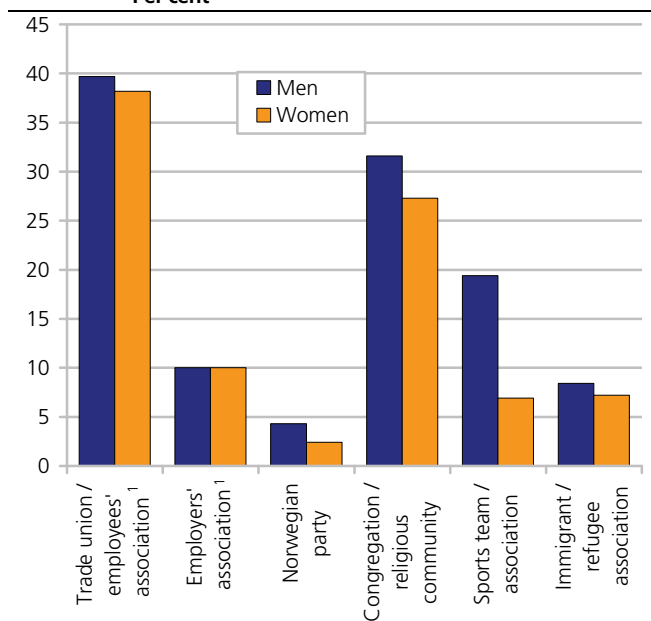
Voting at local and national elections

The respondents were asked whether they had voted at the local elections in 2003 and the parliamentary elections in 2005. The cross-off lists from the electoral roles have also been analysed from these elections. This means that lists of the people selected to be in this survey were sent to the municipal authorities, which checked the electoral roll to see if the individuals in question had voted. These studies provide more reliable figures than LKI on voting for the various groups, since the figures are not affected by non-response, the sample is bigger, and problems such as the respondents not remembering whether or what they voted are avoided. According to the election studies, 49 per cent of the non-Western immigrants entitled to vote in Norway voted at the general election in 2005 and 36 per cent voted at the municipal council election in 2003. Participation was much higher among the population as a whole, at 74 and 59 per cent respectively at the two elections. For more information on the various national groups' participation in the municipal council election, see <http://www.ssb.no/emner/00/01/20/vundk/>, and for more information on the various national groups' participation in the general election, see Aalandslid 2006.

The voting figures in LKI are higher than the figures from the election studies. 49 per cent of the respondents who were entitled to vote said that they had voted at the municipal council election in 2003, which is a much larger proportion than the figure for all the non-Western immigrants in the election study (36 per cent). 53 per cent of the respondents in LKI entitled to vote said that they had voted at the general election, and this is slightly higher than among the non-Western immigrants in the election survey in 2005 (49 per cent).

There is great variation among the various immigrant groups regarding membership of immigrant and refugee associations (see table 18.1). The average score is 8 per cent, representing a 10 percentage point decrease since 1996. Somalis and Bosnians have the highest proportion of members in this type of organisation, at 18 and 16 per cent respectively. We find the lowest proportion of membership among immigrants with a background from Pakistan (2 per cent) and Chile (3 per cent). The ordinary Survey of Living Conditions does not include this question, naturally enough. It does not appear that refugees are more active in these kinds of organisations than other immigrants. Nor does length of residence appear to play a notable role – even though we might expect immigrants who have been in Norway longer to need these kinds of organisations less than recently arrived immigrants. It is also interesting to note that 16 per cent of the sample with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina are members of immigrant or refugee associations, compared with only 4 per cent of the immigrants from Serbia and Montenegro.

Figure 18.2. Membership of different organisations or associations among women and men in the immigrant population. Per cent



¹ The percentage of the respondents who were organised in a trade union/ employees' association or employers' associations was calculated on the basis of the immigrants in employment. Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

18.2. Somalis are avid users of media

As shown in figure 18.3, immigrants do not use media use in exactly the same way as the population as a whole. They use libraries slightly more, but read slightly fewer books. Immigrants read fewer newspapers (printed and online). The proportion who have a PC with Internet access is also slightly lower among immigrants (see Chapter 12). Far more immigrants have a private satellite antenna. This is not surprising, as it allows them to receive television programmes from their country of origin.

The fact that immigrants visit the library frequently is probably partly due to the fact that libraries often have newspapers and literature in the immigrants' native language. Library services are free in Norway, including Internet access, the significance of which should not be underestimated. Previous studies also confirm the popularity of libraries among immigrants (Blom 1998, Støren 1987).

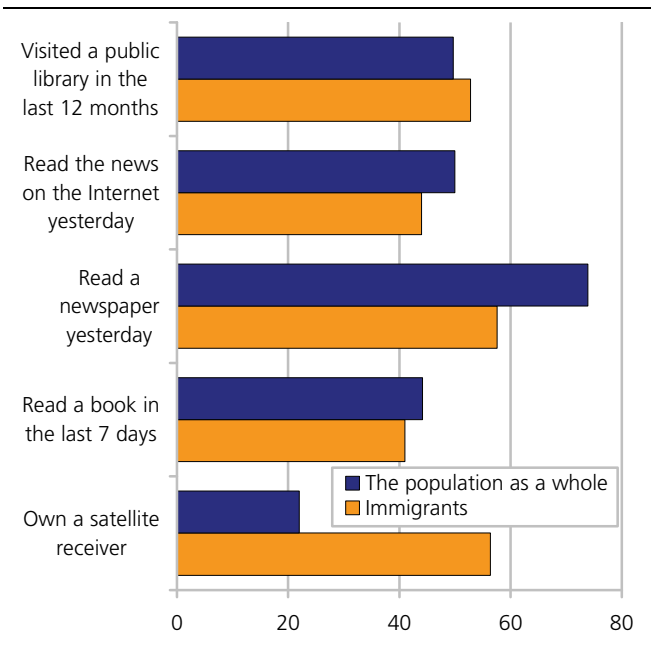
On average roughly half of the immigrants had visited a library in the last 12 months, with an average of ten visits each. Somalis stand out as especially keen library users (see table 18.2). More than seven out of ten have used the library in the last 12 months, and the average number of visits per year was 23 (and this includes the people who had not used the library). Among the other groups we find variation in use of libraries in the last 12 months from 45 per cent (Vietnam) to 56 per cent (Iran). Men from Somalia use libraries far more than women from Somalia, with almost twice as many visits (28 compared with 17 visits on average in the last 12 months). We do not observe such obvious gender differences in the other national groups.

Table 18.2. Media use among different groups of immigrants. Per cent

	Number of people (N)	Percentage who have read a book in the last 7 days	Percentage who read a newspaper yesterday (not Internet)	Percentage who read the news on the Internet yesterday	Percentage who have visited the library at least once in the last 12 months.
The population as a whole	1492	44	74	50	50
Immigrants total	3049	41	58	44	53
Bosnia-Herzegovina	333	36	75	46	54
Serbia and Montenegro	288	30	64	35	51
Turkey	297	35	57	35	46
Iraq	357	37	42	34	55
Iran	269	51	61	47	56
Pakistan	306	42	54	44	50
Vietnam	313	33	57	46	45
Sri Lanka	353	54	51	56	50
Somalia	245	48	57	51	71
Chile	288	44	63	44	52

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Culture and Media Use Survey and the 2006 Media Use Survey.

Figure 18.3. Media use among the immigrant population from ten non-Western countries and among the population as a whole. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 and the 2004 Culture and Media Use Survey and the 2006 Media Use Survey.

The Somalis were also among the most avid book readers – 48 per cent had read a book in the last week. Only Iranians (51 per cent) and Sri Lankans (54 per cent) read more. In terms of reading printed newspapers, the Somalis came out around the average mark, but they were only beaten by the Sri Lankans when it comes to reading newspapers on the Internet (51 per cent compared with 56 per cent). As table 18.2 shows, the Iranians also stand out with relatively high media consumption, in terms of reading books, reading newspapers and using libraries. The most avid newspaper readers are the immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Three out of four had read a newspaper the day before they were interviewed.

18.3. Norwegian media dominate

The respondents were asked about what language the book, newspaper or web pages they had read were in. Among the nearly half who had read a book, 42 per cent had read in only Norwegian, 44 per cent had read only in another a language and 14 per cent had read material in both Norwegian and another language. This means that 23 per cent had read a Norwegian book in the last week. The national group with the highest percentage who had read a book in Norwegian was the Somalis (37 per cent), while the groups with the lowest were the Turks and Iraqis (18 per cent).

The immigrants who had read newspapers had largely read Norwegian newspapers. 84 per cent of the respondents who had read newspapers had read only Norwegian newspapers, 5 per cent had read only foreign newspapers and 11 per cent stated that they had read newspapers in Norwegian and another language. Almost all of the people who had read newspapers had thus read a Norwegian newspaper the previous day. Almost nine out of ten of the immigrants with a background from Iraq, Serbia and Montenegro, Iran, Chile and Vietnam had only read Norwegian papers. We find the smallest share of people who had only read Norwegian papers among the newspapers readers from Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina (67 and 69 per cent respectively), but these groups also had the largest percentage of people who had read a newspaper in a language other than Norwegian (19 and 23 per cent respectively). Bosnia-Herzegovina and Turkey are fairly close to Norway geographically, and it is easier for immigrants to get hold of newspapers from these countries in shops.

Norwegian websites also dominate among the people who read the news on the Internet, but to a far lesser extent than for printed newspapers. This makes sense, since many people use the Internet to read newspapers you cannot get in Norway. 45 per cent of the people who had read the news on the Internet the previous

day had visited a Norwegian website, 15 per cent had visited a foreign website, and 39 per cent had visited Norwegian and foreign websites. It is more common to use Norwegian and foreign websites than just foreign websites. Only looking at foreign websites does not dominate over the other two alternatives in any of the national groups, but reading the news in both Norwegian and a foreign language is most widespread among immigrants with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Somalia, Turkey, Iran and Sri Lanka. By contrast, Norwegian websites are clearly preferred by people with a background from Pakistan (78 per cent) and Vietnam (56 per cent).

It may be the case that Norwegian media are used most by the groups who have the weakest ties to their country of origin, but the language that individuals access media in is probably also very closely linked to how long they have been in Norway and their language skills. Of course it is easier to use Norwegian media if you have a good command of Norwegian. Availability of online newspapers, books and newspapers from the individual's country of origin will of course also play a role.

18.4. Involved, but not necessarily integrated?

Participation in organisations and "civil society" is a form of integration that has not been studied to any great extent in Norway. Not because of lack of interest, but rather because of lack of good data. We do not have data from public registers on this type of activity, so we have to depend on sample surveys, such as this Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants (LKI). LKI shows that the immigrant population is less active than the population as a whole in terms of membership of organisations such as sports associations and trade unions, and the election surveys show that immigrants do not vote as much as the rest of the population. The notable exception being, not unexpectedly, membership of congregations and religious organisations. As the chapter on religion clearly shows, immigrants are far more religious and religiously active than the rest of the population.

It is not necessarily the case that membership of organisations means integration; for example immigrants may participate in forums where there are only other immigrants. However, involvement in immigrants' organisations may provide security and a network that makes it easier for the individual to participate in other areas of society.

Immigrants consume media in a slightly different way to the average for the population. Immigrants read slightly fewer newspapers, books and online news websites. However, they visit libraries more often. Somalis are among the most avid consumers of media. They top the list in terms of reading books, and Somalis frequently make use of libraries.

It is beyond the scope of this study to look at differences between immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. Is it the case that persons born in Norway to immigrant parents are less active in religious communities and congregations than immigrants? Are they less active in immigrants' organisations and more active in sports associations? It might be interesting to look at these kinds of questions in subsequent analyses.

19. Citizenship

Silje Vatne Pettersen

The sample selected for the Survey Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 consists of people born abroad or in Norway to two foreign-born parents, *regardless of their current citizenship* (Gulløy 2008). The definition of immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents is thus not affected by the individual's or their parents' citizenship. In this chapter, we aim to cast light on the process of switching to Norwegian citizenship, and the motives for applying for or not applying for Norwegian citizenship. As we shall see, many immigrants have Norwegian citizenship, but many also state that they are citizens of several countries.

The statutory provisions that regulate Norwegian citizenship are laid down in the Norwegian Nationality Act (1950, 2005)²⁷. According to this, Norwegian citizenship can be obtained at birth, on adoption, by notification or on application. Being born on Norwegian territory does not automatically entitle a person to Norwegian citizenship. In order to be born Norwegian, at least one of the parents must have Norwegian citizenship.

People who do not have Norwegian parents can usually apply for Norwegian citizenship as long as the applicant has lived in Norway for the last seven years, does not owe substantial maintenance payments, does not have a criminal record and is over the age of 18. The requirement concerning length of residence in Norway is reduced for former Norwegian citizens, people who are married, a registered civil partner or cohabiting with a Norwegian citizen, citizens of other Nordic countries, children under the age of 18 and stateless persons (Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) 2007b).

²⁷ A new Act on Norwegian Nationality was introduced on 1 September 2006 (LOV-2005-06-10-51). Since the people interviewed in connection with the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 have only dealt with the old Act, we are using the old Act in this chapter. The new Act continues most of the principles of the old Act, but differs in a number of areas. For an overview of the main differences, see the fact sheet "Amendments to the Norwegian Nationality Act" published by the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) 2007a.

People who have obtained Norwegian citizenship by application are often referred to as naturalised citizens.

Individuals applying for Norwegian citizenship must also give up their old nationality. This is because the Act is based on the principle of a single nationality (Proposition to the Odelsting no. 41 (2004-2005)). This requirement is only dropped in cases where it is impossible, unreasonably difficult or expensive for people to be released from their previous citizenship. Dual nationality is also permitted in cases where parents have different nationalities that are automatically transferred to the child at birth²⁸.

Norwegian citizenship confers an unconditional right to live and work in Norway and is essential for participating in and being able to influence key democratic decision-making processes in society. The right to vote at general elections and the right to be elected as a member of parliament are only available to Norwegian citizens (Proposition to the Odelsting no. 41 (2004-2005)). Some government positions and offices in the court, police and prison services and the foreign service are also only open to Norwegian citizens. Citizenship also allows people to apply for a Norwegian passport and provides protection by the Norwegian authorities abroad. However, Norwegian citizenship also entails a number of duties, such as doing military service in Norway.

In general, we do not know much about immigrants' motives for switching to Norwegian citizenship (Official Norwegian Report NOU 2000:32). The survey Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 is therefore an important source of new knowledge in this area. Obviously the security that Norwegian citizenship provides through permanent protection and a guarantee against deportation are of huge importance to immigrants who have fled to Norway because of difficult circumstances in their country of origin. It is also natural that immigrants who have lived in Norway for some time

²⁸ The principle of single nationality is laid down in the old and the new Nationality Acts. See also the fact sheet on dual nationality published by Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) 2007c.

and developed social and cultural ties to Norway, perhaps especially young people, wish to participate in Norwegian society on an equal footing with Norwegian citizens. However, changing nationality can also be a difficult and emotional choice, since in most cases it involves being released from one's original nationality. Individuals with strong ties to their country of origin who are considering repatriation will probably be less interested in applying for Norwegian citizenship.

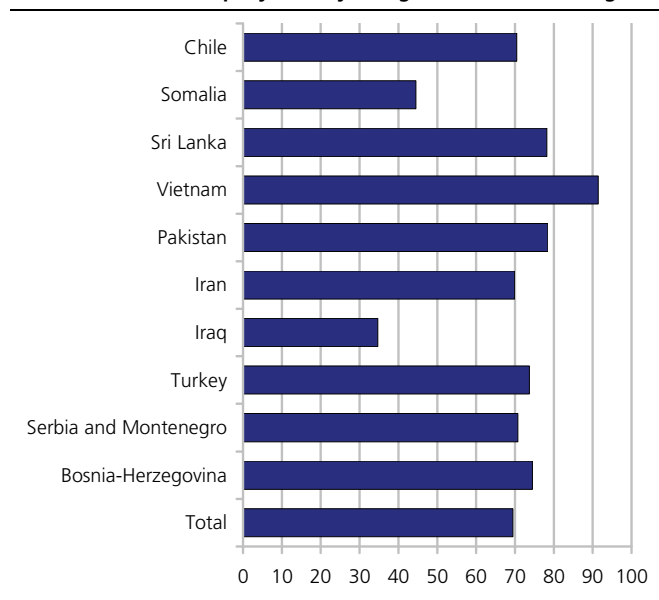
19.1. Seven out of ten immigrants are Norwegian citizens

Among the ten immigrant groups represented in the survey Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006, on average 69 per cent of a total of 3,047 people have Norwegian citizenship (see figure 19.1 and table 19.1). We find the highest share among people with a background from Vietnam, where 91 per cent have Norwegian citizenship. The share is generally around 70 per cent for most of the groups, with the exception of people with a background from Iraq (35 per cent) and Somalia (45 per cent) where the share is below average.

As mentioned above, changing to Norwegian citizenship is dependent on length of residence in Norway, among other things. The general rule for people whose parents do not have Norwegian citizenship is that individuals over the age of 18 can apply for Norwegian citizenship after they have lived in Norway for seven

years. The lower percentage of immigrants with a background from Somalia and Iraq who have Norwegian citizenship is probably partly due to the fact that these groups have been in Norway for a relatively short time and many people do not yet satisfy the requirement for seven years' residence in Norway.

Figure 19.1. Percentage of immigrants who have Norwegian citizenship, by country background. Per cent. Weighted



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 19.1. Distribution of Norwegian citizens by means of acquisition and possession of dual nationality, and non-Norwegian nationals interested in obtaining Norwegian citizenship. Number and per cent

	Number of people (unweighted)	Number of people (weighted) ¹	Per cent (weighted)	Per cent of total (weighted)
Norwegian citizens	2 097	2 116	100	69
Of which:				
Born Norwegian	186	238	11	8
Naturalised	1 814	1 798	85	59
Not stated	97	80	4	3
Of which:				
Have dual nationality ²	653	641	30	21
Do not have dual nationality	1 444	1 475	70	48
Non-Norwegian citizens	935	913	100	30
Of which:				
Have applied for Norwegian citizenship	226	222	24	7
Want to apply for Norwegian citizenship	559	539	59	18
Would want to apply for Norwegian citizenship if dual nationality was allowed	48	38	4	1
Do not want to apply for Norwegian citizenship	26	24	3	1
Not stated	55	53	6	2
Excluded questionnaires ³	21	37	4	1
Not stated	17	18	100	1
Total	3 049	3 047	100	100

¹ Here and in all the other tables from the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006, we have weighted the results in the "total" column so that they are more affected by the values in the major national groups (for example, Pakistanis) than by the values in the small national groups in the population (for example Chileans). See also Chapter 2.

² Because of a translation error in the questionnaire, we do not have information for 154/124 naturalised citizens, i.e. 28/50 questionnaires in Urdu and 126/74 questionnaires in Spanish (unweighted/weighted).

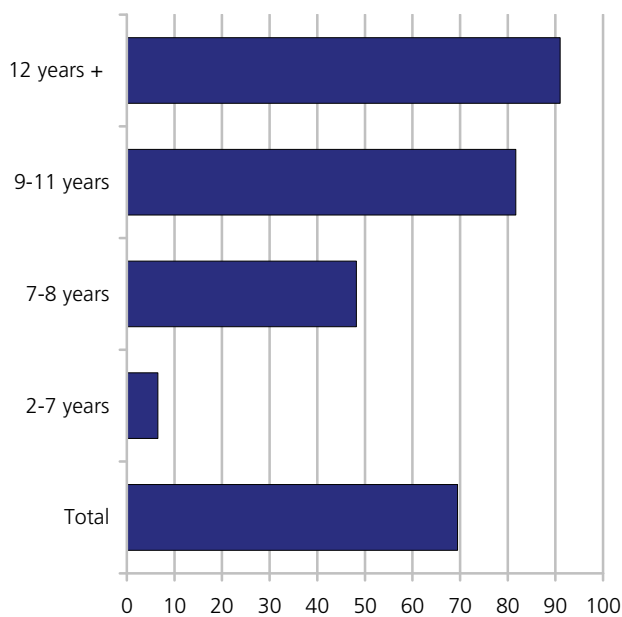
³ Omitted due to a translation error in the Urdu version of the questionnaire.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 19.2 shows the percentage of immigrants with Norwegian citizenship grouped by the number of years they have lived in Norway. Roughly 40 per cent of the people who have lived in Norway for 7-8 years have Norwegian citizenship. The percentage then increases in line with the number of years they have lived in Norway. 80 per cent of the immigrants who have lived in Norway for 9-11 years and 90 per cent of immigrants who have lived here even longer have Norwegian citizenship. Among these there will also be some people who were born in Norway and thus may have obtained Norwegian citizenship through their naturalised parents. 97 per cent of the people in the sample born in Norway (persons born in Norway to immigrant parents) have Norwegian citizenship, compared with 67 per cent of the immigrants born abroad (not shown).

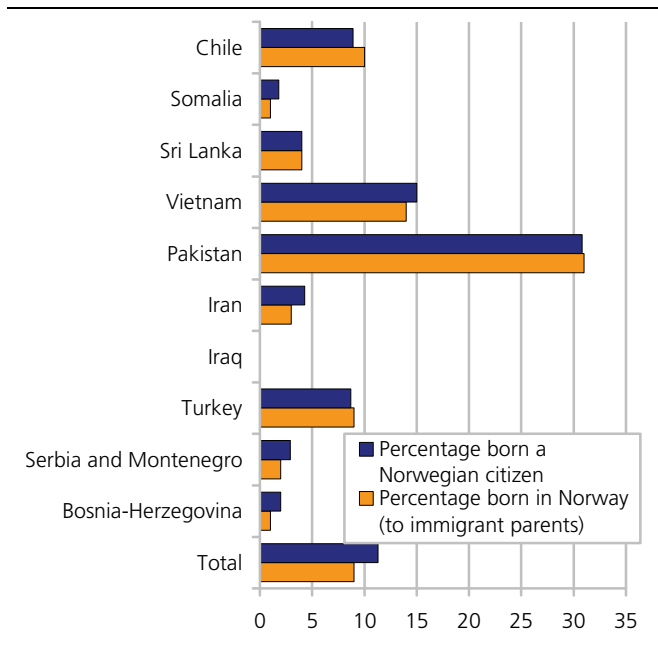
Compared with the statistics based on data from public registers on citizenship on 1 January 2006, the percentage of immigrants with Norwegian citizenship is consistently slightly higher in the interview material than in the statistics from the registers. This may indicate that we have managed to interview individuals who are slightly better integrated into Norwegian society than the average for the group. This is primarily the case for people from the former Yugoslavia, i.e. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro. The deviances may also be due to the fact that the sample population includes people within a defined age range who have lived in Norway for at least two years, whereas the statistics based on data from public registers includes all immigrants.

Figure 19.2. Percentage of immigrants who have Norwegian citizenship, by length of residence in Norway. Per cent. Weighted



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 19.3. Percentage born in Norway and the percentage of Norwegian citizens who obtained Norwegian citizenship at birth, by country background. Per cent. Weighted



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

19.2. Few immigrants are born with Norwegian citizenship

The Norwegian citizens were asked whether they were born with Norwegian citizenship, i.e. that they were born in Norway to immigrant parents and obtained Norwegian citizenship at birth because at least one of their parents was already naturalised. Let us reiterate here that the sample selected for the survey Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006 does not include people under the age of 16 (Gulløy 2008 and Chapter 2 of this report). Of the people aged 16 or older who have Norwegian citizenship (2,116 people), on average only 11 per cent received Norwegian citizenship at birth (see figure 19.3 and table 19.1). The most common method of obtaining Norwegian citizenship is through naturalisation, i.e. by application (85 per cent, table 19.1). The percentage who obtained Norwegian citizenship at birth is largest among people with a background from Pakistan (31 per cent) and Vietnam (15 per cent), i.e. the immigrant groups that have been in Norway a long time²⁹ and thus have a high share of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents. 9 per cent of the people with a background from Chile and Turkey were born with Norwegian citizenship, while the share for the remaining groups is small (under 5 per cent). None of the immigrants with a background from Iraq in our sample received Norwegian citizenship at birth. An important reason for the low share is that persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in the national groups that have

²⁹ Average length of residence by national group: Bosnia-Herzegovina (12 years), Serbia and Montenegro (12 years), Turkey (16 years), Iraq (7 years), Iran (13 years), Pakistan (20 years), Vietnam (18 years), Sri Lanka (15 years), Somalia (8 years), Chile (18 years).

lived in Norway a relatively short time are not yet old enough to be included in the sample of the Survey of Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006.

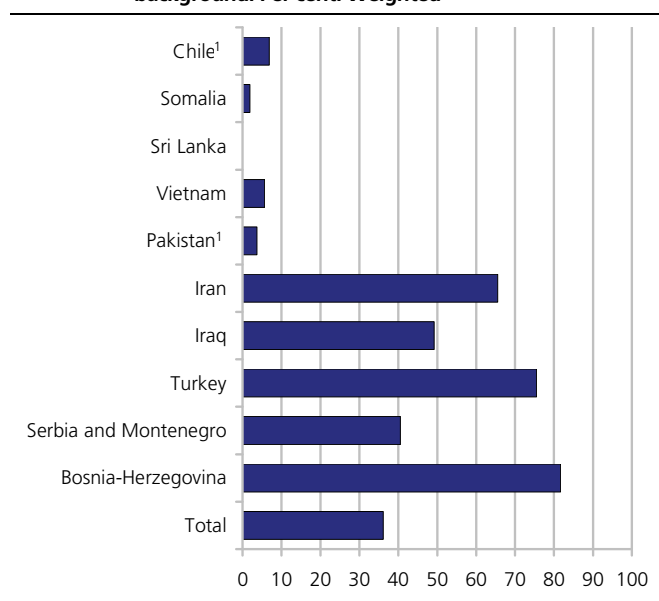
19.3. Dual nationality is relatively common

Despite the fact that Norway adheres to the principle of single nationality, relatively many immigrants state that they have another citizenship in addition to Norwegian. Here we present the figures for dual nationality among naturalised citizens and people born with Norwegian citizenship separately.

On average 36 per cent of the people who were not born Norwegian citizens, but who have since obtained Norwegian citizenship through naturalisation (1,675 people) state that they have another citizenship in addition to Norwegian (see figure 19.4). There is large variation between the national groups. We find the highest shares of naturalised citizens with dual nationality among the immigrants with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina (82 per cent), Turkey (76 per cent) and Iran (66 per cent). Among people from Iraq and Serbia and Montenegro, 49 and 41 per cent respectively have dual nationality. These high proportions are largely due to the fact that the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) has granted exemption from the requirement of release from previous citizenship to citizens of these countries³⁰. The shares for the other national groups are all under 10 per cent, and there are no naturalised immigrants from Sri Lanka who claim to have dual nationality. Because of an error in the translation of the question about dual nationality, responses given in Urdu and Spanish have been omitted from this part of the analysis (Gulløy 2008). For the respondents from these two national groups, we only show the distribution for the people who answered the questionnaire in Norwegian³¹.

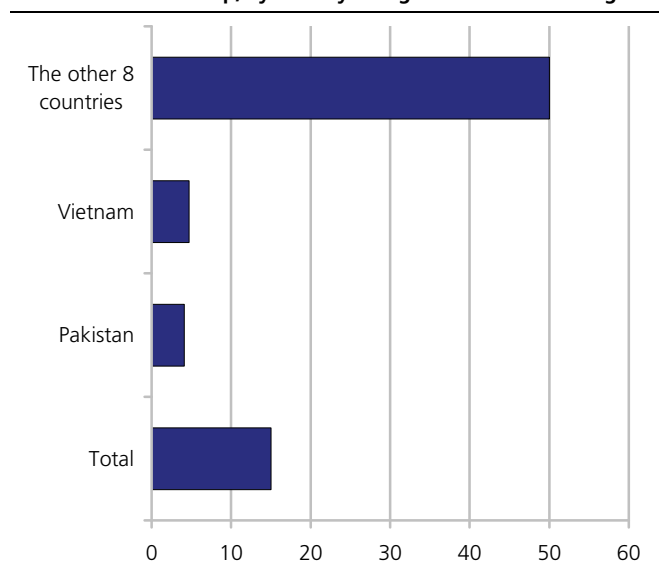
As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, dual nationality is allowed in Norway if both parents have different nationalities that are automatically transferred to the child at birth. Among the relatively few people born with Norwegian citizenship (238 people), 15 per cent also hold another citizenship in addition to Norwegian. Figure 19.5 shows the shares for immigrants with a background from Pakistan and Vietnam. Because the underlying data for each of the other eight countries are too small to be published separately, we have combined the figures for the remaining eight countries. Only 4 and 5 per cent respectively of the immigrants with a background from Pakistan or Vietnam who were born with Norwegian citizenship also hold another citizenship (presumably Pakistani or Vietnamese). Among the remaining eight countries taken together, it is a lot more common to have dual nationality.

Figure 19.4. Proportion who have another citizenship in addition to Norwegian among naturalised immigrants, by country background. Per cent. Weighted



¹Because of an error in the translation of the questionnaire into Urdu and Spanish, the responses given in these languages have been omitted.
Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 19.5. Proportion who have another citizenship in addition to Norwegian among immigrants born with Norwegian citizenship, by country background. Per cent. Weighted



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Dual nationality is thus far more common among naturalised immigrants than among people who obtained Norwegian citizenship at birth. If we calculate an overall figure for the prevalence of dual nationality among the immigrants who have Norwegian citizenship (granted at birth or naturalised), we find a total mean share of 30 per cent (see table 19.1). Since the naturalised immigrants constitute a large proportion of the respondents with dual nationality, the total shares for the individual countries are very

³⁰ After implementation of the new Norwegian Nationality Act on 1 September 2006, exemption from this requirement is now only still granted for Iran (from among these countries).

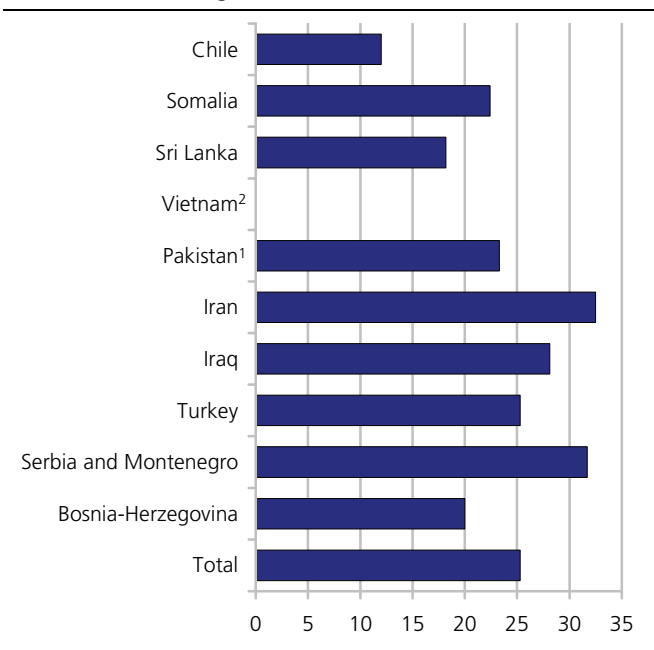
³¹ 76 and 27 per cent respectively of the respondents from Pakistan and Chile took the survey in Norwegian (Gulløy 2008).

similar to those presented in figure 19.5: Bosnia-Herzegovina 81 per cent, Turkey 77 per cent, Iran 67 per cent, Iraq 49 per cent, Serbia and Montenegro 40 per cent, Vietnam 6 per cent, Somalia 2 per cent and Sri Lanka less than 1 per cent. Because of the translation error mentioned above, the responses given in Urdu and Spanish have not been included. 4 and 8 per cent respectively of the immigrants with a background from Pakistan and Chile who answered the questionnaire in Norwegian have dual nationality.

19.4. One in four have applied for Norwegian citizenship

The immigrants who do not hold Norwegian citizenship were asked whether they have applied for Norwegian citizenship (876 individuals). The purpose of this question was to find out how many immigrants have applied for Norwegian citizenship and had their application denied and how many were in the process of obtaining Norwegian citizenship at the time of the interview. All in all, a quarter of the respondents said that they have applied for Norwegian citizenship (see figure 19.6 and table 19.1). We find the highest shares of people who have applied for Norwegian citizenship among the immigrants with a background from Iran and Serbia and Montenegro, at 33 and 32 per cent respectively, and the lowest share among the Chileans (12 per cent). Because of an error in the questionnaire in Urdu, the figures here are only for the Pakistanis who completed the questionnaire in Norwegian.

Figure 19.6. Percentage of immigrants who have applied for Norwegian citizenship, by country background. Per cent. Weighted

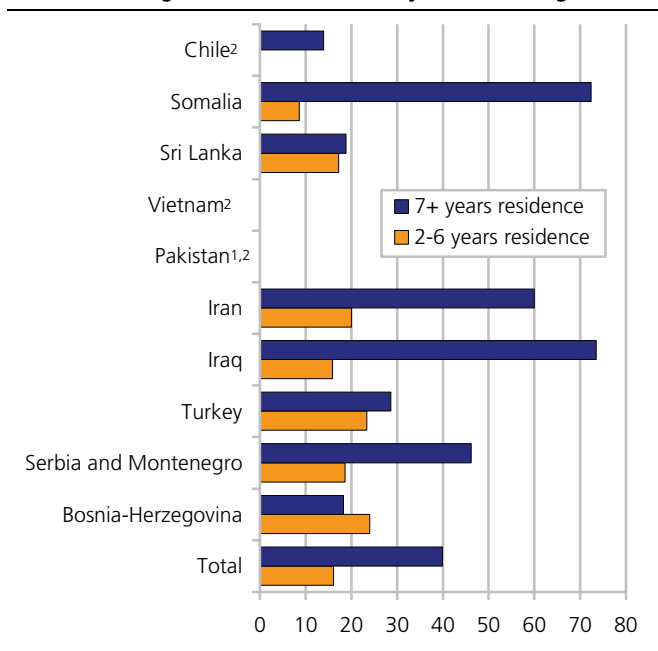


¹Because of an error in the translation of the questionnaire into Urdu, the responses given in Urdu have been omitted.

²The distribution for immigrants with a background from Vietnam cannot be published because the sample is too small (<25).

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 19.7. Percentage of immigrants who have applied for Norwegian citizenship, by country background and length of residence in Norway. Per cent. Weighted



¹Because of an error in the translation of the questionnaire into Urdu, the responses given in Urdu have been omitted.

²The distribution for immigrants with a background from Chile, Vietnam and Pakistan who have lived in Norway for 2-6 years and immigrants with a background from Pakistan and Vietnam who have lived in Norway for 7 years or longer cannot be published because the samples are too small (<25).

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

On average 40 per cent of the people who satisfy the main requirement of having lived in Norway for at least seven years have applied for, but not (yet) been granted Norwegian citizenship (see figure 19.7). There is a lot of variation among the national groups in terms of the percentage who have lived in Norway for at least 7 years who have applied for Norwegian citizenship. The share is highest among immigrants with a background from Iraq (74 per cent) and Somalia (72 per cent), i.e. the two national groups with the lowest shares of Norwegian citizens and shortest mean length of residence in Norway. It appears that many people from these countries start the application process as soon as they satisfy the requirements for naturalisation. On average 16 per cent of the people who have lived in Norway a shorter time have applied for Norwegian citizenship. These are primarily people who are married to, or are the registered partner or cohabitant of a Norwegian national and thus have a shorter required period of residence in Norway. Here there is relatively little variation among the national groups.

19.5. Practical reasons for applying for Norwegian citizenship

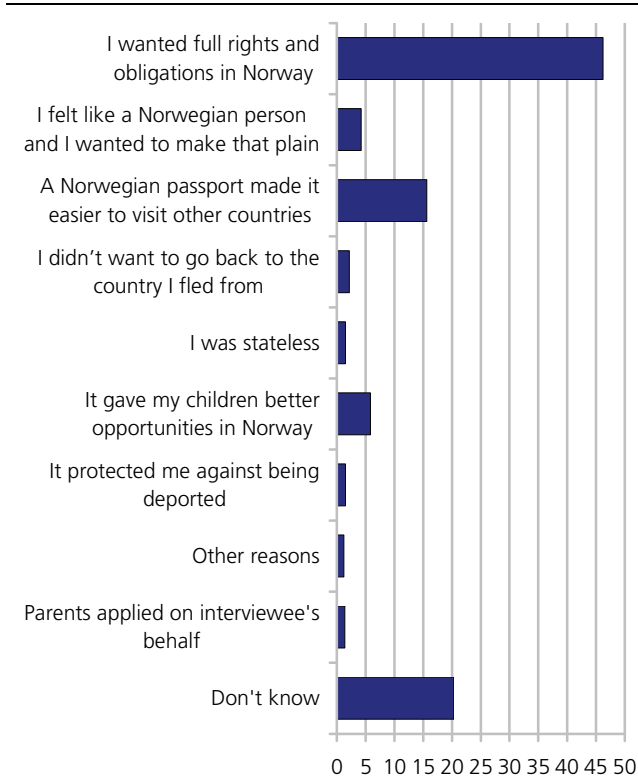
Naturalised citizens and immigrants who have applied for Norwegian citizenship state that the desire to have full rights and obligations in Norway is the main reason they have applied for Norwegian citizenship (46 per cent, see figure 19.8). This is the most important motive among all the nationalities. In second place is

the reason “A Norwegian passport will make it easier to visit other countries” (16 per cent). Only among Iraqis and Vietnamese is this reason chosen less frequently than other possible reasons, such as “I feel like a Norwegian person and I want to make that plain” or naturalisation “will give my children better opportunities in Norway”. On average, only 4 per cent of the respondents stated that the main reason they were applying for citizenship was they felt Norwegian and wanted to make this plain. The large share (20 per cent) who answered that they don’t know why they applied for Norwegian citizenship may indicate that many people were unwilling to state their reasons or do not wish to take a stance.

19.6. Many people think they will apply for Norwegian citizenship ...

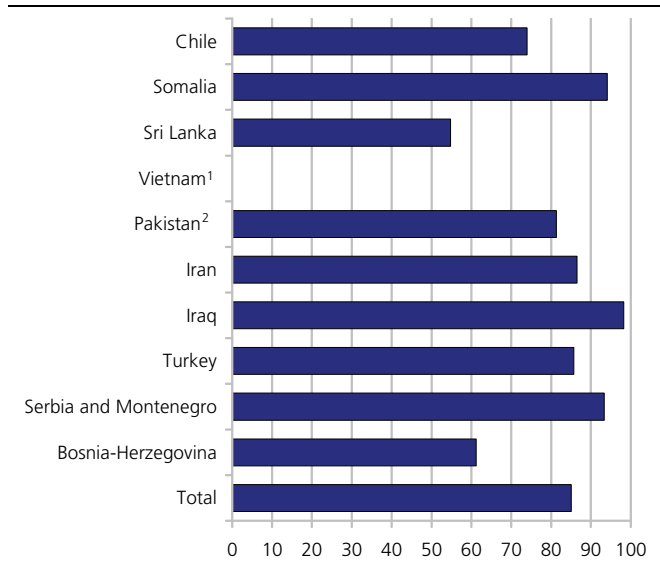
In Section 19.4 we observed that a quarter of the respondents who are not Norwegian citizens have applied for Norwegian citizenship, and that the percentage is much higher among the immigrants who have lived Norway for at least 7 years. The desire for Norwegian citizenship is even greater among the individuals who have not yet applied. Of these (634 persons), 85 per cent state that they think they will apply for Norwegian citizenship (figure 19.9). The percentage is consistently high for most of the national groups, with the exceptions of Sri Lanka and Bosnia-Herzegovina (55 and 61 per cent respectively).

Figure 19.8. Main reason for applying for Norwegian citizenship¹. Per cent. Weighted. (n=2019)



¹Because of an error in the translation of the questionnaire into Urdu, the responses given in Urdu have been omitted.
Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 19.9. Proportion who think they will apply for Norwegian citizenship, by country background. Per cent. Weighted

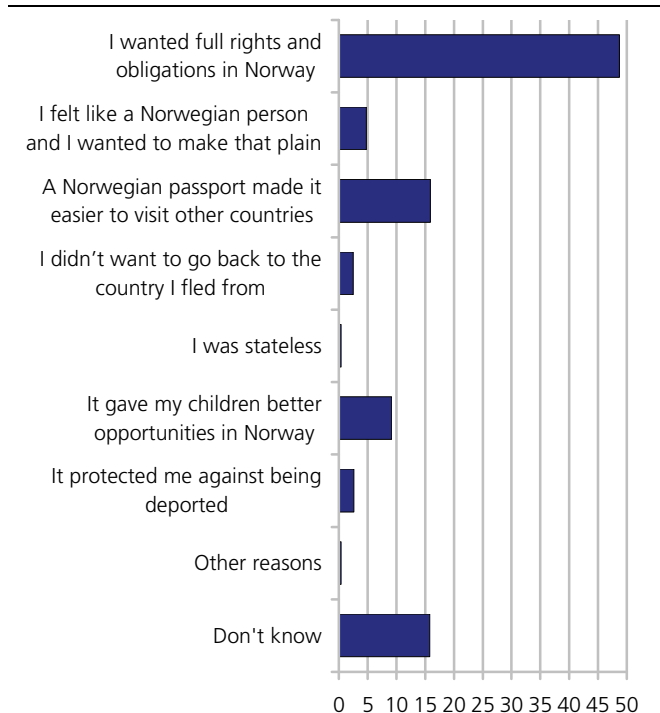


¹ The distribution for immigrants with a background from Vietnam cannot be published because the sample is too small (<25).

² Because of an error in the translation of the questionnaire into Urdu, the responses given in Urdu have been omitted.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 19.10. Main reason for applying for Norwegian citizenship¹. Per cent. Weighted. (n=537)



¹Because of an error in the translation of the questionnaire into Urdu, the responses given in Urdu have been omitted.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

19.7. ..because they want full rights and obligations in Norway

The desire to have full rights and obligations in Norway and the fact that a Norwegian passport will make it easier to visit other countries are cited as the main reasons for applying for Norwegian citizenship by the people who do not have Norwegian citizenship and

who think they will apply for it (see figure 19.10). Bosnians and Sri Lankans have these reasons in reverse order, and Iraqis often choose as their second most important reason: It will give my children better opportunities in Norway. The distribution of the most important reason is generally very similar to that we found among people who have already applied for Norwegian citizenship. Here too there is a significant share who reply that that they do not know why they will apply, and relatively few who state that the main reason is because they feel Norwegian. We find the highest share who cite this as their main reason among the Pakistanis (16 per cent).

19.8. Reasons for not wanting Norwegian citizenship

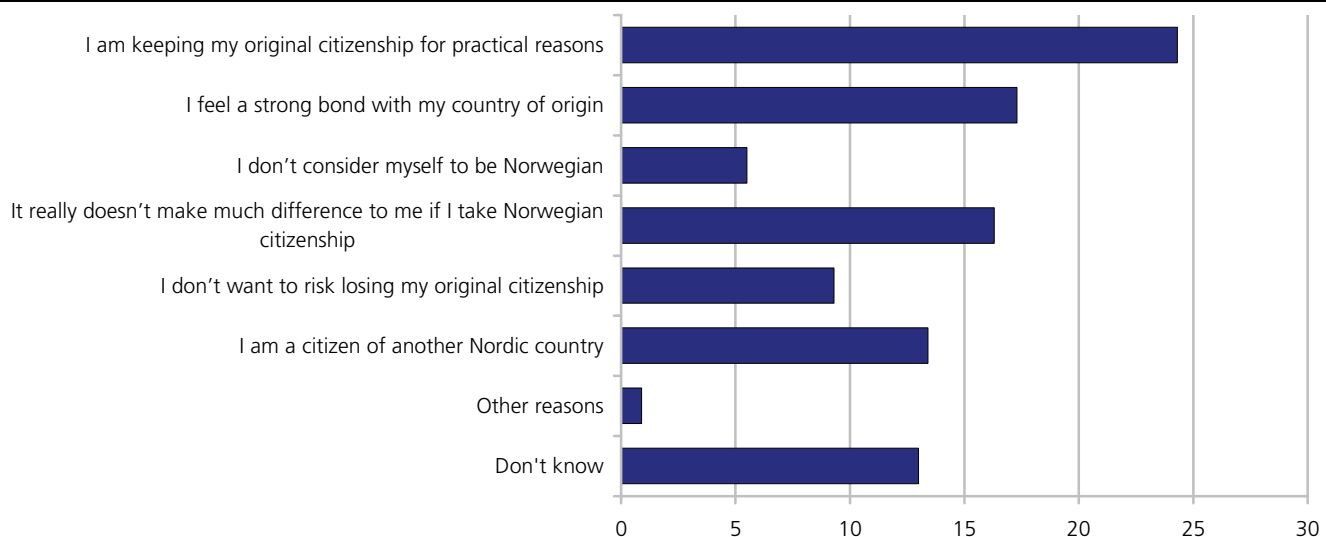
Only a small proportion (9 per cent) of the immigrants who do not have Norwegian citizenship state that they have not applied for and do not think they will ever apply for Norwegian citizenship. In contrast to the questions where the respondents were asked to justify why they wanted to become a Norwegian citizen, the responses here do not concentrate as clearly around any clear reasons for not wanting to have Norwegian citizenship. On average for all the nationalities, the response that the respondent wanted to retain their current nationality for practical reasons came out slightly stronger than the others (see figure 19.11). The alternative “I don’t consider myself to be Norwegian” was the least frequently chosen. However, some respondents have also cited strong ties to their

country of origin, fear of losing original citizenship and indifference towards the issue (“It really doesn’t make much difference to me”) as their most important reason. Like the questions about why the respondents want or think they want Norwegian citizenship, not knowing or not being willing to reveal the reason for not wanting Norwegian citizenship is also relatively common.

19.9. Half of the respondents would apply for Norwegian citizenship if they could keep their original citizenship

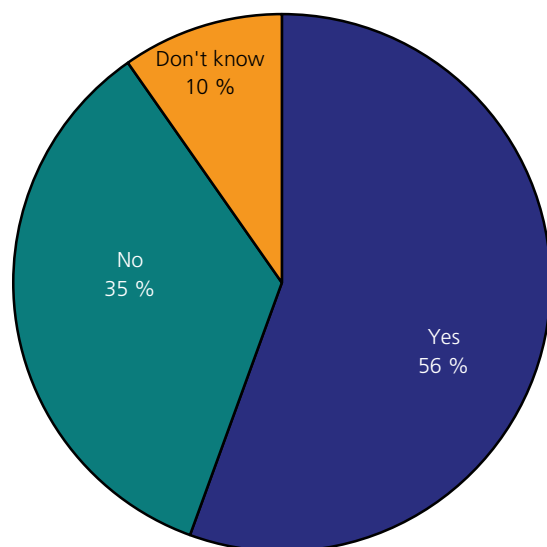
As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Norwegian law requires that a person be released from their previous citizenship in order to obtain Norwegian citizenship. The respondents who are not Norwegian citizens, have not applied for Norwegian citizenship, and who do not think they will ever apply for Norwegian citizenship were asked if they would apply for Norwegian citizenship if they were guaranteed to keep their original citizenship, i.e. if the law was amended. Here we are trying to ascertain whether the principle of single citizenship in Norway is an important reason for these people not wanting Norwegian citizenship. According to figure 19.12, fear of losing their original citizenship is a major reason for not wanting to apply for Norwegian citizenship, since 56 per cent answer yes to this question. 10 per cent do not know, while roughly one third answer that they would not apply for Norwegian citizenship even if they were certain that they could keep their original citizenship.

Figure 19.11. Main reason for not applying for Norwegian citizenship¹. Per cent. Weighted. (n=68)



¹Because of an error in the translation of the questionnaire into Urdu, the responses given in Urdu have been omitted.
Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 19.12. Distribution of responses to the question “Would you apply for Norwegian citizenship if you could keep your original citizenship”¹. Per cent. Weighted. (n=68)



¹Because of an error in the translation of the questionnaire into Urdu, the responses given in Urdu have been omitted.

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

19.10. Norwegian citizenship very popular

In this chapter we have seen that Norwegian citizenship is generally very popular. Among the ten groups of immigrants that took part in the survey Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006, roughly 70 per cent are already Norwegian citizens (see table 19.1). If we add to this figure the people who have applied for and the people who say they are going to apply for Norwegian citizenship, we end up with a total of 94 per cent. Of course, we cannot take it for granted that all the people who would like to obtain Norwegian citizenship will actually apply for it, nor that their applications will be granted; nevertheless, the results presented here suggest that there is widespread interest in obtaining closer ties to Norway through Norwegian citizenship. The main reason for applying for Norwegian citizenship is primarily the desire to have full rights and obligations in Norway, but other practical reasons also play a part, such as it being easier to visit other countries on a Norwegian passport.

Among the few who are not interested in having Norwegian citizenship, over half state that they would apply if dual nationality was generally permitted. Keeping their original citizenship for practical reasons and ties to the country of origin are the most important reasons for not wanting to become a Norwegian citizen under the principle of single nationality.

Despite the principle of single nationality, dual nationality is relatively common. This is largely due to the fact that exemption has been granted to nationals from some countries from the requirement that their original citizenship be relinquished because it is considered impossible, unreasonably difficult or expensive for them to be released from their previous citizenship. Being born with dual nationality is less common, but here it is important to remember that the survey only covers people aged 16 or older, meaning we miss the younger persons born in Norway to immigrant parents.

20. Experienced discrimination

Kristian Rose Tronstad

Half of the immigrants in the Survey of Living Conditions have experienced discrimination in one or more areas of life. Immigrants from Somalia and Iran experience discrimination most frequently and in most areas. Men experience more negative differential treatment than women. The analyses in this report show that there are large differences in living conditions among the different groups of immigrants, and between immigrants and the population as a whole. There are many possible explanations for the differences, for example, length of residence, education, lack of network and poor command of Norwegian. Another explanation is that the immigrants encounter discrimination.

It is difficult to gauge the nature and scope of discrimination of immigrants (Olli et al. 2005). One reason for this is that the term “discrimination” is open to interpretation. “Discrimination” is a legal term and is defined in the Anti-Discrimination Act. Counting the number of decisions made by the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud will nevertheless not provide an adequate description of the extent of discrimination. The term “discrimination” is also used within social sciences. Still, it is not easy to approach either the term or the phenomenon analytically, because it is difficult to draw a clear line between inequality caused by lawful treatment and inequality caused by unlawful treatment (Rogstad 2000). Differences in outcomes, for example, differences in living conditions, among different groups is therefore not necessarily proof of discrimination (Olli et al. 2006).

In this chapter, we will be looking at the immigrants’ own subjective perception of whether they have been treated unlawfully on account of their foreign background. This approach has obvious weaknesses. We do not know how many of the subjectively experienced instances of discrimination actually are “discrimination” in the sense of unlawful treatment on account of their immigrant background. Another disadvantage of this approach is that discrimination is seldom direct and obvious, but more usually indirect and the result of several decisions that were not racially motivated (Craig 2006, Blank et al. 2005, Torgersen 1999). How can immigrants know whether they have been discriminated against if it occurs indirectly?

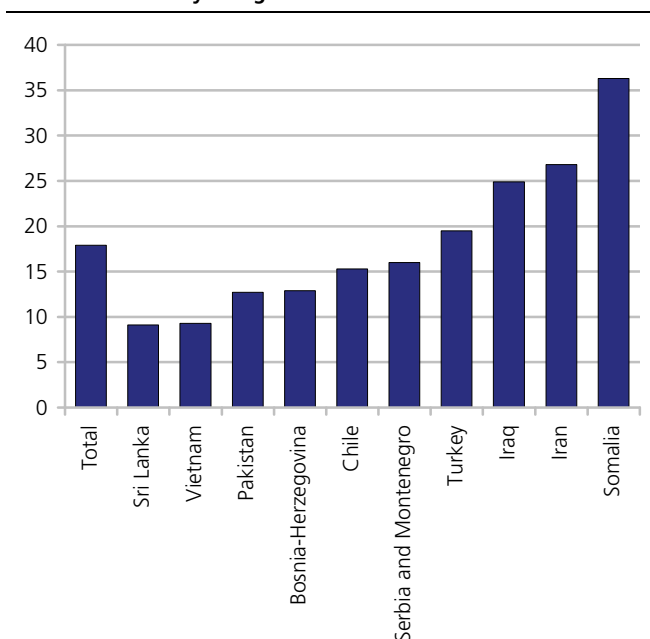
The main sample consists of immigrants who came to Norway at different ages and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, as described in Chapter 2. There is also an *additional sample* consisting of 870 respondents aged 16-24 who were either born in Norway or have lived in Norway from the age of 5 or younger whose parents were both born in Pakistan, Vietnam or Turkey. It is this sample we are referring to when we use the terms *young people with an immigrant background* or *persons born in Norway to immigrant parents* in this chapter. In most of the other chapters in this report, the term “persons born in Norway to immigrant parents” does not also include people who immigrated to Norway before the age of 6.

A separate report on the additional sample of young people with an immigrant background will be published later in 2008 (see Løwe 2008).

We regularly hear of engineers with an immigrant background who are unable to get a job, or immigrants who are not able to buy a house and that this is believed to be because of their immigrant background. Stories like this describe how discrimination manifests itself, but do not give any indication of the scope of these kinds of situations. One of the advantages of including questions about experienced or perceived discrimination in the survey of living conditions is that it allows a representative sample to report these kinds of experiences. In this way, we are able to say something about how common it is for immigrants to experience discrimination in connection with, for example, finding a job.

In this chapter, we analyse questions about experienced or perceived discrimination in the housing market, working life, education, the health service and out on the town. The data used in this survey were collected in 2005/2006, and the survey did not contain specific questions about the immigrants’ experience of discrimination from ambulance staff. Unlike the other chapters in this report, this chapter also draws some comparisons between the responses of the main sample and those of the additional sample of young immigrants (see the box). In addition to the areas mentioned above, the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in the additional sample were also asked about police harassment.

Figure 20.1. Proportion who claimed that they had experienced discrimination in finding a job in the last five years, by country background. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

20.1. One in three Somalis experience discrimination in finding a job

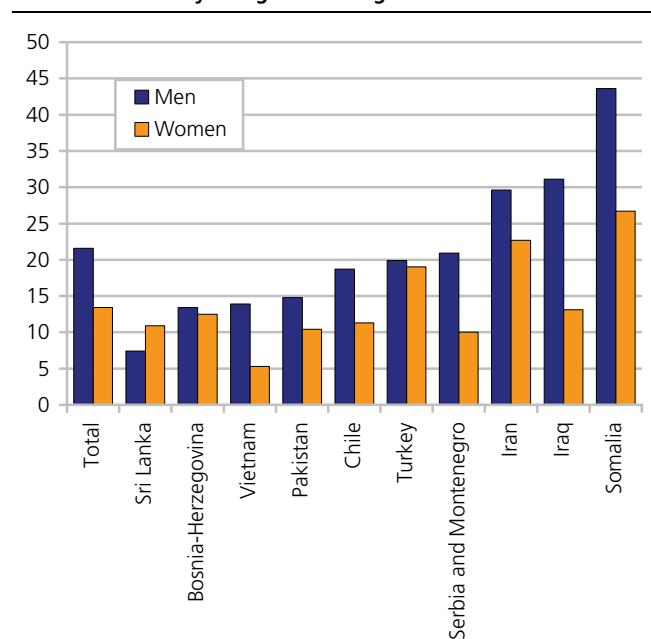
In this survey of living conditions, all the respondents were asked whether in the last five years, on account of their foreign background, they had not been given a job they had applied for and believed they were qualified for. The question was put to everyone, regardless of their employment status at the time of the interview.

18 per cent of the immigrants from the ten groups of non-Western immigrants thought that the fact that they were immigrants had prevented them from getting a job they had applied for and were qualified for. The proportion was highest among immigrants with a background from Somalia, Iraq and Iran. Roughly one in three Somalis had experienced discrimination, while among Iraqis and Iranians, this figure was one in four. Immigrants from Sri Lanka and Vietnam felt least discriminated against, at less than 10 per cent. The proportion was slightly higher among immigrants from Pakistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chile, Serbia and Montenegro and Turkey, at between 13 and 20 per cent.

20.2. Men experience more discrimination in finding a job than women

More men than women experience discrimination in finding a job, at 21 and 13 per cent respectively. In the various national groups, it is only women with a background from Sri Lanka who claim they have experienced discrimination more than men with the same background. However, Sri Lankans have the lowest share of people who experience discrimination. The immigrants from Sri Lanka are typically a group of immigrants with relatively high employment rates among both men and women. It is Somali women and

Figure 20.2. Proportion who claimed that they had experienced discrimination in finding a job in the last five years, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

men who experience the most discrimination in finding a job. However, the Somalis are also a group with a very low employment rate, and the findings here confirm the Somalis' difficulties in entering the labour market. The relative difference between women and men is greatest among immigrants from Iraq, Serbia and Montenegro and Vietnam. In these groups, men are twice as likely to have experienced discrimination as women with the same background. One reason for the major differences between the sexes in this area may be that more women with an immigrant background than men are outside the labour force. Women with an immigrant background are more likely not to be employed or seeking employment and thus experience less discrimination in finding a job than men.

20.3. Persons born in Norway to Pakistani parents experience most discrimination in finding a job

17 per cent of the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in the additional sample thought that their background was the reason they had not been offered a job they had applied for and were qualified for in the last five years. Over 21 per cent of the persons born in Norway to Pakistani parents had experienced discrimination, compared with 16 per cent among persons born in Norway to immigrant parents with a background from Turkey and 7 per cent from Vietnam. Young people born in Norway to Vietnamese parents in the additional sample claim to have experienced discrimination to the same extent as the Vietnamese respondents in the main sample, while young people with Turkish parents experience discrimination in finding a job slightly less frequently than the Turks in the main sample. The difference

between the score for persons born in Norway to Pakistani parents and the Pakistanis in the main sample is 8 percentage points, with 21 and 13 per cent respectively having experienced discrimination in finding a job. The question about discrimination experienced in finding a job was put to everyone, regardless of whether they are economically active or still in education. However, many of the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in the additional sample are so young that we must be able to assume that they do not have a great deal of experience of working life. The fact that the proportions among the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents are still so high, compared with the respondents in the main sample, suggest that the young people experience more negative differential treatment.

20.4. Discriminatory attitudes are the most frequently cited reason for unemployment

In the survey of living conditions, the respondents were asked whether they had been without work in the last 12 months and had actively tried to find work. 732 people, or 24 per cent of the respondents, answered yes to this question. They were then asked to indicate what they believed was the reason(s) for this. Respondents were allowed to give more than one reason.

27 per cent of the people who had been without work, or 200 respondents, cited *discriminatory attitudes* as one of the reasons they had been unable to find a job. Discriminatory attitudes is thus the most frequently cited reason for unemployment. 26 per cent cited *lack of jobs* as one of the reasons they had been unemployed. It should be noted that the period when the respondent was out of work was a time of high demand for labour. The two most frequently cited reasons for unemployment mentioned above are external factors (the employers' attitudes and availability of jobs), but aspects related to the immigrants themselves are also cited as reasons for their inability to find a job. The main reasons include *language problems* and *poor qualifications*. *Lack of references* may also be an expression of lack of network and/or relevant work experience and is cited by 16 per cent of the respondents. 10 per cent believe that their age has been an obstacle, while only 6 per cent believe the fact that their education from abroad has not been approved in Norway has prevented them from getting a job.

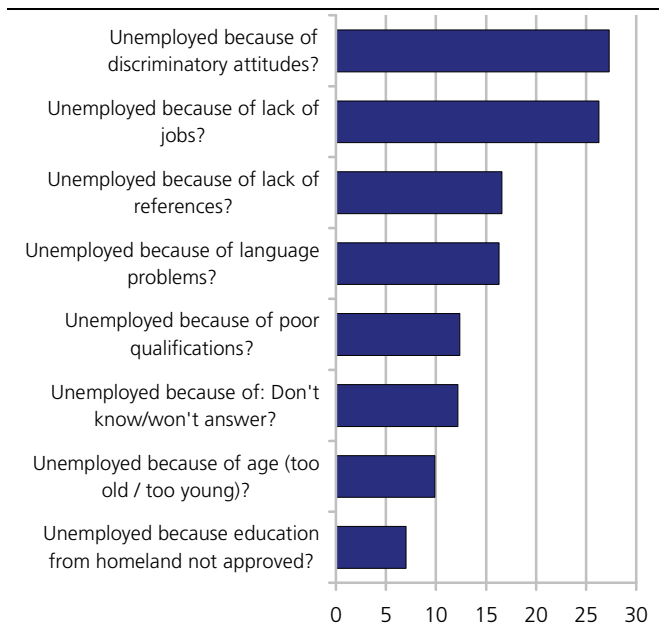
20.5. The job centre

Roughly one in three of the immigrants in the sample had not been in contact with the job centre during the last 12 months. Of the people who had been in contact with the job centre, 11 per cent stated that they had been treated poorly or received poor service at the job centre on account of their foreign background. Slightly more men than women had been in contact with the job centre, and men reported having been poorly treated or receiving poor service at the job centre on

account of their foreign background slightly more frequently than women.

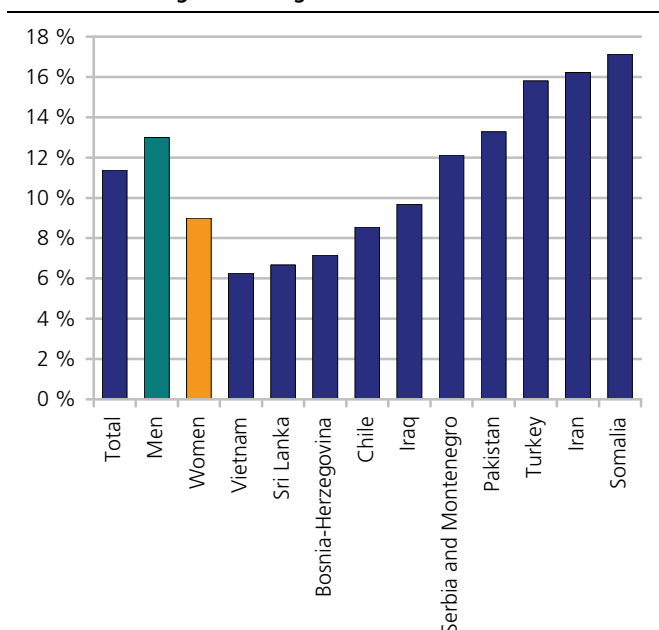
There is large variation among the different national groups. Roughly 6 per cent of the immigrants from Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Bosnia-Herzegovina felt they had been discriminated against at the job centre, compared with a much higher proportion (approx. 16 per cent) of the immigrants from Turkey, Iran and Somalia.

Figure 20.3. What are your own personal views of the reason(s) why you've been without a job over the period(s) you've spent unemployed? Percentage who gave different reasons



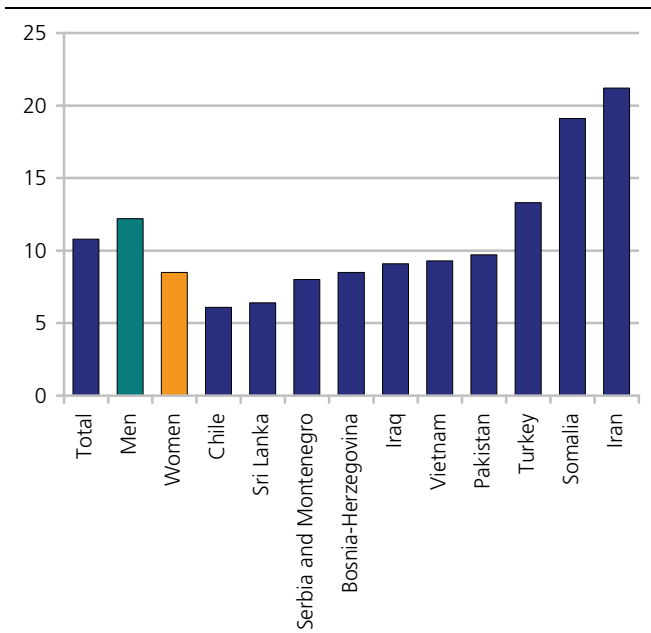
Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 20.4. Proportion who state that they have been treated poorly or received poor service at the job centre on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Figure 20.5. Proportion who claim to have been harassed at work on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Percentage of people with income-generating work



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

20.6. Persons born in Norway to Vietnamese parents experience little differential treatment at job centres

Many persons born in Norway to immigrant parents have not been in contact with the job centre (40 per cent), but the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents who have been in contact with the job centre experience poor treatment or service at job centre to roughly the same degree as the immigrants in the main sample. 13 per cent of all the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents had had negative experiences at the job centre during the last 12 months. Persons born in Norway to Vietnamese parents report little differential treatment at the job centre, like the immigrants from this country (4 per cent), while 16 per cent of the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents of Pakistani origins have experienced differential treatment at the job centre.

20.7. Immigrants from Iran experience most harassment at work, but the largest increase from 1996 is among Somalis

In 1996, Statistics Norway carried out a similar survey of living conditions among eight groups of non-Western immigrants. In the 1996 survey, 14 per cent of the people with income-generating work had experienced harassment at work on account of their immigrant background. In this survey, ten years later, the corresponding share is 11 per cent. A decrease of three percentage points may indicate that harassment at work is less of a problem now, but the decrease is so small that we must show caution in drawing categorical conclusions. In the 1996 survey, immigrants from Iran and Turkey experienced most harassment (23 and 16 per cent respectively). In the present survey, it is the same two nationalities that still report the most

harassment on account of their background. Less than 10 per cent of the immigrants from Somalia said that they were subject to discrimination at work in 1996; ten years later this share has risen to 19 per cent. The reason for this increase in harassment among immigrants with a background from Somalia is probably that more of them are in work now and have longer experience of working life. In 1996, many immigrants from Somalia had just arrived in Norway, and only 10 per cent of them were in income-generating employment. In 2006, this share has risen to 33 per cent.

20.8. Fewer people experience harassment at work among people with a high degree of participation in working life

Although immigrants from Somalia have a higher degree of participation in working life now than ten years ago, the percentage of Somalis in income-generating employment is still very low, at just over 30 per cent. By way of comparison, at this time roughly 65 per cent of immigrants from Sri Lanka had income-generating work. A Danish survey on experienced discrimination carried out in 1999 found that it was the individuals with the most resources who experienced most discrimination (Møller and Tøgeby 1999). If we take having a job as indicating having resources, our material does not appear to support this hypothesis. In the figure below, the x-axis shows the percentage of respondents with income-generating work and the y-axis shows the proportion of people in income-generating employment who experience harassment. The scatter diagram illustrates that it is in the groups with relatively high proportions of people in work that we find the people who report the least harassment at work on account of their foreign background.

Figure 20.6. Proportion of respondents with income-generating work and the proportion of these who have experienced harassment on account of their foreign background



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

The immigrants with a background from Iran are the exception to the rule in this figure. The employment rate among Iranians is around the average mark for all ten nationalities in the survey, but they have the highest proportion of people who experience discrimination at work. Immigrants from Iran are also characterised by having the highest level of education among the ten national groups. In the Danish survey (Møller and Tøgeby 1999), high level of education is identified as an important background variable among the immigrants who experience discrimination. Immigrants with higher education have different expectations regarding working life and having the opportunity to use the expertise acquired through their education.

20.9. Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents also experience workplace harassment

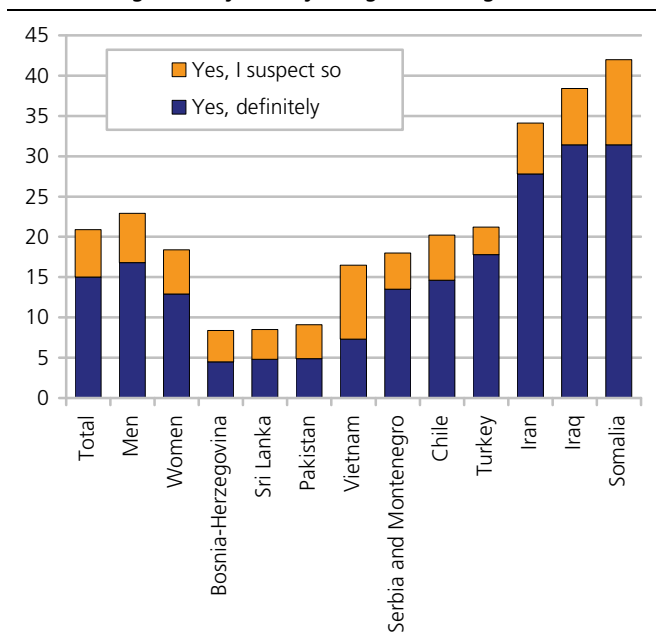
Like the people in the main sample, roughly one in ten of the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents in the additional sample report experiencing harassment in the workplace, with young men reporting this slightly more frequently than young women. The gender difference is especially large among young persons born in Norway to Pakistani parents. Young women with Pakistani parents experience little harassment (2 per cent), while young men with Pakistani parents experience most harassment on account of their foreign background (16 per cent).

20.10. More than 40 per cent of Somalis have experienced discrimination in the housing market

Around 20 per cent of the non-Western immigrants claim that they have been denied the opportunity to rent or buy a home on account of their immigrant background. Three out of four are sure of this, while the rest suspect that discrimination is the reason they did not get to rent or buy a home. We find the highest proportions among immigrants from Somalia, Iraq and Iran. 42, 38 and 34 per cent respectively have experienced differential treatment in connection with trying to rent or buy a home. Among immigrants from Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the proportion is below 10 per cent.

If we compare the findings with the 1996 Survey of Living Conditions, we find that these proportions have remained stable. Back then too, roughly 20 per cent of the respondents stated that they had experienced discrimination in the housing market. Immigrants from Iraq were not included in the survey ten years ago, but like now Somalis and Iranians experienced most discrimination in the housing market. In 1996, over 60 per cent of the Somalis and almost 50 per cent of the Iranians stated that they had encountered discrimination (Blom 1998). At the time of the interview, most Somalis and Iranians lived in rented homes.

Figure 20.7. Proportion who have experienced discrimination in the housing market on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

In 2006 too, it is in connection with renting a home that most immigrants (six out of ten), experience discrimination. Among the national groups with the highest proportion of people who have experienced discrimination, there is also a high percentage of respondents who say that they experienced this in connection with renting. Nine out of ten Iraqis report that it was in connection with renting, while the corresponding proportion for Sri Lankans and Turks is three out of ten. Iraqis experience discrimination almost exclusively in the rental market, whereas there are more Turks and Sri Lankans who experience discrimination in connection with buying a home.

20.11. Persons born in Norway to immigrant parents experience less discrimination in the housing market

Most persons born in Norway to immigrant parents are not yet old enough to have independent experience of the housing market. In the entire group of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents, only 6 per cent were either sure (3 per cent) or suspected (3 per cent) that they had been discriminated against in the housing market. Persons born in Norway to Turkish parents had the highest share of respondents who had experienced or suspected discrimination in the housing market (9 and 6 per cent respectively).

20.12. One in seven experience discrimination at school or university

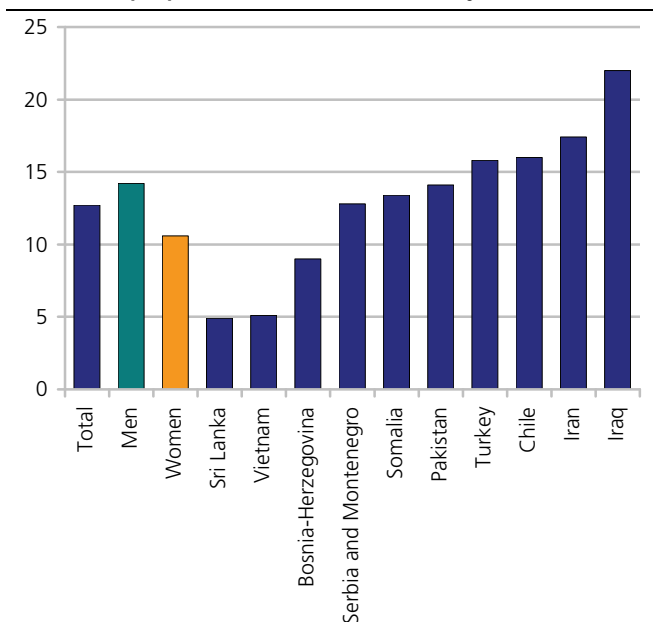
Roughly 13 per cent of the immigrants in the survey who had pursued an education in Norway thought they had received poor treatment in an educational institution on account of their foreign background at some

point in the last five years. Slightly more men have taken an education in Norway, and there was also a slightly higher proportion of men who felt they had been the victim of discrimination. Immigrants from Sri Lanka stood out as the group that experienced least differential treatment. Among immigrants with a background from Iraq, more than 20 per cent have experienced negative differential treatment on account of their national background.

20.13. One in six persons born in Norway to immigrant parents experience discrimination in educational institutions

A slightly higher proportion of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents had experienced discrimination in an educational situation than among the main sample (17 per cent compared with 13 per cent). In this group, men state slightly more often than women that they have experienced discrimination, but the differences are small. We find the largest difference between women and men among persons born in Norway to Pakistani parents. In this group, 22 per cent of the men and 15 per cent of the women state that they have received negative differential treatment on account of their background.

Figure 20.8. Proportion who state that they have received poor treatment at an educational institution on account of their foreign background in the last five years, by country background and gender. Percentage of the people who have studied in Norway



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

20.14. Primarily immigrants from Turkey who experience differential treatment in the health service

In August 2007, a Somali man was attacked and knocked unconscious in Sofienbergparken in Oslo. The ambulance staff who arrived at the scene refused to take the man in the ambulance. He did not get to Ullevål University Hospital until two hours later, when he was immediately operated on for cerebral haemorrhage. The case attracted much attention in the media, and the inquiry carried out by the Norwegian Board of Health Supervision concluded that the ambulance workers' treatment of the Somali man warranted criticism. In 2006 Ullevål University Hospital received the Government's Diversity Prize for its efforts to ensure it is multicultural hospital, aimed at patients and employees alike; in autumn 2007 the hospital and the Norwegian health service were accused of harbouring negative attitudes towards immigrants.

This survey of living conditions cannot provide an answer as to whether the Norwegian health service is plagued by institutional racism, but it can provide data about how non-Western immigrants subjectively assess the treatment they receive compared with that a person without an immigrant background would have received. The data were gathered in 2005/2006 and have thus not been affected by the ambulance affair mentioned above.

Almost 80 per cent believe that they receive the same treatment as a Norwegian patient would receive. Seven per cent think that they have received inferior treatment on account of their immigrant background, and 2 per cent think they have received better treatment than a Norwegian would have received. The experiences, positive and negative, vary according to national background, but there is little difference by gender. Immigrants with a background from Turkey had the highest share (14 per cent) who felt they have received poorer treatment than a Norwegian patient would have received. The proportion of men was a little higher among Turks; otherwise, for the sample as whole, women generally had slightly more negative experiences with the health service than men. The reason for women having worse experiences with the health service than men is probably that women tend to have more contact with their GP and the specialist health service. Immigrants with a background from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sri Lanka are most satisfied with the Norwegian health service. In these two groups, 3 per cent believe that they have received negative differential treatment, but among the Sri Lankans, a larger proportion believe they have received better treatment than a Norwegian patient would have received (4 per cent).

Table 20.1. Proportion who believe they have received poorer treatment, the same treatment or better treatment than a Norwegian person would have received, by country background. Per cent

Received better / poorer treatment than a Norwegian?	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Serbia-Mont	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile
Number of people (N)	3049	333	288	297	357	269	306	313	353	245	288
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Poorer	7	3	4	14	5	10	10	5	3	9	7
The same	78	81	75	68	80	71	81	83	82	72	78
Better	2	2	1	3	2	4	2	3	4	0	3
Don't know	13	14	19	15	14	16	8	9	11	19	12

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Treatment by the health service and in other public institutions raises complex questions concerning equitable treatment. An immigrant who has just arrived in Norway and does not speak Norwegian will have to communicate with health workers through an interpreter, for example. Treating everyone the same, when the patients have different needs and requirements points, may thus entail that some people do not receive *equitable* treatment. Many immigrants have experience of the health service in their country of origin, and their perception of the Norwegian health service may also be affected by these experiences.

20.15. The majority are happy with the treatment they received from the health service

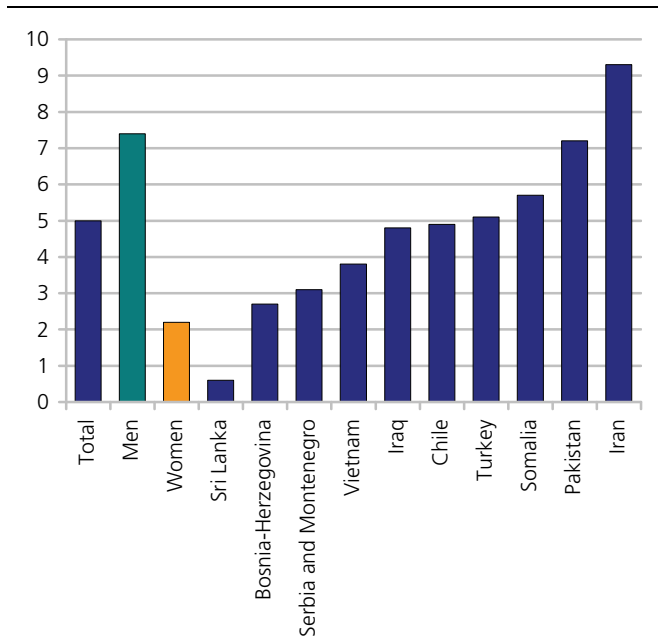
6 per cent of the persons born in Norway to immigrant parents believed they had received inferior treatment, while 4 per cent thought they were treated better by the health service than a person without foreign-born parents would have been treated. The vast majority (77 per cent) felt that the health service provided the same treatment for everyone, regardless of their background.

Women with Pakistani parents had the most positive experiences. Seven per cent felt that they received positive differential treatment compared with Norwegian patients. Men with Pakistani parents had the most negative experiences. In this group, 10 per cent had experienced negative differential treatment in the last 12 months. As in the main sample, in the additional sample of persons born in Norway to immigrant parents it was the descendents of Turkish immigrants who were most negative about the treatment they received from the health service.

20.16. Refused goods and services – discrimination in pubs and clubs

According to the Anti-Discrimination Act and Section 349a of the Norwegian Penal Code, it is illegal for commercial enterprises to refuse any person goods or services because of his religion or beliefs, race, colour of skin, or national or ethnic origin. Nevertheless, the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud receives a small number of complaints each year about discrimination in cafes, restaurants, pubs and clubs.

Figure 20.9. Percentage of people denied access to a restaurant, pub, nightclub or other gathering place on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

The number of rulings and reactions related to this type of misdemeanour per year can be counted on one hand. Can we therefore claim that discrimination is basically non-existent in cafes, restaurants, pubs and clubs in Norway? If we look at the immigrants' subjective experiences reported in the survey of living conditions, quite a different picture emerges of the situation in the eating and drinking sector than that we get by counting the number of court rulings or complaints to the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud.

In the survey of living conditions, the immigrants were asked [...] *Over the last year, have you been denied access to a restaurant, pub, nightclub or other gathering place on account of your foreign background?* [...] A total of 5 per cent answered yes to this question. Almost 10 per cent of the immigrants from Iran had experienced discrimination, while very few immigrants from Sri Lanka report discrimination in pubs and clubs, etc. Significantly more men than women have experienced discrimination in eating and drinking establishments. Just over 2 per cent of the women

answered yes to this question, compared with more than 7 per cent of the men. Among the Somalis, it is almost only men who report having experienced discrimination. As in other areas of society, there are grounds to assume that discrimination in cafes, restaurants, pubs and clubs primarily affects the individuals that frequent these places. It is therefore just as likely that the variation we observe among the different groups is an expression of different patterns in terms of social and night life as indicating that some nationalities are more at risk or less welcome at eating and drinking establishments.

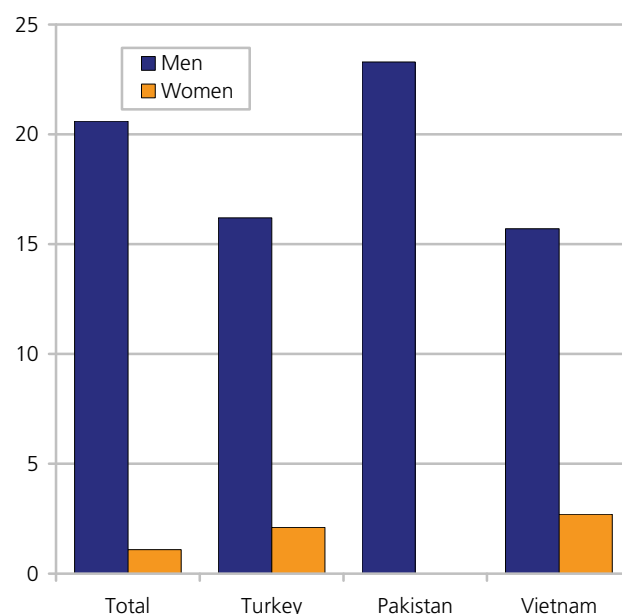
20.17. Young men go out more and thus experience more problems gaining access

In the additional sample consisting entirely of young immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents aged between 16-24, we found a much higher share (12 per cent) who have experienced discrimination in cafes, restaurants, pubs and clubs than in the main sample. This is hardly surprising, as we know that young people go out to discotheques and nightclubs much more than older people do.

If we look at the gender distribution of the group of respondents who say they have been denied access to an establishment during the last year, we note large differences between young women and men. Almost no women in the additional sample have experienced discrimination in cafes, restaurants, pubs and clubs, while the figure is more than 20 per cent among young men. One in four young men born in Norway to Pakistani parents experienced discrimination in pubs and clubs. One explanation for the large difference between the sexes is that young women born in Norway to immigrant parents probably go out less than their male counterparts and are therefore less exposed to this kind of differential treatment. Another explanation may be that young men with various Asian backgrounds living in Oslo are often associated with criminal gangs and are therefore treated with scepticism by many doormen.

Another question in the survey of living conditions also related to denial of goods and services is whether the respondents have ever been denied the opportunity to rent or buy something on credit or using "buy now, pay later" deals on account of their foreign background. A total of 7 per cent of the respondents state that they have experienced negative differential treatment of this type during the last 12 months. Almost none of the immigrants from Vietnam (1 per cent) think that their foreign background was the reason they were denied credit in connection with a purchase or renting, compared with 13 per cent of the immigrants from Somalia.

Figure 20.10. Proportion of people who denied access to a restaurant, pub, nightclub or other gathering place on account of their foreign background, by country background and gender. Per cent



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006. The additional sample of young immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents.

20.18. Many young men feel harassed by the police

A question was put to the additional sample of young immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents who have grown up in Norway: [...] *during the last 12 months, have you experienced being harassed or treated badly by the police in connection with street patrols, ID control, etc.?* [...]. This question was not put to the main sample that includes all ten non-Western nationalities.

15 per cent of the additional sample of young people answered yes to this question: 3 per cent of the young women and 24 per cent of the men aged 16-24. Young men born in Norway to Pakistani parents were the group that felt they had experienced the most poor treatment by the police. 31 per cent of this group had had negative experiences in dealings with the police during the last 12 months. The corresponding shares among young men born in Norway to immigrants parents with a Turkish or Vietnamese background were 19 and 10 per cent respectively. Immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents with a background from Pakistan and Turkey tend to live in and around Oslo and Drammen, whereas people with Vietnamese background tend to be dispersed all over Norway. The findings here may indicate that the negative experiences young immigrants have with the police are primarily confined to the Oslo area.

The index sums up the number of instances of discrimination in seven areas of life: housing, employment, workplace harassment, education, health, discrimination in pubs and clubs, and denial of financial services. Only the cases where the respondent states that they have experienced discrimination or believes they have received poorer treatment than the rest of the population have been included in this additive index.

20.19. Almost half of the immigrants have experienced discrimination

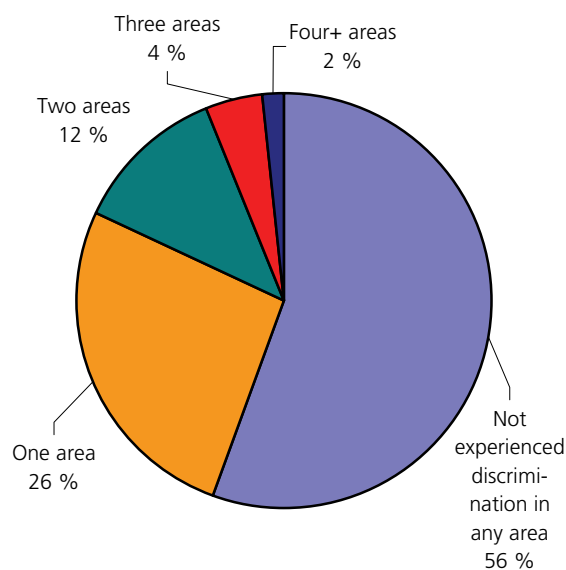
A review of the discrimination experienced in the various areas covered in this survey shows that some groups, for example, Somalis, have relatively high proportions who report having experienced discrimination in the housing market and in working life, but we do not know if it is the same individuals who experience discrimination in different areas. Is there a concentration of negative experiences in some parts of the sample or are these experiences shared by many individuals? To answer this question, we have constructed an index (see the text box) where we add up the number of instances of discrimination in seven areas.

Figure 20.11 shows that over half of the respondents had not experienced discrimination in any of the defined areas of society. A quarter have experienced discrimination in only one area, and 12 per cent have experienced discrimination in three different areas. Only 2 per cent had experienced discrimination in four or more of the seven selected areas.

The pie chart above shows that over half of the immigrants had not experienced discrimination in any area. However, the figure does not illustrate the large variation between the different national groups. Table 20.2 shows that more than seven out of ten of the

immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sri Lanka have not experienced discrimination, and among those who have experienced discrimination, there does not tend not be much accumulation. Most people have experienced discrimination in only one area. Immigrants from Turkey, Iran and Somalia experience discrimination more frequently and in more areas than others. Roughly only one in three Iranians and Somalis have not experienced discrimination, whereas 10 per cent have experienced discrimination in three different areas of life.

Figure 20.11. Percentage who have experienced discrimination in 0-7 areas



Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

Table 20.2. Additive index for the number of reported instances of experienced discrimination. By country background

Number of reported instances of discrimination	Serbia and Montenegro										
	Total	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Turkey	Iraq	Iran	Pakistan	Vietnam	Sri Lanka	Somalia	Chile	
Number of people (N)	3053	333	297	357	270	308	314	353	245	288	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Not experienced discrimination in any area	56	70	49	42	36	62	67	74	34	58	
1 area	26	22	26	34	32	26	25	20	28	27	
2 areas	12	7	18	15	18	9	6	5	25	9	
3 areas	5	1	7	7	10	2	2	1	9	5	
4 or more areas	2	1	1	2	4	1	0	0	4	2	

Source: Living Conditions Among Immigrants 2005/2006

20.20. Summary

Our analyses show that almost half of the non-Western immigrants in this survey of living conditions have experienced discrimination in one or more areas of life. The respondents were asked about discrimination in a number of areas, such as work, housing, education, health, nightlife, denial of goods and services, and for the additional sample of young immigrants who grew up in Norway, also the police. This chapter discusses and analyses all these areas, primarily by three dimensions – national background, gender and age.

The analysis shows that there is large variation among immigrants with different national backgrounds. A clear majority of the immigrants from Somalia, Iran, Iraq and Turkey have experienced discrimination. In the other national groups, there are more people who have not experienced discrimination than who have, and the proportions of people who have experienced discrimination in more than one area are low.

Women consistently experience less discrimination than men. One reason for this may be that women with an immigrant background are often less exposed to situations where they might be victims of discrimination. Discrimination in cafes, restaurants and nightclubs etc. is almost exclusively a male problem, and especially for young men. This finding may equally well be an expression of the fact that young women with parents from Pakistan, Turkey and Vietnam frequent discotheques and nightclubs far less than young men.

The respondents in the additional sample are persons born in Norway to immigrant parents and young immigrants who have lived in Norway since they were five or younger. Although this group has spent most of their life in Norway and gone to school here, there are few differences in the level of discrimination experienced between the entire sample and this additional sample. One exception is regarding the housing market, where many young immigrants and persons born in Norway to immigrant parents have not had any negative experiences on account of their background.

The survey of living conditions contains a lot of information and multiple background variables that have not been included in this analysis. Information about how long the immigrants have lived in Norway, their command of Norwegian, their own and their parents' educational level, network outside the family and religious affiliation are examples of factors that it would be interesting to analyse in a more detailed study. It would also be interesting to analyse in more detail what kind of living conditions, living environment and type of households the people who experience discrimination in the housing market live in. Similarly, it would be interesting to look at the educational level

and physical working environment of the people who experience discrimination in working life. An analysis that takes these kinds of factors into account would yield valuable information that would supplement the subjective assessment of discrimination.

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