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Author: Liuda Kmite (Author's signature)
Person with academic responsibility: None Supervisor: Václav Souček University of South Bohemia Czech Republic	
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1. 1 Outlining the problem

The discourse of international migration considers that migration is an essential and inevitable component of the economic and social life of every state (ILO, 2009). Mobility of workers is an increasingly common phenomenon in many countries. 50 per cent of 200 million international migrants are migrant workers who left their countries to find work elsewhere in the world (ILO 2008). Considering that Norway has one of the highest living standards in the world, it is natural that foreigners wish to work and stay in Norway. Norway's natural resource-driven economy creates considerable demand for labour. Due to this and some other reasons, in Norway there is a positive attitude towards labour migration. Until 1970s the term "assimilation" was used in the official policy. However, since 1970s integration has become an official policy in Norway (Niemi, 1995).

Lithuania has had a negative migration balance since 1990 when its independence was restored. In 2010, emigration from Lithuania increased four times. Economic (labour) migrants constitute the largest part of all. According to the Statistics Norway (2009), by 1 January 2008, there were 381 000 immigrants in Norway, which constitutes about 8 per cent of the total population. Lithuanians account for several per cent of those migrants.

In a new culture, migrants experience acculturation. Acculturation refers to the process of cultural and psychological change as a result of continuing contact between different cultural groups and mainstream culture (Sam, Berry, 2006). Through acculturation migrants may choose which acculturation strategy to use. It depends on inner qualities of the person including sociability, stress coping styles and cultural appraisals. In other words, migrants can maintain their ethnic identity, absorb the new culture, or achieve bicultural identity. According to the theory mentioned below, a balanced state of ethnic identity provides the best background for integration of migrants. The balanced state of ethnic identity refers to a medium tendency to assimilate and to differentiate and an intermediate level of inclusion (Brewer, 1991). As far as the acculturation issue is concerned, some important questions arise which I will analyse by means of a case study of Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area, Norway. If we assume that the balanced state of ethnic identity is optimal for future integration into the Norwegian society and that this is, indeed, the migrants' goal, the question is what specifically prevents Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area from achieving this. During the process of acculturation, migrants experience changes of behaviour, attitudes, values and identity (Ryder, Alden and Paulhus, 2001). The other questions posed in this research are how Lithuanian workers change their original behaviour, values and identity through their acculturation process in Rogaland area. What expectations do Lithuanian

workers bring with themselves to Norway? Are they fulfilled? If not, what specifically prevents them from realizing these expectations? Is this due to some objective conditions (e.g., economic reasons), personal failure (e.g., inability to cope), or intercultural antagonism? In order to get an impartial viewpoint on how Lithuanian workers acculturate in Rogaland, in the present study I have raised such questions as to how this process of acculturation is viewed by Norwegian institutions responsible for migration and acculturation issues. How do such institutions actually help to integrate foreign workers?

The present study aims to assess the acculturation strategies which Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area adopt. If it is the case that Lithuanian migrants do not prefer integration as a successful adaptation orientation, the research aim is to ascertain what prevents them from pursuing it. Furthermore, the research investigates whether and how personal variables affect Lithuanian migrants' preference for acculturation strategies. In particular, three sets of variables have been taken into account: demographic (age, gender, education background, length of stay in Norway), intercultural contact (sociocultural adaptation, ethnic identity, in-group and out-group social interaction) and personal traits (self-esteem, stress coping strategies, sociability). An additional aim of the study is to deliver the theoretical background of acculturation, focusing on acculturation models. I will attempt to ascertain to what extent the existing research and literature in the field can assist this research project in finding answers to the questions raised in this project. Thus, building upon an empirical acculturation framework and drawing from a diversity of theoretical studies, this research will attempt to analyse acculturation models and acculturation items, putting emphasis on Lithuanian workers' ethnic identity. Acculturation of Lithuanian migrants will be discussed and supported by empirical data, interviews with representatives from institutions in Norway related to migration and acculturation of Lithuanian workers. The research findings will conclude all of the above issues.

The research, due to its restricted scope related to the research questions, will ultimately have some limitations. The number of selected respondents is relatively low. Such limitation is due to the fact that Lithuanians are widely spread in Norway and they are not likely to have contacts with other Lithuanians. Many of Lithuanians rejected my request to answer the interview questions. Another limitation which I came across was the lack of comprehensive statistical data of Lithuanian migration. Official statistics concern only those Lithuanians who have registered their migration with the Migration Department. The lack of official information becomes of importance because undeclared emigration highly predominates among Lithuanian migrants (Statistic Lithuania, 2011).

This study consists of an introduction, a theoretical and empirical part, research findings, and recommendations. The bibliography list and appendix are at the end of the study. I have outlined the research problem and formulated the research questions in the introduction chapter of the present study. In the first part of this study I have outlined the theoretical framework and methodology, which I will follow in this study in order to answer my research questions. The theoretical insights will be presented in the second chapter of this study. The importance to analyse both the host and emigration country in an acculturation study was noticed by Berry (2006). Therefore both countries- Norway, as a settlement country, and Lithuania, an emigration country – have been presented in the theoretical part of this study. Finally, the empirical data from the interviews with representatives of institutions located in Rogaland area and Lithuanian migrants are in the last chapter of the present study. The research findings and recommendations are at the end of the present study.

1. 2 Methodology and theoretical framework

The case study of Lithuanian workers' acculturation in Rogaland area is based on Berry's two-dimensional acculturation model (Berry, 1991, 1992). Employing this model, there has been an assumption made that individuals may choose which acculturation strategy to use through adaptation: integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization. It is assumed that although Lithuanians adopt some social norms and values of the Norwegian society, they simultaneously maintain their own ethnic identity. From the two-dimensional model perspective, it is assumed that it is possible to identify with or acquire the new culture independently, without necessarily losing migrants' own culture (Berry, 1980). Berry acculturation model has been supported by the dispositional resources such as coping styles and sociability. During psychological acculturation, migrants experience changes of behaviour, attitudes, values and ethnic identity (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2001), practice stress coping styles, achieve different levels of sociability, global self-worth and social development. All these factors have been examined in Lithuanian workers' acculturation.

Lithuanian workers' ethnic identity has been analysed in accordance with Brewer's (1992) model. Various degrees of Lithuanian workers' ethnic identity further have been tested in accordance with adaptive context-dependent resources.

As this research focuses on psychologically induced changes in such areas as behaviour, attitudes, values and identities, I have drawn on relevant sociological and psychological theories, namely on Berger and Luchmann's theory (Berger, Luchmann, 1967) of social construction of reality. The proponents of this paradigm believe that the entire social

world is constructed by people's ideas, language and operating practices. In my view, individuals construct their reality according to their individual experiences and knowledge received by observing the surroundings. People make individual decisions on the basis of their understanding of social and cultural reality.

The research was informed by a textual analysis of relevant articles, documents and other literature in the theoretical part. Texts of books and journals were selected and examined depending on whether they reflect the migration issue and relationship between migration and acculturation, emphasizing in particular the phenomenon of combination of different socialization strategies (integration, assimilation, segmentation) and acculturation variables. This section aims to ascertain to what extent the existing research and literature in the field can assist this research project in finding answers to the questions posed by this project. Scientific knowledge helps better understand the context of research and create the structure of its inquiry in order to allow a comparison of its findings with existing and already published relevant research.

The theoretical part supported the interviews with the representatives of agencies located in Rogaland area. Those institutions are linked with migration and integration of foreign workers in Rogaland area. I decided to interview representatives of those agencies in order to get more insight into Lithuanian workers' acculturation in Norway. The agencies included the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (Fellesforbundet), the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) and the police. Three representatives of Fellesforbundet were interviewed including building and construction sector, hotel, catering and cleaning services and the head of Stavanger district office. The other two informants interviewed included one representative from the police and one from NAV. The respondents were given the following questions: What kind of problems do Lithuanian migrants have in Rogaland area? How does your agency help Lithuanian workers to integrate? What are the main challenges in your work with migrants? The opening-the-locks technique was used in this research part. Also the interview focused on one or two main questions which encouraged respondents to talk on the issue in depth. This method is suitable when respondents have some specific knowledge relevant to the exploratory question (Rubin, 2005). The survey data was qualitatively analysed.

In order to answer the research questions, namely the question of how Lithuanian workers acculturate, I decided to divide my research into two parts. The first part of the interviews was intended to find out those Lithuanian migrants who come to Norway seeking employment. An additional aim of this part was to assess the composition of Lithuanian immigrants in Norway and to establish the main features of Lithuanian labour migration. I

developed the questionnaire with ten close-ended questions which had three “open” answers (Appendix 15). Forty-four Lithuanian migrants were interviewed in this research part. They were selected in order to get equivalent groups of age, gender, educational background, social status and length of stay in Norway. Such data as age, educational background, gender, social status, length of stay, links with Lithuania, tendency to stay in Norway, emigration reasons and the main information about work activity in Norway were taken into account. Thirty-five Lithuanian migrants who came to Norway because of economic reasons were discerned.

Those Lithuanian workers who came to Norway because of economic reasons became the subjects of the second part of the research. The semi-structured interview was used as a follow-up to the general questionnaire. This method was chosen because it offers an opportunity to further investigate the problem, collect new useful information and new details, which might lead to new insights. This method is flexible, allowing new questions to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says and should help create an informal atmosphere.

The questions (several key questions) were formulated according to the research statements (Appendix 16). Some additional questions were asked during the interview. The first cluster of questions was intended to ascertain the state of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was defined in accordance with the agonistic tendencies to assimilate and differentiate (Brewer, 1991). Low ethnic identity is supposed to be found in the case of a high tendency to assimilate, a low tendency to differentiate and a low tendency to be included in the heritage cultural group. A high level of ethnic identity was defined as a low tendency to assimilate, a high tendency to differentiate and a high level of inclusion. The balanced state of ethnic identity is in the case of a medium tendency to assimilate and differentiate and an intermediate level of inclusion (Brewer, 1991, Schönplflug, 2001). Three tendencies - the tendency to differentiate from one's ethnic group, attitudes towards Norwegian culture and social developmental state - were ascertained asking the following questions: Which cultural way of life do you follow? With which country do you have closer ties (the tendency to assimilate)? Are you embarrassed when people notice that you are Lithuanian (the tendency to differentiate)? Have you got a close relationship with you family and other Lithuanians? Do you think that your relationships are better (closer) than those of other Lithuanian migrants (social developmental state)?

The second cluster of questions was intended to ascertain the behavioural shift of Lithuanian workers and their values before and after migration. The following questions were asked: Have you changed as a person because of your migration experience? Which habits have you changed? As a starting point for measuring changes of the values of Lithuanian

workers in Rogaland area, a value system consisting of ten items was used following the methodology by Schwartz and Bilsky (1987). This methodology also was used to provide the background for Liubiniene's research (Liubiniene, 2002). All respondents were asked to measure their preferences by using a scale from 10 (the highest rating) to 1 (the lowest rating). The aim of this part was to ascertain the shift of the value system before and after migration and to test whether the given values support individualist or collectivist orientations. Power, achievement, stimulation are considered components of individualism. Wealth (money) would be in favour of power; self-fulfilment and being influential would support achievement; varied life and social life would demonstrate stimulation. Collectivism is represented by the universalism: world peace, social justice, conformity (honouring of parents, self-discipline) and security (family, health) (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987).

Adaptive context-dependant resources and shift of them were examined by asking the following questions of the third cluster: What do you do in difficult situations? Are you satisfied with yourself at the present situation?

Seeking to provide the data of the research systematically and correctly, data from the interviews was categorized according to the thematic structures (Miles, Huberman 1994):

- giving “the labels“,
- adding examples (answers of respondents) for these labels,
- identifying the patterns, links,
- distinction of themes, clusters, dimensions,
- summing-up of data.

1. 3. Review of the substantive literature

The first theoretical formulation of acculturation was presented by American anthropologist Powell in 1880, considering that acculturation is psychological change under the influence of cross-cultural imitation. Later McGee (1898) “found” that acculturation may take place even in antagonistic societies. The classical definition of acculturation was formulated by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits in 1936. They brought acculturative stress into acculturation framework. Later, acculturation stress was researched by Ausbel (1960), Born (1970), Berry (1980) and Hovey (2000), ascertaining that psychological stress is the main psychological force in acculturation. However, Inkeles (1969) and Rudmin (2003) validated the fact, that acculturation may be distressful.

Lately acculturation has been the most investigated issue in transcultural studies, which has been analysed from different points of view. Enzensberger’s train metaphor has been used to explain multiculturalism in Norway by Brochamann and Kjeldstadli (2008). This

study gives a comprehensive overview of formation of a multicultural society, which started with the immigration in Norway. It provides a basic understanding of the main features of the multicultural society in Norway. Multiculturalism has been reflected through the value system of the Norwegian society and presented as a challenge for local customs, traditions and culture.

Two acculturation models - the one-dimensional and two-dimensional - were compared in the research of Asian acculturation in America (Flannery, Reise, Yu 2001). The research validated the fact that the one-dimensional model is recommended as an economical proxy measure of acculturation. The two-dimensional model was described as suitable for full theoretical investigations of acculturation. A speculative three-directional model was proposed for clarification of the distinction between acculturation and ethno-genesis (the creation of a new ethnicity). The application of the one-dimensional and the two-dimensional acculturation models was tested by Ryden, Alden and Paulhus (2000) in the context of personality, self-identity and adjustment. The research findings showed that “the bidimensional model constitutes a broader and more valid framework for understanding acculturation” (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, 2000 p. 62).

Acculturation has been analysed by a group of researchers from University of Miami and International University, Miami (Florida). Using the framework of the two-dimensional model, transcultural researchers analysed the relationships of adolescent acculturation orientations through the family functioning and behaviour problems (Sullivan, et al., 2007). The research suggested that researchers should be able to make a choice of an appropriate acculturation model, which best matches their research topic and investigated culture (Flannery, Reise, Yu 2001).

The considerable migration of Lithuanians has been little analysed in a systematic way. Such studies mostly focus on historical facts and simultaneously incorporate emigration as an inseparable part of the Lithuanian history (Eidintas, 1993; Pakstas, 2003). Other studies analyse the phenomenon of migration from the point of maintenance of ethnic identity (Liubiniene, 1998, Leonavicius, 1995, Grigas, 2001). The lack of comprehensive Lithuanian migration studies could be explained by the nature of this issue. Intercultural studies move from the boundary of one state and therefore are quite costly.

Acculturation of Lithuanian migrants has been analysed desultorily, mostly in review articles and without profound research. The most explicit study of Lithuanian migrant acculturation in other countries (Norway, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Spain) was funded by the Lithuanian government and presented by Kuznecoviene. Kuznecoviene (2009) analysed acculturation of Lithuanians in Norway, the United Kingdom and Spain through

their pathways in economic, social and cultural fields. The main aim of this research was to ascertain in which ways Lithuanians incorporated in the societies of settlement through acculturation dimensions. Kuznecoviene's research was based on Peters' (2003) incorporation model. Kuznecoviene's findings indicated that Lithuanians mostly preferred one acculturation strategy to other possible ways including conformist strategy, cultural incorporation and representative or segregation strategies. The research showed that Lithuanian emigrants have a diverse set of motivation factors to belong in the society of settlement.

The adaptation of Lithuanian immigrants in Ireland, Spain, Norway and the United Kingdom was studied through the construction of national identity as strategies (Kuznecoviene, 2009). Such strategies were defined as the strategy of construction of ethnic cultural space, the cultural openness of immigrants and emotional lineages with one's heritage culture. Research findings indicated that Lithuanians tend to construct a de-territorialized cultural space, which is the main recourse for the construction and practising of their Lithuanian nature. In some cases, the willingness of Lithuanian migrants to be open to a different cultural experience was based on a pragmatic view, or multi-ethnicity in a work place. Simultaneously, Lithuanian nature was expressed mostly in private life. The third strategy, emotional and symbolic lineages with Lithuania, was identified with the possible return to the home country.

Senvaityte's (2004) research presented findings that Lithuanian students view themselves less favoured in comparison to foreign students. According to the author, the negative self-understanding supposes uncritical acceptance of the Western culture and devaluation of their own ethnic and cultural identity (Senvaityte, 2004).

A case study of Lithuanian women (N=24) acculturation in Chicago (the USA) was presented by Cernius (2005). The study started in 1957 and continued with the research carried out during the period from 1973 to 1974. The study looked into different aspects of acculturation including professional choice and attitudes towards Lithuanians and American culture. The research findings revealed that one-directional acculturation existed towards American culture among Lithuanian women in Chicago.

Lithuanian migrants' acculturation was mentioned in Jonyti's (1985), Kuiziniene's (2005), and Kitowski's (2006) researches. However, the analysis of the aforementioned studies of Lithuanian migrants acculturation shows that this phenomenon has not been investigated sufficiently, namely acculturation of Lithuanian workers. Considering the fact that working age individuals constitute the biggest part of Lithuanian migrants (Statistic Lithuania, 2010) and making an assumption that in most cases Lithuanians migrate pursuing employment in other countries, the study of Lithuanian workers' acculturation becomes of

particular importance. In the present in-depth study I will analyse the reasons for Lithuanian emigration, adaptation dimensions and outcomes, ways of personal change, and preservation and maintenance of ethnic identity in Norway. This research may be useful for further studies of Lithuanian migration by both Norwegian and Lithuanian scientists.

Chapter 2 Theoretical part

2. 1. Theoretical insights of the research

The recent formation of multicultural societies, globalization and its impact on acculturation of cultural groups are the basis of the majority of international discourses. Policies of assimilation or differential exclusion started to be considered as illegitimate at national and international levels. The rights of ethnic minorities to maintain their culture and choose the way of adaptation in the new culture have gained momentum in many countries. Multicultural studies mostly emerged from researching inequality, racial discrimination in the housing, employment, education and health care services for foreigners. Two issues have been disputed over the last decade in this field: the politics of cultural recognition of minorities' rights and the idea of multicultural citizenship (Tully, 1995). Such debate focused on the question of how to combine the recognized right to cultural distinctiveness, social trust and solidarity. The second question is linked with the human right to be "culturally distinct". According to Guchteneire (2007), such debates are established more at a philosophical level rather than treated as empirical problems. The answer to those questions and implementation of them would be the case of ideal establishment of multicultural society.

Kymlicka (2001) made a distinction between immigrant multiculturalism and minority nationalism. He argues that multiculturalism should be considered as one of the policies, but not the only one. Those policies that regulate human rights, job training and professional accreditation as well as civil service employment should be regarded as separate social fields where appropriate regulation may promote integration. This view demonstrates that multiculturalism is "just one modest component in a large package" (Rex, 2010, p. 252).

A community with a variety of cultural groups constitutes a qualitatively "new" multicultural society which represents economic and political institutions (Rex, 2010). The existence of multiculturalism within the national state implies the obligation to live in accord with the law. It also implies the right to maintain cultural differences. However, an exception is with the rights that lead to citizenship. Nevertheless, there are a number of questions to be considered, e.g.: does multiculturalism, as political ideology, "help" foreigners to socialize especially in the case of acculturation of workers? The modern society or the welfare state may intervene in the private domain by using economic and political measures. According to Rex, the ideal of multiculturalism means a society which is unitary in the public domain but which encourages diversity in what is thought of as private or communal matters (Rex, 2010). The private domain is not a separate entity but rather it is considered a sphere from which

individuals come into a public domain. People bring with them their own moral attitudes, which interact with public morality. The position of the line between private and communal domains depends on the rules which are established in certain national states. In the welfare state (as in the case of Norway) public domain is extended into private domain through bureaucratic state activities. National states with a range of institutions and trade unions pressure may ensure that all individuals have full employment or an income in the case of unemployment in order to ensure housing, children education etc. Such efforts of the state reduce the boundaries between private and public domain and increase loyalty to the state; however, these efforts do not imply direct integration access. Socio-economic integration helps reduce social exclusion and inequality. A person who has a job becomes competent to participate in other social areas. On the other hand, immigrants usually fall in a low-paid employment sector; they earn lower salaries than average nationals of their host society. Such situation promotes social inequality and it may cause social disjuncture. On the other hand, “plural societies are held together by regulation and not by integration” (Kuper, 2010, p. 234). In order to prevent predominance of externally imposed common values in plural societies, integration is a necessary precondition for social cohesion. The social structure with authority power, hierarchical ordering with relations among different segments and common sense of belonging that is acceptance and feeling welcome should be found in a plural society in order to maintain the continuity of such a society (Parekh, 2010).

Multiculturalism is a coherent philosophical statement or political ideology which gives political importance to the respect of cultural differences. However, alienation, inferiority, stigmatization, stereotyping, exclusion, discrimination and racism still may exist in multicultural societies.

2. 1.1. The concept of acculturation. The development of acculturation theories

The acculturation phenomenon has become an important issue in many multicultural societies. Acculturation may be defined as a continuing process of cultural change and outcome of contact of two and more cultures. It refers to an adaptive process or adaptation as the end stage of acculturation (Adler and Gielen, 2003). As a synonym of acculturation the term “interculturalization” is sometimes used, especially in French-speaking countries. Interculturalization is considered as the set of actions by which individuals and groups interact when they identify themselves as culturally distinct (Berry, 1997). Although both definitions are very similar, the main difference lies in the final outcome because in comparison with acculturation “interculturalization” focuses more on the formation of new cultures.

The first theory of acculturation was presented by the American anthropologist, Powell, in 1880. He used the acculturation definition which referred to psychological changes induced by cross-cultural imitation as theoretical background to explain changes that Native American language had undergone (Rudmin, 2003). American sociologist McGee used “acculturation” as the possible way to measure human development (McGee, 1898). He also noted that acculturation might even take place in antagonistic societies, where, according to Karl Heinrich Marx (1818 –1883), social classes and hostility existed. Such view towards acculturation was supported by other scientists - Powell (1900), Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936). Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) formulated the so called classical definition of acculturation which is still used in cross cultural research frameworks. The classical definition of acculturation states that “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936). Berry (1997) noticed that an acculturative change tended to be much more significant in the acculturating group in comparison with the host society.

Debates on acculturation mostly took place in the multicultural society of the United States. Very different cultural groups meet and live together side by side in the United States. Some opinions emerged that ethnic groups disappeared and lost their cultural traits. Therefore, they became ‘Americans’. At the same time others argued that ethnic groups remained relatively distinct bearing their culture (Kushner, 1980). Such bifurcation¹ was the background for the development of different acculturation models. The question was how to ‘measure’ the acculturation level. Some of the cross cultural researchers analysed the preference for language (Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff, and Satterfield, 1968; Griffith, 1983), asked the respondents about their state of self-identification (Garza and Lipton 1982) or structured complex scales of adaptation. However, with some exceptions, such studies were not able to measure acculturation and ethnic identification (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Pioneer studies were based on the one- dimensional model and analysed acculturation at group level. However, identifying that there are psychological changes in the group to which they belong, Graves (1967) stressed the importance of analysing acculturation at an individual level of interaction with members of the host culture (psychological acculturation). At the group level, acculturation is the change in the culture of the ethnic group, whereas psychological acculturation is considered to be a change in the psychology of individual who undergoes socialization in a new culture. The importance to make a distinction between the levels was

stressed by Berry (1997), because according to him, such distinction allows to examine the systematic relationships between these variables. Other researchers think that not all individuals undergo acculturation in the same manner. The distinction between individual and group level allows the researchers to examine the degree to which an individual participates in general and psychological changes of the group (Berry, 1997). The pioneer transcultural studies considered that assimilation was the end stage of acculturation (in the one-dimensional model). Later on, when the one-dimensional model could not explain the formation of bicultural identity, other strategies of researching acculturation were employed in intercultural discourse.

The process of change at the group or individual level in acculturation is stressed in all acculturation theories. However, the cultural maintenance is viewed differently by proponents of one-dimensional and two-dimensional models. Traditionally, acculturation has been understood as a one-dimensional (unidirectional) process, when the intended end of this process was a complete assimilation (Park and Miller, 1921; Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936). One-dimensional (linear) model was presented by Gordon (1964), who described acculturation as the shift from heritage ethnic identity towards identity of contact culture. This model implies that “the movement towards host-culture orientation is accompanied simultaneously by a movement away from heritage-culture orientation” (Weiner and Craighead, 2010, p.13). As this point of view shows, there is no bicultural identity; biculturalism is only a transitory phase towards assimilation. For this reason, one-dimensional model is often called assimilation model or bipolar model. Migrants acquire behaviours and values of the host society, losing their ties with heritage culture. High rate of acculturation means full assimilation, while low acculturation implies that a person maintains his/her ethnic culture (Cuellar, Harris and Jasso, 1980). The assumption of one-dimensional acculturation model is that “strengthening of one requires weakening of the other; that is, a strong ethnic identity is not possible among those who become involved in the mainstream society, and acculturation is inevitably accompanied by weakening of ethnic identity” (Organista, Chun and Marín, 1998, p. 78). Thus according to one-dimensional model, Lithuanians may retain their ethnic identity or become Norwegians. The bicultural identity “Lithuanian-Norwegian” is considered to be a transitional state towards full assimilation. Difficulties which arise during acculturation are an attribution of the diasporas experiencing acculturation (Bourhis, et al., 1997). The one-dimensional model was used as a framework for acculturation researches for a long time. However, this model failed to account for the entire process of acculturating interaction, because simultaneously the host society experienced change caused by the

¹ Difference of opinions

influence of migration. The two-dimensional (bidirectional or bi-dimensional) model has thus replaced the one-dimensional model, because of the drawbacks of the former. Berry (1974, 1980) suggests that identity of the host culture and immigrants could be approached as an independent dimension rather than a single bipolar continuum. The main point of the two-dimensional model is that the migrants' and the host society's identities are shaped by the interface of cultures separately as two distinct processes. Biculturalism is a consequence of acculturation in the two-dimensional model. It is defined as maintaining balance between the two cultures. From this point of view, both cultural identities (migrants' own culture and that of the host culture) become important in the process of acculturation. In this case, acculturation does not imply moving along the continuum of identity from one end to the other. Instead, it proposes an independence assumption that the maintenance of ethnic identity is independent from the development of mainstream cultural identity (Kang, 2006). The two-dimensional model supports the view that the range of attitudes towards either preserving one's own culture and/or adopting a new culture constitutes the key acculturation strategies: acculturation, integration, separation and marginalization (Berry, Trimble, and Olmeda, 1986). This model of acculturation was proposed by Berry and is often called Berry's acculturation model (Berry, 1980, 1983, 1987).

Two domains of the acculturation phenomenon have been discerned in cross-cultural studies. The first one is defined as socio-cultural (behavioural acculturation) at the group level; the second is determined as psychological acculturation and it is used at the individual level. Socio-cultural acculturation refers to cultural learning, adaptation of the noticeable external aspects of the host culture. In other words it helps to understand how to "fit into" a new culture (Berry, 1992). Psychological acculturation is a more complex process, which takes into consideration such acculturation items: values, beliefs, attitudes, self-identification, and coping styles.

The distinction between acculturation of groups and the individual level was made by Graves (1967). He introduced the term psychological acculturation, which referred to the changes of an individual who was influenced by the contact with a new culture. Later, a complete psychological perspective of acculturation was presented by Teske and Nelson (1974). The analysis of the intensity of changes of such items as values, norms, behavioural patterns and institutional changes was included into the framework of psychological acculturation. However, Teske and Nelson did not expand the framework of studies based on psychological acculturation. Such studies were carried out by Berry and other scientist. According to Berry (Sam and Berry, 1995), psychological acculturation is behavioural and

psychological changes in an individual which occur as a result of contact between people who belong to different culture groups.

At the psychological level, adaptation to a new culture implies different stands of acculturation and its effect (Berry, 1980, 2001). One standpoint is that individuals change their behaviour in order to adapt to a new society (Berry, 1980). Migrants “learn” culture or new social skills (in the absence of acculturative stress). Such “learning” refers to the socio-cultural adaptive outcomes, a set of external psychological outcomes. Through this individuals gather appropriate social skills for adaptation to a new culture (Ward, Kennedy, 1993). Other types of psychological acculturation focus on internal psychological outcomes such as mental health, well-being and capacities to overcome culture shock. The term of culture shock replaced the term of acculturative stress (Berry, 1970, 1987). Acculturative stress is defined as “a reduction in health status (including psychological, somatic and social aspects) of individuals who are undergoing acculturation, and for which there is evidence that these health phenomena are related systematically to acculturation phenomena” (Berry, Kim, Mine, and Mok, 2005). Berry (1997) argues that mental health varies through different acculturation stages. According to Berry, the foreigners who have already integrated, may demonstrate the best state of mental health. At the integration acculturation stage, the lowest level of acculturative stress was found. Clinical depression and other psychic disorders in acculturation are usually found in the case of an unbalanced proportion between cultural change and capacity to overcome stress (Malzberg and Lee, 1956).

Acculturation refers to the process in which beliefs, values, attitudes, habits or language of the acculturating group may change. Four stages of acculturation were distinguished by Douglas (1986). Through those stages individuals experience change of world view, self-identity, system of thinking, acting freely, perceptions, communicating and preference for language. It should be noted that language is considered the most visible and available expression of culture. The first stage considers contact with the new society. It is accompanied by euphoria and excitement. The cultural shock emerges as the second stage. It comes from confrontation with a new environment and ineffectiveness of communication, related to the need for security and well-being. The third stage emerges thought acculturative stress. Individuals confront with acceptance or not of the behaviour which is determined by the influence of the new culture. The last stage may be named as a consequence of adaptation, or assimilation (acceptance of a new culture (Douglas, 1986)).

In contrast to the previous models, a different approach to acculturation was presented by Keefe and Padilla (1987). This approach is based on a two-dimensional model. The intensity of acculturation is measured through two *supraconstructs* - cultural awareness and

ethnic loyalty. There is an assumption about the linear continuum of change in cultural orientation of minority. It replaces traditional cultural traits of a group (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Cultural awareness is individual's extensive knowledge of the culture. An individual is acculturated better if he/she has more knowledge of the host culture than of their own heritage and *vice versa*. Knowledge of the culture includes language skills, knowledge of historical past, music, art and values of a certain society. Keefe and Padilla's standpoint was criticized by other researchers because of the simplistic view of cultural change. Such criticism was based on the fact that the intensity of change of cultural traits may vary. Some cultural traits disappear when others persist (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). In this way ethnic loyalty grows in importance. Ethnic loyalty is understood as self-identification and involvement with one's own ethnic group. On the other hand, some of the researches demonstrated that ethnic identification could not change through acculturation. The implication is that individuals may adapt to a certain culture, although they identify themselves with their cultural group (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963).

At the core of acculturation theories there is an assumption that cultural differences exist in acculturating groups, because otherwise there would be no background for acculturation. According to the classical definition of acculturation, "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits, 1936). On the other hand, cultural differences are just presumed. The question is how to demonstrate cultural differences. According to Berry (2006), different conceptualizations of "culture" presuppose different acculturation findings and interpretations (Sam and Berry, 2006). Such limitation lies in ambiguous conceptualizations of culture (Chew and Knottnerus, 2002).

Berry developed psychological acculturation model which suggested four strategies of acculturation: assimilation, integration, marginalization and separation. There is an assumption that individuals can choose the way how to adapt in the host society or which acculturation strategy to use through the acculturation process. Immigrants who settle in a new country have to decide whether they want to maintain the values of their heritage culture. The other possible way is to be involved in the new host culture (Berry, 1997). Positive or negative responses to the questions about individual's preference to the heritage or host culture are supposed to influence the four acculturation strategies (Fig.1). Employing Berry's acculturation model, if an individual prefers to maintain the ethnic identity and at the same time he/she seeks to participate in the host culture, the integration strategy could be named (Berry, et al, 1989) (Fig.1).

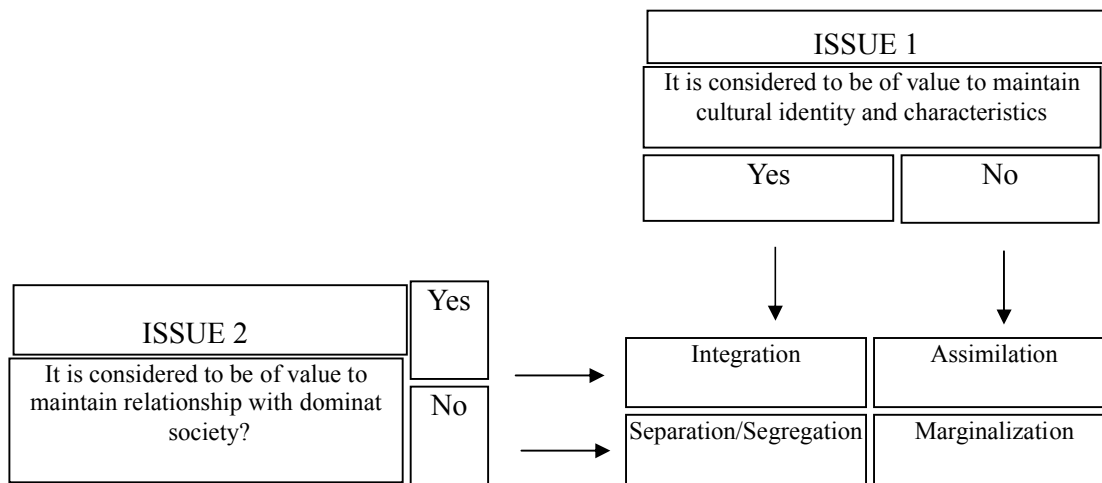


Figure 1. Berry conceptual acculturation model. Source: Berry, 1997.

The immigrants' acculturation scale developed by Berry can be applied to researching acculturation at the individual or group level. Empirical studies conducted by Berry and his colleagues showed that the integration strategy was often used by foreigners, while marginalization was rarely used (Berry, et al, 1989). Moreover, such findings demonstrated that the immigrants who tended to use the integration strategy experienced a minimal effect of acculturative stress, while acculturative stress through marginalization was found more intensive (Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok, 1987). The assimilation strategy showed an intermediate level of acculturative stress.

Berry's acculturation model was corrected many times from different theoretical positions. The two dimensions of this model are delimited by the answers to the following questions: 'Is it considered to be a value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?' and 'Is it considered to be a value to maintain relationships with the dominant society?' The first question refers to acculturation orientations, whereas the second one assesses behavioural intentions towards host society (Sayegh, Lasry, 1993). In this way different types of attitudes are ascertained. One refers to the heritage culture and the other considers cross-cultural contact (Bourthis, et al., 1997). A new formulation of the second question of Berry's acculturation model was suggested by Bourthis and colleagues (1997). It was formulated as follows: 'Is it considered to be a value to adopt the cultural identity of the host-culture community?' (Bourthis et al., 1997, p. 377). According to the authors, such formulation provides a better match with the type of attitudes of the first dimension. Another comment of Berry's acculturation model was made by researchers inclined towards marginalization orientation (Triandis, 1995). According to them, it would be useful to distinguish two items of

the orientation towards marginalization: anomie (cultural alienation) and individualism (Triandis, 1995). Marginalization refers to marginality, alienation, deviance, psychosomatic stress or, in other words, cultural alienation known as anomie. The term of individualism involved in the acculturation framework may better reflect the reason for rejection of links with both heritage and the host society factors. According to Triandis (1995), individuals from collectivist or individualistic cultures may take different acculturation orientations. Japan, China and southern Italy are considered collectivist cultures, whereas Northern and Western Europe are more individualistic cultures (Triandis, 1995).

Some empirical studies showed the evidence of psychometric problems of acculturation measurement through four acculturation strategies presented by Berry (1997). According to Rudmin (1996), acculturation strategies are considered mutually exclusive constructs. However, some researches demonstrated that respondents fitted into two or more scales that measured different acculturation strategies (Kim, 1988; Rudmin, 1996). Such concordance is considered as a psychometric problem of Berry's acculturation model (Rudmin, 2006). Another weakness of this model was found in the plausibility of measurement of acculturation. Four different groups were selected in the study developed by Kim (1988). Only one group of respondents in this research experienced acculturation, while the others never came into contact with acculturation. However, the research findings revealed that the group which experienced acculturation answered in the same way as non-accultured groups. Such discrepancies in answers showed serious psychometric problems which should be taken into consideration and analysed further (Rudmin, 2006).

In multicultural societies, groups and individuals from different cultures come into contact with each other in the course of their daily lives by using different acculturation ways. Various approaches have been applied in order to explain how foreigners acculturate. Employing Berry's acculturation model which was mentioned above, all strategies (assimilation, separation or integration) could be used depending on the context and the time period and together constitute a specific choice of an individual's acculturation strategy (Berry and Sam, 1997). Which acculturation strategy is taken depends on the inner qualities of the person (psychological aspect), including stress coping styles and cultural appraisals. On the other hand, acculturation might be influenced by such factors as the migration policy or attitudes of the host society towards foreigners, the discrimination level in the country, access to labour market, and so on. Therefore, different variables (e.g., societies of origin and settlement) should be included in the framework of acculturation research. Only then the findings of acculturation of particular groups can be presented adequately (Berry and Sam, 1997).

The variety of interrelated components influences the way in which individuals socialize. However, considering Berry's acculturation model (1997) the state of ethnic identity and migrants' attitudes towards the host society are the main points to derive the four acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization.

Assimilation strategy: the assimilation strategy could be named when a minority group does not maintain its own heritage culture and seeks daily interaction with the majority group. The explanatory direction of the assimilation strategy states that the ethnic minority should assimilate and eventually converge with the majority group. In this case the lasting physical or racial differences do not constitute the basis for discrimination of the acculturating group. The minority group is not perceived as an alien any more, because its members refuse their cultural traditions or successfully imitate the dominant group.

An early concept of assimilation was provided by Park and Burgess (1921, 1969). It described assimilation as a process of interpretation and fusion in which cultural groups and individuals acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of another culture. In 1964, Milton Gordon provided a systematic and multidimensional view of the acculturation phenomenon. Gordon's assimilation theory was based on several essential points. First, he clearly separated acculturation and assimilation. According to Gordon (1964), one of the early phases of assimilation is cultural assimilation when the minority internalizes and takes the dominant societal norms, values and behaviour patterns. The second phase is a marital assimilation, which means that individuals of a minority group get married with individuals from the dominant society. Finally, Gordon pointed out that structural assimilation is the influx of minority into the institutions of dominant societies. If structural assimilation takes place together or separately from the acculturation phenomenon, all other types of assimilation follow naturally after that. Gordon (1964) stressed that structural assimilation rather than acculturation is the foundation for assimilation. The definition of assimilation was significantly important because it distinguished and defined the constitutive parts of the assimilation phenomenon. Gordon's acculturation concept was criticized because of its micro-sociological account of assimilation orientation (Barth, 1956). Gordon stands firmly in favour of links between acculturation and what he calls structural assimilation. It emphasizes the character of an individual's primary-group affiliations and makes this concept not conceptually integrated into a larger social process (Alba and Nee, 1999).

Integration strategy: the integration strategy refers to a positive attitude towards maintenance of one's ethnic identity and cultural heritage. Simultaneously the interaction with the host majority is involved (Berry, 1997). Most studies of the acculturation phenomenon found a strong tendency among foreigners to prefer the integration strategy (Berry, 1997,

2006). However, there is still a need for investigating what specific integration strategy stands for acculturation of an individual or how it influences different domains of acculturation (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997). Although individuals maintain their ethnic identity after integration (Gaertner, Dovidio, 2000), they simultaneously share common identity with the host society. In the case of integration, the attitude of the host majority towards immigrants becomes significantly important. Integration can only be freely chosen if the majority pursue integrationist policy, where toleration exists with certain psychological pre-conditions (Berry, Kalin, 1995). For example, if assimilation is preferred as the most appropriate way of acculturating migrants, then such policy is called “pressure cooker”. Nevertheless, if separation is expected from migrants, then segregation is implemented in the national policy. The positive pre-conditions for integration of foreigners could include acceptance of the value of cultural diversity (multicultural ideology), a low level of racial prejudice, existence of positive attitudes between minority and majority or adjustment of health care, educational, labour and other institutions for the needs of foreigners.

Separation strategy: the separation strategy is perceived as a preference of immigrants to maintain their own ethnic identity and culture, simultaneously avoiding adaptation in the dominant culture. Such ethnic profile shows a strong orientation towards their own ethnic group, using their national language in the daily life and maintaining social contacts with their ethnic group. Traditional cultural values regarding families are highly valued among foreigners who adopt this acculturation strategy. The separation strategy is further divided into segregation, when the host society apply apartheid policy and into separation proper, when the minority apply this strategy as a possible adaptation way.

Empirical studies showed a wide variation between the tendency to adapt in a new society and such variables as capability to use local language and the impact of attitudes of the host society towards foreigners. When individuals perceive a relatively high discrimination rate, they tend to adopt separation or marginalization strategies and vice versa (Castro, 2003).

Marginalization: the marginalization acculturation option reflects feelings of alienation, loss of ethnic identity and confusion. Acculturative stress is expected at the highest level (Duarte, 2009). Marginalization emerges when individuals lose relationships with their heritage culture, however simultaneously individuals do not seek any contacts with the host country. This acculturation strategy is defined as the least successful and least positive acculturation orientation (Sam and Berry, 1996).

2. 2. 1 Individual-level variables

According to the theories mentioned above, in my view, there is a need to present acculturation variables through which I will deepen knowledge of Lithuanian workers' acculturation in Rogaland area. Those variables include ethnic identity, behaviour, value system, self-esteem, coping styles and dispositional resources and could be used analysing acculturation at the individual level.

Ethnic identity is part of a broader set of self-identification (social identity). According to the self-identity theory developed by Tajfel and Turner (1985), if the identity of a person is silent, then individual needs, beliefs and motives determine their behaviour. On the other hand, if the social identity of an individual is activated such individuals are inclined to see themselves as members of the social group. Lange (1989) pointed out that identifying oneself with a particular ethnic group does not necessarily means that an individual bears identity of this group. The theory of social identity defines it as valuing relationships and existence of motivation to belong to certain group. Verkuyten and DeWolf (2002) noticed that first individuals need to feel satisfied when belonging to a certain group (motivation to belong).

Ethnic identity is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group (Phinney, 2003). According to Erikson (1968), identity may be considered as the qualities of sameness in connection to a person's relation to others and to a particular group of people. Ethnic identity may be perceived as individual's sense of belonging to society based on social experience. The mode of ethnic identity may influence the individual's thoughts, beliefs and behaviour and thus it is necessary to understand social behaviour. Therefore ethnic identity becomes salient as part of the acculturation process. Ethnic identity considers it the subjective sense to belonging to an appropriate cultural group. In this case, acculturation refers to a broader construct which encompasses changes in values, behaviour, attitudes and the intensity of ethnic identity (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, Vedder, 2001). Therefore acculturation scales were developed from single items (such as ethnic identity) to the behavioural dimension and the state of multiple items (Cuellar, Harris, Jasso, 1980).

Various degrees of ethnic identity may be treated as different degrees of acculturation (Schönpflug, 2002). Social identities derive "from a fundamental tension between human needs for validation and similarity to others (on the one hand) and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation (on the other)" (Brewer, 1991, p. 477). Thus a balanced state of ethnic identity is supposed to be in the case of a medium tendency to assimilate and to

differentiate, and an intermediate level of inclusion. The low level of ethnic identity signifies a high tendency to assimilate, a low tendency to differentiate and a low level of inclusion into the heritage culture. A high level of ethnic identity means a low tendency to assimilate, a high tendency to differentiate and a high level of inclusion (Schönpflug, 2002).

Ethnic identity may be viewed through positive attitudes to the heritage culture, and a sense of belonging to this culture, relationships with other members and acceptance of ethnic practices (food, music, language, and customs). A primordial approach considers ethnic identity as the sense of self and belonging to a group as a fixed state, which is outlined by common origin (ancestry) and common biological characteristics. The social constructionist theory refers to the viewpoint that ethnic identity is a socially constructed, non-fixed, changeable state which is formed by individuals' choice. According to Berry's acculturation model (Berry, 1997), individuals may choose whether to maintain their own ethnic identity or not. The state of ethnic identity concedes to different acculturation strategies. Strong ethnic identities are found in the integration strategy. However, simultaneously individuals have close ties with the host society. The separation strategy is appropriate to explain strong ethnic identity and a weak relationship with the majority. A low level of ethnic identity, but a strong relationship with the society of settlement indicates the assimilation strategy. In the case of low ethnic identity and low level of sociability with the host culture, the marginalization strategy is appropriate to explain the individual's way of acculturation.

In cross-cultural studies, ethnic identity of migrants is investigated in relation to the majority group (intergroup) or to one's own group (intragroup). Both relationships with the heritage culture and relationships with the mainstream culture are important in the context of acculturation.

Values may be named as "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede, 2003, p. 5). Values are psychological issues, which are "not directly observed, but rather delineated from their manifestations in social organization, practices, and symbols and self-reports" (Berry, 2011, p. 92). In comparison with attitudes, values are considered to be more general in character. Bernal and Knight (1993) defined acculturation as a "cultural change because of conjunction of autonomous cultural systems when the dynamic of this phenomenon is conveyed through selective adaptation of value systems" (Bernal, Knight, 1993). In this case, some cultural values may change when others often remain unchanged, and therefore could be called as more central and characteristic to a particular culture (Bernal, Knight, 1993).

In order to find out how Lithuanian workers change their behaviour through acculturation, I employed the value system consisting of ten items, presented in Liubiniene's

(2002) research (Table 1). The value system was ascertained by using the methodology of Schwartz and Bilsky (1987). They formulated the theory of universal values and empirically tested it in forty countries.

Values	Age groups		
	18 -29	30-49	50-75
Family health	9,74	9,84	9,81
World peace	9,4	9,62	9,57
Honouring of parent	9,39	9,47	9,59
Social justice	9,13	9,18	8,91
Social life (friends)	9,05	8,83	8,18
Wealth (money)	8,88	8,78	8,43
Self-fulfilment	8,7	8,48	6,53
Self-discipline	8,63	8,89	8,39
A varied life	8,53	8,02	6,98
Being influential	7,12	6,72	5,92

Table 1. The value system. Source: Liubiniene (2002).

Simultaneously with the shift of the value system the orientation towards “dependent collectivism” or individualism was analysed in the research developed by Liubiniene (2002). Such countries as Lithuania are described as having “dependent collectivism” while the majority of western countries are termed as having “independent individualism” (Hofstede, 1980). The data of research carried out by Liubiniene showed that family health, world peace and honouring of parents are the most important values among Lithuanians.

Human behaviour is cultural, because the human species is fundamentally a social one (Berry, et al., 2011). It is important to distinguish between conflict-free changes of behaviour (the behavioural shift) and acculturative stress. Acculturative stress results from psychological conflict and social disintegration. According to Berry (1992), “in the case of assimilation outcome behavioural change is maximal while in the case of the separation mode there is a return to more traditional (similar to minimally changed) behaviours, integration represents an outcome on which there is a relatively stable balance between behavioural continuity with one's traditional culture and change towards the new culture” (Fig. 2). “In the case of marginalization the individual is suspended, often in the state of personal and social conflict between the two cultures” (Berry, 1992, p. 281).

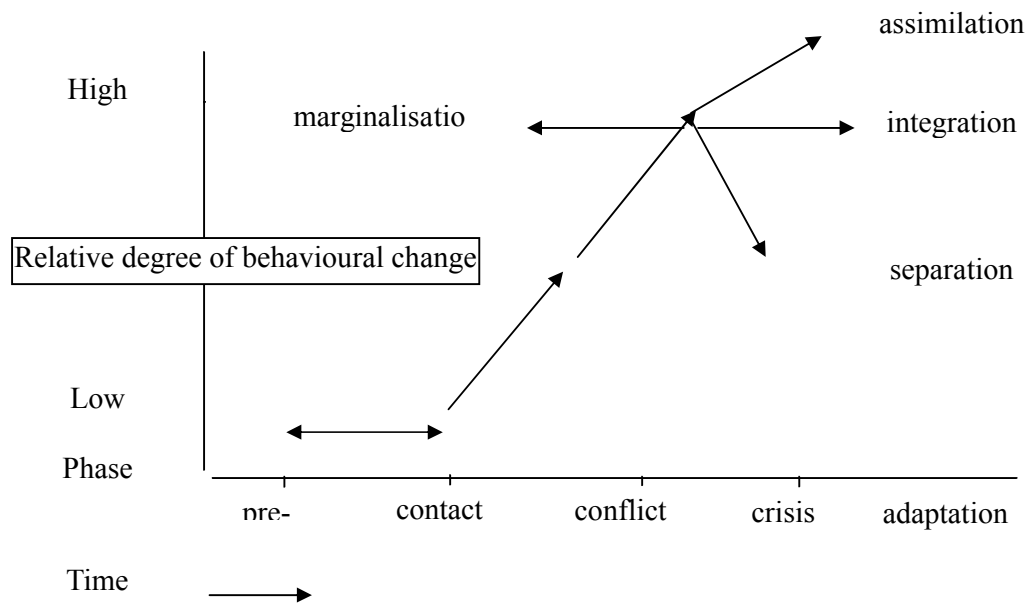


Figure 2. Degree of cultural and psychological change. Source: Berry (1992).

In the case of acculturation, intercultural contact between two cultures - the culture of origin and the host society is a starting point to analyse acculturation outcomes (Berry, 1997). Such contact for migrants may be stressful. According to Taft (1977), coping styles are a central variable in acculturation. Acculturative stress refers to the psychological impact of adaptation to a new culture, or in other words, migration experience. In the pioneer studies of acculturation, the presumption was that contacts between two and more cultures are inevitably stressful for newcomers. In many cases intercultural contact has an influence on migrants' health status. The level of acculturative stress increases together with acculturation problems. However, Berry (1992, 1997) argued that acculturative stress may be avoidable. In some cases individuals experience no stress during acculturation. In this case, individuals overcome merely what is called culture "shedding", culture learning and cultural conflict (Berry, 1992). Acculturative stress or "culture shock" could be named when migration experience is considered as negative and problematic, with difficulties (stressors). Frequently acculturative stress cannot be easily overcome by adjusting or assimilating to it (Berry, 1997).

The intensity of acculturative stress and the way of stress-coping depend on cultural similarities and differences between the host society and the society of origin (Cox, 1987). If cultural differences are significant, individuals experience more intense acculturative stressors. Such variables as attitudes of host society towards foreigners, personal variables (education, gender, age, psychological and spiritual strengths) may help overcome acculturative stress (Cox, 1987, Berry and Kim, 1988, Berry, 1997). For example, high

education is predictive with lower stressors and positive adaptation (Berry, 1997). A positive correlation was found between employment, ability to speak local language and acculturative stress. The research developed by Nwadiota and McAdoo (1996) presented findings that the individuals who were employed experienced less acculturative stress than those without jobs; those foreigners who were able to speak English (in America) were less affected by acculturative stressors. On the other hand, Nwadiota and McAdoo's (1996) research showed that there were no significant differences between acculturative stress and gender.

In many cases, the ability to cope may have significant influence on successful adaptation. The distinction between active and passive stress coping strategies was made by Diaz-Guerrero (1979). Later Endler and Parker (1990) identified the third, the avoidance stress-coping strategy. Self-oriented and emotion-focused stress-coping style refers to the passive stress coping strategy, and implies an attempt to regulate the emotions which bring stressful situation. Achieved psychopathological state indicates that the stressors have not been removed, and the problems, which arose during immigration, were not resolved. In this case, marginalization or separation are likely acculturation outcomes (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984, Berry, 1997). On the contrary, when acculturation problems have been suppressed, integration or assimilation is a likely outcome. The problem-oriented stress-coping strategy (active strategy) is diverted to change the situation and solve acculturation problems. However, if an acculturation problem lies in the host society, then the capacity to overcome stress is strongly linked with attitudes of the host society. Active and passive stress coping will not imply successful integration if attitudes of the host society are hostile (Berry, Kim, 1988). In this case, only individual capacity to overcome stressors may not suffice.

Global self-esteem is considered a predictor of the individual's behaviour, an index of psychological well-being and a general judgement of personal worth (Gray-Little, Hafdahl, 2000). Global self-esteem is the person's overall esteem which he or she has in comparison to other individuals (Schmitt, Alik, 2005). Stress erodes feelings of personal control, therefore supposes lower self-esteem. In the case of emigration, a different cultural environment with foreign language, customs, and values would negatively affect self-esteem (Gray-Little, Hafdahl, 2000). Cross-cultural researches indicated that integration or bicultural attitude is related to higher self-esteem. Assimilation orientation is more often found among individuals with low self-esteem (Phinney, Chavira, and Williamson, 1992).

Sociability is a dispositional personal resource (factor), which refers to the preference of being with others rather than alone (Schönpflug, 2002). Intercultural studies showed a positive correlation with agreeableness and socialization (Sam, Berry, 2006). Schönpflug (2002), in her research of Turkish adolescents' acculturation in Germany, showed that

dispositional resources decreased linearly with the ethnic identity. Strong ethnic identity was found among persons with the lowest level of personal resources such as sociability, activity, intelligence (Schönpflug, 2002). On the other hand, adaptive personal resources (stress coping styles, global self-esteem, social development) were not as strong predictors for the state of ethnic identity as dispositional resources (sociability, activity), gender or age. The study revealed that the more adolescents rate themselves as having better relationships with their brothers, parents, friends, the less acculturated they were in the host society (Schönpflug, 2002). Such findings presuppose that higher sociability in one's cultural group implies lower integration into the mainstream culture. According to Brewer (2003), the intermediate state of inclusion into one's own ethnic group (intermediate state of ethnic identity) reflects the balance between tendencies to differentiate from one's own ethnic group and assimilate to the ethnic group of origin. Employing Brewer's model (2003), high self-esteem and absence of stressors indicate intermediate state of ethnic identity. However, Schönpflug's (2002) research showed that in the case of low ethnic identity, high self-esteem, a relatively low level of stressors and high sociability may exist as well.

Basic personality dimensions, in addition to acculturation internal factors, have impact on social behaviour (Zuckerman, 1994). According to Schmitz, (1993, 1994) coping styles, motivation of migration, the degree of acculturation stress, acculturative attitudes, and finally acculturation strategies are closely related to the type of personality. Migrants who could be described as open-minded and flexible usually follow the integration strategy (Witkin, 1965). Migrants who follow the assimilation or the segregation strategies try to avoid conflicts between their beliefs and values, and those of the host society. Empirical findings show that the segregation strategy was preferred by persons who were less extroverted (Adler and Gielen, 2003). For such persons it is more difficult to have contact with others. (Extroversion is considered the tendency to seek stimulation and the company of others).

2. 3. Society of settlement: Norway

In the acculturation framework the analysis of the host country becomes of importance. 'The central premise of the contextual approach to acculturation is that the attitudes of the host majority society towards members of acculturating groups have a powerful effect on the latter's acculturation orientations and on their levels of adaptation' (Sam and Berry, 2006, p. 304). All variations of the majority's attitudes may have influence on the adaptation of minorities. However, the policy of the state towards foreigners is a focal point (Nguyen, 2006). Therefore, I am going to present Norway as a host country for

Lithuanian migrants paying attention to formation of migration policy in Norway and the attitudes towards foreigners.

A relatively high degree of immigration in Norway emerged quite late in comparison with other European countries. Most immigrants came from Nordic countries in the 1960s.² However, in the late 1960s a booming economy and a labour shortage led Norway to accept guest workers.³ Enormous immigration (refugees and asylum-seekers, labour movement, family reunification) emerged in 1960s. There were no restrictions on immigration in Norway. In 1975, the first restriction was imposed to protect the welfare state (Brochmann, Lavenex, 2002).

Although Norway did not join the EU, it effectively lost capacity to conduct autonomous immigration policy as a consequence of Europeanization (Brochmann, Lavenex, 2002). Norway maintains cooperation through international agreements which allow establishing a common area (Schengen area) where people can freely circulate. This Nordic country has signed some other international agreements that affected regulation of migration in the country. In 1994 Norway joined the European Economic Area (EEA). This international agreement allowed countries to participate in the European internal market and led to the so called four freedoms: freedom of movement of people, goods, services and capital without a necessity to confirm the agreement with the EU membership. The right of free movement of people has been established in Annex V, “Free movement of workers” and Annex VIII, “Right of the establishment” of the EEA Agreements (1994). According to this international agreement, citizens of the EEA countries have a right of free circulation, settlement and employment in another EEA State. Workers from any EEA country have the right to be treated in the same way as citizens of the host country, their qualifications are recognized and they have access to social security benefits. However, an exception of certain working places in the public sector exists as well as restrictions of 2007 according to the enlargement of EU.⁴ The free movement of people was determined in the Schengen-Agreement which was signed in 1996. This international agreement facilitates the movement of persons rejecting the control at the borders of the EU Member States (passport and border control). It enables Norway to establish a common space with other countries of the Schengen-Agreement in the social sphere, for example, in security and in justice.

Norway seeks to turn into the ‘most inclusive society in the world’ (OECD, 2010, p. 26). Regarding this aim, a comprehensive Action Plan for Integration and Social Inclusion of

² A common labour market, established in the 1950s, and a common passport-control area, which was added in the late 1950s, influenced this phenomenon.

³ Labour migrants from Morocco, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and particularly from Pakistan.

⁴ Restriction on the free movement of workers from Bulgaria and Romania.

the Immigrant Population was established in October 2006. The importance to give a possibility for immigrants to learn the Norwegian language, to get full and equal access to the labour market and to have the right to belong to political and voluntary organizations was stressed in this plan. The Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion is the main institution for implementation of the integration policy in Norway. Despite this target of Norway's government, a unique attitude towards foreigners exists in Norway's society. This country confronts with the contradiction between the preservation of the welfare state with limited resources and the implementation of officially declared integration policy in praxis. It is a challenge for Norway, because on the one hand, 'the welfare state is designated to take care of all who need support within the national boundaries' (Brochmann, 2003, p. 46), on the other hand, the issue of limited resources exists. Everyone is equal in the welfare state and everyone can gain equal benefits. However, well-offs mean reciprocal benefits. A common view exists in Norway that immigrants should benefit the state of settlement because conversely the majority population form negative stances towards immigrants when they see a notable part of social benefits being directed to them (Alesina, Gleaser, 2004). The welfare state, the regulations of labour market and the well-being of the nation are the main fields of Norway's immigration policy. The government of the state has the primary role to protect and maintain social and economic well-being within its territory. The model of balanced economy exists in Norway with the characteristics of socialism and capitalism, with its private economic freedom and some degree of governmental control (Bullock, Trombley, 1999).

Recently, the immigration policy of Norway has been oriented towards several important goals. The first goal is to decrease the number of asylum seekers who do not meet the conditions for protection. Since 2008, Norway has experienced the largest increase in the arrivals of asylum seekers in Europe. The second goal is to control immigration in order to ensure stable economic and social development, cultural exchange and exchange of knowledge (Ministry of Justice and Police, 2011). The Immigration Act, adopted in 2010, regulates the entry and exit of foreigners in Norway. This Act, as a framework with general principles, has established the rule to regulate and to govern labour immigration according to the needs of Norway (Ministry of Justice and Police, 2011).

The integration policy in Norway has some forms of nationalism and dissociation from foreigners (Eriksen, 1993). Such position is grounded in the historical past - Norway is a peripheral country in Europe, with late urbanization and with 'private and introvert' society (Eriksen, 1993). However, in comparison with other European countries, Norway's position towards foreigners tends to be in the middle or at the end of the liberal or tolerant scale on the majority of immigrant issues (Blom, 2007). Attitudes towards foreigners have varied in

Norway over time and depend on the economic and demographic situation as well as social factors such as education, gender, age and geographic area. The survey made in 2002 and 2003 in Norway showed that the opinion that foreigners are more likely to make criminals was more widespread in Norway than in other European countries. Four out of ten Norwegians do not see immigrants in their families as close relatives (Blom, 2007). On the other hand, the survey data of 2002 and 2003 (Blom, 2007) showed that more than a half of all respondents agreed that immigrants made an important contribution to Norwegian working life. This standpoint was supported by the survey made in 2010 (Statistics Norway, 2010).

Despite the integrationalist policy, which is implemented in Norway, Norwegian society still tends to see foreigners as assimilated into the mainstream culture (Statistics Norway, 2010). Historically there were several “attempts” to create a homogeneous society in Norway or assimilate other cultural groups. Because of a relatively low rate of immigration until 1970s, two cultural groups, Sami and Kvens, experienced especially strong assimilation policy (Niemi, 1995). “The Norwegization“ was found in education, health and agricultural policies. Minorities were seen as obstacles to consolidation of the national state and to the general development of society (Josevsen, 2001). The ideological foundation for this policy was social Darwinism, which influenced and penetrated all social spheres: legislation, research and practical politics. The integration policy has been on the political agenda in Norway since the 1970s and it was officially presented in the White Paper in 1980, which protected immigrants from the forces of assimilation. Respect for the language and culture of migrants was formulated in the 1988 White paper.

Attitudes towards migrants in Norway's labour market are strongly related to the economic cycles (Blom, 2010). The economic crisis has its own impact on the formation of official position and implementation of integration policy in the country. The main tendency of liberalization has appeared over time. In general, labour migration is valued in Norway because of its contribution to Norwegian working life. Therefore migrants who come to work, especially educated people, are highly appreciated.

2. 4. The country of origin: Lithuania

Lithuania experienced the Soviet era for a long time. Ideological aspects of former Soviet Union were the background for all social spheres, including migration. In the ideological handbooks outflows from the Soviet Union were classified under the collective heading of Soviet patriotism (Karlsson, 1995). Voluntary emigration from a Soviet state was illogical, because the Soviet Union was considered as highly developed welfare country. The transition phase from the Soviet Union's socialistic economy towards the capitalist economy

was conducted by restructuring the domestic economy and privatization (Smith, 2007). The economic growth, which started slowly in 1993, was supported by the implementation of the monetary reform. Transformation of the monetary policy, privatization and foreign investments had considerable importance for stabilization and growth of the Lithuanian economy. The economic growth achieved was the fastest among Eastern European countries during 2003-2004 (Seiter, 2010) and there was 8 % growth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from the accession into the EU in 2004 till 2007 (World Bank, 2009).

Lithuania's economy is based on the capitalist free-market principles. On the other hand, many negative economic factors encourage emigration. The average monthly earnings in Lithuania in 2004 were nine times less than those in the United Kingdom or six times less than those in Ireland (Dapkus, Matuzeviciute, 2008). The unemployment rate fell down to 5.6 per cent in 2006. This was caused by intensive emigration, which continued and increased. Inflation, instability in the financial sector and reduced foreign investment plunged the GDP. The GDP is still in a lower position than before the crisis (Statistic Lithuania, 2011). Wages in Lithuania have always been relatively low in comparison with the Western countries (Appendix 5). However, after the financial setback wages again decreased as the unemployment rate increased (Chart 1).

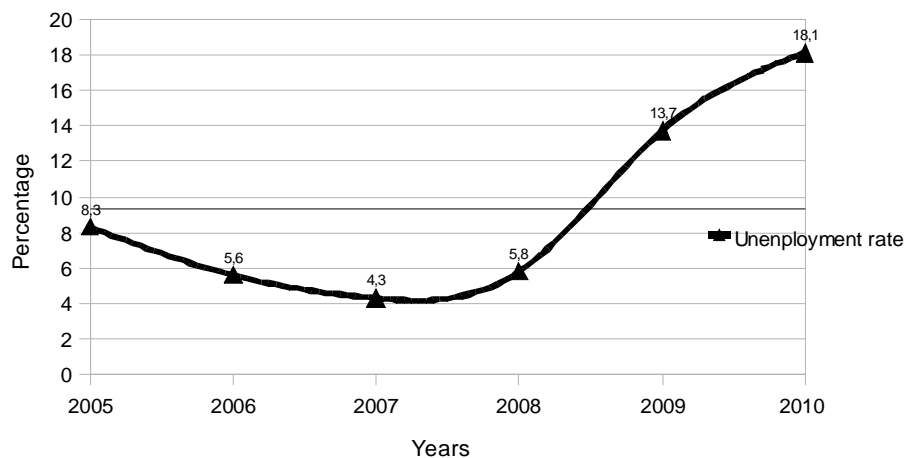


Chart 1. Unemployment rate (%) in Lithuania 2005-2010. Data: Statistics Lithuania, 2010. Chart elaborated by the author.

During the Soviet period, there were no statistical data about Lithuanian migration outside the Soviet Union. There were no analyses of emigration flows, because such studies were considered politically unacceptable researches. Such situation still continued after Lithuania regained its independence. There were no statistical data of emigration and qualitative information about Lithuanian emigrants, including professions, previous working

sectors, emigration reasons and destinations from 1990 to 2001. Therefore, the extent of emigration was generally explained and based on sporadic researches and information (Martinaitis, Zvalionyte, 2007).

Since 1990, when Lithuania achieved its independence, new emigration patterns and directions have emerged. The emigration policy was liberalized when Lithuania opened up boundaries towards Westerner countries. Emigration from Lithuania emerged as short-term flows, having illegal or semi-legal nature (Romaniszyn, 1997). The majority of emigrants were young age, highly-educated males aged 20 to 39 (Statistics Lithuania, 2006). According to Sipaviciene (2009), Lithuania lost about 20 % of its working age population. Higher education predominated among Lithuanian migrants. However, Lithuanian workers mostly took jobs below their qualification levels (Thaut, 2009). The “brain drain”, which emerged after re-establishment of independence, was encouraged by political, economic and social changes (Bagdanavicius, Jodkoniene, 2008). According to the approximate data by Statistics Lithuania (2005), approximate data, about 300 000 people emigrated from Lithuania during the time period from 1990 to 2005. More than half of such flows were not declared (Appendix 2).

Since 2004, Lithuania has been part of the EU. Mobility among Lithuanians increased due to the freedoms and rights in other member states of the EU. The wave of Lithuanian migration fluctuated insignificantly through the period from 2004 to 2009. However, the rate of migration increased in 2010, and reached 83157 migrants per year (Appendix 3). Emigration of Lithuanians increased four times in comparison with the previous year. Such increase is mainly explained by the obligation to pay the mandatory health insurance fee in accordance with the 2008 Social Insurance Act (Official Gazette, 2008). Lithuanian citizens who have not declared emigration have a duty to pay a certain rate of fee (SODRA, 2011).

The growing emigration of Lithuanians shows, that Lithuanians tend to move from their country of birth and find a new living place elsewhere. According to the Department of Statistics of Lithuania (Statistics Lithuania, 2011), the biggest part of all Lithuanian migrants choose the United Kingdom and Ireland (Chart 2). More than one third of emigrants immigrated to the United Kingdom in 2009 (Statistics Lithuania, 2011). 14 per cent of all emigrants migrated to Ireland in 2009 and 15.7 per cent in 2010 (Appendix 4). According to statistics (Statistics Lithuania, 2009), 10377 Lithuanian citizens migrated to Norway.

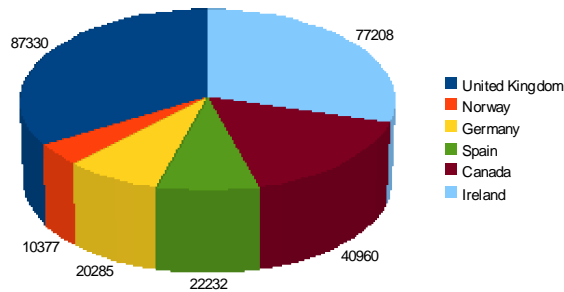


Chart 2. The distribution of countries according to the Lithuanian immigration. Data: Migration Department: Yearbook, 2009. Chart elaborated by the author.

Recently the most common migration type has been short-term, irregular migration, when one of the family members mainly fulfils an economic function (Martinaitis, Zvalionyte, 2007). Net migration has always remained negative since Lithuania achieved its independence (Appendix 2). Therefore, the emigration phenomenon started to be approached as a threat for the Republic of Lithuania, its statehood, economic, political development, and maintenance of the cultural peculiarity.

The most important question analysing the considerable Lithuanian emigration is why Lithuanians make a decision to emigrate? What are the causes of emigration? According to Hollifield (2007), 'migration is caused primarily by dualities in the international economies'. The inequalities which persist between countries encourage individuals to search for a better life. The supporters of the neoclassical approach argue that every person receives and uses his/her own marginal product of labour. Therefore they have taken the view that immigration increases the welfare of the host country, while the economy of the country from which the labour force is exported in this case does not deteriorate. From the point of view of the microeconomic theory, migration is investment, and the profit is the difference between the income gained in the destination country and the income which used to be received in the home country.

The reasons of the Lithuanian emigration were primarily of an economic nature - the prospect of finding a better job or higher income abroad figured prominently (Romaniszyn, 1997). Such statement has been supported by statistical data (Statistic Lithuania, 2008, 2009). On the other hand, the explanation of emigration only by differences in labour wages is insufficient. According to Martinaitis and Zvalionyte (2007), profound structural problems should be taken into account in order to explain emigration from Lithuania. One of the reasons of emigration may be considered the gap between possession of a high qualification

and the possibility for employment as a specialist in Lithuania. Therefore, part of employees with high qualifications made a decision to emigrate, whereas another part took low qualification jobs in Lithuania. In this case, individuals with low or no qualifications were constrained to find jobs in other countries. The imbalance between labour supply and labour demand is shown in Figure 3 through the variation of salary. The balanced state between labour supply, demand and amount of salary is denoted by point A. When the supply of high qualification specialists grows higher than demand, the second balance emerges (point B). The growth of supply shows disparity between Q1 and Q2. The diminished wage amount of high qualification workers shows disparity between P1 and P2.

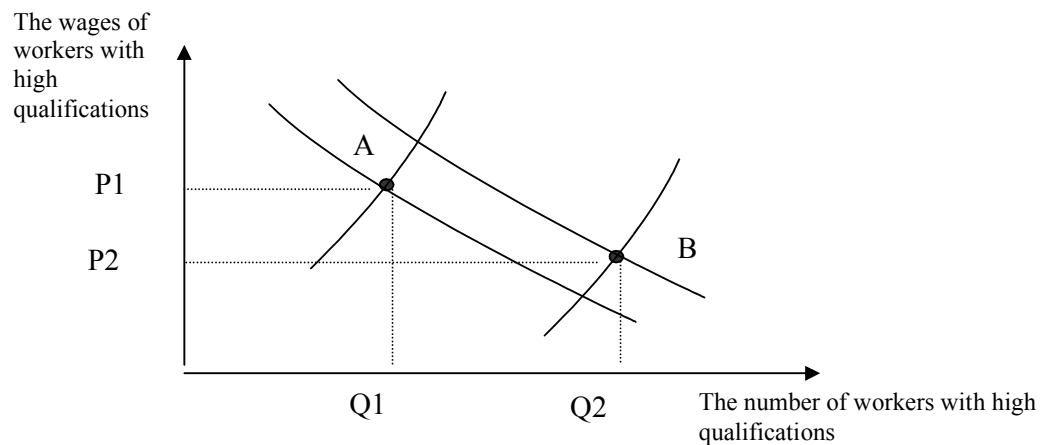


Figure 3. The imbalance between labour supply and labour demand. Source: Martinaitis, Zvalionyte, (2007).

The crisis of values may be named as a non-economic reason for emigration (Ziliukaite, 2007). Researches by Mitrika (2000), Savicka (2000) demonstrated that the value system in Lithuania is changing. The young generation tends to have more liberal viewpoint towards family relationships and work. Young people more often support the standpoint of bringing up children in a lone-parent family and the possibility for earning money without working activity. Possibility for involvement in political and social life is a non-dominant factor among young Lithuanians (Ziliukaite, 2006). Such change of values may have significant importance for the decision to emigrate. Better career opportunities abroad, self-realization, feeling of being self-worth encourage emigration (Ziliukaite, 2006). Lately, growing Lithuanian communities in emigration countries have become of significant importance for emigration (the Social capital theory). The research in Ireland revealed that friends or family members helped 60 % of all Lithuanians in Ireland in search of employment to find jobs (Feldman, Gilmartin, Loyal, Migge, 2008).

The wave of the Lithuanian migration into Norway tended to increase from 2005 to 2009, when it reached 536 Lithuanians per year. However in comparison with the United Kingdom, which is the most preferred emigration country among Lithuanians, the migration rate to Norway is almost ten times lower (Chart 3)

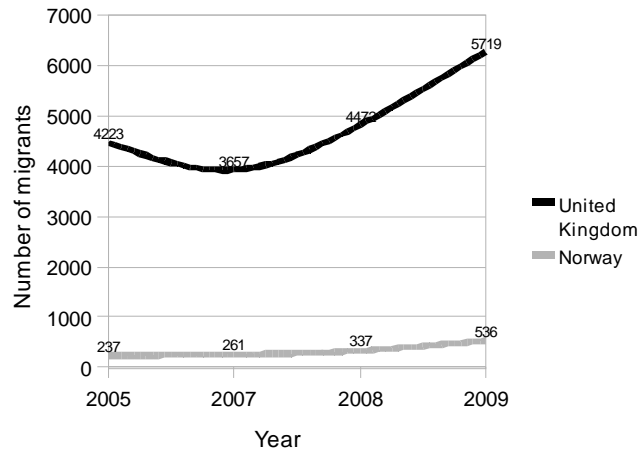


Chart 3. The Lithuanian emigrants who have declared their country of immigration. Data: Statistics Lithuania, 2009. Table elaborated by the author.

The net migration from Lithuania to Norway increased from 510 in 2009 to 1370 in 2010, which is even higher than the level of 2008 (Statistics Norway, 2009). In terms of immigration, Lithuania ranks third after Poland and Sweden in 2009 or even second in 2010 (Statistics Norway, 2010). According to Statistics Norway (2011), in 2010 there were 10341 Lithuanians in Norway. Norway's statistical data indicated that 6449 Lithuanians immigrated in 2010, whereas the Lithuanian statistical data showed only 536 individuals who immigrated to Norway. Such disparity could be explained by non-registered emigration, which is significant among Lithuanians (Appendix 2). According to Statistics Norway (2011), recently the number of Lithuanians in Norway (together with Swedish migrants) has increased significantly. In 2nd quarter 2011, Lithuanian immigration was in the second position in number following Poland (Chart 4).

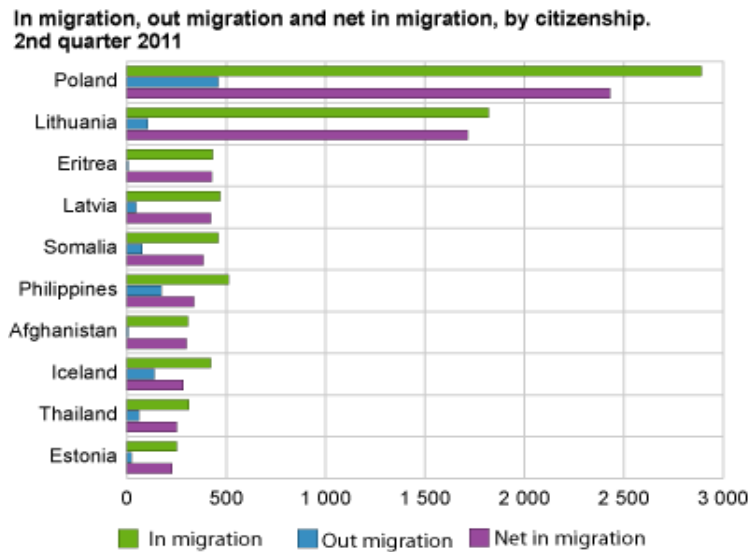


Chart 4. Immigration in Norway. Source: Statistics Norway, 2011.

Lithuanians “found” Norway when such countries as the United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany were affected by economic crisis of 2008 - 2009. Meanwhile the impact of the financial crisis on Norway's economic growth was relatively limited (OECD, 2010). On the other hand, such reasons as a high salary, welfare state, possibility for use of the English language were important for choosing Norway as the host country. At the beginning of 2011, most Lithuanian migrants had resided in Norway for less than five years (Statistics Norway, 2011). According to statistics (Statistics Norway, 2011), 242 Lithuanian migrants got Norwegian citizenship. Lithuanians tended to reside in Bergen (830 immigrants), Stavanger (411), Bærum (259), Drammen (288), Fredrikstad (146) municipalities (Statistics Norway, 2011). The biggest part of Lithuanian immigrants work as unskilled workers, despite their relatively high qualifications, which prevail among Lithuanians. Lithuanians work in agriculture as seasonal workers. Men tend to work in the building industry, and the engineering industry, whereas women work as cleaners or waitresses. On the other hand, recently Lithuanians have found their occupations as skilled workers in the nursing sector and engineering (the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Service, 2011).

It should be noted that there is no clear definition of what labour migration actually means in the migration theory. Analysing Lithuanian workers' acculturation, it is necessary to ascertain what actually labour and economic migration means. Therefore I briefly present some theoretical discussions relevant to this issue. There is no single, coherent theory of international migration, because migration is too diverse and multifaceted to be explained by a single theory (Arango, 2004). Such ambiguity implicates uncertainty of definition of labour

migration. As pointed out by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the definition of labour migration has not been universally accepted. In relevant literature, there is no clear definition of what labour migration actually means. Sometimes the term *labour migration* is used as a synonym of definition of economic migration. However, 'economic migrant' is someone who moves from one country to another for the purposes of seeking employment or improving his/her financial situation by using other economic activities such as investing or business travel. In the United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families there is a statement that the term *migrant worker* refers to a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national (United Nations Convention, 1990). The International Labour Organization (ILO) uses the term of migrant for employment as a person who migrates from one country to another with a view to being employed otherwise than on his own account and includes any person regularly admitted as a migrant for employment (ILO Convention, 1949).

Migration implies distance of movement, length of stay and migration reasons. Classification of labour migration is usually based on the duration of activities and on the distinctions made by receiving countries in their regulatory framework (ILO, 2011). However, international discourse brings to the fore the following question: Does the term of labour migration only embrace those who can clearly indicate reasons of movement or should it include all working age migrants that subsequently may be engaged?

Chapter 3. Empirical part

3. 1. Research findings

In this part of the present study I will present the empirical findings which I received from interviews, considering the main research questions. First, I will briefly present the agencies involved in this research in order to answer the following questions: How is acculturation of Lithuanian workers viewed by Norwegian institutions responsible for migration and acculturation issues? How do such institutions actually help to integrate foreign workers?

Fellesforbundet:⁵ Fellesforbundet was established in 1988 in order to protect the rights of workers who were members of this organization. It is the largest trade union in the private sector in Norway (Fellesforbundet, 2011). The union unifies members in the building industry, agriculture, the shipbuilding industry, hotels and restaurants, in the iron and metal industry. The main task of Fellesforbundet is to improve wages and working conditions and to ensure equal pay for equal work for employees despite their nationality. Fellesforbundet is a member of the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO). This agency has close collaboration ties with such political parties as Norwegian Labour Party in order to develop wages and working conditions in Norway. The work of the union is organized through the central office located in Oslo and seventeen district offices all over the country. There is one agency in Rogaland located in Stavanger which bounds four other offices. Work in this organization is divided into different sectors: building and construction sector, hotel, catering and cleaning services, oil, gas and energy and other sectors. In the case of Lithuanian worker acculturation particular importance is given to construction, hotel, restaurant and cleaning branches, which advocate employees working in those sectors.

NAV:⁶ the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Service is a combined social service in Norway. It was established in 2006 as a result of a comprehensive welfare reform. Three organizations - the National Insurance Organization (state agency), the National Employment Service (state agency) and the Social Welfare System (municipal agency) - were unified into one organization (NAV, 2008). The work is organized through the central institution in Oslo and local agencies in every municipality. The main task of NAV is to assist people in finding a job. NAV also provides financial security to individuals for arrangements such as

⁵ <http://www.fellesforbundet.no/>

⁶ <http://www.nav.no>

unemployment benefits, family allowances, cash benefits, sickness benefits and pensions (Nyinorge, 2011).

Service Centre for Foreign Workers in Norway:⁷ this centre was established as a joint service in collaboration with the Labour Inspection Authority, Police, Tax Office (Skatteetaten) and the Directorate of Immigration. The main purpose of this service is to provide information to foreign workers and their family members about their rights, regulations and duties in Norway. Foreigners can get residence permits for themselves and for their family members. They can register with the Population Registry or apply for a tax deduction card. The service is available in English, Polish, Lithuanian, Russian and other languages in this agency. There are only two offices in Norway. One is located in Oslo and the other is in Stavanger (Rogaland). The main aim of the establishment of this agency was to encourage foreigners to declare their place of residence and economic activity in Norway. According to the data of this agency, Lithuanian workers actively embrace the service. They can get information in English or even in the Lithuanian language.

The police:⁸ The police are divided into 27 police districts in Norway. Each police district is guided by a police chief, responsible for budget, activity and results. There is a local police branch in Rogaland area which is divided into 19 municipalities with two bigger towns – Stavanger and Sandnes. Rogaland area differs from other parts of Norway. It is a national petroleum centre, with shipping and international business activities. However there are more active forms of such criminal activities as drug trafficking, stealing or prostitution or illegal migration.

The immigration phenomenon is viewed as a challenge for Norwegian society (Fellesforbundet, 2011). Foreign workers are acceptable in Norway as there is a need for both skilled and unskilled workers. However, the problem is that they plunge into exploitation. Lithuanian workers are characterized as hard-working and polite employees, who agree with unfavourable working conditions and low wages. Such situation distorts Norwegian labour market. Lithuanians often work without labour contracts and do not have full rights in Norway. Such fact was endorsed by an informant from NAV. “In case of illegal work, there cannot be any thoughts about integration of foreigners into Norwegian society”, a representative of this agency said. Illegal work is especially a big problem among foreign workers in Norwegian cleaning industry (Lindahl, 2011). When asked why Lithuanians tend to work in the black marked, one agent from Fellesforbundet replied that illegal work is a

⁷ <http://www.sua.no>

consequence of mutual agreement between employers and employees. “The problem is that Norwegians offer to work in the black market” (Fellesforbundet, 2011).

Another trend which has come into the light is that Lithuanian workers do not make efforts to learn the Norwegian language, or such efforts are insufficient. Lithuanian migrants speak better English than other ethnic groups who seek employment in Norway. However, they do not learn the Norwegian language, as the respondent of NAV noted (2011). The Norwegian language becomes of importance for getting a better job and achieving successful socialization (Fellesforbundet, NAV 2011). Although majority of Lithuanians speak English, it is not enough. ‘Not all Norwegians speak English, especially the old generation’, said the informant from Fellesforbundet (2011). Both informants agreed that the ability to speak Norwegian would increase a possibility for getting better jobs (Fellesforbundet, NAV 2011). It would help to easier get knowledge of the rights and duties as a worker in Norway. In this way it would increase the sociability at work and simultaneously facilitate integration in Norwegian society. The absence of efforts to learn the language could be explained by temporary living. Lithuanians tend to do temporary jobs and this gives them a feel of living in Norway for a short period. However, sometimes such ‘short duration’ continues for an indefinite period of time (Service Centre for Foreign Workers in Norway, Fellesforbundet, 2011). Temporary living conditions do not help the workers to integrate, but rather have a contrary effect. The informants from Fellesforbundet and NAV believe that temporary stay supposes the lack of integration motivation, creation of huts where alcohol and drugs are often used, and where crime rate is high. The promotion of permanent stay and integration of migrants is a way to keep those foreign workers who pay taxes, fill the lack of specialists and contribute to the creation of the welfare state.

A recent tendency among Lithuanian workers is to bring their families to Norway (Fellesforbundet, NAV, 2011). According to the informant from the police, all foreigners have a duty to register themselves in the Norwegian register.⁹ The registration data shows that family reunification has increased among Lithuanians (Police, 2011). In some cases living with families diminishes crime, especially among immigrants. Foreigners with families create broader social networks, including schools, kindergartens and health care services. Such social networks encourage better integration (Fellesforbundet, NAV. Police, 2011). The agent from NAV said that the family support system is attractive to foreigners and thus encourages family reunification. Norway supports family reunification. However, “...then the number of job-seekers increases” (NAV, 2011). Lithuanian immigrants tend to make use of public

⁸ www.politi.no

⁹ Follkeregister. <http://www.skatteetaten.no>

benefits (family allowances, child and unemployment benefits) and think that they have the right to do this without giving profit back to the Norwegian society (NAV, 2011). In some cases impositions emerge (Service Centre for Foreign Workers, 2011). Such situation does not help to create an advantageous dialogue between the majority and minority for better integration. When asked whether there is gender difference in acculturation, the informant of NAV answered that in comparison with men, women adapt better. Lithuanian women more frequently attend working and learning programs, which are organized by NAV, learn the Norwegian language, familiarize with the Norwegian culture and learn other relevant skills. Lithuanian women more frequently ask clearly formulated questions which show that they know their rights better than men (NAV, 2011). When asked whether it implies that women socialize better than men, the informant could not answer.

According to the informant from the police, the problem of crime exists among individuals from East Europe. In some cases, seeking employment is just a “cover” for criminal activities such as robbery, smuggling or trafficking. Such immigrants do not integrate into the Norwegian society, and they are sent back to their home country. In some cases, such immigrants have no more the right to enter the territory of Norway (Police, 2011).

When asked how agencies concerned with migration help foreigners socialise in Norway, the informant from NAV revealed that first of all this agency helps those foreigners who are seeking jobs in Norway to prepare themselves for the labour market. The main task of NAV is to provide assistance in preparing documents and getting skills which are necessary for entering the labour market. Lithuanian migrants use this service frequently. Lithuanian migrants often apply for information about their rights and family reunification. However, “in some cases we are asked how to rent flats, find schools or kindergartens”, said the representative of NAV (2011). NAV tries to provide a broad spectrum of services aiming at better integration of foreigners in Norway. The informant believes that successful housing and stabilized financial situation is the background of integration. As pointed out by the representative of Fellesforbundet (2011), if foreigners feel themselves full members of the Norwegian society, it encourages positive dialogue with the majority. “Our main task is to advocate such dialogue by protecting foreigners’ rights”, said the agent (Fellesforbundet, 2011). As it was mentioned above, Fellesforbundet in collaboration with Norwegian Labour Party seek to improve wages and working conditions, ensure equal pay for equal work and stop discrimination based on nationality. The informant of the Service Centre for Foreign Workers in Norway stated that this institution seeks that all foreign employees could gain equal assistance with successful settlement. “Our main task is to seek that all foreigners’ necessary actions are officially declared”, said the informant of this agency. The agent

believed that the possibility for getting assistance and necessary documents in mother tongue is very important for feeling acceptable in the Norwegian society. This encourages the dialogue between the majority and minority. “The Service Centre for Foreign Workers seeks to provide assistance for foreign workers and their family members, when such help is necessary”, said the representative. The police agent revealed that the main task of this institution is to pursue crime prevention. However, they also seek to provide all relevant help with socialization as well. “Practice shows that full integration diminishes criminality”, said the police officer (Police, 2011).

The data from the interviews with the agencies mentioned above revealed that acculturation of Lithuanian workers was often assessed positively. However, what do Lithuanian workers think about their living in Norway? How do they acculturate? In this part of the study I will present the data which I obtained from the interviews with some Lithuanian migrants who live in Rogaland area. What specifically prevents Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area from achieving integration? As it was mentioned in Chapter 1, this question is based on the statement that the balanced state of ethnic identity is optimal for future integration of migrants. Furthermore, this part of research will help me to answer the following questions: How do Lithuanian workers change their original behaviour, values and identity through their acculturation process in Rogaland area? What expectations do Lithuanian workers bring with themselves to Norway? Are they being fulfilled? If not, what specifically prevents them from realizing these expectations? It should be noticed that all information presented in the present study cannot be considered comprehensive information about all Lithuanian migrants in Norway. As mentioned above, this is a case study. It will present information only about 44 Lithuanian migrants in Rogaland who were involved in my study. In my view, it is necessary to start from presentation of the demographic features of the Lithuanian migrants in Norway.

The first section of the interviews with Lithuanian migrants (n-44) was developed in order to ascertain those Lithuanian migrants who came to Norway to seek employment. Those migrants were selected for further interviews. The first part of the interviews with Lithuanian migrants indicated that the biggest part of all informants involved in this research consists of individuals aged 31 to 35 and 20 to 25 (Appendix 6). With regard to the gender, the groups of respondents were divided almost proportionally: there were 20 male and 24 female respondents. The biggest part of Lithuanian migrants were single (26 Lithuanian migrants) and 18 were married (Appendix 6). The analysis of educational background showed that 18 Lithuanian migrants out of 44 had only secondary education, 16 respondents had further education, 6 were graduates and only 2 respondents had postgraduate level of education

(Appendix 6). The tendency to visit Lithuania distributed as follows: the majority (22) of the Lithuanian migrants tended to come back once a year and 15 respondents visited Lithuania twice a year. 9 respondents from the age group 31 to 35 declared that their homecoming was once a year. Only 3 informants out of all 44 Lithuanians who took part in my research said that they visited Lithuania every three months and 5 respondents indicated some other pattern of frequency of visiting Lithuania (Appendix 9). 78.41 per cent of all informants indicated economic factors as the main reason for their emigration (Chart 5). 13.64 per cent of the respondents indicated family reunification as their main reason for emigration to Norway. 5.68 % of the informants provided some other reasons for their emigration (Chart 5).

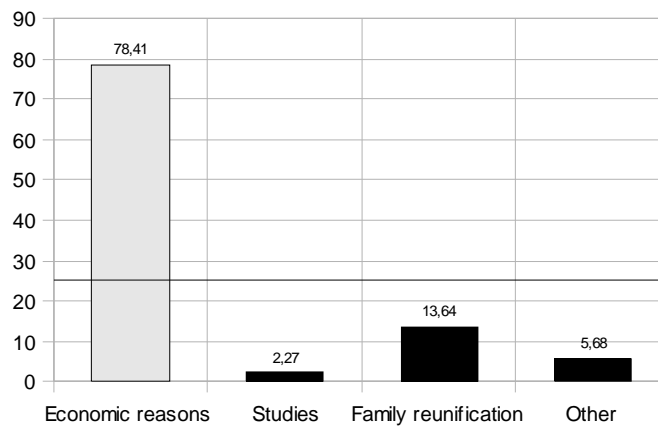


Chart 5. Emigration reasons. Source: Appendix 7.

The age indicator revealed that 5 out of 16 informants from the age group 31 to 35 came to Norway because of family reunification and only 1 person from the age group 20 to 25 came to Norway because of the family (Appendix 7). A significant part of all informants were unskilled workers (34 informants) and only 6 workers had skilled jobs. 4 informants did not indicate their level of qualification (Appendix 7). The biggest part (32 informants) identified their economic activity as employees, 3 informants identified themselves as “employers” (all those were from the 31 to 35 age group), and 9 respondents identified “other” (Appendix 7).

The 35 informants, including 21 women and 14 men, who mentioned economic reasons for coming to Norway became the analysis object in the further study. The biggest part of all the informants were from the 31 to 35 age group (10 informants), and the other age groups distributed almost equally, except for the oldest age (Chart 6).

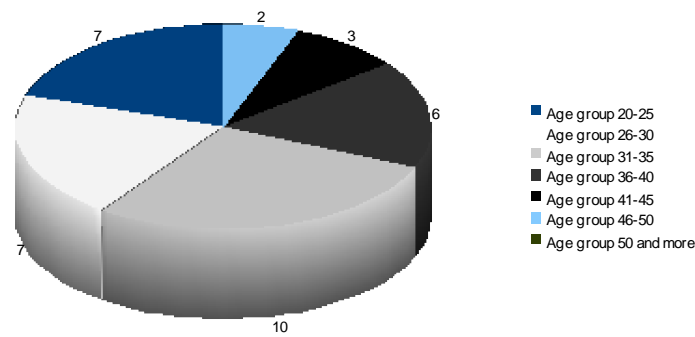


Chart 6. The age distribution among Lithuanian migrants in Norway. Source: Appendix 6.

Most Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area tended to reside in Norway for 1 to 3 years (10 informants) and for 4 to 8 years (12 informants). 7 respondents lived in Norway for less than 1 year, and 6 informants lived in Norway longer than 9 years (Table 2). The analysis of the research data according to the age indicator showed a positive correlation with the length of stay. Older Lithuanian workers tended to reside in Norway longer than the younger generation (Table 2).

Length of stay in Norway	Age groups						Total
	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	
1-6 months	1	0	1				2
7-11 months	4	0	1				5
1-3 years	1	5	2	2			10
4-8 years	1	2	4	3	2		12
9 and longer			2	1	1	2	6
Total	7	7	10	6	3	2	

Table 2. Length of Lithuanian workers' stay in Rogaland area.

In order to ascertain the states of ethnic identity (low, high or balanced state) of Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area, I sought to find out the level of inclusion into one's ethnic group. The informants valued their relationships with family members and friends. The tendency to rate the intermediate level of relationship existed among Lithuanian migrants in Norway (Chart 7). However, the youngest informants tended to rate their relationships as low level of inclusion. The tendency of high inclusion was equal to zero among the youngest

generation (Chart 7). A high inclusion level tended to grow with the growing age of the respondents. However, the intermediate level of inclusion predominated among all age groups (Chart 7). A representative of the 20 to 25 age group said, “I think other Lithuanians already have families here in Norway. I live with my friend. All my family is in Lithuania, and we use “Skype” and seldom the telephone for communication”. Another Lithuanian, who represented the 31 to 35 age group, said: “Some of my family members are in Norway and the others are in Lithuania. We always meet at weekends. I think our relationship is like that of other Lithuanians”. The informants of the oldest age group when asked about their relationship answered that the family is the most important thing. “I try to keep a close relationship with my family as much as I can, but sometimes there is not enough time”. However, older age workers in Rogaland area tended to think that they had better relationships than other Lithuanian migrants. The high level of inclusion was in the second place after the intermediate level of inclusions, which predominated among all age groups (Chart 7).

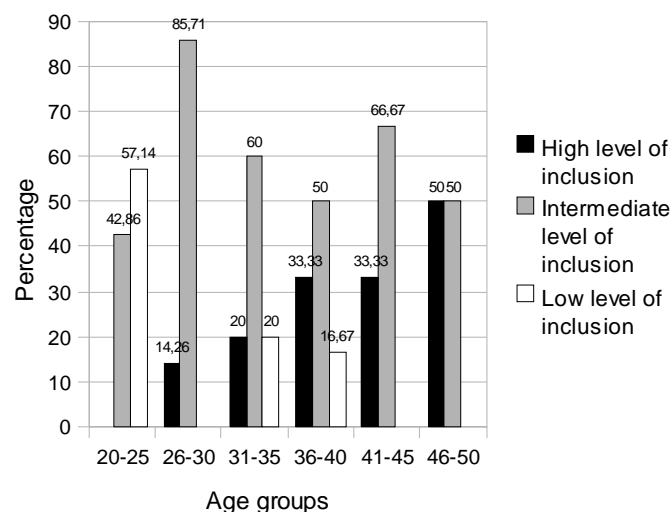


Chart 7. The social developmental state (self-rating). Source: Appendix 12.

In the next section of the research I tried to ascertain the preference of Lithuanian workers in Rogaland to assimilate into the Norwegian society. According to Brewer (1991), the medium tendency to assimilate exists in the case of the balanced state of ethnic identity. The intermediate level of assimilation tendency predominated among Lithuanian migrants in Norway (Chart 8). This tendency decreased with age, although it still remained the main indicator. A relatively low tendency of assimilation was found among the informants who

represented the age group 26 to 40. However, when asked they provided only positive answers about their attitudes towards Norwegian society. The statement of one informant represents many similar answers to the question about Lithuanian workers' links with the Norwegian society: "I have a few Lithuanian friends and a few Norwegian. My colleagues are mostly Norwegians. Children attend Norwegian schools and speak good Norwegian. However, at home we communicate in the Lithuanian language". Another part of the informants tended to say that they had no Norwegian friends and that they communicated with friends from other ethnic groups (Russian, Latvian). Only in 2 answers (Appendix 14) the high level of assimilation was ascertained. One of those informants said, "My husband is Norwegian. We speak Norwegian with each other and with our children.... I think our family follows Norwegian customs and traditions". Another Lithuanian said, "I feel that my home country is Norway. I speak Norwegian and have more Norwegian friends than Lithuanian".

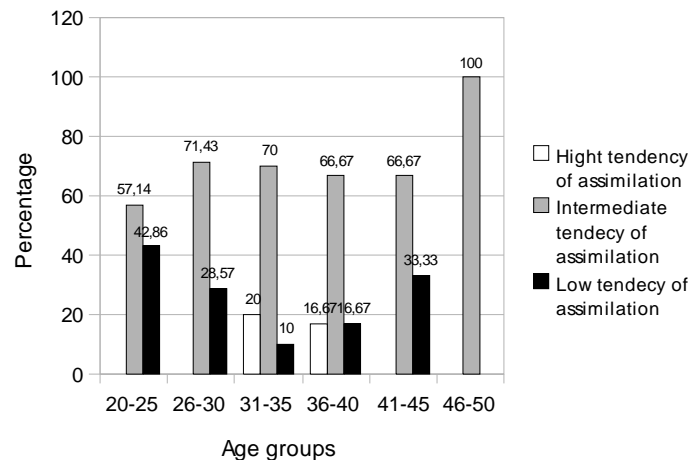


Chart 8. Assimilation tendencies among Lithuanian migrants in Rogaland area. Source: Appendix 12.

Another predictor of ethnic identity is the tendency to differentiate from heritage cultural group (Brewer, 1991). The medium tendency to differentiate from one's ethnic group was found among Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area, especially in the elder age group (Chart 9). When asked: "Do you make any efforts to differentiate yourself from other Lithuanians?" the most predominant answer was that Lithuanian workers did not care about this. In some cases, Lithuanian workers tended not to indicate their nationality. However, they were proud of being Lithuanians. "I think that I am like other Lithuanian migrants, who try to find happiness outside their homeland. However, I do not care what I look like or what others think about me". The tendency to differ from one's ethnic group was indicated by such answers as: "Sometimes I try not to look like one who comes from East Europe ... I try to look like a local".

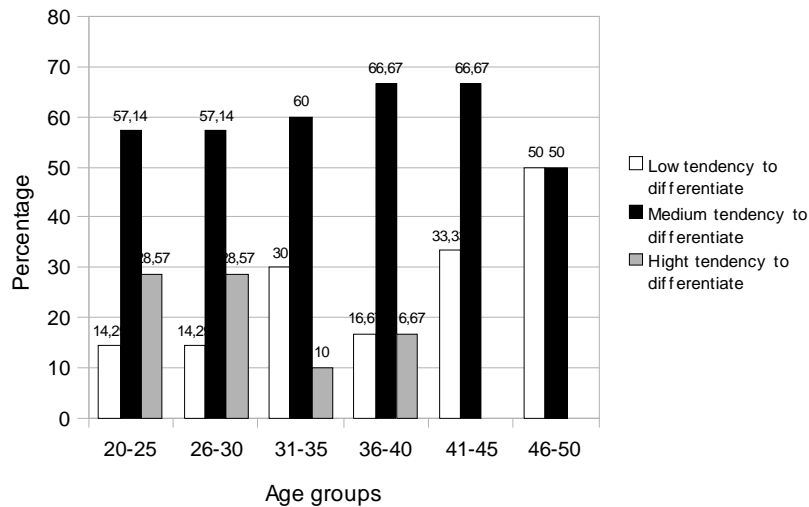


Chart 9. The tendencies of differentiation. Source: Appendix 12.

In the following section I shall try to find out how Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area change their behaviour and value system. The interview data revealed that the value system of Lithuanian workers in Rogaland changed insignificantly (Appendix 8). Most Lithuanian workers in all age groups appreciated family health, honouring of parents and world peace (free of war and conflicts) before and after migration (Chart 10). Such values as social justice, social life or self-discipline were highly ranked after migration than before. Taking together with family health, honouring of parents, world peace and social life, it leads the top of the list. Regardless of age, wealth (money) becomes the less importance after migration. The older generation tended to put a greater emphasis on the importance of varied life before migration than after migration. The young generation more appreciated social justice and self discipline after migration than before. In comparison with the older generation, the young migrants estimated more self-fulfilment before migration than after migration. Such values as being influential or varied life were less appreciated in comparison with other values.

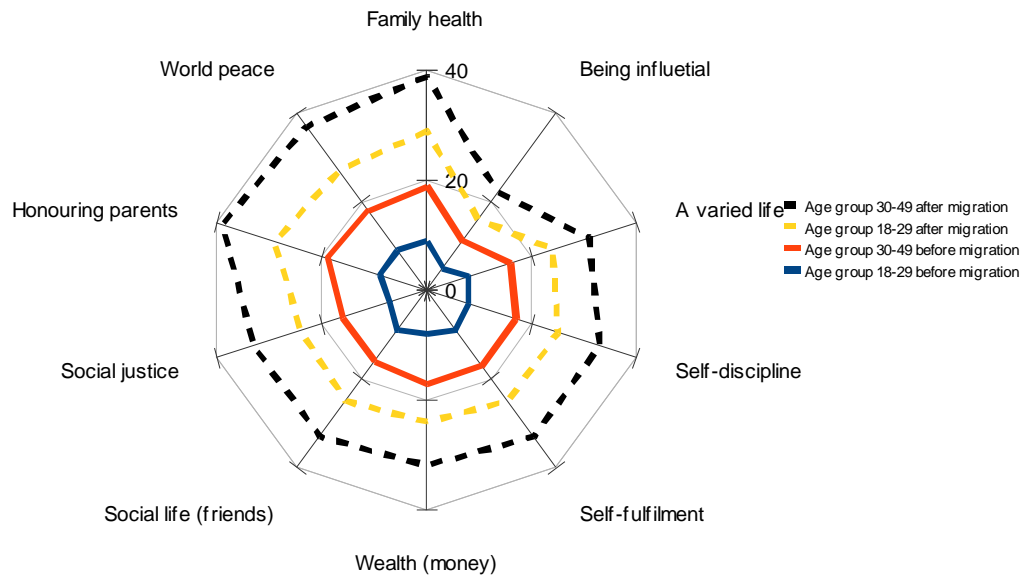


Chart 10. The preference of values before and after migration. Source: Appendix 8.

In order to ascertain the behavioural shift, Lithuanian workers were asked such questions as “Have you changed as a person after emigration?”, “Which experience has influenced your behavioural change?” Although the answers varied from person to person, the main trend highlighted that Norwegian traditions and customs were the main cause of the Lithuanian workers’ behavioural change. The research findings revealed that the behaviour of Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area somehow changed. However, on the other hand, many Lithuanians followed the same behavioural style as they did in Lithuania. “I buy Norwegian food and try to make Lithuanian dishes”, said one informant. Another stated, “Now we usually meet with friends in “hytte”¹⁰ at weekends; however, my family and I still like to watch Lithuanian television”. The further answers illustrated the behavioural change: “My clothing style changed when I came to Norway. Now I wear what is called “sporting” or practical style and I like this”, said one Lithuanian girl. “I started to be more relaxed in Norway. I do not care about the financial situation so much as I did in Lithuania. I appreciate different things now”, said one Lithuanian woman. Another informant supported those statements by saying “I was worried how to earn more money and support the family, so I thought only about this and was troubled. Now I live differently and I am different”. However, when the respondents were asked about gender roles, the traditional family or religious beliefs, the answers tended to supplement the tendency of the non-changeable

¹⁰ Cottage.

behaviour position. Many informants answered that they still believe that women should take care of the family and probably stay at home or one of the spouses should take care of the children. Almost all Lithuanians supported the traditional family and no change of religion. The answers revealed that most of the Lithuanian migrants tended to be in a ‘partly changed’ behavioural position (Chart 11).

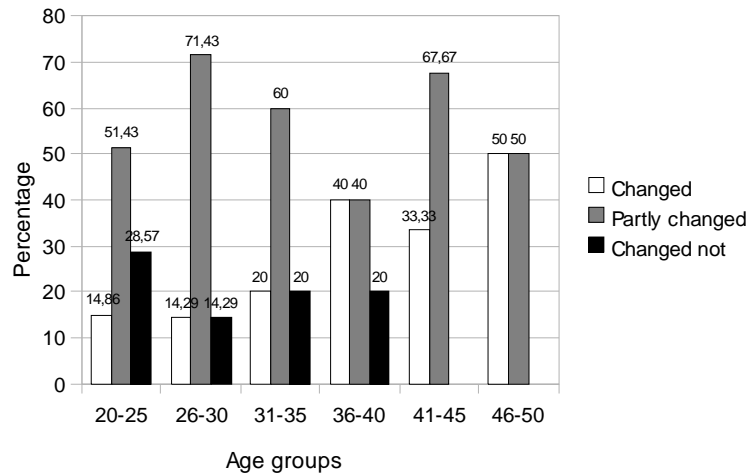


Chart 11. Behavioural change. Source: Appendix 11.

In the long term conditions, the behaviour of the Lithuanian workers, who were involved in this research, changed considerably (Table 3). The Lithuanian workers who have lived in Norway for 9 years and longer all answered that their behaviour had changed. By contrast, answers of “changed not” or “partly changed” predominated among those informants who had lived in Norway for less than 4 years (Table 3).

Length of stay	Changed	Partly changed	Changed not
1-6 months	-	-	1
7-11 months	-	-	2
1-3 years	1	6	5
4-8 years	1	11	1
9 and longer	6	-	-

Table 3. Behavioural change over time.

Sociability is one of the adaptive context-dependent resources. As mentioned above, in the research developed by Schönplflug (2002), strong ethnic identity was found among persons with the lowest level of personal resources of sociability, activity or intelligence.

The sociability before and after migration varied insignificantly among Lithuanian workers across the age groups (Appendix 11). A high rate of sociability predominated in all age groups. “I like to communicate with other people”, said one informant. “I never like to be alone. ... It does not mean that I speak with everybody, but I think that I am a sociable person”, added another. “Migration did not change my communication style”. “There are not so many people who I can talk to here. However, if you persist, you can always find somebody”, said some of the Lithuanian migrants. Such answers highlighted the relatively high rate of sociability among Lithuanian workers before and after migration. The research findings revealed that the sociability rate tended to decrease with the age, especially after migration (Chart 12).

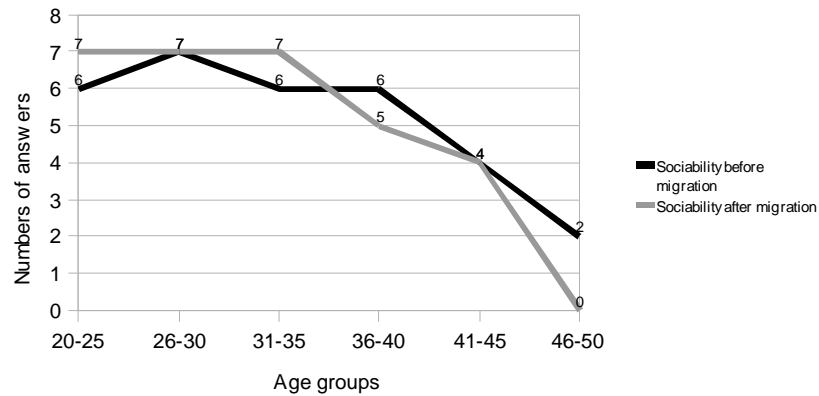


Chart 12. The sociability rate among Lithuanian migrants before and after migration. Source: Appendix 11.

The answers of the Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area revealed that they tend to see themselves as sociable persons. However, when asked about the relationship with other Lithuanian migrants, most answers about such relationships were negative (Chart 13). The low sociability predominated especially among older age informants (Chart 13).

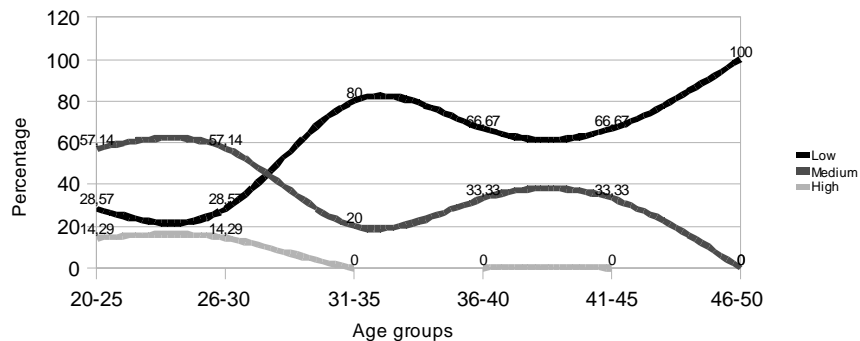


Chart 13. Sociability with other Lithuanian migrants. Source: Appendix 11.

In order to understand this phenomenon, the Lithuanian workers were asked some additional questions, such as “Why do you not keep relationships with other Lithuanian migrants? Which social networks do you have in your ethnic group?” The research findings revealed that Lithuanian workers tend not to have close relationships with other Lithuanian migrants. Many of them have relatives or friends whom they knew in Lithuania. “I do not look for new acquaintances with other Lithuanians here ... Why should I?” asked me one informant. When asked why, the answer was: “I heard about bad things (criminality)”, “... I do not think that they (Lithuanian migrants) will help me, rather on the contrary...” or “... I have already had some negative experience with other Lithuanians”. As mentioned above, the fact that high crime rate exists among foreigners from East Europe was supported by the police officer through interview (Police, 2011). Interviews with the Lithuanian workers involved in my research revealed that crime also exists among immigrants. However, there is no ground to say that low sociability with other Lithuanians exists only because of criminality. In this case there is a need for further studies of this phenomenon.

Coping styles become of importance in the case of acculturation. When problem-oriented stress-coping strategy (active strategy) predominates, acculturation problems are often suppressed. In this case integration or assimilation is a likely acculturation outcome (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984, Berry, 1997). The research revealed that the problem-oriented coping style predominated among Lithuanian informants aged 31 to 45. Learning the Norwegian language (more than half of all informants said, that they attended a language course) and improving living conditions in Norway (actively looking for a new job, flat) show the active problem-oriented coping style. With growing in age, such answers as “sometimes I do nothing (in a problem situation)”, or “I start to think that is my fault” were given by older informants. With the growing age of the informants, problem-oriented coping style tended to decrease and, in terms of the rate of positive answers, coincided with the self-oriented coping style before migration. Self-oriented coping style was relatively lower after migration than before migration (Chart 14). It predominated among the Lithuanian workers before migration. As one informant said, “I try to focus on the problems and solve them if I have some”. When asked if it had always been so, the informant answered negatively, “In Lithuania I sometimes “gave up”, because I had a feeling that you cannot control the situation”.

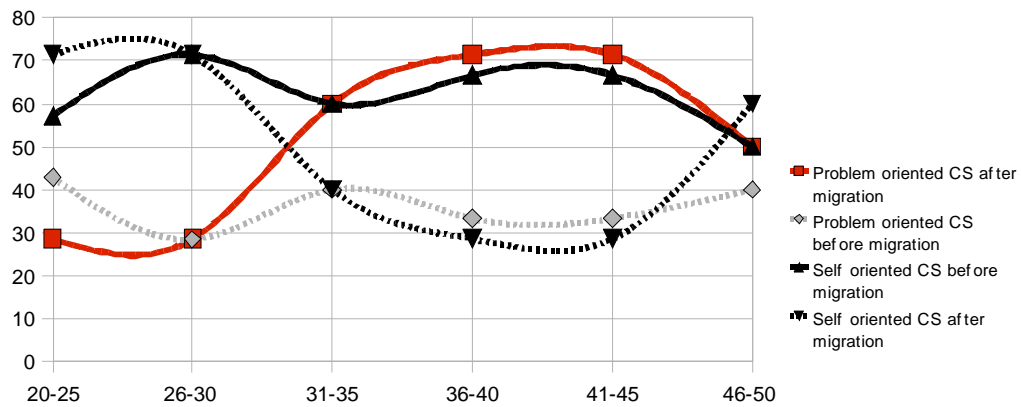


Chart 14. The fluctuation of coping styles. Source: Appendix 11.

Self-esteem is closely related with acculturation orientations (Phinney, Chavira, and Williamson, 1992). As mentioned above, the integration or bicultural attitude is related with higher self-esteem, and assimilation orientation is considered to be among individuals with low self-esteem. A significant difference of the global self-worth existed among the Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area after migration in comparison with its level before migration. When asked about their life satisfaction after migration, all answers of the informants somehow suggested that the present situation was “a better life”. “Now I am more secure and restful than when I was in Lithuania”, said one informant. When asked why, he answered, “I do not need to care about the financial situation. Now when my family have some stable income, we can think about other things; for example, how to spend time with the family”. Many answers about the feeling of self-worth were linked with improved financial situations. However, other answers revealed that high security, feeling welcome, the positive attitude of the Norwegian society increase self-worth and make Norway “a second home”. The self-worth tended to increase with the age, and remained relatively high. One informant of the age group said, “I have almost everything; however, sometimes I think if I am happy. Then I start to think about going back to Lithuania. But I can go there when I wish. I think I am happy here”. When asked why they do not go back for ever, the respondents often pointed out the financial situation and instability.

In general, migration expectancies are not separate part of migration. The realization of migration expectations could be named as successful resettlement. In this part of the research I tried to find out what kind of expectancies Lithuanian workers bring with themselves to Norway. Are they being fulfilled? If not, what specifically prevents them from realizing these expectations? The interview data revealed that the migration expectations of economic nature predominated among the Lithuanian workers, with the exception of the

youngest age group (Chart 15). The migration expectations of economical nature could be named as earning money for remittances, payment of debts and credits in Lithuania and achievement of high living standards in Norway. Non-economic expectations could be named as an opportunity to see a new culture, learning foreign language, possibility for travel, meeting new people, and getting some new life experience. Emigration expectations were strongly related with emigration reasons. When asked ‘Why have you chosen to emigrate?’ the predominant answer suggested economic reasons. Therefore, as the premise of successful resettlement in Norway, was the image of achievement of high living standards in Norway (including stable and relatively high income).

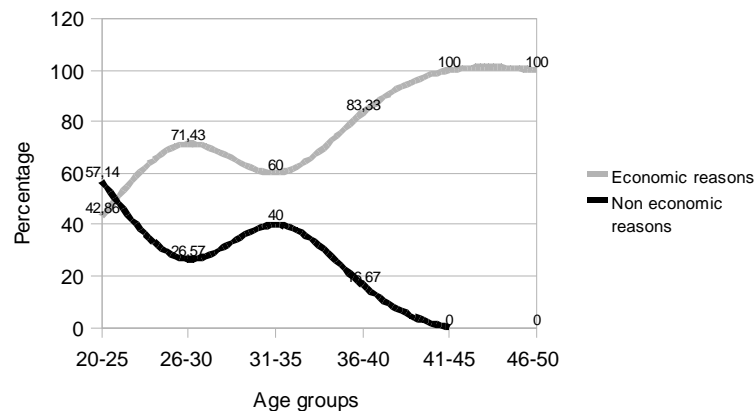


Chart 15. Migration expectations. Source: Appendix 14.

On the other hand, younger age informants (aged 20 to 25) more often had non-economic nature expectations about the emigration country. “I heard that Norway is a very interesting country. I will work here but at the same time I am going to travel around the country”, said one Lithuanian adolescent. Improvement of the financial situation as the main migration expectation predominated significantly among the informants aged 26 - 30 and older. One Lithuanian migrant aged 32 said, “I decided to move because I expected to earn money in Norway. I had no other expectations”. There were no non-economic nature expectations among older informants. Older-aged Lithuanian workers identified only economic expectations as the main emigration factor. “I had a business in Lithuania. However, after the financial crisis I could not run my business anymore and pay credit. Norway is the way and I hope after a while I can pay back my debt”, said a 41-year-old informant. The research findings revealed that the following non-economic nature expectations could be identified: the possibility for having a family abroad, travelling, or getting some new cultural experience. One Lithuanian woman said, “I could not see the same

faces, I was hungry of new experience. My boyfriend moved to Norway, so I had a good opportunity to leave, despite the fact that I had my own business in Lithuania”.

According to the research findings, the Lithuanian workers tend to think that their expectations have been partly realized since their migration (Chart 16).

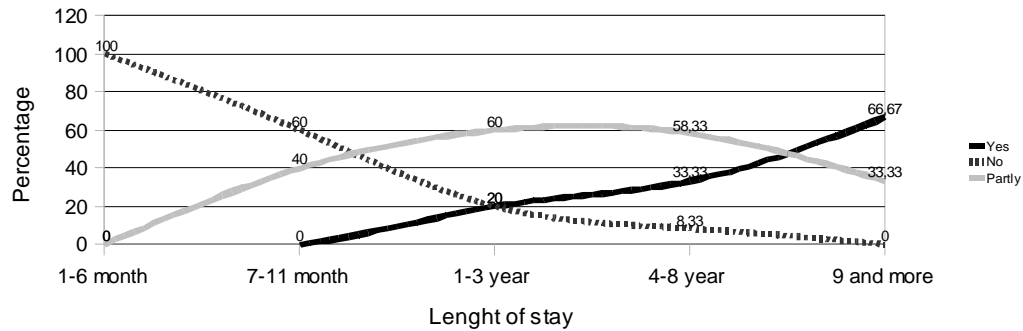


Chart 16. The tendency of realization of migration expectations. Source: Appendix 14.

“Although I still have to do many things, to find a well-paid job, to buy a flat in Norway, I am happy here”, said one informant who represented the age group 31 to 35. Another migrant said, “I work hard, and I think that with the time I will get what I want”. 42.89 per cent of the respondents of the youngest age group thought that their hopes had not been realized yet. The rate of such informants tended to decrease with the age and length of stay in Norway (Chart 16). As it was said by one informant, “I came to see Norway's fjords, but now I work all day long and have no possibility for travelling”. The negative answer about the realization of hopes was relatively rare among the Lithuanian migrants aged 36 to 50. “I have my family, friends and a favourite job here. Now I have everything what I need”, said one informant aged 46. There was a positive correlation between the length of stay in Norway and the realization of migration expectancies (Chart 16). The longest stay in Norway (10 years and longer) was found among the informants aged 41 and more. Simultaneously the positive answer to the question about the realized migration expectations tended to be more common among the informants of those age groups (Chart 16).

When asked why Lithuanians think that migration expectations have not been realized yet, 18.75 % of the informants who answered negatively or “partly yes” about the fulfilment of their expectancies, said that it needed more time (Chart 17). 43.75 % of all respondents mentioned inability to speak Norwegian and not being familiar with the local customs, traditions and habits. However, 18.75 % of the informants tended to think that it was due to cultural limitations (Chart 17). The majority of the respondents who had a negative understanding of fulfilling their migration expectancies had financial expectancies. “In my view, foreigners can get good jobs very seldom. I can say from my own experience that all

good positions are offered to locals”, said one informant. Such standpoint was partially supported by other informants by saying that foreigners have to work harder and longer if they want to achieve the same as Norwegians. On the other hand, many Lithuanian workers think that Norway is a country with a big potential. Many informants used the word ‘multicultural’ when characterizing the Norwegian society.

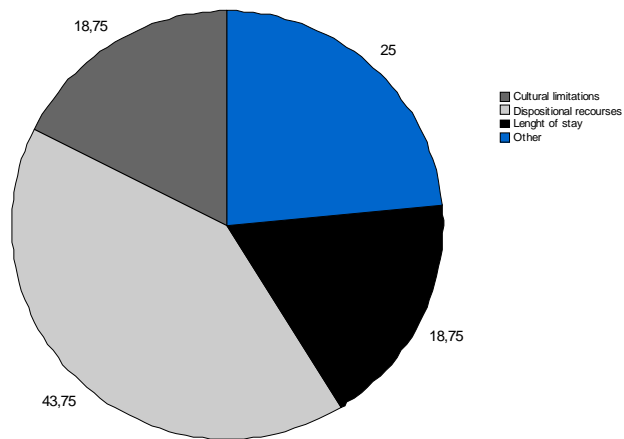


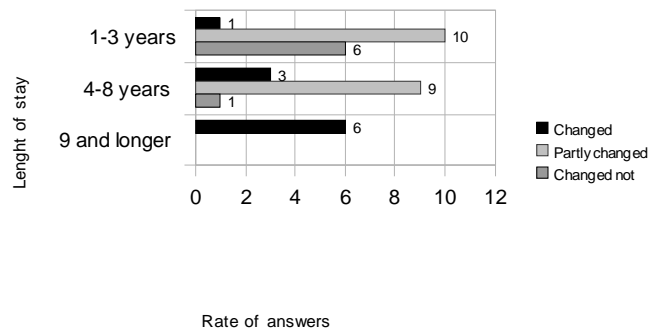
Chart 17. Reasons why migration expectancies were not fulfilled.

Chapter 4. Conclusions

4.1 Lithuanian workers' personality change during the acculturation process

The following analysis is based on the author's reflections within the above mentioned theoretical framework. The intention of this research was to reflect on the social phenomenon of the acculturation of Lithuanian migrants. I acknowledge the limitations of this research and inevitable personal bias. It should be noticed that any findings of social phenomena are never absolute. The research findings are presented in accordance with the research questions.

One of my research questions was intended to ascertain how Lithuanian workers, involved in this research, have changed their behaviour and values through acculturation. According to the above mentioned, when the cultural surrounding changes, the way individuals act may change as well because culture nurtures them (Berry, 1992). This thesis proves that Lithuanian migrants tend to be in a "partly changed" behavioural position. The research findings revealed that the length of stay and behavioural changes are interconnected



(Chart 18).

Chart 18. The correlation between the length of stay and behavioural change. Source: Appendix 11, Table 2.

The behavioural changes may signify the phase of identification and appreciation of acculturation experiences as uncertainty, acculturation difficulties, acceptance by local society (Douglas, 1986). The degree of behaviour change grows together with the length of stay which is divided into separate phases of acculturation: pre-contact, contact, conflict, crisis and adaptation (Berry, 1992). The biggest part of all Lithuanian workers who were involved in this research had resided in Norway for a relatively short period. They were at the beginning or in the middle of the acculturation scale developed by Berry (1992). Therefore behavioural change was insignificant among the Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area, especially in those

cases when individuals' behaviour was based on such values as the traditional family and religion.

Values indicate the background of the person's behaviour. Migrants may possibly adopt values from the new culture, although simultaneously they retain their own cultural values. This thesis shall prove that the shift of the value system is insignificant among the Lithuanian workers. The behaviour changes are more significant in the case of longer length of resettlement. However, as it was shown by the research findings, values change insignificantly with the length of stay (Chart 18). According to Liu (2008), behaviour and values are two different domains in the acculturation framework. The Lithuanian workers who were involved in this research tended to retain the values which they had before migration. In accordance with the theory of universal values developed by Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) and empirically examined by Liubiniene (2002), such universal values as family health, respect for parents and world peace are changeless and they predominated among the Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area before and after migration. On the other hand, "being influential" was at the end of preferences list before and after migration.

Lithuania is described as a country which has "dependent collectivism". The majority of western countries are characterized as having "independent individualism" (Hofstede, 1980). The findings of the research confirm that the collectivist orientation of the Lithuanian workers who live in Rogaland exists. The collectivist orientation is represented by such universals as world peace, social justice, conformity (respect for parents, self-discipline) and security (family health) (Liubiniene, 2002). It should be noted that the collectivist social attitude does not mean creation of a social group (Schmid, 2009). In this case, collectivism is "... a feature of individuals - and not of an actual "we" (Schmid, 2009, p.32). Such standpoint could provide a basis for understanding why the Lithuanian workers involved in this study and having the collectivist orientation, do not tend to have close relations with other Lithuanians. In my view, criminality is insufficient explanation for such separation from other Lithuanian migrants.

The other aim of my research was to ascertain what kind of ethnic identity the Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area maintain. The previous analysis of three tendencies - the tendency to differentiate from one's ethnic group, the tendency to assimilate into the Norwegian culture and the social developmental state (Lithuanian migrants self-rating) – allows us to ascertain the low, medium and high level of the identity state. According to the research findings, the medium tendency to assimilate and differentiate and an intermediate level of inclusion into one's ethnic group predominate among the Lithuanian workers in

Rogaland area (Charts 7-9). This thesis proves that the balanced state (medium level) of ethnic identity exists among the Lithuanian workers in Norway (Table 4).

Age groups	The states of ethnic identity					
	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50
	Balanced state of ethnic identity with the tendency to move towards low ethnic identity	Balanced state of ethnic identity	Balanced state of ethnic identity	Balanced state of ethnic identity	Balanced state of ethnic identity	Balanced state of ethnic identity

Table 4. Lithuanian workers' ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity is defined as an indicator of derivative acculturation of further preferences: tendency to assimilate, tendency to differentiate from one's ethnic group and the degree of inclusion into the group of origin. According to the optimal distinctiveness theory developed by Brewer (1991), the less migrants feel included in their ethnic group, the more they tend to assimilate and the less to dissociate from one's group. In comparison with other age groups of the informants, the relatively low assimilation tendency and low level of inclusion into one's ethnic group was found among the youngest migrants aged 20 to 25. The youngest generation has lived in Norway for a relatively short period of time. 5 out of 7 such informants have lived in Norway for just up to 1 year (Table 3). Therefore it is difficult to talk about the tendency of assimilation among them. In accordance with Berry's acculturation model (Berry, 1992), the length of stay is an important discriminant in the acculturation framework (Figure 3). Employing this acculturation model, the youngest generation of the Lithuanian migrants is in the pre-contact or contact acculturation phase.

4. 2 Lithuanian workers' expectations concerning migration

The Lithuanian migrants who were involved in this research had a specific reason for emigration. The expectations of those Lithuanian migrants who decided to emigrate because of economic reasons were investigated in this research. The emigration reasons were strongly related with emigration expectations. This thesis proves that the economic nature of emigration expectations predominated among the Lithuanian workers involved in this research. The achievement of stable and relatively high income and being able to pay debts and send remittances were the most important expectations among the Lithuanian workers. Non-economic expectations mostly dominated among young age informants (Chart 15).

Emigration expectations are an integral part of acculturation process and individual's cognitive appraisal of the migration events (Berry, 1997). In the long term conditions, the fulfilment of migration expectations may signify low acculturation stressors and higher level of self-esteem. The Lithuanian workers tended to think that their emigration hopes were partly realized after migration. However, during a longer stay they tended to change this position into a “fully realized” stand (Table 5).

Length of stay in Norway	Verification of migration expectations (the number of answers)		
	Yes	No	Partly
1-6 months	-	2	-
7-11 months	-	3	2
1-3 years	2	2	6
4-8 years	4	1	7
9 and longer	4	-	2

Table 5. The fulfilment of migration expectations over time.

Acculturation is accompanied by migrants' capacity to cope with difficulties of settlement, psychological (e.g. stress) or adaptation problems. In this case, adaptation is a change of the individual in a direction of reducing the difference and distance between him and the new culture (Berry, 1992). The problem-oriented coping style predominated among the Lithuanian workers after migration. It replaced the self-oriented coping style, which existed before migration. The problem-oriented coping style correlates with the length of stay. The migrants who had been in Norway longer, tended to choose problem-oriented coping style more often (Table 6).

Length of stay	Coping styles	
	Problem oriented CS	Self oriented CS
1-6 months	-	2
7-11 months	2	3
1-3 years	4	5
4-8 years	8	5
9 and longer	4	2

Table 6. The linkages between the length of stay and preference for the coping style.

The problem-oriented coping style predominated among those Lithuanian workers who answered positively about the fulfilment of their migration expectations. The problem-oriented coping style correlated with the positive answers about fulfilment of migration expectations (Chart 19).

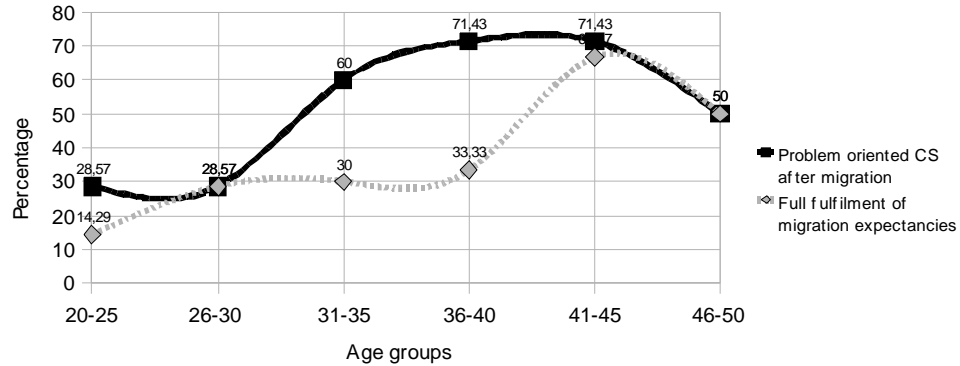


Chart 19. Links between the problem oriented coping style and migration expectations. Source: Appendix 11.

The problem oriented coping style predominated among the informants aged 31 to 41. However, they tended to choose the “partly realised” answer about their fulfilment of migration hopes.

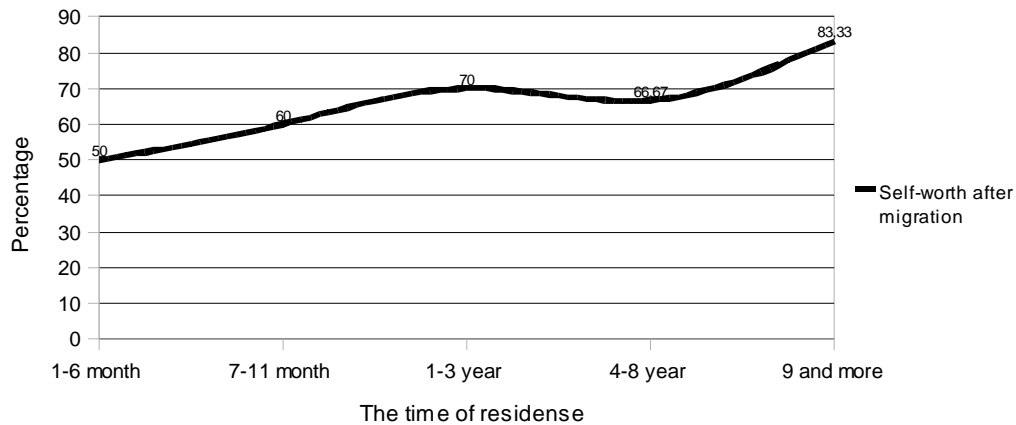


Chart No. 20. The correlation between self- fulfilment and time of residence. Source: Appendix 13.

When asked why, the majority of these informants indicated a relatively short time of residence in Norway. The other part of informants identified such reasons as inability to speak

Norwegian or existence of cultural differences. The positive answers about the fulfilment of emigration expectations may signify successful resettlement, accompanied by higher self-esteem. A significant increase in self-esteem after migration was identified among the Lithuanian workers. A positive correlation between self-worth and the length of stay exists among the Lithuanian workers. In long term conditions, self-worth tended to increase (Chart 20).

4.3 Lithuanian workers' acculturation viewed by institutions responsible for the migration issue

Norway declares to be the most inclusive society in the world with social equality. The term "assimilation" is used in the official policy in Norway. However, since 1970s integration has become the official policy (Niemi, 1995). The integration policy is actively implemented by governmental institutions in Norway. Those official institutions become of significant importance in acculturation of the Lithuanian workers. As it was noticed by the officers of the institutions interviewed, in comparison with native workers, foreigners are much more vulnerable. The Lithuanian workers often agree with poor working conditions. However, the problem is that such negative conditions are created by Norwegian employers. Low payment, harmful working conditions and illegal work do not create conditions for successful integration. The existence of illegal work among the Lithuanian migrants was stressed by the institutions interviewed. The 'black market' complicates integration of foreigners and their families. Illegal migrants tend to concentrate in particular geographical locations and create enclaves (Alba, Nee 2010). In such locations perverse cultural places emerge (Fellesforbundet, 2011). Living with families diminishes such negative concentration and even encourages integration. Norway encourages family reunification and supports families (NAV, Fellesforbundet, 2011). Norwegian institutions such as Service Centre for Foreign Workers, Fellesforbundet, NAV provide all necessary information and support (including financial) for foreigners. In accordance with Norwegian institutions responsible for the migration and acculturation issues, the Lithuanian workers are characterized positively. They seek contact with the majority. On the other hand, the Lithuanian workers could still protect their rights better. They should make more efforts to achieve better living conditions in Norway despite the fact that many Lithuanians are happy with their lives here.

4.4 The prerequisites for integration

In this part of research I shall try to ascertain the background for integration. This research aimed to find out whether the Lithuanian workers who live in Rogaland area

integrate into the Norwegian society. If not, then what specifically prevents them from achieving integration? According to the statistical data, the Lithuanian migrants in Norway are a relatively new phenomenon. At the beginning of 2011, Lithuanians tended to reside in Norway for less than 5 years (Statistics Norway, 2011). Only a few informants of this research resided in Norway longer than 9 years. Time of residence is an important variable which can determine the choice of a specific acculturation strategy (Berry, Sam, 1997). In a short term it is impossible to ascertain the acculturation orientation preferred by the Lithuanian workers involved in this case study. However, this thesis proves that Lithuanian workers tend to choose the integration strategy as a possible acculturation orientation in long term conditions. Integration is associated with successful resettlement and often preferred by foreigners (Berry, 1997, 2006). Integration is a process over time and under the influence of many factors such as sociability, active coping styles, and positive attitudes towards the majority. The Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area have many of such necessary predictors for integration. According to the research findings, Lithuanian workers in Rogaland have the balanced state of ethnic identity. It is concurrent with the problem oriented coping style, a relatively high level of self-worth and high global self-esteem. Problem oriented coping style is a predictor of the integration or separation orientations (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984; Berry, 1997). In long term conditions, the Lithuanian workers tend to think that their resettlement is successful. In the course of time, the Lithuanian workers in Rogaland tend to change their behaviour; although the value system remains relatively stable. The Lithuanian workers characterize themselves as sociable persons. However, they often declare very limited relationships with other Lithuanians in Norway. The relatively high criminality may be one reason for low sociability among the Lithuanian migrants, but not the only one. All Lithuanian workers have only positive attitudes towards the Norwegian society. However, the connections between them and Norwegians are somehow limited. Many informants indicate that they mostly communicate with Norwegians only at work. Lithuanians tend to communicate with other ethnic groups more often.

4.5 Suggestions for further studies

This work may serve as a basis for further studies of Lithuanian migrants' acculturation concerning questions of the preferred acculturation orientations and dispositional resources. Acculturation clearly takes place over time. The Lithuanians who were involved in this research had resided in Norway for a relatively short period. Therefore, it is not possible to ascertain the preferred acculturation orientation. On the other hand, according to the research findings, those Lithuanian migrants who participated in this research

and who had lived in Norway for 9 years and longer preferred the integration strategy. This paper suggests analysing acculturation among the Lithuanian workers in Rogaland area after some time.

Taking into consideration the increased reunification of families among the Lithuanian migrants, it would be appropriate to carry out research on the acculturation phenomenon which takes place in the second generation and further generations. According to the research findings, relatively low sociability with other Lithuanians exists among the Lithuanian migrants. This study also argues that there is a need to ascertain the reasons for such separation. All these issues become of importance in further studies of acculturation because, according to Berry (1980), acculturation is highly variable and has a number of possible outcomes.

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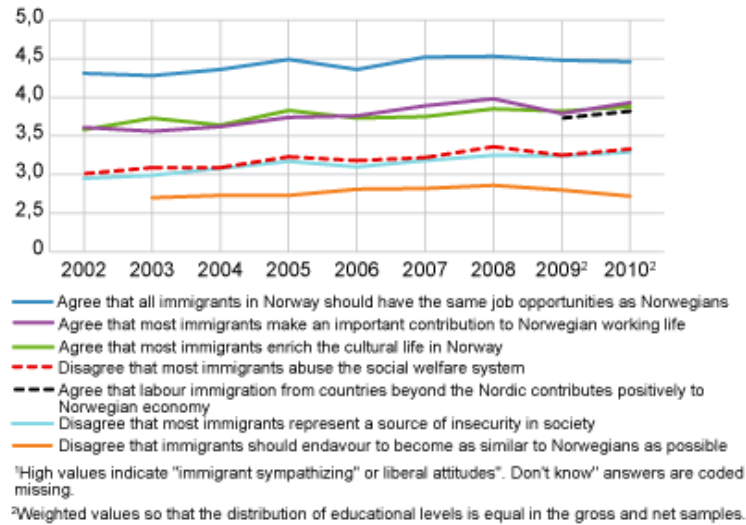
<http://www.sua.no/>

<http://www.lb.lt/en>

Appendixes

Appendix 1. Source: Statistics Norway, 2010.

Attitudes towards seven statements about immigrants and immigration. 2002-2010. Mean values on five points scales¹



Appendix 2. Lithuanian migration (declared and undeclared). Data: Statistics Lithuania. 2010. Table elaborated by the author.

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Emigration from Lithuania (declared)	7253	7086	11032	15165	15571	12602	13853	17015	21970
Net migration	-2559	-1976	-6304	-9612	-8782	-4857	-5244	-7718	-15483
Declared and undeclared emigration flows									
Total thousand		37,6	22,7	32,5	48,1	27,8	26,5	23,7	34,7
Persons who have declared their departure		14,4	11	15,2	15,6	12,6	13,8	17	22
Persons who have not declared their departure		23,2	11,7	17,3	32,5	15,2	12,7	6,7	12,7

Appendix 3. Migration rates. Data: Statistics Lithuania. 2010. Table elaborated by the author.

Emigrants who have declared their departure by sex, age and year (males and females)						
Years	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total by age	15 571	12 602	13 853	17 015	21 970	83 157
0–4	541	532	644	738	880	3 040
5–9	763	651	745	768	852	2 757
10–14	855	708	787	891	881	2 686
15–19	1 037	792	880	992	1 235	4 909
20–24	2 543	1 885	1 826	2 141	2 710	15 131
25–29	3 241	2 550	2 456	3 372	4 181	18 520
30–34	2 015	1 555	1 905	2 413	3 136	11 964
35–39	1 355	1 130	1 367	1 832	2 748	7 853
40–44	1 111	881	1 021	1 249	1 823	5 715
45–49	995	859	1 043	1 115	1 537	4 815
50–54	420	367	383	579	887	3 388
55–59	242	210	291	384	539	1 610
60–64	130	120	160	183	205	331
65–69	104	136	110	102	89	140
70–74	67	73	81	90	84	104
75–79	86	73	61	59	71	72
80 and more	66	80	93	107	112	122

Appendix 4. Lithuanians immigration countries. Data: Statistics Lithuania. 2010. Table elaborated by the author.

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
TOT Total by country	15 571	12 602	13 853	17 015	21 970	83 157
IE Ireland	2 073	1 313	1 616	1 983	2 763	13 048
ES Spain	794	766	841	917	1 355	3 535
GB United Kingdom	4 223	3 223	3 659	4 472	5 719	40 901
US United States	2 010	1 771	1 540	1 782	1 700	2 783
DE Germany	1 473	1 114	1 277	1 349	1 350	3 806
VEP Other countries	4 998	4 415	4 920	6 512	9 083	19 084

Appendix 5. Minimum monthly wages. (Measuring unit: Litas, 1 Lt – 3,4528 EUR, Bank of Lithuanian, 2011).
Data: Statistics Lithuania, 2011. Table elaborated by the author.

Years/Months	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1995	85	100	100	100	120	120	150	150	150	180	180	180
1996	210	210	210	210	210	210	210	210	300	300	300	300
1997	300	330	330	330	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400
1998	400	400	400	400	400	430	430	430	430	430	430	430
1999	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430
2000	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430
2001	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430
2002	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430
2003	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	430	450	450	450	450
2004	450	450	450	450	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
2005	500	500	500	500	500	500	550	550	550	550	550	550
2006	550	550	550	550	550	550	600	600	600	600	600	600
2007	600	600	600	600	600	600	700	700	700	700	700	700
2008	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800
2009	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800
2010	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800
2011	800	800	800	800	800	800	800					

Appendix 6. Demographic features of Lithuanian migrants in Rogaland area. Data: interviews with Lithuanian migrants. Table elaborated by the author.

Age groups		Gender		Social status		Education					
Age	Number	M	F	M	S	Post-graduate	Graduate	Non completed high ed.	Further ed	Secondary ed	Other
20-25	10	2	8	-	9	-	-	-	3	6	-
26-30	6	5	1	3	4	-	2	-	2	3	-
31-35	16	7	9	6	10	2	2	2	7	3	-
36-40	5	2	3	5	1	-	-	-	2	4	-
41-45	4	2	2	2	2	-	1	-	1	1	-
46-50	3	2	1	3	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	44	20	24	18	26	2	6	2	16	18	-

Appendix 7. Main data of Lithuanian migrants in Rogaland. Data: interviews with Lithuanian migrants. Table elaborated by the author.

Age	Immigration reasons				Economic activity			Qualification	
	Economic	Studies	Family	Other	Employer	Employer	Other	Skilled	Unskilled
20-25	7	1	1	-	5	-	4	-	6
26-30	7	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	7
31-35	10	-	5	2	10	3	4	4	11
36-40	5	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
41-45	3	-	-	-	4	-	1	2	2
46-50	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3
50 <	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	35	1	6	2	32	3	9	6	34

Appendix 8. The shift of value system. Data: interviews with Lithuanian migrants. Table elaborated by the author.

Values	Before migration			After migration		
	Age groups			Age groups		
	18 -29	30-49	50-75	18 -29	30-49	50-75
Family health	9	10	-	10	10	-
Honouring of parent	9	10	-	10	10	-
World peace	9	9	-	9	10	-
Social justice	7	9	-	8	9	-
Social life (friends)	9	7	-	9	8	-
Self-discipline	8	9	-	9	9	-
Wealth (money)	8	9	-	7	8	-
Self-fulfilment	9	8	-	8	8	-
A varied life	8	8	-	8	7	-
Being influential	5	6	-	5	6	-

Appendix 9. Linkages with Lithuania. Data: interviews with Lithuanian migrants. Table elaborated by the author.

Age group	Homecoming					Planning to stay in Norway		
	Every three month	Twice per year	Once per year	Never	Other	Yes	No	Not sure
20-25	-	1	1	-	3	-	7	2
26-30	1	2	5	-	1	-	3	6
31-35	1	5	9	-	-	4	2	10
36 – 40	-	3	2	-	-	2	1	1
41-45	-	-	4	-	-	3	-	1
46-50	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1
50 and more	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	3	15	22	-	5	10	13	21

Appendix 10. The classification of interviews answers.

Categories	Tendentious answers		
	Changed (2)	Partly changed (1)	Do not change (0)
Sociability before migration	I was always sociable. I never liked to be alone. (1 B)	I was often alone then with other. (0 B)	
Sociability after migration	I was always sociable. I never liked to be alone. (1 A)	I like to be alone. I am often alone. (0 A)	
Coping styles before migration	Problem oriented coping style (2)	Self oriented coping style (1)	
Coping styles after migration	Problem oriented coping style (2)	Self oriented coping style (1)	
Global self-worth	I am satisfied with my life. I think I have fulfilling live (2)	I am partly satisfied with my present life. (1)	I am not satisfied with my present life. (0)
Social developmental state	I think I have broader (better) relationships with my family (2)	My relationships with family are like other Lithuanian migrants. (1)	I think I have narrow (worse) relationships with my family then other. (0)

Appendix 11. The shift of personal variables (Answers are based on classification provided in table above (appendix No. 10)).

Before migration							After migration						
Categories	The Shift of sociability						Categories	The Shift of sociability					
	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50		20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50
0 B	1	-	1	1	-	-	0 A	-	-	2	1	-	2-
1 B	6	7	6	6	4	2	1 A	7	7	7	5	4	
Coping styles													
1	2	1	3	2	3	1	1	3	3	4	2	2	1
2	5	5	6	3	4	1	2	4	4	6	4	4	1
Global self - worth													
0	4	1	2	2	3	1	0	1	1	1	-	-	-
1	2	3	6	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	1
2	1	3	2	1	-	-	2	4	5	6	4	2	1
Behavioural change													
							0	2	1	2	1	0	0
							1	4	5	6	2	3	2
							2	1	1	2	2	1	0

Appendix 12. Lithuanian workers' ethnic identity.

Categories	Social developmental state						The tendency to assimilate						The tendency to differentiate					
	Age groups						Age groups						Age groups					
	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50
0	4	-	2	1	1	-	2	2	1	1	-	1	1	3	3	3	1	1
1	3	6	6	1	1	1	5	5	7	3	2	1	4	2	6	1	2	1
2	0	1	2	2	2	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	2	2	1	1	1	-

Appendix 13. The fluctuation of self-worth over time.

Self-worth and length of stay in Norway		
Length of stay in Norway	Total positive answers about self-worth	Total informants of all age groups
1-6 month	1	2
7-11 month	3	5
1-3 year	7	10
4-8 year	8	12
9 and longer	5	6

Appendix 14. Migration expectancies.

The fulfilment of migration expectancies				
Age groups	Yes	Partly	No	The number of informants
20-25	1	2	4	7
26-30	2	4	1	7
31-35	3	5	2	10
36-40	2	3	1	6
41-45	2	1	-	3
46-50	1	1	-	2

Appendix 15. General questionnaire

- 1 How long do you live in Norway?
 - 1.1 1-6 month
 - 1.2 7-11 month
 - 1.3 1-3 years
 - 1.4 3-6 years
 - 1.5 10 and longer
- 2 How often do you come back to Lithuania?
 - 2.1 every three months (or more often)
 - 2.2 twice per year
 - 2.3 once per year
 - 2.4 never
 - 2.5 other (indicate) ...
- 3 Are you planning to stay in Norway?

- 3.1 yes
- 3.2 no
- 3.3 I am not sure
- 4 You came in Norway because of:
 - 4.1 economical reasons
 - 4.2 studies
 - 4.3 my family lives here
 - 4.4 because of other reasons (indicate) ...
- 5. If you have come to Norway for economic reasons:
 - 4.5 are you employee
 - 4.6 are you employer
 - 4.7 do you have other economic activity in Norway
- 6. The work you do in Norway is that of:
 - 4.8 skilled worker
 - 4.9 unskilled worker
 - 4.10 professional employee
- 7. Your age:
 - 4.11 20-25
 - 4.12 26-30
 - 4.13 31-35
 - 4.14 36 – 40
 - 4.15 41 – 45
 - 4.16 46 – 50
 - 4.17 50 and more
- 8. Your gender:
 - 4.18 male
 - 4.19 female
- 9. Your education:
 - 4.20 postgraduate degree
 - 4.21 graduate degree
 - 4.22 not completed university education
 - 4.23 further education
 - 4.24 secondary education
 - 4.25 other (indicate)
- 10. Social status:
 - 4.26 married
 - 4.27 single
 - 4.28 other (indicate)

Appendix 16. The semi-structured questionnaire.

I Ethnic identity, acculturation

I.I The degree of inclusion in the group of heritage culture:

What does it mean for you to be a Lithuanian? (explain)

Which social networks do you have here in your ethnic group? Is your family with you? Which nationality is your spouse? What type of relationships do you maintain with his\hers family?

How often do you meet with other Lithuanians? Do you attend some Lithuanian ethnic events? Tell me more about your relationships with your ethnic group.

Has your sense of being Lithuanian changed in any way, since you've arrived in Norway?

I.II The tendency to assimilate in the Norwegian society:

What do you think about Norwegian society? Do you think that it is important for you to maintain relationships with Norwegians?

Which cultural way of life do you follow? Do you try to know more about Norwegian culture, traditions, learn Norwegian language? Why? If yes, which of the above is important for you and why?

Do you educate or would like to educate your children according to Norwegian traditions? Which cultural path does your family follow? Which schools do your children attend?

In which cultural group do you have more friends? How often do you meet with Norwegian or other ethnic friends? (explain) If you had to choose only one ethnic group, which would it be?

With which country do you have closer ties?

Do you prefer products\brands that express your Lithuanian identity? Do you prefer to maintain Lithuanian traditions and language? Which language do you use in your daily life, in your family?

I.III The tendency to differentiate from Lithuanian ethnic group:

Are you happy to admit your Lithuanian nationality, when Norwegians or maybe other ethnic nationals ask about your country of origin? With respect to your country of origin, is it important for you what do non-Lithuanians think about your country?

Do you make any effort to differentiate from your cultural group? If so, how would you explain it? (Reaction to this question will automatically give you an idea about his/her ethnic identity.) Can you say that you do not look like a typical Lithuanian? Do you care about that?

Can you say that you live differently from other Lithuanians whom you know in this area? Why?

II Shift of values, attitudes and behaviour:

Have you changed as a person because of migration experience? If yes, how have you changed? Which experience has influenced this change most? Could you give some examples, please? Why do you think you've changed your views?

Has your migration experience changed your attitudes or behaviour in any way? How? In which way?

What do you think about gender roles, traditional family, religious believes? Have your attitudes changed towards these things after migration? Why? In which way?

Can you tell me more about your values, things that are important to you? Have they changed at all, since you've arrived in Norway?

Can you indicate on this list how you feel about these values - which items are now important for you and which are less important.... And now I want you to think about these values in terms of how you felt about them before your arrival in Norway.

Values	Your chose at present situation (scale from 10 to 1)	Your chose before migration (from 10 to 1)
Family health		
World peace		
Honouring of parent		
Social justice		
Social life (friends)		
Wealth (money)		
Self-fulfilment		
Self-discipline		
A varied life		
Being influential		

What does the term, *social norms*, mean to you? Do you fallow them? Has migration changed your view towards them? How?
 Have you changed your eating habits, the way you dress, or other such habits after migration? Tell me more about such changes.

III The shift of sociability (before migration and after it)

Do you like being alone? Have you always preferred to be alone? Even when living in Lithuania?

How would you describe yourself? Would you see yourself as being aloof or distant? Or would you see yourself more as a sociable person?

Do you find it easy to communicate with others? Can you easily communicate with both groups, Lithuanians and Norwegians? Why is easy/not easy? Do you like to mix with other people? Was it always so? Has your communication style changed here in Norway? Why? Tell me more about that?

Can you say that your communicational ability helps to strike up friendship and maintain such relationships?

Which language do you use in the daily life, at work? Is it difficult for you to communicate with the local people because of different language? Do you think that it is a problem? What do you do in order to change this situation?

Do you tend to start conversations? Was it always so? Why do you think your communication habits have changed? (And if not, why not?)

Does your work help you socialize in the Norwegian society? Tell me about your relationships with your colleagues at work?

How do you feel about meeting new people? Does talking with others make you feel good?

IV Coping Styles (now and before)

Are there things in your present life you would like to change? What are they?
 What would need to happen for them to change?

How do you feel in difficult situations? What usually do you do with your problems? Have you always dealt with the problems in such a way? Even before migration?

Do you have any personal strategies for dealing with problem in your present situation? Could you give me an example?

Do you prefer to talk about your problems with other?

Can you say that sometimes you just “wait-and-see”? How often?

Can you say that cigarettes, drink, doing sport, etc. help you in difficult situation?

Do you look around for something new to know or learn to take you away from problems?

Do you put off things that you do not want to deal with, even if it would help to solve your problems?

Can you say that you usually evade the problems as you encounter them? How often do you give up? On occasion, do you tell lies?

How often do you go with what the others think and say?

Has your life-style in this sense changed at all, since your arrival in Norway? In what way?

V. Global Self-Worth (Now and before migration)

Are you satisfied with yourself at present situation? How did you feel in your home country? Was it the reason why you emigrated?

How important is work in your life? Are you satisfied with your present work? Do you feel that your work helps to realize your potential?

Do you believe that you can live fulfilling life in Norway? Why? Why not?

What do you expected to achieve in Norway? Have your attained this? Or are you moving in this direction? Explain.

Do you take pride in what you do? Was it always so? Even when you were in Lithuania?

VI Social Developmental State

Tell me about your relationship with your parents, brothers, sisters, colleagues and friends? Is it close a relationship? How often do you spend time with them? Are they in Norway? If, not, how often do you communicate by using chat programs, telephone?

Has your relationship with them changed after migration? In which way?

Do you think that your relationship with relatives and friends could be an example of a “close relationship”?

What do you think about such relationships of other Lithuanian workers? Would you say that your relationship with your relatives or your friends in Lithuania is better than theirs?

VII. Personality traits: (5 PF)

What do you think about new experience? Are you open to new things, or ideas?

Can you say that you are full of new ideas? Are art and you compatible? Tell me more about your creativity.

Can you say that you are self-disciplined? Do you pay attention to details? Is a sense of order important to you? Do you enjoy your work? Tell me more how you feel at work.

Do you like to be with other people? How do you feel in a company of others? What are you usually doing in such situations? (Start conversation, are quiet, etc.).

Are other people important to you? Do you try to understand their feelings, thoughts, and problems? Tell me more about how other people feel with you? How often do you have negative emotions? How often do you feel blue? Do you worry about things? Tell me more about this side of your personality.