

Immigration to Norway from Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, India, Morocco and Ukraine

Scoping studies for the project 'Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems (THEMIS)'



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Introduction

The following report presents the findings of six scoping studies on immigration to Norway from Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, India, Morocco and Ukraine. These studies were carried out for the project *Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems (THEMIS)*¹. This project aims to study under which conditions initial moves by pioneer migrants to Europe result in rapidly expanding network migration and the formation of migration systems, and under which conditions this does *not* happen. The scoping studies thus focus on migration history and demographic characteristics, policy developments in Norway and other explanatory factors for changes in the patterns. We also discuss institutions and community among these immigrant groups in Norway, and remittances and other transnational ties the migrants maintain to their countries of origin.

The six countries of origin examined in this report have been short-listed as possible in-depth case studies. On the basis of this report and similar reports from the Netherlands, Portugal and the United Kingdom, the project team will select three immigrant groups to be studied in detail across the four European countries.

Among the six groups, Indians and Moroccans are by far the largest groups in Norway. As of January 2010 Indians are the 14th largest non-western group, and Moroccans follow on the 17th place². At the other extreme, Bangladeshis rank 55th. Absolute numbers range from 6888 Indian to 579 Bangladeshi immigrants. Brazilians and Ukrainians in Norway stand out because their numbers have grown very rapidly over the past decade.

The report is based on analysis of publicly available statistics, interviews with a small number of key informants from each group, and a variety of written sources. Some of the immigrants groups we cover are very small or recent, and therefore poorly documented. It is important to note that some of the information described in this report relies only on one or two interviews and will need to be explored further in a second phase. We have indicated where this is the case, and also compiled a list of interesting themes to explore when conducting the full studies for the final three communities of study. We are confident that the analysis presented here provides a sound basis for the main aim of the scoping studies: finding the three most THEMIS-relevant immigrant groups. Those who read this report for other purposes, however, should take this limitation into account. We decided on a publicly available rather than an internal report because there is so little information on the smaller immigrant groups in Norway, and we hope our scoping studies can make a contribution in addressing this gap.

¹ The THEMIS project is funded by NORFACE and co-ordinated by the International Migration Institute at the University of Oxford. www.prio.no/Research-and-Publications/Project/?oid=48088377.

² In 2010 the ten largest groups from non-Western countries were Iraq (20,400), Somalia (18,300), Pakistan (17,100), Iran (13,500), Russia (13,500), Bosnia and Herzegovina (13,100), Vietnam (12,900), Philippines (12,100), Thailand (11,900) and Turkey (10,400). Half of these ten are populations that originate from conflict or post-conflict settings. Unless otherwise stated, all population statistics in this report are publicly available data from Statistics Norway (www.ssb.no).

Methodology

The research on which this scoping study report is based consists of an analysis of three sources: available statistical data, relevant literature on the topic, and interviews with key informants.

Statistical data

Norway enjoys register data of high quality and with comparatively long time series. From 1974, standardised procedures for recording and gathering statistical data on the number of immigrants in Norway were introduced. These data are collected and coordinated by Statistics Norway. Accessibility is limited, however, for two overlapping reasons. First, data on specific immigrant groups is often analyzed and published for the groups that are judged to be most important. Consequently, comprehensive register-based statistics is published for large groups, but not for smaller groups (e.g. Henriksen 2007). The countries that are specified are not always the same; for instance, statistics on marriage migration might specify data for countries of origin that are particularly important in this form of migration but not for immigration overall.

Second, register data is governed by strict data protection concerns. One result of this is that certain data can only be obtained for aggregates such as immigrants from 'Asia' but not for individual countries. Similarly, it is possible to obtain figures for, say, Bangladeshis in Norway, and immigrants in Bergen, but not for Bangladeshis in Bergen.

After the scoping study phase of THEMIS, it will hopefully be possible to obtain more detailed data on the three groups that are selected. However, data protection concerns will remain a restriction, as will the cost of purchasing processed data.

The most important data source outside Statistics Norway is the Directorate of Immigration (UDI). The directorate compiles data on the basis of case processing. Again, only certain figures are published, but more detailed data can presumably be obtained for research on the three selected groups.

In each of the subsequent country studies, migration history is discussed with reference to a series of demographic indicators. These are intended to bring out key characteristics of each group's migration history and current demographic profile. Most of these indicators require some explanation or contextualization, which is provided in annex 1.

Literature

A literature search on the six groups in Norway only produced limited results. It seems that there is very little research done on the selected groups, with the partial exception of Moroccans and Indians, although even here, there is not a lot of earlier work to draw on. Besides searches for literature we also searched for relevant information in the media and relevant internet sites, including for example those of the respective embassies and of migrant organizations. This first search has generated a list of potentially relevant references and will form the basis of a more systematic search in the second phase of the study.

A relatively recent report by Statistics Norway (Henriksen 2007) informs the sections on Morocco and India. This detailed report is a compilation of statistics on the 18 largest immigrant groups with non-western background³. Descriptions are based on available statistics that focus on demography, reasons for migration, in- and out-migration, duration of stay, citizenship, household composition, civil status and family composition, educational levels, employment, income and voting participation. A further publication of great relevance to THEMIS is Brochmann and Kjeldstadli's (2008) 'A history of immigration: The case of Norway 900-2000', which is also available in a more elaborate Norwegian version. Not only does the study provide an excellent overview of changing migration patterns in Norway, but it also refers to a number of the short-listed groups, including Morocco and India. Finally, for India we have gained access to published and unpublished reports and articles written by social anthropologist Julian Kramer (1978, 1979a, b, c, 1980), who conducted the first study on Indians in Norway in 1976-1979. He studied the Indian labour migrants in the Drammen area, an industrial town near Oslo, and provides valuable insights to the early period of Indian immigration to Norway.

Interviews with key informants

Interviews were conducted with key informants who were selected and found through Internet searches and personal contacts. Informants included individuals at embassies, migrant organizations, migrant-owned businesses and pioneer migrants. Pioneer migrants were largely found through individual acquaintances and referrals by others interviewed. Potential key informants who were found online received an email with an information letter (annex 2) and, where phone numbers were available; this first contact was then followed up by a phone call in order to secure a high response rate. Nevertheless, contacting and finding appropriate candidates took considerable time, and in some instances, led us to interview only one individual whereas we had aimed for three informants per group. Informants were then interviewed using a list of interview topics (annex 3).

For Bangladesh, we interviewed a well-known representative of the Norwegian-Bangladeshi community, and were advised by this person as well as the embassy to contact a Bangladeshi organization. We were invited to join a picnic and interviewed a pioneer migrant who came to Norway for the first time in the 1970s, a former leader of the Bangladesh Association Norway and the child of a pioneer migrant who arrived in Norway in the 1980s. For Brazil, we had an interview at the Embassy, a leader of a cultural organization and a highly skilled labour led migrant. In the case of Egypt, interviews were conducted with the Embassy and with a pioneer migrant. For India, finding key informants willing to be interviewed proved a challenge and, finally, we managed to interview only one pioneer migrant who came to Norway in the 1970s. In the case of Morocco, we conducted one interview with two of the leaders of a Moroccan organization. Finally, for the scoping study on Ukraine we held interviews with an employee at the Embassy, a representative of an association and a migrant who has been a part of the recent wave of Ukrainian migration to Norway.

³ The report partly is an update of an earlier report (2004/10), which focused on Pakistan, Iraq, Vietnam, Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iran, Turkey, Sri Lanka, Serbia-Montenegro and Chile. The new report also includes Poland, Russia, Philippines, India, Morocco, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The Norwegian context

Norway is a country with a relatively recent migration history, and a relatively small but increasing migrant population. According to Statistics Norway, there were 459 000 immigrants, and 93 000 people of immigrant parents in Norway by 1 January 2010. This constitutes 11, 4 percent of the total population. However, about 257 000 of these are of European background.⁴ Most of the people of immigrant background, and particularly those of non-western background, live in Oslo, which is the case for seven out of ten Pakistanis and Moroccans (Henriksen 2007: 30). Other cities with large numbers of non-western immigrants are Bergen, Stavanger, Trondheim, Drammen, Kristiansand and Fredrikstad.⁵

It was towards the end of the 1960s that the first labour migrants from third world countries came to Norway. In fact, as Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2008) remind us, 'Norway did not become a net immigration country in modern times before 1968'. In 1970, only 1.3 percent of the population was not Norwegian, of which the large majority came from the Nordic countries, Europe and North America. Yet despite these low numbers, the post-war period was important in the sense that it introduced Norway to cold war refugees, a liberal political immigration regime, its first contact with immigration from non-OECD countries and, as a consequence, to a nationally felt need to establish a stricter regulation of the influx (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 179).

Following the first oil findings in the North Sea in 1969, there was a period of improvement of the Norwegian economy. The expansion of the oil industry created many popular job opportunities for Norwegians, which resulted in a shortage of unskilled manual labour in low-paid jobs with difficult working conditions, in the industry, restaurant business, and farming and nursery garden sectors. Although the Norwegian authorities never actively recruited unskilled labourers from abroad (Wist 2000: 43), Norway had been driven by a very liberal immigration policy after the Second World War which made it easy and attractive for labour migrants to come to Norway in pursue of better opportunities. Still, and despite a booming economy and an officially welcoming atmosphere, very few came. Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2008: 192) suggest that this was because other European countries were more attractive and pursued active recruitment policies.

The first labour migrants came from Turkey and Morocco, but it did not take long before the Pakistanis had boomed in this sector. In 1970, there were 434 Moroccan, 260 Turkish and 212 Indian/Pakistani citizens in Norway (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 194). These were the main groups of so-called foreign workers (*fremmedarbeidere*), a term that was used to describe those whose physical features and non-western cultural background were different from Norwegians and other foreigners in Norway (Kramer 1978). The Labour Organization (LO) plays a central role in Norway, and right from the beginning there was a trace of reluctance in their position on foreign labour. The LO demanded that immigration policies took

⁴ For statistical information about immigration to Norway: www.ssb.no/innvandring

⁵ www.ssb.no/emner/02/01/10/innvbef/tab-2010-04-29-10.html.

care of potential structural problems that could undermine the position of organized labour, and insisted that foreign workers have the same salary as Norwegians and that residence permits be made conditional on prearranged work (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 194).

As time passed, the financial depression that had struck the rest of Western Europe became increasingly noticeable in the Norwegian context. This combined with the fear of the 'social problems' that were assumed to accompany the increasing migration from Asia and Africa, eventually led to stricter immigration policies in Norway as well. From 1972 and onwards, tourists could no longer apply for a work- and residence permit while visiting Norway (Kramer 1979b: 11). However, in 1973, Norway was the only Western European country that still was open for individual immigration, so labour migrants kept coming to find work. The salaries were low, the working conditions tough, and the quality of accommodation poor. But even so, the level of salaries was significantly higher than even white collar jobs back home.

In 1975, the immigration restrictions were further expanded to a full migration stop for any unskilled labour migration (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 198). No new work permits were to be issued to foreigners (from outside of Scandinavia) unless they were direct dependants of immigrants already residing in Norway, who could provide adequate accommodation for them. The immigration stop was originally imposed for a period of one year, but was then extended indefinitely, and is still implemented today.

For the first few years after the immigration stop for labour migrants was imposed, Norway was still leading a very open family reunion policy. Consequently, many of the immigrant groups that had already established themselves in the Norwegian society were able to bring other family members, in addition to wives and children, to join them in Norway. One of the consequences of this was evident in that the previously almost exclusively male non-western foreign workers in Norway, were joined by increasing numbers of female migrants who came through family reunification (Kramer 1978: 662).

The third and most recent wave of migration to Norway was formed by asylum seekers. In Norway, 'the beginning of the 1980s thus marked the start of a migration pattern that was going to prevail till the end of the century: an increasing number of refugees, in combination with continuous family immigration and labour migrants destined for expanding sections of the labour market (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 214). The immigration stop introduced thus was not an actual stop or a closed door: the new regulations required selection of people according to categories of wanted and unwanted migrants. 'The authorities exercising the discretion of status assignment thus turned out to be national gatekeepers, when the position as refugee turned into a 'scarce good' (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 222).

In 1987 and 1988 asylum to Norway peaked, with asylumseekers arriving from 60 countries. This was also the period Norway became increasingly affected by and an actor in European migration policy, being a member of Schengen though not of the EU. The increasing numbers of immigrants led to increasing call for restrictive policies, like elsewhere in Europe. From the early 1990s onwards, efforts were made to develop a comprehensive approach to refugee policy, resulting in a White Paper to the parliament (no. 17, 1994-5) with focus on temporary protection and containment in the region. Yet despite the overarching official aim of limited and regulated immigration, de facto immigration remained high.

Bangladesh

Migration history and demography

Bangladeshi migration to Norway is relatively recent and small-scale, with a somewhat unusual development over time. Three groups make up the bulk of this migration: asylum seekers and refugees, those coming for family reunification / formation, and students. There were only a couple of Bangladeshis registered in Norway in 1970, at the time when Indians and Pakistanis were arriving in sizeable numbers and Bangladeshi communities were establishing elsewhere in Europe.⁶ Original migration was extremely sporadic: Bangladeshis came one by one and mostly did not know each other before coming to Norway. Informants indicate that Bangladeshis at that time came from various regions in Bangladesh and had both urban and rural backgrounds.

By 1980 there were still only 27 Bangladeshi immigrants living in Norway. In the late 1980s, however, a wave of immigration trebled the migrant population over the course of three years (Figure 1 and Figure 3).⁷ In fact, the years 1987, 1988 and 1989 account for almost

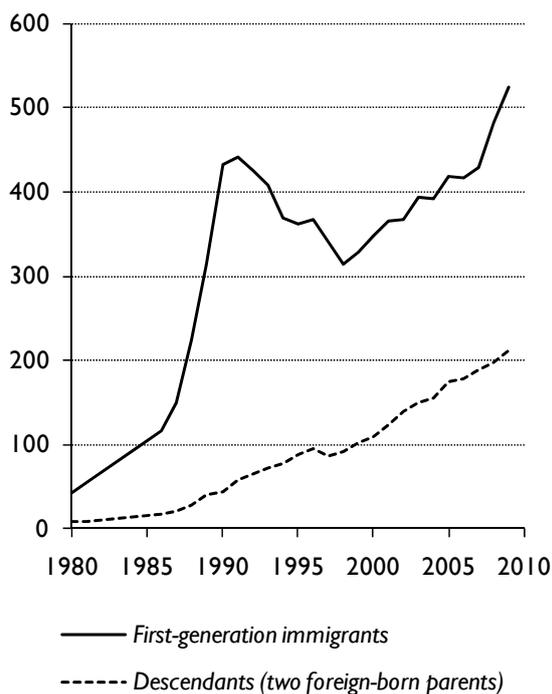


Figure 1. Stock of Bangladeshi immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

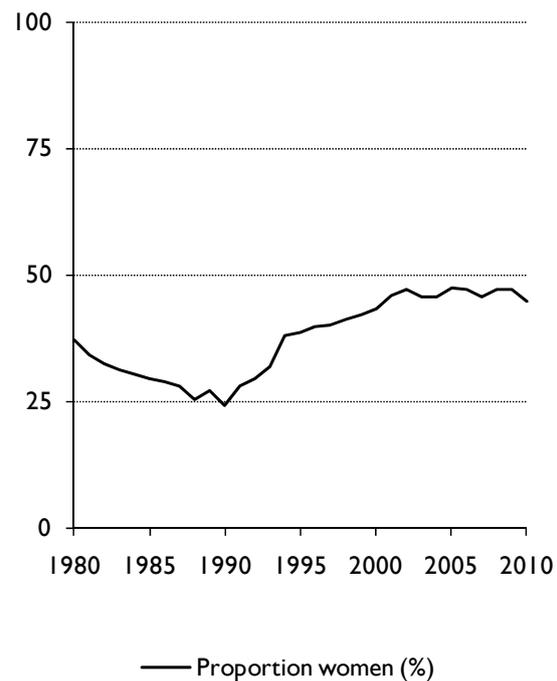


Figure 2. Proportion of women in the stock of Bangladeshi immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

⁶ For data protection reasons, statistics do not show whether the actual number was 1, 2 or 3 persons.

⁷ Since figures for the years 1981–1985 are interpolated from 1980 and 1986 numbers, the immigration wave may have started more abruptly than Figure 1 indicates.

a fifth of total arrivals from Bangladesh in the period 1975–2009. Informants indicate that from the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, Bangladeshis came to Norway because of political and economic problems in Bangladesh. From 1975 to 1990, Bangladesh was ruled by military dictatorship and political conditions in Bangladesh were harsh. Indeed, towards the end of the short-lived immigration wave in the late 1980s, there was a sudden rise in the number of asylum seekers from Bangladesh Figure 3. However, available statistics cannot reveal the grounds for admission of those who settled in 1987–1989.

Whereas there are without doubt Bangladeshis who came to Norway at the time because of persecution in Bangladesh, for example being active in opposition, others came to Norway for reasons not related to conflict or persecution. There were very likely students among them, but part of this wave remains unexplained by our data. Throughout the migration history from Bangladesh to Norway, a number of students who had come to Norway on a temporary basis stayed on because of finding a job or a partner. One informant indicates that students from Bangladesh had learned about the favourable conditions for studying in Norway, with state universities as a rule not charging tuition fees and students from Bangladesh being able to apply for scholarships.

For most of the 1990s, net immigration from Bangladesh was close to zero, and the stock of Bangladeshi immigrants declined substantially. Figure 3 shows increased emigration flows in the 1990s coupled with reduced immigration flows. Since these migration figures refer to the country of departure/destination, however, it is likely that emigration of Bangladeshi *citizens*

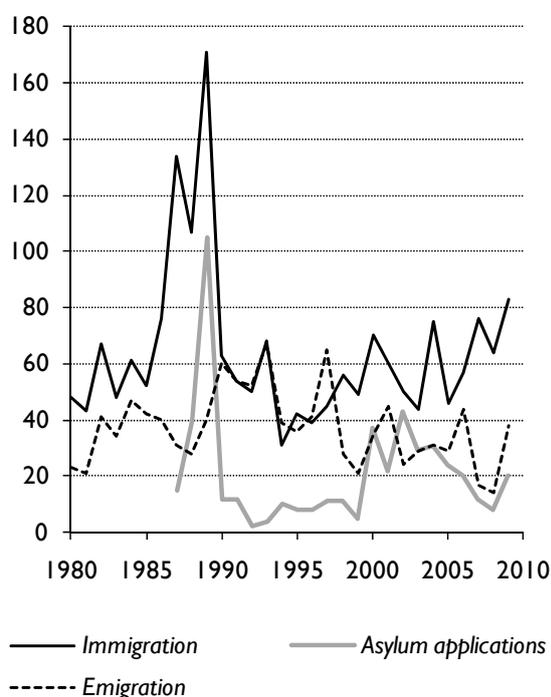


Figure 3. Immigration and emigration to/from Bangladesh and asylum applications by Bangladeshis, Norway 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration.

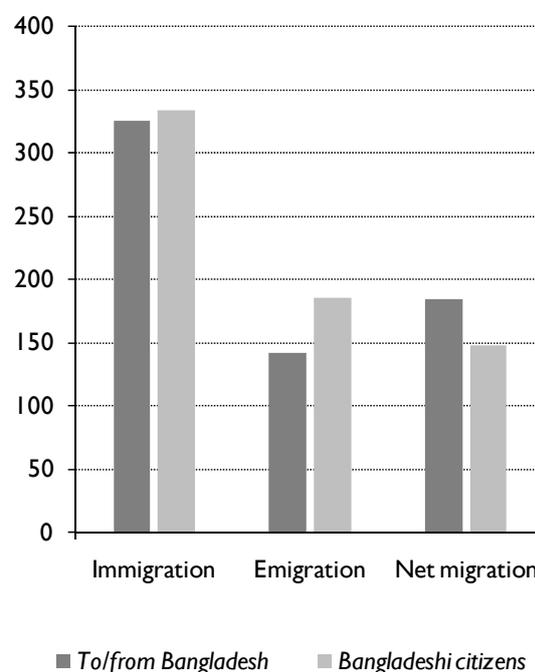


Figure 4. Migration to/from Bangladesh and of Bangladeshi citizens, Norway 2005–2009

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

from Norway was substantially higher than what is visible in the figure. In other words, the decline in the migrant population 1991–1997 appears to have been caused primarily by onward migration of people who arrived during the 1987–1989 wave. Also in recent years, emigration of Bangladeshi citizens exceeds emigration to Bangladesh, indicating that onward migration persists (Figure 4). Informants observe that there has been outmigration of long-term Bangladeshi residents of Norway, in particular by a number of qualified ‘young adults’ who came to Norway as children and were educated there. They moved to Sweden, the UK, the US and Canada in order to make better use of their qualifications and live in more inclusive societies.

From its minimum level in 1997, the Bangladeshi population in Norway has grown steadily at an average of about 5 percent per year. However, it was not until 2008 that it regained the size it had in 1991. The growth might be accelerating: the Bangladeshi population has increased more rapidly during the past three years, and immigration from Bangladesh in 2009 was the highest in 20 years. Informants indicate that with European integration and increasing travel opportunities between countries in Europe, a number of Bangladeshi immigrants to Norway arrived from elsewhere in Europe. This number increased in recent years after the financial crisis, when many immigrants faced increasing economic difficulties, in particular in southern Europe. With 579 immigrants and 337 descendants in 2010, Bangladeshis nevertheless remain a small group in Norway.

There is only a slight dominance of men in the current stock of immigrants, but this has not always been the case. In particular, the 1987–1989 immigration wave appears to have been primarily male, causing the proportion of women in the immigrant stock to dip below a quarter in 1990. Informants indicate that family migration took place mainly when those who received refugee status in the 1980s applied for their families to join them in Norway within a few years after their own arrival. Furthermore, informants indicate that family formation also occurred, but often with a delay of at least 7 years after arrival. Bangladeshis who arrive as asylum seekers are not allowed to travel to Bangladesh until they receive their Norwegian passport. A number of first generation migrants then returned to Bangladesh to find a partner and brought their wives back to Norway.⁸

Family migration is primarily for the purpose of being united with another foreigner, not a Norwegian citizen. Since the average length of stay among Bangladeshis in Norway is presumably quite high, the Norwegian citizens bringing family members to Norway may also be of Bangladeshi origin. Even if relationships with Norwegians play a minor role in the migration process, more than a third of the children of Bangladeshis born in Norway have a Norwegian-born parent (Table 1).

Changes explained

Migration patterns from Bangladesh to Norway are quite erratic, with very small numbers arriving in the 1970s up to the mid-1980s, a sudden take-off in the late 1980s, a phase of stagnation and more recently, renewed growth. We do need to realize however, that numbers are

⁸ Our informants are more divided on the situation of the 1.5 and second generation migrants, but the general feeling is that family formation migration is less common among those generations.

Table I. Overview of demographic indicators for Bangladeshis in Norway

	Bangladesh	Average for the six groups (unweighted) ¹
Stock of immigrants (2010)	579	3032
Change in stock of immigrants (2005-2010)	39%	63%
Stock of foreign citizens (2010)	323	1540
Change in stock of foreign citizens (2005-2010)	39%	59%
Cumulated immigration by country of departure (1975-2009)	2167	5110
Cumulated naturalizations (1977-2009)	480	2180
Immigration by country of departure (annual average 2005-2009)	65	298
Migration effectiveness (2005-2009)	0.39	0.56
Immigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	67	281
Emigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	37	88
Proportion of immigrants not arriving from country of citizenship (2009)	—	9%
Proportion of emigrants not departing to country of citizenship (2009)	—	52%
Cumulated asylum applications (1995-2009)	289	549
Asylum applications per 100 immigrants (2005-2009)	25	15
Family migration permits per 100 immigrants (2009)	40	69
Proportion female among stock of immigrants (2010)	45%	53%
Descendants per 100 immigrants (2010) ²	58	64
Proportion of descendants with one Norwegian-born parent (2010) ²	35%	59%
Proportion of family migration with a Norwegian or Nordic citizen (2009)	20%	50%

Notes: 1) Refers to the six groups covered in this scoping study report 2) Descendants in this context refer to people born in Norway with one or two foreign-born parents. Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Directorate of Immigration

still really small and thus, percentage-wise small changes seemingly have big impacts. Another change is related to the mechanisms through which Bangladeshi immigrants have reached Norway. In the 1980s, a considerable number of Bangladeshi immigrants to Norway claimed asylum, whereas in the 1990s there were increasing numbers of people who came through family reunification. Furthermore, throughout the migration history from Bangladesh, there has been temporary migration by Bangladeshi students, of which a number has stayed after finding a job or a partner in Norway.

The number of asylum applications from Bangladesh is of course closely related to political conditions in the country, and from 1975 to 1990, Bangladesh was ruled by military dictatorship. The sudden increase that took place in numbers of immigrants from Bangladesh between 1985 and 1990 can partly be explained by asylum applications in that period – when political and economic conditions were tough. However, we would need to study this period in greater detail in a possible second phase in order to explain the sudden increase fully. This may be complicated by the fact that emigration of Bangladeshis from Norway has been high, and we are not sure yet whether the relevant statistics are available.

Not only conditions in Bangladesh but also migration policies in Norway have an impact on the number and kind of immigrants arriving. Almost all Bangladeshis came to Norway after the migration stop in 1975. This means that for the large majority, labour migration was not an entry point. Informants indicated that in the 1980s, it was relatively easy to enter Norway on asylum grounds. Indeed, in Norway, as in many other countries in Europe, ‘a rela-

tively high number of the asylum seekers were refused political asylum yet allowed residence on humanitarian grounds' (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 260). This changed in the 1990s, when prevention came in as a central dimension in European policy, in an attempt to stem emigration. The Norwegian Refugee Council at the time argued for a 'holistic refugee policy' where refugees could be taken care of much more effectively in sending regions (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 262)

Institutions and community

The Bangladeshi community in Norway is largely a middle-class community with relatively high levels of education, compared to other migrant groups. Most Bangladeshis live in Oslo, and the Bangladesh Association Norway estimates the number (including descendants) to be about 500. Many moved to Oslo after obtaining citizenship, which takes 7 years in Norway.⁹ Other Bangladeshi immigrants live in Bergen, especially the first generation. Informants furthermore know of a few families in Kristiansand; and point out that in Trondheim there are a number of students, who will likely stay in Norway only for the duration of their studies.

In Norway, there are three organizations for Bangladeshis: the Bangladesh Association Norway (BDAN), Norsk Bangla Forum and Amaderjalsha. The Bangladesh Association Norway was founded in 1978 and has recently celebrated its 30th anniversary. When it was founded, in order to find the five people necessary to establish a board and found an organization, the founder included three Pakistanis.¹⁰ It functions as the main organization for Bangladeshis in Norway nationally. The Norsk Bangla Forum was set up in 2007 and targets a younger audience, with a more active website use.

Bangladeshis are quite active in meeting on various socio-cultural occasions, such as weddings, national days, summer picnics and other events. A number of these events are private happenings, while others, including picnics, religious celebrations and cultural events like poetry readings, are organized by the associations. A picnic attended for THEMIS attracted about 150 Bangladeshis, including many families, and involved activities for all generations. Men and women were mainly sitting in separate groups, and a number of activities had been organized. There were games and sports for the second generation, a barbeque, a quiz on a Bangladeshi figure of importance, a musical chairs variation for adults and so on. A representative of The Bangladesh Association Norway indicates that people did not know each other and the community was very small in the late 1970s, early 1980s, but when the association started, the connection between Bangladeshis started and their social life in Norway began.

Remittances and other transnational connections

In order to travel from Bangladesh to Norway, substantial resources are required. Those who arrived in Norway in the 1970s and 1980s very rarely had family or friends in Norway and had to use their own capital. Alternatively, informants pointed out that many also benefited from social networks encompassing relatives and friends elsewhere in Europe or in the US.

⁹ As many arrived as asylum seekers, they were not allowed to live where they wanted and many lived in various rural communities before coming to Oslo.

¹⁰ For more information on the history of BDAN, see www.bdanorway.com for an extensive description.

One informant interestingly mentioned a European activist who was working in Bangladesh who enabled flight from Bangladesh, but in general, it is likely that these networks largely encompassed Bangladeshi migrants.

As many of the Bangladeshi immigrants have come to Norway through the asylum route, this has had implications for their ability to travel to Bangladesh: until they obtained Norwegian citizenship, they were not allowed to travel to Bangladesh. Currently, however, many Bangladeshis travel back to their country. Informants indicate that there are a few Bangladeshis who travel yearly, but on average, most people travel no more than every two to three years – especially those with families, as the journey takes long and is expensive. There is one Bangladeshi travel agent in Norway – based in Drammen, which people may use. Nowadays, emails and phone calls have also become much more common ways of staying in touch frequently. On Internet, we also found a couple of requests for information or assistance from Bangladeshis planning to move to Norway – mainly from elsewhere in Europe.

As Bangladeshi immigrants to Norway are mostly of middle-class background and have been in Norway since the 1980s, it seems that a number of those who have been away for 20 years or more have fewer close family members in Bangladesh. They may communicate more with siblings or parents in Sweden, the UK and Canada, for example, than with family in Bangladesh. As a consequence, these people may also not send remittances anymore. At the same time, there are still Bangladeshi immigrants sending remittances from Norway – at the scoping study stage however it has been impossible to gain an understanding of how many and how much they send. The main mechanisms used for sending remittances are Western Union, banks and through people traveling to Bangladesh. Finally, political engagement with the situation in Bangladesh is still pretty strong, in particular among the men, and there is a strong wish to remain updated. It is not allowed to have dual citizenship, which inhibits many from voting in Bangladesh (which would only be possible by traveling to Bangladesh anyway).

Assessment

Bangladeshi immigration to Norway is characterized by a migration take-off that is interrupted, followed by stagnation and renewed growth. Pioneer migrants arrived in the 1970s and there have been a few years of high increases in numbers, in particular from 1987 to 1989, but still, the community remains very small and in the 1990s there has been net outmigration from Norway. In general, Norway has not been a preferred destination for Bangladeshi immigrants and in a next phase it would be interesting to find out more about why. Entrance has mainly been obtained through asylum in the 1980s and ensuing family reunification, and by students who enjoyed the chances offered to them in Norway. Yet few Bangladeshi immigrants (except those who come for family reunification) seem to have come to Norway for the country itself. One reason for this is related to the fact that there is no Bangladeshi community in Norway – even though the few Bangladeshi who are here are quite active in terms of socio-cultural activities.

Outmigration is also a phenomenon that would be interesting to explore in the case of Bangladesh, as there has been a considerable flow throughout the years. Who are the people leaving (besides students who were planning to be in Norway temporary), where are they

leaving to and why? The pre-study suggests that people leave to Sweden, the US and Canada because there is no Bangladeshi community in Norway and because of looking for better economic opportunities there. Furthermore, informants indicated that few people return to Bangladesh, because the political situation is still considered unstable. Those who do, are said to have come to Norway relatively recently or have maintained strong ties, either having family or business there. The low numbers of Bangladeshis in Norway are particularly interesting considering the fact that there is a large community of people from Bangladesh in Sweden – it would be fascinating to find out why this difference occurred, despite so many similarities between the countries. Furthermore, the community is among the better-off migrant communities from non-western background and also includes a large number of students who mainly come on a temporary basis.

The pre-study we conducted in Oslo gives us some confidence in our ability to conduct the study. There are entrance points through the organizations and we can make use of Facebook and other electronic media to locate people. Furthermore, there seem to be quite a number of events we may be able to participate in (during the relatively short period of the research, three such events were organized and another one announced for September). Cricket and universities could be other arenas to find Bangladeshis, and the advantage of the relatively large number of students is also that we would be able to find enumerators relatively easily. People have also generally been quite open to the research and helpful, although a bit more reluctant to talk about a number of topics in greater detail (remittances, parts of the migration history). If this group would be selected, research could best be conducted in Oslo and Bergen, where there is a relatively large group of the first wave of immigrants to Norway.

Brazil

Migration history and demography

Brazilian migration to Norway

Brazil has traditionally been a country of immigration.¹¹ A new migratory trend of emigration started with the economic crisis of the 1980s. In the Norwegian context, however, Brazilian immigration only started to take off at the beginning of the 21st century. Currently, there are more than 2700 Brazilian immigrants in Norway, and the number has more than doubled over the past five years (Table 2). The two most striking features of Brazilian migration to Norway are its long history and the recent exponential growth.

The first known Brazilian migrant in Norway was a composer who settled in Bergen in the 1890s and returned to Brazil in 1910.¹² The first records available at the Embassy of Brazil in Oslo are from 1929, and have registered the births of children of diplomats posted in Norway in the years 1948, 1961, 1963 and 1967. The first record of the birth of a child born of Brazilian

¹¹ This first section is largely based on information from the Embassy of Brazil in Oslo.

¹² Alberto Nepomuceno married the Norwegian pianist Walborg Bang in 1893 after meeting her in Germany. Together, they moved to the Norwegian composer Edvard Grieg's house in Bergen, Norway. The two composers influenced each other's future work. The background for Nepomuceno return to Brazil is not known.

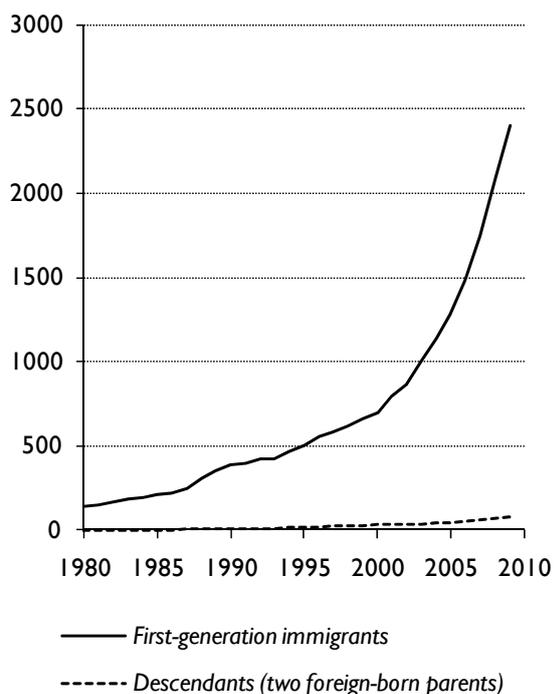


Figure 5. Stock of Brazilian immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

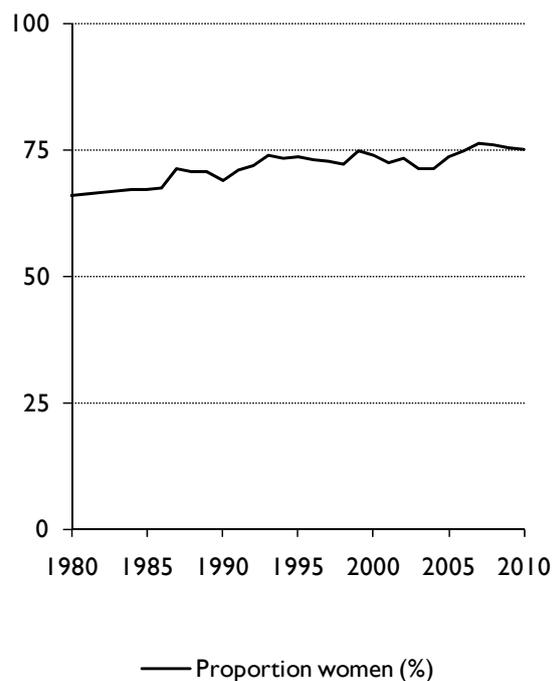


Figure 6. Proportion of women in the stock of Brazilian immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

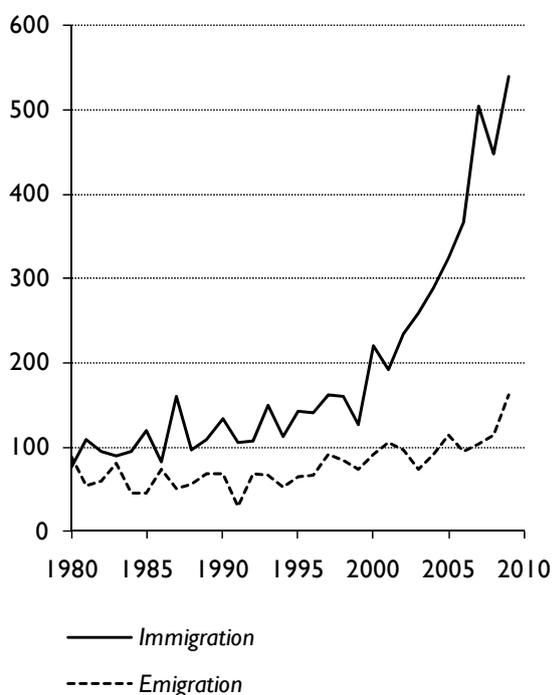


Figure 7. Immigration and emigration to/from Brazil, Norway 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

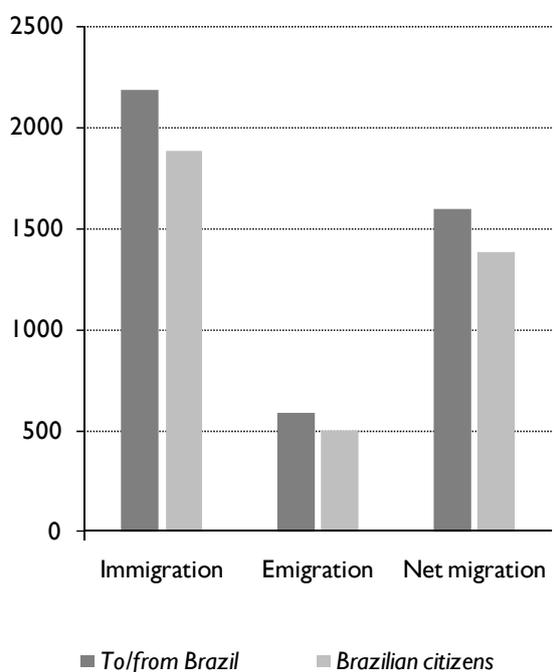


Figure 8. Migration to/from Brazil and of Brazilian citizens, Norway 2005–2009

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

parents residing in Norway was in 1970. The couple came from the State of São Paulo in Brazil and lived in the city of Hamar (north of Oslo), but there is no information on when, why and how they came to Norway.

Over the years, there have been a few cases of children of Norwegian parents who had been living in Brazil for a long time, who returned to Norway. As the children were Brazilian citizens, they do make a small contribution to the statistics. Including these, in 1970 there were 67 Brazilian immigrants resident in Norway. This number grew steadily to 139 in 1980 and 386 in 1990. The number of Brazilians in Norway reached 1000 in 2003 and has been growing at 12–19 percent per year ever since (Figure 5). Since about 2000, not only the stock of migrants but also the immigration flow has grown rapidly. After quadrupling over a seven-year period, the inflow seems to have stabilized around 500 persons per year for the past three years (Figure 7), although it is too early to say whether this is just a temporary pause.

The gender balance of Brazilians has always been in favour of women, but increasingly so in the past two decades. Already in 1970, 57 percent were women. Since the mid-1990s, the proportion of women has been around three quarters (Figure 5).

There are not many Brazilians who come to the Brazilian Embassy to register, so the Embassy does not have data that supplements official population statistics. Most of the persons who do get in touch with the Embassy are Brazilians who need the correct papers in order to marry Norwegian citizens. A majority of these are from the Northeast region of Brazil. However, this does not necessarily reflect the composition of the Brazilian population in Norway. There might also be many cases of people who meet their partners in for example Rio de Janeiro, but as the internal migration within Brazil is substantial, many of these might be internal migrants from elsewhere in Brazil.

The vast majority of Brazilians in Norway come directly from Brazil. They arrive on international flights through third countries such as Portugal, France, United Kingdom and Germany. Due to the financial crisis that has struck some of Brazilian migrants' most popular destinations, some leave countries like Spain and Portugal to come to Norway in search of a job. In 2009, such stepwise migration accounted for 6 percent of arrivals (Table 2).

The number of immigrants arriving from Brazil substantially exceeds the number of Brazilian citizens migrating to Norway (Figure 8). This is probably linked to the fact that many Brazilians who originate from European countries have dual citizenship, so they enter the country with their European passports. There might also be some non-Brazilian migration from Brazil that can be accounted for by returning Norwegians, although it is not possible to see the extent of this on the basis of available statistics. In addition, it may be that Brazil is a transit country for migrants from other South American countries.

The large majority of Brazilian migrants in Norway can be divided into three main groups:

Migrants with Norwegian partners

Many Norwegians on holiday in Brazil, mostly men, have met and brought their Brazilian partners to Norway. This can partly explain the much higher number of Brazilian females than men. The socio-economic background of these women varies a lot, some come from poor families while others have had the possibility to pursue higher education. One of our interviewees told

Table 2. Overview of demographic indicators for Brazilians in Norway

	Brazil	Average for the six groups (unweighted)¹
Stock of immigrants (2010)	2728	3032
Change in stock of immigrants (2005-2010)	114%	63%
Stock of foreign citizens (2010)	2164	1540
Change in stock of foreign citizens (2005-2010)	114%	59%
Cumulated immigration by country of departure (1975-2009)	6059	5110
Cumulated naturalizations (1977-2009)	930	2180
Immigration by country of departure (annual average 2005-2009)	437	298
Migration effectiveness (2005-2009)		0.56
Immigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	376	281
Emigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	100	88
Proportion of immigrants not arriving from country of citizenship (2009)	6%	9%
Proportion of emigrants not departing to country of citizenship (2009)	45%	52%
Cumulated asylum applications (1995-2009)	10	549
Asylum applications per 100 immigrants (2005-2009)	0	15
Family migration permits per 100 immigrants (2009)	81	69
Proportion female among stock of immigrants (2010)	75%	53%
Descendants per 100 immigrants (2010) ²	57	64
Proportion of descendants with one Norwegian-born parent (2010) ²	94%	59%
Proportion of family migration with a Norwegian or Nordic citizen (2009)	71%	50%

Notes: 1) Refers to the six groups covered in this scoping study report 2) Descendants in this context refer to people born in Norway with one or two foreign-born parents. Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Directorate of Immigration

us that, in the city where she lives, she knows of both women who had a regular job in Brazil at the time when they met their Norwegian husbands, and those who were sex workers.

No matter the reasons behind the migration, the statistics illustrate the importance of family formation with Norwegians in Brazilian migration to Norway (Table 2). First, the more than 80 family migration permits per 100 immigrants in 2009 indicate that most migration is family-based. Second, the reference person for more than 70 percent of the permits was a Norwegian (or Nordic) citizen. The fact that more than 90 percent of the children of Brazilians in Norway have a Norwegian parent underlines this pattern.

According to the Brazilian Embassy, due to a few problematic cases related to Norwegian citizens in Brazil (among these a serious case of money laundering), the tourism flow from Norway to Brazil has decreased in the past couple of years. But for now, this factor has not made itself evident in the statistics of Norwegians bringing partners with them from Brazil.

High-skilled migrants

There are many Brazilians working for companies in Norway. These are either Norwegian companies or companies that are established in both Norway and in Brazil. In the past decade, there has been a trend of an increasing number of Norwegian companies operating in Brazil. The Brazilians working in these companies are experts with an education at a Master's or PhD level. Some of them live in Norway over a long period of time, but there are also examples of people who work in companies that are established both here and in Brazil, who have

been travelling back and forth over a long period of time. In addition, there are also those who come to Norway for education purposes at a higher level. A very common way of first entering Norway is to do internships at Norwegian companies as part of one's education scheme.

Adopted children

In the 1990s, there was a sudden increase of adopted children being brought to Norway from Brazil. Most of these were not infants or toddlers at the time of the adoption, but older children of about 7/8 years of age, who are grown-ups in their mid-twenties by now. This trend has now slowed down and is practically non-existing, although the reasons for this are unclear. Over the past decade 150 children have been adopted from Brazil (Statistics Norway 2010). These children are not counted as immigrants in population statistics.

Changes explained

It appears that the increase in Brazilian migration to Norway is correlated with the increasing tourism traffic of Norwegians to Brazil. In the past few decades, an increasing number of Norwegians have started travelling abroad, for the most part to countries with an agreeable climate as a remedy to the long, dark and cold Norwegian winters. As such, Brazil has become a very popular destination. In addition, the dynamism of bilateral relations between Brazil and Norway and the convergence of economic interests have strengthened the contact between Brazilians and Norwegians, particularly in the last decade. Growing business ties, bilateral trade and investments have enhanced the relationship between the two countries and peoples, fostering personal and professional contacts. This, in combination with the contact established between Norwegians on vacation and Brazilians, seems to have boosted the migration flows from Brazil to Norway.

Visas and permits

Thanks to previous colonial ties, Brazilians with dual Brazilian and European citizenships are able to travel to Norway both for work and touristic purposes rather easily. With only a Brazilian citizenship, however, the ease with which to obtain the necessary documents may vary. High-skilled migrants in the fields of technology, a sector with a lack of experts, seem not to meet great difficulties when applying for work permits for Norway. As long as there is a company in Norway that is willing to provide them with a job opportunity as an expert, they will obtain the necessary documents. Moving to Norway for family reunification reasons does not seem to pose great problems either.

Nevertheless, in addition to the official figures for Brazilians in Norway, there are also an uncertain number of irregular Brazilian migrants. In the past year, the Embassy of Brazil in Oslo has been contacted regarding two cases of Brazilian citizens being deported from Norway due to lack of necessary papers. According to the Embassy, these were the first cases of this sort ever in the Norwegian context. In both cases the person had entered Norway after following a route through other European countries. One of the persons deported had entered Norway on a tourist visa, and then over-stayed. Of course, irregular migrants do not contact the Brazilian Embassy voluntarily, so that it is impossible to know the extent of irregular mi-

gration from Brazil to Norway. However, a Brazilian migrant interviewed informed us that he has met many Brazilians who are staying in Norway irregularly.

Institutions and community

Although Brazilians in Norway constitute a small part of the overall population, there are many Brazil-linked activities and associations in Norway. This seems to be linked to the interest of many Norwegians in different aspects of the Brazilian culture. For example, there are several Capoeira clubs in different parts of Norway. The largest one, with its 350 members, has only four Brazilian members. Furthermore, there are several Brazilian pubs/cafés. During the World Cup, these worked as gathering spots for both Brazilians and Norwegians who are fans of Brazil and the Brazilian culture.

There is also an association for Brazilians called Conselho de Cidadãos Brasileiros na Noruega (Council of Brazilian Citizens in Norway)¹³, which among other things organizes tutoring activities for children of Brazilian parents, teaching them Portuguese and allowing them to come together and play. Another relevant website is a ‘communication newspaper for Brazilians in Norway’¹⁴. Here, news and information about and related to Brazilians in Norway are posted.

The job of one of our informants involves travelling in all parts of Norway. As such, he meets Brazilians everywhere, from tourists to high-skilled migrants, and irregular migrants. He told us that Brazilians easily find and become friends with each other. They are happy to be able to speak their mother tongue, and meet other Brazilians far away from home. Both he and our female informant told us that they are contacted by e-mail or community sites as Facebook and Orkut by Brazilians who are either considering moving to or have just arrived in Norway.

Many of the people our informant talks to, say that they learned about the opportunities in Norway through different types of reporting on television. Many do not have permanent jobs in Brazil, and come to Norway for financial reasons. However, in his opinion, those reports leave out one important aspect: Norway is a very good country to live in, *for Norwegians*. For foreigners, the bureaucracy of obtaining and renewing the necessary papers, learning the language, adjusting to the culture and structures, and adjusting to the cold weather often becomes difficult.

Although this is only the opinion of one single individual, the difficulties in adjusting to the Norwegian society might explain some of the background for why many Brazilians prefer to stay within a Brazilian community. Another migrant we spoke to, who has been working in a company in Central Norway for three years, liked living in Norway to the extent that she and her Brazilian partner have already bought a house here. Nonetheless, outside of work, she mainly spends time with other Brazilians and other foreigners. In her opinion, it is easier to get in touch with other foreigners, as they are in the same situation as her.

Remittances and other transnational connections

According to the migrants we spoke to, it is common for Brazilians to keep close ties with the extended family and friends in Brazil, which is an important part of the Brazilian culture. They do so through the Internet, by telephone, Skype and so on, in addition to vacations to Brazil.

¹³ www.conselhobrasil.no/index.htm

¹⁴ wordpress.pretonobranco.no

According to our informants, it is common for Brazilians to remit a bit of money to family in Brazil. Bank transfers, transferral agencies are used, as well as bringing some cash when one goes there for holiday. Transferring money to a Norwegian account that can be used once in Brazil, or giving one's own credit card for family in Brazil to use were also mentioned as ways of remitting.

Assessment

Migration from Brazil to Norway is characterized by a gradual migration take-off from the 1980s with ever-increasing inflows in the last decade. This increase is mainly linked to high-skilled education/labour migration and family-related migration with Norwegian citizens. The main Brazilian migrants largely consists of women. It is also characterized by a great sense of community and a very high level of community life – Brazilians in Norway seem to be very well-connected and active in associations, clubs, businesses etc. There are a number of reasons why Brazilians would be a very interesting case to study in the Norwegian context.

Despite a growing Brazilian population in Norway, we have not found any research on Brazilians in Norway. Consequently, this report is mainly based on figures from Statistics Norway, conversations with the Embassy of Brazil in Oslo and two Brazilian migrants who reside in different parts of Norway, and Internet searches on Brazilian-linked activities in Norway. As it appears at this point, most of the Brazilian migrants do not have any prior links to Norway through for example family or close friend ties. Consequently, one of the interesting aspects worth further exploring would be why and who an increasing number of people choose to come to Norway.

There seems to be a great interest in our research at the Embassy and amongst other informants, as they would like to have more knowledge on Brazilians in Norway. At this point, we do have quite a few possible entry points for conducting the interviews for the next phases of the project. There are separate groups for Brazilians and “Norwegian friends of Brazil” on both Facebook and Orkut, which we have been informed, are widely used by Brazilians. These could serve as important entry points for our research. Furthermore, the Brazilian Embassy is currently in the process of contacting Brazilians and encouraging them to register with them in order to vote at the upcoming presidential elections on October 3rd.¹⁵ We have been invited to observe this at the Embassy, which could be a good opportunity to meet Brazilians. In other interviews, we have also been invited to join Brazil-related clubs, and travel to other parts of Norway to meet with other Brazilians. On the whole, with most of the Brazilians we have contacted, the willingness and openness to share and help, as well as the level of knowledge on other Brazilians in Norway, has been striking.

At this point, we are not sure which locality other than the Oslo area would be suitable for studying this group. We know that there are at least a couple of hundred Brazilians in the technology university city of Trondheim, and probably about the same in the business and industry city of Stavanger, but we need to explore more in order to find the best options for.

¹⁵ According to Brazilian legislation, Brazilians are to either vote or justify for the elections, but so far, the Embassy has only succeeded to have 680 Brazilians register for this.

Egypt

Migration history and demography

Egyptian migration to Norway is a small-scale phenomenon, but has a relatively long history compared to migration from other non-European countries. In 1970, although they numbered only 81 individuals, Egyptians were the 12th largest among migrant groups from Africa, Asia or Latin America. By 2010, however, Egyptians had dropped to place 40 on the list. The current population of Egyptian immigrants is around 700 (Table 3).

In the period of guest worker migration to Norway (roughly 1967–1974) Egyptians formed part of a North African flow that also included Moroccans, Algerians and Tunisians. Informants indicated that some came as highly skilled migrants to work as engineers or in the shipping industry; others came as low-skilled labour migrants.

The number of Egyptians has risen more rapidly since the late 1990s (Figure 9). This is also the period when immigration from Egypt to Norway has clearly exceeded migration in the opposite direction; for much of the 1980s and 1990s, the two flows almost cancelled each other out (Figure 11). Migration effectiveness remains comparatively low, meaning that the mobility between Norway and Egypt results in less settlement in Norway than what is the case with other migration corridors (Table 3).

Table 3. Overview of demographic indicators for Egyptians in Norway

	Egypt	Average for the six groups (unweighted) ¹
Stock of immigrants (2010)	697	3032
Change in stock of immigrants (2005-2010)	48%	63%
Stock of foreign citizens (2010)	286	1540
Change in stock of foreign citizens (2005-2010)	36%	59%
Cumulated immigration by country of departure (1975-2009)	1752	5110
Cumulated naturalizations (1977-2009)	340	2180
Immigration by country of departure (annual average 2005-2009)	79	298
Migration effectiveness (2005-2009)	0.33	0.56
Immigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	53	281
Emigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	18	88
Proportion of immigrants not arriving from country of citizenship (2009)	11%	9%
Proportion of emigrants not departing to country of citizenship (2009)	20%	52%
Cumulated asylum applications (1995-2009)	117	549
Asylum applications per 100 immigrants (2005-2009)	28	15
Family migration permits per 100 immigrants (2009)	61	69
Proportion female among stock of immigrants (2010)	30%	53%
Descendants per 100 immigrants (2010) ²	76	64
Proportion of descendants with one Norwegian-born parent (2010) ²	80%	59%
Proportion of family migration with a Norwegian or Nordic citizen (2009)	66%	50%

Notes: 1) Refers to the six groups covered in this scoping study report 2) Descendants in this context refer to people born in Norway with one or two foreign-born parents. Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Directorate of Immigration

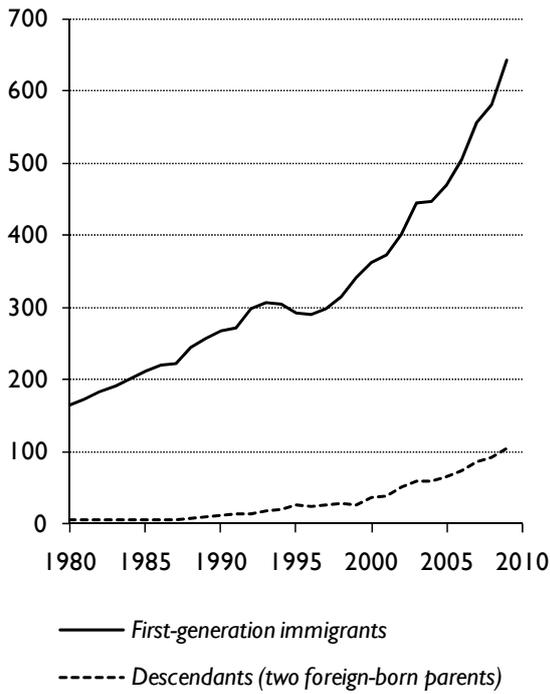


Figure 9. Stock of Egyptian immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

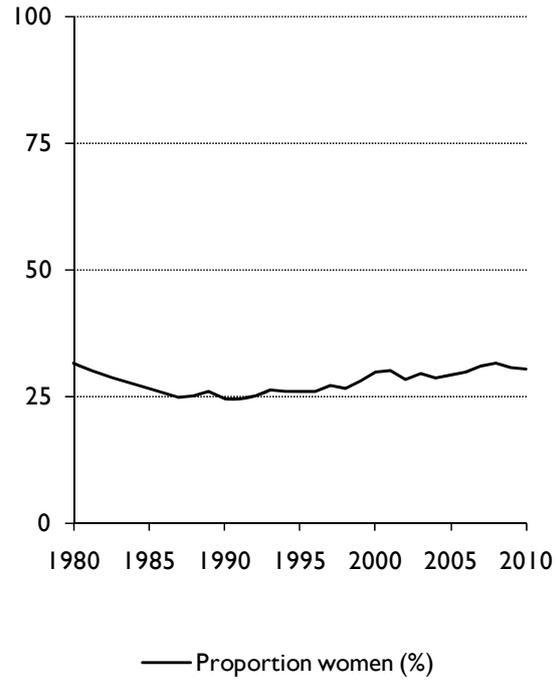


Figure 10. Proportion of women in the stock of Egyptian immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

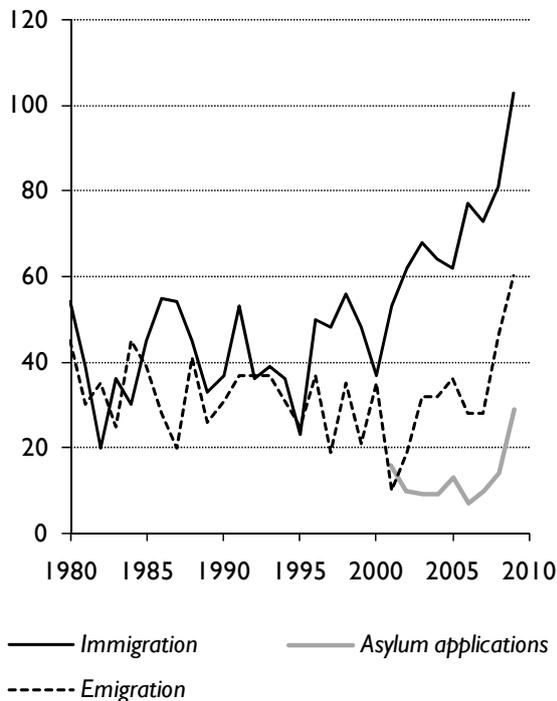


Figure 11. Immigration and emigration to/from Egypt and asylum applications by Egyptians, Norway 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration.

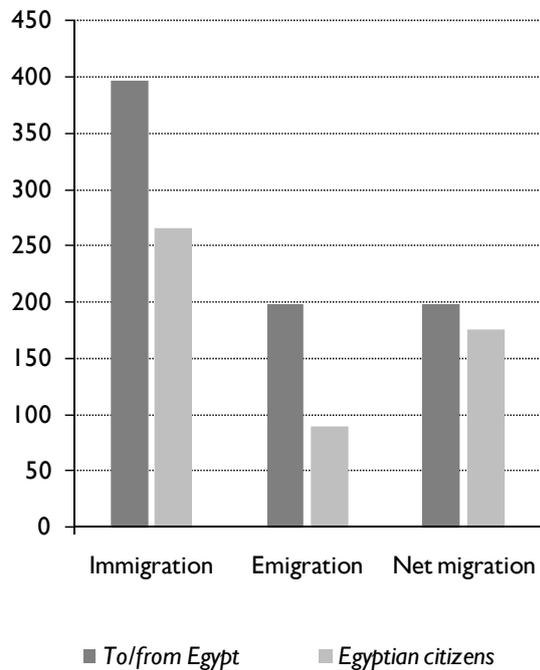


Figure 12. Migration to/from Egypt and of Egyptian citizens, Norway 2005–2009

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

Furthermore, Egyptian migration to Norway has continuously been dominated by men (Figure 10). The highest registered proportion of women was the earliest available record: 38 percent in 1970. The share of women dipped below a quarter around 1990 and today stands at 30 percent (Table 3). This makes Egyptians one of the most male-dominated immigrant populations in Norway, along with other North Africans (except Moroccans).¹⁶

Given the dominance of men among the migrants, it is not surprising that 80 percent of children of Egyptians in Norway have one Norwegian parent. Relationships between Egyptian men and Norwegian women clearly play a role in the migration process, although it is not possible to conclude from the statistics whether these relationships *cause, enable, or result from* the move to Norway. According to our informants, however, marrying European women on holiday in Egypt has been an important route out of Egypt since the 1980s, and has become increasingly evident in the Norwegian case since the early 2000s.

Asylum seeking has played a small role in Egyptian migration to Norway. In recent years, the number of Egyptians claiming asylum in Norway has been relatively high in relation to the Egyptian immigration flow: 28 applications per 100 immigrants (Table 3). However, very few are granted protection. Out of 29 applicants in 2008-2009, only one was granted permission to remain in Norway (Directorate of Immigration 2010).

In addition to the official number of Egyptians in Norway, the Embassy assumes that there are a small number of irregular Egyptian migrants in Norway who are not registered in the official statistics. One Egyptian pioneer migrant informed us that he has come across people who apply for asylum on a false basis. According to him, some claim that even if they are not granted asylum in Norway, this still provides them with the chance to stay in Norway for a couple of years, before moving on to the next country where they can do the same.

Another interesting observation is that immigration from Egypt is roughly 50 percent larger than immigration of Egyptian citizens (Figure 12). One reason for this could be that many refugees from the Horn of Africa have come to Norway after first living in Egypt. There is for example a considerable community of Somalis living in Cairo, which is considered a temporary place of residence (Al-Sharmani 2004, 2006).

Changes explained

In the past, it was mainly well-off people from the Egyptian middle-class who came to Norway for educational or professional purposes. They often had higher education and the high degree of qualifications that Norway needed. Today, however, they tend to be people of working class background who come to Norway for a better standard of life than in Egypt, where the welfare benefits are few and the unemployment rate is relatively high.

A pioneer migrant who came to Norway in the late 1970s as a highly skilled migrant in the shipping industry observes great changes in both the Norwegian and Egyptian society over the past 30 years. In his view, Egypt was in many ways more developed than what he saw in the Norwegian society when he first arrived: There were more foreign restaurants there than in Norway, the shops had longer opening hours and many Egyptians had the expert qualifica-

¹⁶ Only nine immigrant groups of at least 100 people had a female proportion of less than 35 percent in 2010. These included Algerians, Egyptians, Libyans, Palestinians, and Tunisians. The other four groups were European.

tions that there was a great shortage of in Norway. However, over time, Norway has emerged as one of the most developed countries in the world. Egypt, in the eyes of the informant, has become increasingly characterised by corruption and religiosity, at the same time as the gap between the poor and the rich has become more and more evident. These changes in the Norwegian and Egyptian societies partly explain why Norway attracts Egyptians with a different background than what was the case at the beginning of the Egyptian migration to Norway.

Historically, Egyptians have preferred to go to the southern parts of Europe rather than the Scandinavian countries. Informants indicated that up until recently, Egyptians did not know much about Scandinavia. The recent growth in the number of Egyptians to Norway, then, can partly be explained by Egyptians learning more about Norway due to greater access to the Internet, TV broadcastings and the increasing number of Norwegian tourists who go on holiday to Egypt. Through these channels, Egyptians learn more about the Norwegian culture and society. Norwegian women on holiday in tourist destinations such as Sharm el Sheik and Hurghada meet Egyptian men working at tourist locations, at times resulting in marriage, which can explain the statistical trends mentioned above.

At the same time, obtaining visas for educational and touristic purposes is becoming more difficult, which may be related to this alternative route of reaching Norway. In addition, although the Egyptian economy and infrastructure on an overall level has improved significantly over the past few years, one of our informants told us that Egyptians who are not well-educated are not able to benefit from such improvements, and assume their chances to be better abroad.

Institutions and community

There is only one Egyptian association in Norway, and it is located in Oslo. This is an arena where people meet to share Egyptian food and come together in different activities. Most of the members are Egyptians, but there are also a few Norwegian members who have links to Egypt and travel there often. Non-members can also participate in events organized by the association but people are encouraged to become members so that the association can receive grants from the Norwegian authorities, who support associations according to the number of members.

In the interviews, it was pointed out that many Egyptians find it difficult to find close Norwegian friends. Consequently, they stay in touch with other Egyptians as much as they can. However, these are informal ties of a few close friendships, rather than large-scale formalized networks. This might partly, but not solely, be explained by the small numbers of Egyptians in Norway. After all, the Bangladeshi community is even smaller, but does have quite strong socio-cultural networks.

Remittances and other transnational connections

In general, many persons of Egyptian background in Norway maintain their contact with family and friends back in Egypt by going there during the holidays, keeping in touch by telephone or through the Internet. Many consider moving back there after a long life in Norway, and so maintaining the ties with Egypt is important in this respect as well. However, as one informant pointed out, in reality it is often very difficult to return to a life in Egypt after one has become used to the Norwegian way and standard of living.

Other possible ways of keeping informed about Egypt and other Egyptians abroad is through the Egyptian MFA's website which publishes advisories for Egyptians abroad, and the Ministry of Labour and Emigration that publishes news about Egyptians abroad. To which extent these websites are consulted, however, is unknown.

As a whole, remittances from abroad rank third as the source of income for Egypt (Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003:44), but there are no figures available on how much of this is remitted from Egyptians in Norway. According to one informant, most Egyptians who live in Norway at some point or another acquire assets such as real estate and land in Egypt.

Assessment

The Egyptian migration history to Norway can be characterized by recent growth after a history of stagnation. Egyptians were among the first immigrants from non-Western countries to settle in Norway. However, the growth of the Egyptian population in Norway was present, but slow, over a long period of time before it really started taking off from the early 2000s onwards. At this moment in time, it is not clear whether the pattern of Egyptian migration to Norway is in a take-off or stagnation period, as growth is slow but accelerating.

Although the actual number of Egyptians in Norway remains relatively small, Egypt would make an interesting case within the THEMIS framework because of its major shift from mainly educational and/or professional to family reunification migration-related reasons. In addition, Egyptian migration to Norway is male-dominated, which could be interesting to compare with the female-dominated migration from Brazil or Ukraine.

Whereas the background for including Egypt in the pre-study was the forced migration aspect, in the research we have conducted so far it has become apparent that this plays a minor part in the migration history of Egyptians to Norway. Statistics show that an extremely small number of Egyptians are granted asylum in Norway. The Bangladeshi case would be much more interesting in this respect, as this is more truly a group with 'mixed migration' patterns.

When it comes to accessibility of this group for a next phase, we do have a couple of leads on possible entry points for access to initial "seeds", such as for example an Egyptian association which also has a group site on Facebook. However, at this point, it is not clear where we could find a sufficient number of Egyptians to interview outside of Oslo.

India

Migration history and demography

Significant immigration from India to Norway only began towards the end of the 1960s (Kramer 1980: 4). In 1970, the roughly 250 Indians in Norway were the third largest immigrant group from a developing country, outnumbered only by Moroccans and Chinese. In 1978, there were about 900 Indians in Norway, about two-thirds of whom were concentrated in Oslo and the surrounding industrial towns (Kramer 1978: 662), and by 1978, there were about 1 200 Indians in Norway (Kramer 1980). The majority of the Indians who came to Norway during this period were males in the age bracket of 20 – 49 years (Kramer 1980: 2),

and the growth of the Indian population in Norway was clearly part of the broader guest worker migration at the time. However, the labour migrant flows never reached the same proportions as among Pakistanis, Moroccans and Turks (Carling 1999). Furthermore, the Indian presence in Norway was diverse at an early stage, also including refugees from Uganda after the expulsion of Indians by Idi Amin in 1972, and low- as well as high-skilled workers.

Indians as low-skilled labour force

Most of this first group of labour migrants were people with aspirations to find jobs in other European countries, such as Great Britain, Germany and Denmark, where they had family and friends. But by the late 1960s and early 1970s, these countries had already stopped issuing residence and work permits to labour migrants. In search of alternative destinations, Norway began to emerge as an appropriate candidate: The liberal immigration policies meant that it was easy to obtain work and residence permits as long as you had a job, and the shortage of unskilled labour force meant that it was easy to find that job.

For many, the plan was to earn as much money as possible in the shortest time-span possible in order to return to India to set up businesses and improve the life quality for themselves and their families (Kramer 1978). Consequently, most of them initially did not have any intention of staying in Norway. But as an increasing number brought families and wives to Norway, they had invested more in their stay than what they had originally anticipated and ended up staying in Norway (Kramer 1979b: 21).

The Indians who came to Norway were mainly people from the Punjab region. Despite popular understandings, the majority of them were educated (with either high school or university diplomas) from a middle-class background (Wist 2000:16). The financial and formal criteria (such as being able to document that someone in Norway would be able to support you during your stay, or the criterion of commanding a European language) could not be met by just anyone (Kramer 1979b).

The Indian migrants would often find work through different types of networks (Kramer 1979b, Wist 2000). Once established, the migrants would help other friends and relatives to find jobs in Norway, who then helped their friends and relatives to find jobs in Norway. One of the consequences of this chain migration was that many people of the same background (in this case, Indian Punjabi background) were concentrated in certain work places and areas.

The lack of knowledge of the Norwegian language and society meant that many of the Indian migrants were overqualified for the job they were doing. However, some of the labour migrants managed to use their education here as well, by continuing their studies once in Norway, eventually finding a job in a company of relevance, or setting up their own businesses (Kramer 1979b, Wist 2000).

In 1975, when the immigration stop no longer allowed room for labour migration, an increasing number of men began bringing their families to Norway (Kramer 1980: 6). Consequently, while the number of Indian males hardly increased in the first years following the immigration stop in early 1975, the number of women and children increased rapidly (Kramer 1978).

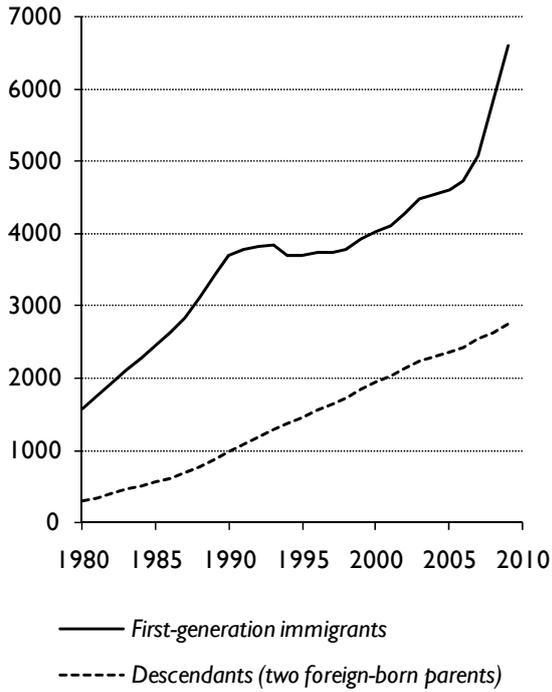


Figure 13. Stock of Indian immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

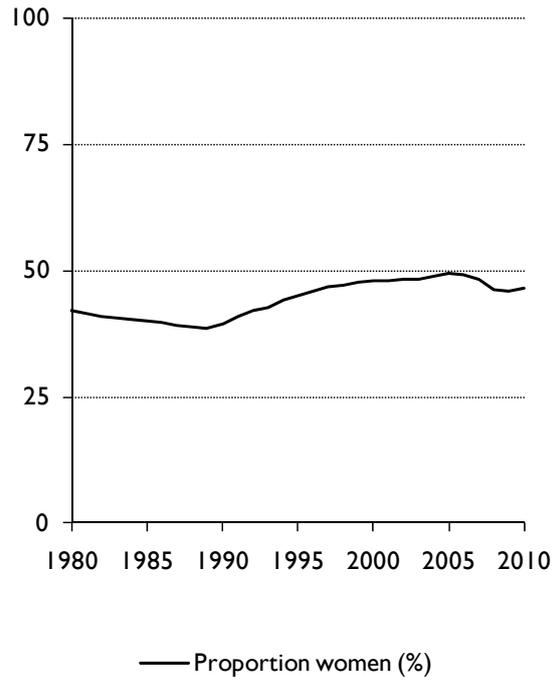


Figure 14. Proportion of women in the stock of Indian immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

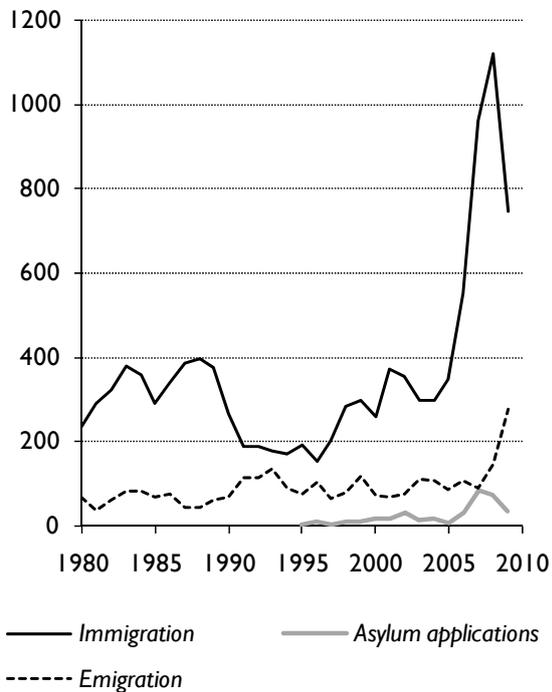


Figure 15. Immigration and emigration to/from India and asylum applications by Indians, Norway 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration.

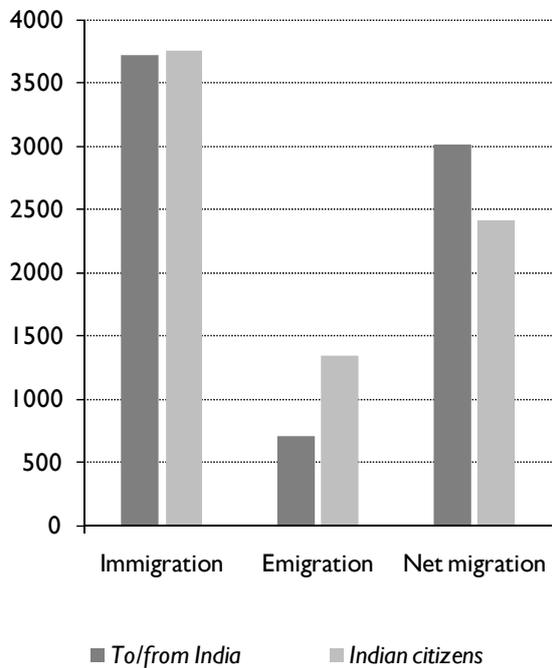


Figure 16. Migration to/from India and of Indian citizens, Norway 2005–2009

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

High-skilled migrants

Although most of the first Indian migrants to Norway came to take jobs as unskilled labour force, there were also quite a few who came to fill the shortage of engineers (Bø 1984), nurses, doctors and physiotherapists. For example, we spoke to an Indian pioneer migrant who came to Norway in the late 1970s when her husband got a job as a physiotherapist. After considering several job offers, he chose Norway because here he was able to run his own private practice in English, and so he could see the career possibilities for the future. Once he accepted the job and came to Norway, she could apply for a visa to follow him, and joined him within 30 days.

This informant could also tell us that from 1977 onwards, there were quite a few Indians who came to Norway as county college students. These were mainly relatives of persons already residing in Norway, who could have their education paid by the closest family. Many of these continued their studies in Norway, and ended up staying here. One possible way of staying was to go back to India to marry for example nurses or physiotherapists, and then join *them* in Norway as family reunification.

Recent immigration

The population of Indians grew rapidly through the 1970s and 1980s to just under 4000 people in 1990 (Figure 13). Through much of the 1990s, however, the number of Indians in Norway stagnated. There appears to have been a marked shift around 1990 with a sudden drop in immigration from India combined with an increase in emigration to India (Figure 15). There is reason to believe that the number of Indian immigrants leaving Norway was substantially higher, since many probably went to other destinations rather than back to India. In 2005–2009, the emigration of Indian citizens from Norway was markedly higher than emigration to India (Figure 16). The importance of Norway as a transit country is further illustrated by migration data from 2009, showing that more than half of Indian citizens leaving Norway did not go to India (Table 4).

There has been a remarkable growth in immigration from India in the past five years, with a record of 1121 immigrants in 2008. The spike in emigration to India the following year however indicates that not all came to Norway to stay. This might be related to the fact that part of the recent immigration of Indians is work- and education related, so that people tend to return to India once their business in Norway has been completed. According to our informant, these are mainly people from the big Indian cities such as New Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, who have completed higher education within the fields of technology and finance.

Currently, many Indians come as students, either at a Master's degree or PhD level, others as specialists within the fields of engineering and IT. In fact, 1 out of 5 specialists who were given work permits in the first half of 2007 were Indians. The number of Indian specialists who obtained work permits was doubled ten times in the course of 2006/2007, in comparison to 2005 (Directorate of Immigration 2007). Similar to the labour migrants in the 1970s, these also come from higher class backgrounds, with higher education. However, they have an even higher level of education than what was the case in the 1970s, and are able to go straight into high-status jobs with very high levels of income.

Table 4. Overview of demographic indicators for Indians in Norway

	India	Average for the six groups (unweighted)¹
Stock of immigrants (2010)	6888	3032
Change in stock of immigrants (2005-2010)	50%	63%
Stock of foreign citizens (2010)	3652	1540
Change in stock of foreign citizens (2005-2010)	82%	59%
Cumulated immigration by country of departure (1975-2009)	12012	5110
Cumulated naturalizations (1977-2009)	5900	2180
Immigration by country of departure (annual average 2005-2009)	745	298
Migration effectiveness (2005-2009)	0.58	0.56
Immigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	752	281
Emigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	270	88
Proportion of immigrants not arriving from country of citizenship (2009)	9%	9%
Proportion of emigrants not departing to country of citizenship (2009)	56%	52%
Cumulated asylum applications (1995-2009)	366	549
Asylum applications per 100 immigrants (2005-2009)	6	15
Family migration permits per 100 immigrants (2009)	55	69
Proportion female among stock of immigrants (2010)	47%	53%
Descendants per 100 immigrants (2010) ²	62	64
Proportion of descendants with one Norwegian-born parent (2010) ²	33%	59%
Proportion of family migration with a Norwegian or Nordic citizen (2009)	17%	50%

Notes: 1) Refers to the six groups covered in this scoping study report 2) Descendants in this context refer to people born in Norway with one or two foreign-born parents. Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Directorate of Immigration

Family-related migration, which is primarily between foreigners rather than with Norwegian citizens, is also of great importance today (Table 4). Still, a third of the children of Indians born in Norway have a Norwegian-born parent, which could indicate that many of those who do not come to Norway for family reasons later settle with Norwegian partners.

About 250 of the Indian immigrants in Norway originally came as refugees or asylum seekers. Including their family members, the population with a refugee background stands at 533 persons, or about 8 percent of all Indian immigrants. The majority came to Norway more than 10 years ago (Statistics Norway 2010). Despite having a large Indian network in all parts of Norway, the Indian pioneer migrant we spoke to knew of very few cases of Indian asylum seekers, and the ones she did know of, had come to Norway because of political issues in Kashmir or Pakistan. The current number of asylum seekers from India is low, and 98 percent of those who did apply in 2008–2009 were either rejected or not examined (Directorate of Immigration 2010).

Changes explained

The very start of the history of Indian migration to Norway was characterised by Indians coming as manual labour migrants, although it did not take long before a different group consisting of high-skilled migrants and higher education students were also visible. After the immigration stop, family reunification was added as a significant part of the Indian immigration. More recently, many Indians come to Norway for higher education or professional purposes.

As Norwegian companies have increasingly established themselves in, and outsourced many of their tasks to, India, both parties have started to learn more about the possibilities of making use of each other's resources. The Norwegian Government has recently even developed a strategy for this and other kinds of cooperation between Norway and India (Departementene 2009).

In addition to these highly skilled migrants coming to Norway as students or specialists, there are still a significant number of persons who come to Norway through family reunification. However, in comparison to other non-western immigrant groups, there is a relatively large share of Indians who marry someone with a non-immigrant background, both among the males and females of Indian origin (Daugstad in Henriksen 2010: 29).

Visas and permits

As the case of Indian migration to Norway illustrates particularly well, the visa, work and residency permits legislations in Norway have changed massively over time. For example, our informant recalls that when she first came to Norway, marrying someone residing here while visiting as a tourist was accepted, whereas now this is illegal. Today, on the other hand, even as a student or an expert it is very difficult to obtain the necessary papers to come to Norway. The long procedures of having the papers accepted by the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration makes the conditions for job applicants very difficult. In addition, there is a jungle of legislations, which are constantly changing, that most people do not have sufficient knowledge of. Nonetheless, this does not seem to affect the extent of the migration too significantly, as the number of people coming from India to Norway was kept at a rather stable level for about 20 years, until the recent period of expansion.

Institutions and community

During the period of chain-migration until the immigration stop in 1975, Kramer (1980) found that one of the reasons why Drammen had the second largest concentration of Punjabis in Norway, next to Oslo, was that it was so easy to find jobs in farms or nursery gardens in the district that sorely needed this kind of labour force. In fact, 30 years later, this municipality still has the second largest Indian community (575 persons), after the municipality of Oslo (3 107 Indian immigrants) (Henriksen 2007: 170). Furthermore, as time passed, the migrants helped each other obtain better paid jobs in for example factories. This indicates that the importance of community has been great among Indians ever since their arrival in Norway.

The sense of community became of even greater importance when the immigration stop was introduced, as having a network in Norway was now necessary in order to work one's way around the restrictions implemented. Many did so by coming to Norway as tourists, finding a job, and then returning to the country where they had been residing for the past six months in order to apply for a work permit in Norway. Finding a job through the help of family and friends who were already in Norway was very important in this process (Kramer 1980: 5).

Historically, Indians have been very active in establishing associations in Norway, both of religious and non-religious character. For instance, there is the Norwegian-Indian Association, which was established in 1959 to expand the mutual understanding and interest between

Norway and India. The Indian Welfare Society of Norway was established by the first Indian migrants in 1971 as a mean to advance the interests of Indian immigrants in Norway (Kramer Not Dated). The association has transformed since its early days, but still exists today. Very early on in the history of Indian migration to Norway, there were also attempts of forming Gurdwara societies (Kramer 1980), and today, there are two Gurdwaras in the Oslo area. Other examples include the Indian Cultural Association, established in Central Norway in 1986; and Indian Welfare Society Kristiansand, which was established in Southern Norway more recently.

Despite the numerous Indian associations, however, our informant told us that Indians were more active in these kinds of formalized associations previously. In her opinion, this has to do with the high degree of integration among the Indian population in the Norwegian society. In general, there are a relatively high percentage of the Indian first generation immigrants who have higher education (Henriksen 2007), and the young Indian descendents are among the highest groups in the population overall to invest in higher education (Henriksen 2007, Schou 2006). This has allowed Indians to integrate very well into the Norwegian labour market. However, it should be added that the first generation of Indians seem to be more active in these kinds of associations than what is the case for the second generation.

In terms of less formalized groupings and activity centres, there are many Indian cricket and football teams and dance groups, which appear to be popular in all ages. The tradition of the showing of Indian films in theatres goes back to the first period of Indian migration to Norway (Kramer 1978), and is still kept alive today. As Kramer's reports show, from the beginning, it was common for Indian migrants to form smaller groupings based on kinship or place of origin. In the opinion of our informant, the tie between Indians in these kinds of informal settings is still very strong today, as it is common to have a small group of friends and families that one invites to dinners and parties, such as for example big weddings.

Finally, there are several travel agencies operating between Norway and India¹⁷, and India has been a relatively popular tourist destination for Norwegians in the past years. Interestingly, this does not seem to have resulted in the same family reunification patterns between ethnic Norwegians and Indians, as it has elsewhere.

Remittances and other transnational connections

According to our informant, the first generation of Indians in Norway keeps a stronger tie to relatives and contacts back in India. They spend most of their holidays in India, and many keep themselves informed about the Indian society through the Embassy's websites, newspapers, both online and at libraries, and on the Internet more general. Many also have satellite dish TVs through which they can gain access to Indian television broadcasted both from India and the United Kingdom.

Furthermore, many feel responsible for family and relatives who are still in India, and so it is common to remit a small part of one's income to siblings and parents through bank transfers. Some, for example, pay parts of or the total of siblings' education in India.

¹⁷ See for example: www.indianadventures.no

Assessment

There is a long history of Indian immigration to Norway, with a high degree of mobility, and after a long period of stability, it has experienced renewed growth in the past few years. Furthermore, Indian immigration to Norway is of a diverse character, consisting of both unskilled and skilled migrants, those who come to Norway for family reunification purposes, and a small number of refugees and asylum seekers.

It was due to stricter immigration policies in other European countries that Indians first discovered Norway as a country of destination. Here, they were able to obtain better paid jobs and achieve a better standard of living than in India. Ever since the first arrivals of Indians to Norway, they have adjusted well to the Norwegian society, and are among the well-integrated immigrants from developing countries both in terms of higher education and level of employment. At the same time, right from the start, Indians have been very active in socio-cultural associations.

Although Indians can be reckoned as a medium-sized immigrant group in Norwegian standards, since the 1970s, Indians have not been among the largest immigrant groups in Norway. This might be an indication of Indian migrants having other favourite destinations than Norway, and exploring the reasons behind this could be interesting in the next phase of our project. On the other hand, although India has been emerging as a tourist destination for many Norwegians, there is not a visible pattern of ethnic Norwegians finding partners while on holiday in India, like we have seen in the case of for example Brazil and Egypt. This might be partially linked to the restrictions of the caste system in India, but further exploring this issue in comparison to other groups in a next phase might prove interesting for our purposes.

Within the six selected groups in the scoping studies, Indians appear to be the group which has been most frequently subject to research in Norway. This started already in the 1970s by social anthropologist Julian Kramer. Among the most recent studies where Indians have been included, most seem to focus on educational achievements. In our experience, it has been very difficult to get in contact with Indians willing to take part in the research, and formal organizations and institutions have also been extremely unhelpful. Based on this pre-study, then, it seems that conducting research within this community in Norway will be difficult, despite the many possible entry points. However, was this group to be selected for a next phase, the most probable choices for research locations would be Oslo and Drammen, where the largest groups of Indian immigrants reside.

Morocco

Migration history and demography

The Moroccan community is one of the oldest migrant communities in Norway. In 2006, thirty percent had lived in Norway for twenty years or more, whereas fifty percent had lived in Norway for fifteen years or more (Henriksen 2007: 189). The community mainly consists of those who came as labour migrants, for family reunification and for family formation. Many came to Norway as labour migrants before the changed legislation restricted entry for

work in 1975, as well as in relation to family reunification options after this change in legislation. The maturity of the Moroccan immigrant population is further illustrated by the high number of descendants: Moroccans are among the migrant groups with the largest second generation.¹⁸ Persons with at least one Moroccan-born parent now outnumber Moroccan immigrants in Norway (Table 5).

Moroccans are one of the two larger immigrant groups selected for the THEMIS study, although they are gradually being overtaken by groups with a more recent migration history. The number of Moroccans in Norway has grown very steadily, but not very rapidly compared to other immigrant groups. Over the period 1970–2010, the Moroccan population increased at an average of 6 percent per year, compared to 10 percent for Turks and 12 percent for Pakistanis. In 1977, Moroccans were the fifth largest group of non-western migrant groups, whereas in 2006, Moroccans formed the 17th largest community (Henriksen 2007: 189).¹⁹ The number of Moroccan immigrants has stagnated in the sense that the growth is slowing down and that the level of immigration is low in relation to the stock of immigrants (Figure 17). There are close to 5000 Moroccan immigrants living in Norway, and an inflow of just over 100 Moroccan citizens per year.

Moroccan immigration to Norway began in the 1960s. By 1970, there were 401 Moroccans living in the country. Moroccans were one of the three large non-European groups in the early guest worker migration to Norway, along with Pakistanis and Turks. Until 1971, when Pakistanis

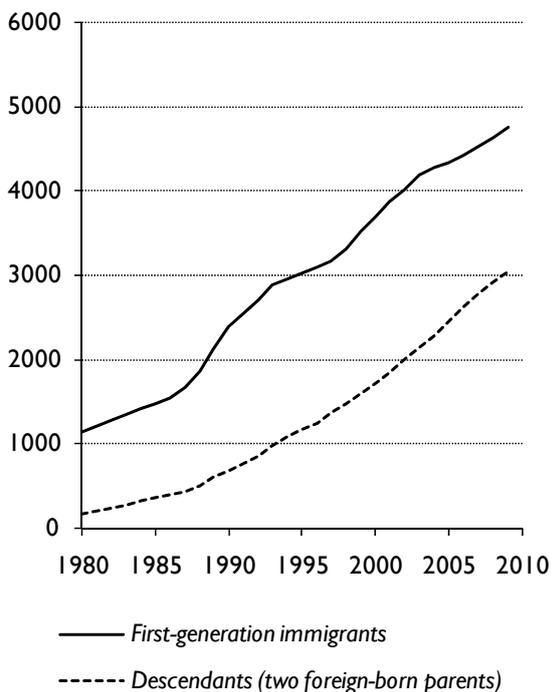


Figure 17. Stock of Moroccan immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

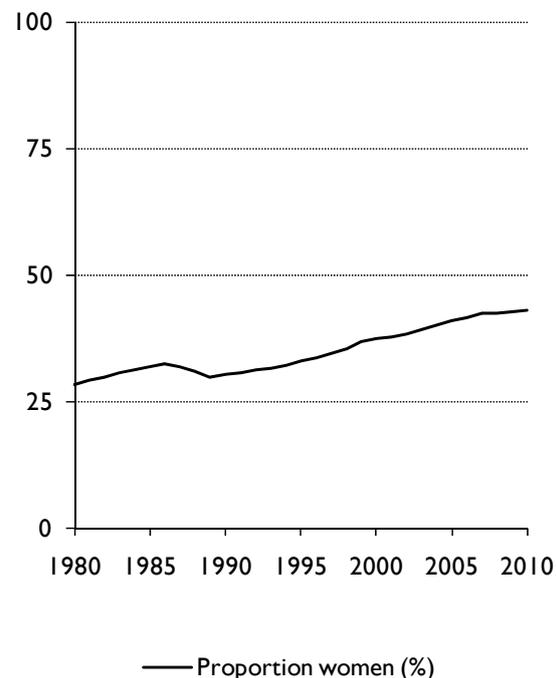


Figure 18. Proportion of women in the stock of Moroccan immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

¹⁸ www.ssb.no/emner/02/02/statsborger/tab-2010-05-27-02.html.

¹⁹ Compared to 5 267 from Pakistan, 1 735 from Yugoslavia, 1 392 from Turkey and 897 from India.

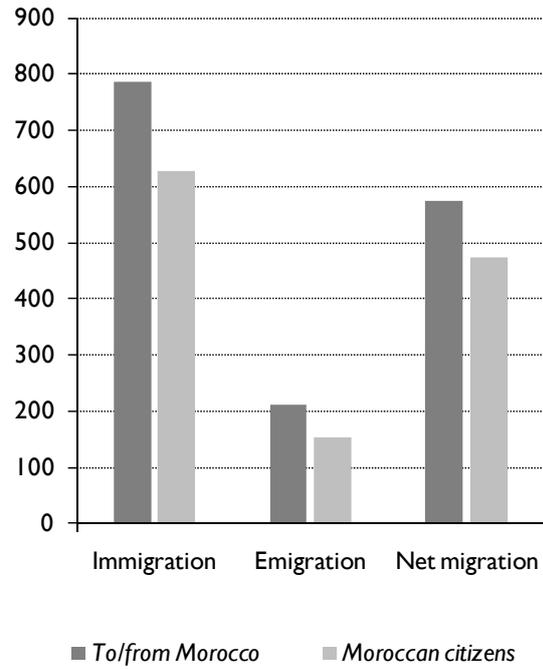
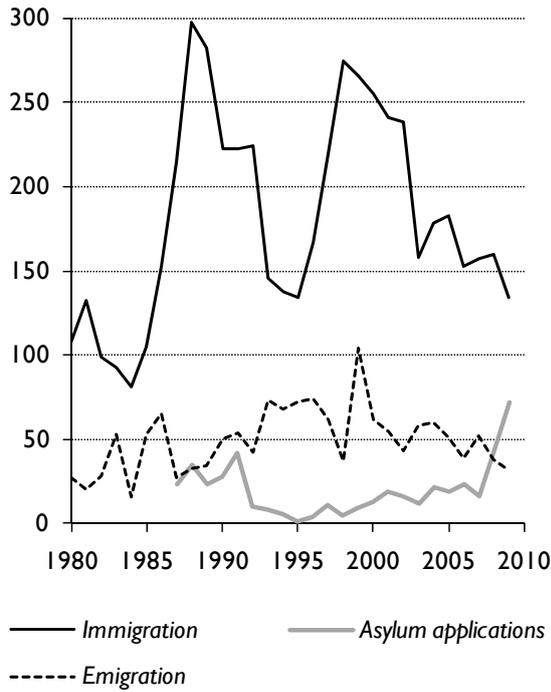


Figure 19. Immigration and emigration to/from Norway 1980–2010 **Figure 20. Migration to/from Morocco and of Morocco and asylum applications by Moroccans, Moroccan citizens, Norway 2005–2009**

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration.

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

arrived in large numbers, Moroccans were by far the largest of the three (Carling 1999). Most Moroccans came from the North, and in particular the Rif Mountains. They mainly came, as one informant puts it, because ‘they wanted to have a better life for themselves and their families’. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, ‘the openings in other, more attractive places in Europe were tightening, both in terms of labour demand, and subsequently also in terms of regulation barriers’ (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008: 193). In Norway, however, it was still possible to come to the country to find a job and only then get a residence permit. The Moroccans who came at that time managed to find a job, enjoyed Norway and the fact that it was a small society, and stayed. The large majority were men, which has been true throughout the decades but especially in the 1960s and early 1970s, when less than 20 percent were women.

After the end of guest worker migration in 1975, the immigration flow from Morocco continued virtually unchanged in terms of size, but drastically changed composition (Carling 1999). While the labor migration route was closed, except for a few immigrants with high levels of education in certain fields, from then on there were largely two groups who came to Norway: those who came for family reunification with their spouses and fathers who had moved to Norway as labor migrants before 1975, and those who came to Norway through a Norwegian partner. According to our informants, this last group came from elsewhere in Morocco, and in particular Casablanca, Marrakech, Rabat and Agadir. These are all bigger cities where there was a higher degree of education, young men were eager to explore the world and came in contact with tourists, such as those from Scandinavia. Our informants indicate that this generation of youth in Morocco, and especially those with some education, found it very

difficult to find an appropriate job in Morocco at the time and had better chances in Norway.

While 80–90 percent of the Moroccan immigrants arriving in the early 1970s were men, the proportion of women among arrivals grew rapidly to more than half towards the end of the decade (Figure 18). This was a logical consequence of the shift from labour migration to family reunification. The volume of family-related migration was such that total immigration from Morocco was much larger in the late 1970s than it had been during the guest worker period. The gender ratio of the immigrant population has gradually moved towards parity but women still constitute only 43 percent (Table 5).

Recent immigration of Moroccans is completely dominated by family-related migration. In most cases, the reference person is a Norwegian (or Nordic) citizen. However, there is reason to believe that many are originally Moroccan. Our informants indicate that the large majority of Moroccans coming to Norway marry Moroccans with a Norwegian passport. Some still marry Norwegian women, but the number is reducing. Slightly more than a third of children of Moroccans born in Norway have a Norwegian-born parent. Given the long history of Moroccan immigration in Norway many of these Norwegian-born parents could be of Moroccan origin. According to one informant, in the mid-1990s, family reunification became more restricted and reduced, and because of the coming of age of the second generation now the most common entrance into Norway is through family formation.

Our informants indicate that in recent years, since the latest financial crisis, there have also been Moroccans who have lived in France, Italy and Spain who moved to Norway. These are

Table 5. Overview of demographic indicators for Moroccans in Norway

	Morocco	Average for the six groups (unweighted) ¹
Stock of immigrants (2010)	4861	3032
Change in stock of immigrants (2005-2010)	12%	63%
Stock of foreign citizens (2010)	1061	1540
Change in stock of foreign citizens (2005-2010)	–20%	59%
Cumulated immigration by country of departure (1975-2009)	5992	5110
Cumulated naturalizations (1977-2009)	4910	2180
Immigration by country of departure (annual average 2005-2009)	157	298
Migration effectiveness (2005-2009)	0.58	0.56
Immigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	126	281
Emigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	31	88
Proportion of immigrants not arriving from country of citizenship (2009)	13%	9%
Proportion of emigrants not departing to country of citizenship (2009)	81%	52%
Cumulated asylum applications (1995-2009)	286	549
Asylum applications per 100 immigrants (2005-2009)	28	15
Family migration permits per 100 immigrants (2009)	106	69
Proportion female among stock of immigrants (2010)	43%	53%
Descendants per 100 immigrants (2010) ²	105	64
Proportion of descendants with one Norwegian-born parent (2010) ²	37%	59%
Proportion of family migration with a Norwegian or Nordic citizen (2009)	70%	50%

Notes: 1) Refers to the six groups covered in this scoping study report 2) Descendants in this context refer to people born in Norway with one or two foreign-born parents. Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Directorate of Immigration

mainly people with a valid European residence permit or passport. Besides those moving to Norway from third countries, there are also those moving out of Norway. Emigration has played a role throughout the years (Figure 19), but only modestly. Statistics do not allow us to draw conclusions on whether emigration means return to Morocco or on-ward migration, as in the case of Morocco, naturalizations are high so figures on the proportion of emigrants not departing to country of citizenship, which are very high, do not reveal much (Table 5).

A small part of the Moroccan population in Norway consists of refugees. There has been a steady inflow of asylum seekers from Morocco, and marked increase over the past two years. This still has minimal impact on the Moroccan population in Norway, since 98 percent of the cases have either been rejected or not processed (Directorate of Immigration 2010).

A large proportion of Moroccans in Norway have become Norwegian citizens. Available statistics do not show how many, but it is striking that the stock of Moroccan immigrants is lower than the number of Moroccans who have naturalized since 1977. Another indication is the small number of Moroccan citizens in Norway: only about a fifth of the number of Moroccan immigrants (Table 5).

Changes explained

When explaining the shifts in the migration history from Morocco to Norway, conditions in Norway and the nature of the Moroccan migrant community play a central role. Difficult circumstances in Morocco and in particular the difficulty of generating a livelihood has been a reason for people to move to Norway, alongside France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Scandinavia, Canada, the US and the Middle East. Conditions in Morocco have of course changed over the last few decades and may be much closer to European ones than they were in the 1960s, but in general many prospective migrants see conditions in Europe to be better than in Morocco (Sandbæk 2007). As our informants recount, the first Moroccans who went to Europe, mainly to Italy, France and Spain, returned with resources to buy a house and a car, instigating others to move. More recently, there are also negative images appearing in Morocco on life in Europe. After the financial crisis, for example, reports have appeared that indicated that conditions in Spain are worse than they are in Morocco. This may have an effect on migration patterns that will be interesting to explore further.

At the same time, however, Norwegian migration-related policies have a great impact on whether and how people gain entrance into Norway and are mentioned by our informants as turning points. Restrictions in regulations related to labour migration that were put in place in 1975 limited the ease with which Moroccans could enter, and shifted focus on family reunification. In fact, as Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2008: 209) argue, these restrictions led people to focus more instead of less on a permanent stay in Norway, as return became increasingly risky. At the same time, we must remember that different migrants are differently positioned in relation to these entrance policies, for example in relation to their life phase – whether they are married, have children etc. For example, Moroccans who came between 1975 and 1995 largely were either families who had been left behind by the head of household in earlier years, or they were young unmarried men who found a Norwegian partner.

A third factor of impact is indeed the existence of a larger community of Moroccans in

Europe in general and in Norway in particular. This has an impact both in terms of stimulating the will to move as well as in terms of creating opportunities to do so. Moroccan immigrants to Norway, especially from the 1970s to 1990s, benefitted greatly from having relatives in Norway. They could provide information and resources, and where possible an entrance point into the country. When studying the migration corridor Morocco-Norway, it is furthermore important to take into account that immigration and emigration to and from Norway does not only relate to Morocco. Recently, for reasons related to worsening economic conditions after the financial crisis, Moroccans have come to Norway from Italy and Spain. Similarly, when Moroccans move out of Norway this is not just to return to Morocco.

Institutions and community

In Norway, 75 percent of the Moroccan population lives in Oslo (Henriksen 2007: 191).²⁰ There is no other non-western migrant group that has such a high concentration in the capital city. This makes Moroccans the 8th largest non-western migrant group in Oslo in 2010.²¹ Although statistics are incomplete, available data suggest that the level of education among Moroccans is very low, in particular among women (Henriksen 2007: 192). Furthermore, second generation Moroccans so far participate in very low rates in higher education, with in this case more women than men participating (Henriksen 2007: 193). Unemployment rates are high, in particular among the first generation. Common areas of employment include hotels and restaurants; service sector; transport and communication; and the health sector.

There are two to three mosques for Moroccans in Oslo and a number of organizations that were founded on religious grounds, such as the Norsk Marokkansk Trossamfunn. In terms of organizational life not related to religion, Moroccans have only recently increased activity and there are two organizations we were able to trace: Moroccans in Norway (MIN) and the Moroccan Student Association (MSF).

MIN was established in 2008 but functioned since 2004 as the Norwegian Moroccan Association of Friends (NMVF) with similar goals and a similar board. This organization was set up by a group of men who came to Norway in the 1980s and 1990s, mainly from urban areas. The main reason they set up the organization was that they found a need for a Moroccan organization in Norway that was not just focused on religion, but on culture. They were interested in creating a better understanding between the Norwegian society, including authorities, media and the public at large, and Moroccans in Norway. Furthermore, they express views on the situation in Morocco, and focus in particular on the conflict over Western Sahara. While the board and members meet socially frequently, they have recently also established a Facebook site (170 members) to reach second generation Moroccans. They indicate that it is particularly difficult to motivate this group, as they do not have the same connections to Morocco and lead very Norwegian lives.

The MSF is a politically and religiously independent organization that was set up in 2007. This organization was established by second generation Moroccans and has the goal of being a meeting place for students and highschool pupils in Norway, contributing to increased inter-

²⁰ There are 5 300 Moroccans in Oslo, 165 in Bergen, 121 in Stavanger, 100 in Bærum and 99 in Drammen.

²¹ www.ssb.no/emner/02/01/10/innvbef/tab-2010-04-29-10.html.

est in higher education, facilitating social and job-related networking and in general, fighting for the interests and needs students with a Moroccan background in Norway have. The MSF organizes motivational days, they operate a blog and have a Facebook group (129 members) and as such are clearly targeting younger generation Moroccans. Outside these organizations, many younger Moroccans can be found in a number of cafes, as well as in some clubs whereas those who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s mainly come together through religious channels.

Remittances and other transnational connections

Our informants indicated that the first generation has remained very connected to Morocco throughout the years, whereas the second generation is less engaged. The only available statistics on remittance sending among Moroccans in Norway are from 2003²², and are based on estimates comparing data from the Central Bank in Morocco with numbers of adult Moroccans in Norway and estimates of how many people might be sending remittances. Moroccans are mainly using banks to transfer money, and have been for long.²³ At the same time, with people traveling back to Morocco quite frequently, money can also be carried personally or handed to close contacts when they travel. Whereas the use of data from the Central Bank in Morocco may allow for a reasonable estimation of total amounts, it is much more difficult to know how many people send money, and how frequently, as we do not have statistical information on this. Assuming 100, 60 or 25 percent of the adult population sending remittances, monthly sums sent in 2003 were 880 NOK, 1470 NOK and 3520 NOK, which at any rate is quite substantial.²⁴

Moroccans in Norway travel to Morocco quite frequently and on average, most people visit Morocco one time per year, especially if they have family there. Nowadays ‘Norwegian’, a low-cost airline, flies directly to Marrakech, which makes travel much more affordable than when Moroccans needed to use Air France or KLM. Also, with a large portion of the Moroccan population in Norway having obtained Norwegian citizenship, temporary travel back to Morocco for many has no implications for one’s legal status in Norway. In fact, as one of our informants pointed out, many of those who have been in Norway for decades own a flat or a house in Morocco.

Assessment

The case of Moroccan immigration to Norway can be characterized by a long migration history and gradual stagnation. Research on Moroccan migration to Norway suggests that, purely looking at the Norwegian situation, it would be an interesting country to add to our THEMIS study. It is an interesting community as there is some but not too much variation in terms of who moved and for what reasons – we can discern three main waves: labour migration before 1975, family reunification following labour migration, and family formation in more recent years. It is a good group to study historically, as the first people arrived in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and we do have statistics available on this group. Furthermore, quite a number of

²² www.ssb.no/samfunnsspeilet/utg/200406/08/tab-2004-12-09-01.html

²³ Originally, in the 1960s and 1970s, also using post.

²⁴ 8 NOK is roughly 1 EUR, so this means sums of 110 EUR, 184 EUR and 440 EUR per month.

these pioneer migrants are still in the country and can be interviewed. At the same time, Moroccans in Norway have not been studied extensively in relation to the topic we are interested in.

The fieldwork we have done for the scoping study, though resulting in only one interview, has provided us with some good insights into where we could find the initial ‘seeds’ for our larger survey. We would include religious organizations and mosques, MIN, MSF, a number of cafes and clubs, as well as events organized by the Moroccan Embassy. Other events can be found through the two Facebook groups and electronic media may also be useful for the research – we could consider advertising THEMIS through these groups and possibly trying to locate potential interview candidates through them as well. Responses to the research have been mixed, with a few people very open to taking part but a number also being considerably more sceptical. The research would most likely be conducted in Oslo and Bergen, where the largest number of Moroccans can be found.

Ukraine

Migration history and demography

The Ukrainian community in Norway is a growing, largely recent, immigrant group. There are very few Ukrainian families who have lived here across generations. The Ukrainian population in Norway has grown rapidly to about 2500 people in 2010. Since 2003, the first year that we know the number of Ukrainian-born immigrants in Norway with certainty, the stock has grown at an average of 24 percent per year (Figure 21). This is a very high figure, although many other immigrant groups have grown even faster over the same period.²⁵ The shortcomings of data on Ukrainians in Norway before 2003 are discussed in the section ‘Assessment’ on page 46.

The recent immigration wave is characterized by a gradually increasing inflow, to a record 350 people in 2009. Migration effectiveness for 2005–2009 is very high (0.79), indicating that this is largely a one-way flow. In other words, relatively few Ukrainians have formally immigrated to Norway and then left the country again. The majority of Ukrainian citizens who do leave Norway, however, go to third countries rather than back to Ukraine (Table 6).

Most of the Ukrainians in Norway are females who have travelled to Norway alone, or who have come to Norway with Norwegian partners who they have met abroad or through the Internet (Figure 22). The average age among the female Ukrainian migrants is very low. In an interview, it was estimated that it might be as low as 25 years. This, combined with the relatively recent nature of this migration, may explain the fact that despite many Ukrainians marrying Norwegian men, there are still no more than 484 children born with one Ukrainian and one Norwegian parent (Statistics Norway 2010).

Historically, people from the Western parts of Ukraine have been more active in travelling and migrating to Western Europe than what has been the case for Eastern Ukrainians. In Norway today, however, the Ukrainian community is largely represented by different parts of Ukraine. The migration from Ukraine to Norway can be divided into three waves:

²⁵ Including Poles, Lithuanians, Afghans, Eritreans, Latvians and Palestinians.

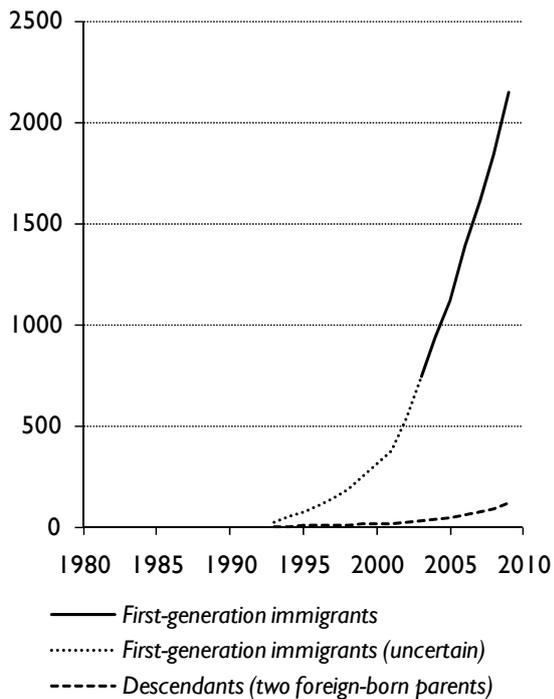


Figure 21. Stock of Ukrainian immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

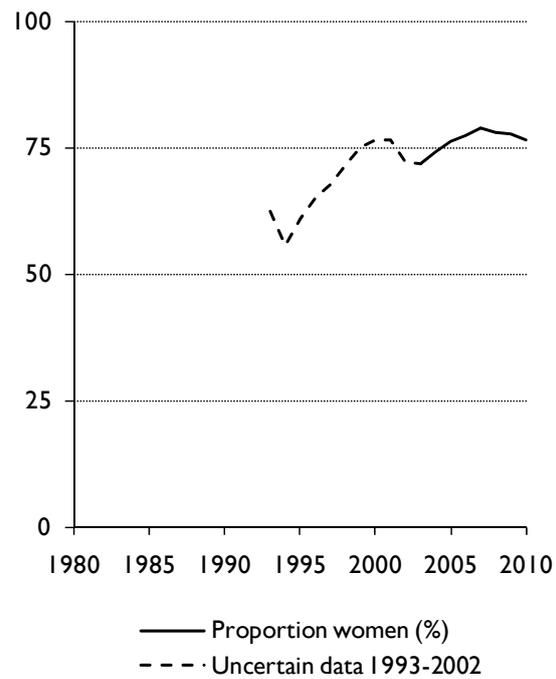


Figure 22. Proportion of women in the stock of Ukrainian immigrants in Norway, 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The period 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

Table 6. Overview of demographic indicators for Ukrainians in Norway

	Ukraine	Average for the six groups (unweighted) ¹
Stock of immigrants (2010)	2440	3032
Change in stock of immigrants (2005-2010)	118%	63%
Stock of foreign citizens (2010)	1756	1540
Change in stock of foreign citizens (2005-2010)	100%	59%
Cumulated immigration by country of departure (1975-2009)	2677	5110
Cumulated naturalizations (1977-2009)	520	2180
Immigration by country of departure (annual average 2005-2009)	302	298
Migration effectiveness (2005-2009)	0.79	0.56
Immigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	314	281
Emigration by citizenship (annual average 2005-2009)	71	88
Proportion of immigrants not arriving from country of citizenship (2009)	7%	9%
Proportion of emigrants not departing to country of citizenship (2009)	56%	52%
Cumulated asylum applications (1995-2009)	2227	549
Asylum applications per 100 immigrants (2005-2009)	5	15
Family migration permits per 100 immigrants (2009)	68	69
Proportion female among stock of immigrants (2010)	77%	53%
Descendants per 100 immigrants (2010) ²	27	64
Proportion of descendants with one Norwegian-born parent (2010) ²	75%	59%
Proportion of family migration with a Norwegian or Nordic citizen (2009)	56%	50%

Notes: 1) Refers to the six groups covered in this scoping study report 2) Descendants in this context refer to people born in Norway with one or two foreign-born parents. Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Directorate of Immigration

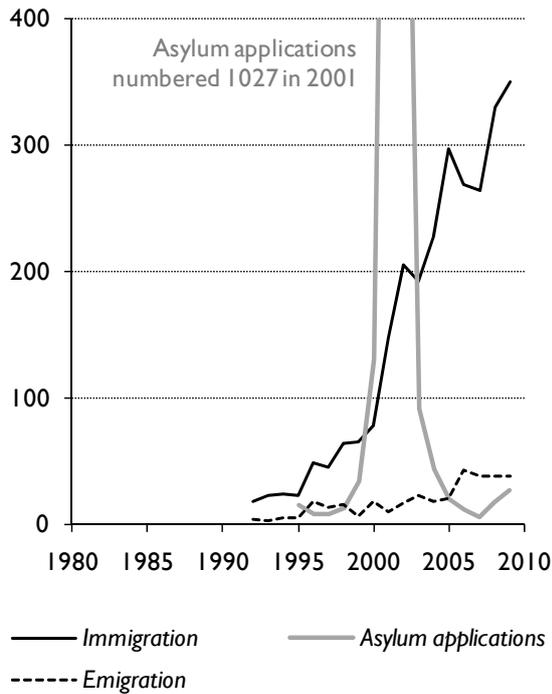


Figure 23. Immigration and emigration to/from Ukraine and asylum applications by Ukrainians, Norway 1980–2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway and the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration.

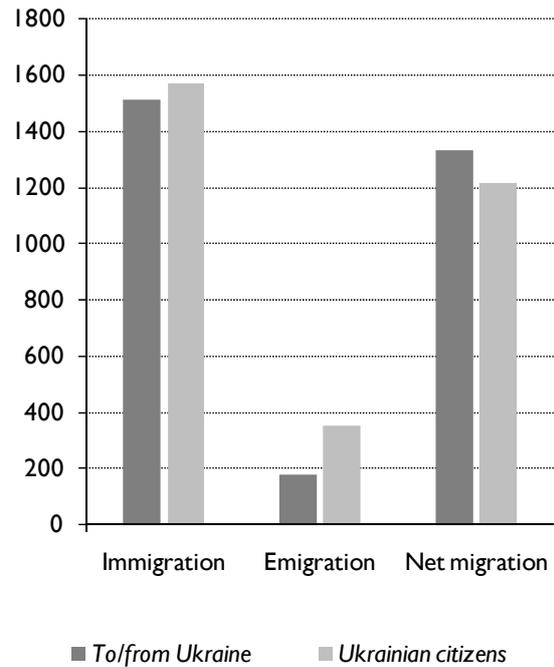


Figure 24. Migration to/from Ukraine and of Ukrainian citizens, Norway 2005–2009

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

Ukrainian prisoners in Norway during World War II

The first Ukrainian settlers came to Norway during World War II. More than 16 000 Ukrainians were kept in prisons in Norway in the period 1941-1945. They were mostly soldiers of the Red Army, and came from all parts of Ukraine. After the war, they were to be sent back to Siberia in the Soviet Union. Most of them did not want this, but only a very small number managed to escape and stay in Norway. They dispersed to villages and small harbour towns in different parts of Norway. In order to stay, they kept their Ukrainian identities hidden. Marianne Neerland Soleim at Falstadsenteret, a foundation in memory of World War II and a centre for human rights, is currently working on a project identifying Ukrainian prisoners from World War II who were killed or have died in Norway.²⁶ But for the time being, the number of Ukrainian prisoners in Norway from that period is unclear.

Political migrants after World War II²⁷

The second small wave of Ukrainian migrants to Norway came after World War II. They came to Norway as the result of national struggles in the West of Ukraine, which had become a part of the Soviet Union right before World War II. They were among those who were fighting for an independent Ukraine after the war, and consequently, faced persecution in the period of 1947-1953. Quite a number of these were killed in the 1950s, but a small number

²⁶ <http://falstadsenteret.no/>

²⁷ The term political migrants is used here rather than the term refugee, since although their experience qualified them to be called refugees, they were not in a legal sense as they chose to keep their identities hidden. It is also the term used by Ukrainian informants themselves.

managed to escape to Europe and the US. Nobody knows for sure how many came to Norway, as they mostly kept their identities hidden, but according to speculations, it might have been about 15-20 individuals.

Mykola Radejko (1920-2005) was one of the leaders of this movement, and spent most of his life in Norway as a political migrant. According to the Ukrainian Embassy, he himself has expressed that he ended up in Norway more or less by accident. But once he was in Norway, he managed to bring and gather a few politically involved Ukrainians around him, although he did keep his presence in Norway hidden for as long as possible. Nonetheless, all along he claimed that the KGB was aware of his presence in Norway.

Current wave of Ukrainian migrants to Norway

It was not until the 1990s, after the fall of the Soviet Union, that Ukrainians were to a greater extent able to migrate abroad. People in the Western parts of Ukraine have traditionally been more focused on Western Europe and North America, whereas people in the East of Ukraine have tended to migrate to Russia and other Soviet countries. This trend has continued even after the fall of the Soviet Union. The labour migration from Ukraine fully started in 1994/95 as the result of the total collapse of the Ukrainian economy. At the time, most Ukrainians chose to go to Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain and Greece. Apart from a few Ukrainian children who were brought to Norway by Norwegian religious missions, there were not many Ukrainians migrating to Norway during the 1990s. Ukrainian migration to Norway started expanding in 1998/1999 and is still increasing (Figure 21).

In the period 2000-2002, there was a significant increase in the number of asylum-seekers from Ukraine to Norway (Figure 23). The year 2001 represented the peak of this wave, when 1030 Ukrainians applied for asylum in Norway, constituting seven percent of the total number of asylum seekers that year. One possible explanation of this sudden wave of Ukrainian asylum seekers to Norway is that in 1999 and 2000, four Ukrainian citizens had been granted the right to stay in Norway for technical reasons (Godzimirski 2004: 25). Hearing about these cases, other Ukrainians may have decided to apply for asylum. As only one person was allowed to stay in Norway for humanitarian reasons in 2003, the number of Ukrainian asylum seekers quickly decreased again.

The current wave can roughly be divided in three groups:

AU PAIRS AND/OR STUDENTS

There are quite a few Ukrainians who come to Norway either as students or au pairs. A very common route among Ukrainian females is to come as an au pair, and then stay as a student at a Norwegian educational institution. As working as an au pair or studying at a Norwegian institution requires quite a good level of English skills, these are usually persons who already have completed higher education back in Ukraine, which also means that they are among the better off. Working as an au pair for a couple of years provides an excellent opportunity to practice English, as well as learning the Norwegian language and adjusting to the Norwegian society. In fact, a Ukrainian website recommends professionals to stay with a Norwegian family as au pair for at least two years in order to improve language skills and get acquainted with the Norwegian system before applying for other jobs (Godzimirski 2004: 25-26).

WOMEN WITH NORWEGIAN PARTNERS

In 2001, there were 46 women with Ukrainian background who married someone in Norway, and 78 % of these married an ethnic Norwegian (Godzimirski 2004: 25). According to an informant, within this group there is great variation in the reasons to come to Norway; it can be anything from finding true love to finding a partner who can provide the socio-economic stability that the person has been looking for. As Ukrainians in general travel more than what they used to previously, many meet their partners while on holiday abroad (either in Norway or in other countries), while others meet through the Internet.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERTS

This group is mainly centred in the Oslo area, where there are greater job opportunities. To come to Norway as a professional expert, a minimum of a Bachelor's degree is required. As obtaining higher education requires access to resources in Ukraine, these are mainly persons of higher-class background, They are scientists who work in research institutes, and medical service employees such as nurses and doctors. Many of them worked in the public sector in Ukraine, which does not pay well and felt working conditions in Ukraine were insufficient. Our informants indicate that quite a few people working in the IT sector have also moved to Norway, preferring to go abroad despite good salaries in Ukraine.

Changes explained

According to informants, during the inflation period of 1994/1995, many Ukrainians took the fastest and easiest way possible to Europe. Up until the mid 2000s, there were no direct travel links from Ukraine to Norway, and the route to South European countries was a lot easier. Furthermore, at that time most Ukrainians did not know much about Scandinavia. However, as the number of Ukrainian labour migrants to Southern Europe kept increasing, the competition over jobs became tight and people started looking for other options. It was also around this time that Norwegian companies, the most important one being the telephone company Telenor, started establishing themselves in Ukraine. Today, there are many bilateral agreements and terms of trade in for example the fishing industry between Norway and Ukraine. In addition, an increasing number of students from Norway have started to go to Ukraine for studies. At the same time, people who have some resources in Ukraine have been able to travel more, and an increasing number have discovered Norway. All of these factors combined have resulted in the fact that people in Ukraine have learned more about Norway and the opportunities that they can be provided with there.

According to an informant, unskilled Ukrainians have preferred to go to Southern Europe, where they knew that it was easy to get a job. Norway, on the other hand, has been more attractive to people who have/wish to have higher education and a high quality job. This became even more evident after the expansion of the Regime for Migration of Skilled Labour to Norway (*Spesialistordningen*)²⁸.

After the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004, there was an optimistic atmosphere among Ukrainians and many chose to stay in Ukraine while Ukrainian migrants returned and

²⁸ The so-called *Spesialistordningen* facilitates for people who are skilled or have particular qualifications needed, to come to work in Norway.

bought real estate in Ukraine. People developed trust in the Ukrainian systems, and for the first time, Ukrainians started using bank accounts for their savings. The Ukrainian economy was experiencing a substantial growth and people increasingly bought on credit. With the international financial crisis that struck Ukraine very severely, the exchange rate for the dollar rocketed and it became difficult to pay back these debts. Consequently, many people travelled abroad to earn money for this purpose.

Visas and permits

Obtaining a visa to come to Norway is often difficult. Ukraine has agreements with other Schengen countries through the EU that enables certain groups, such as business men, family members and professional experts and scientists, to migrate to those countries relatively easily. Norway, however, only has an agreement regarding Ukrainian scientists. In addition, the criterion of having large amounts of money in a bank account in order to apply for the visa complicates the visa obtainment.

Furthermore, there are many companies in Norway that hire Ukrainian seasonal workers. As the Ukrainians are rather close to the Polish community (which is currently the largest non-Western community in Norway), quite a few Polish companies and construction workers hire Ukrainians. In the period 1991-2003 there were 630 Ukrainian applicants for seasonal work in Norway, with a peak in 2000 (Godzimirski 2004: 26). Yet in practice, it is very difficult to obtain the necessary permits. One of the requirements, for example, is a note from the office of the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) explaining that the factory or company needs this exact expertise because they cannot find it in Norway. Even though many factories would like to employ seasonal workers, this requirement often prevents them from doing so. All things taken into consideration, however, obtaining visas and certain kinds of permits has become easier for Ukrainians over the years.

Institutions and community

The fact that a Ukrainian Embassy was established in Norway in 2004 only, illustrates that the activities between Norway and Ukraine have increased in the past few years. Ukrainian migrants have mainly settled down in the most urban areas of Norway, in the counties of Oslo, Akershus (in Eastern Norway) and Rogaland (in Western Norway) (Godzimirski 2004: 23). As a whole, however, informants suggested that one characteristic of Ukrainians is that they do not tend to stick together in large communities once they are abroad.

Today, there are two main Ukrainian associations in Norway. There is one situated in the city of Bergen (in Rogaland county), which has about 15 members, and can among other things offer the services of a Ukrainian priest. The members of this association are mostly women who have married Norwegian men, and who would like to stay together and teach their children the Ukrainian language and values.

The other Ukrainian association is situated in Oslo, and was established in 2004. Today, it has about 60 members who pay a membership fee, but at events organized by the Association, there are usually about 100 people present. In total, messages sent by e-mail or SMS regarding forthcoming events are sent out to a database of about 350-400 people. The largest events

organized are linked to the yearly happenings such as the celebrations of Ukrainian Christmas and Easter, the Ukrainian National Day and Constitution Day, etc. There is also a Ukrainian church that is a part of this association.

In addition, there are large communities of Ukrainian students in both Bergen and Oslo, who keep in touch in more or less formal settings. Many of the Ukrainian students in Oslo are here through an agreement between the Norwegian School of Management (BI), which is a private institution, and the University of Kiev.

There is also a website in Russian for Eastern Europeans in Norway²⁹ which is widely used, especially among the younger people within the Eastern European population in Norway. Here, information about different events and happenings are given, in addition to discussion forums where one can meet other Eastern Europeans with similar interests.

Remittances and other transnational connections

Remittances are a high percentage of the Ukrainian GDP, although exact numbers are difficult to obtain. Many of the migrants abroad go back to Ukraine and buy apartments, cars and other “luxury” items, which is also important for the sustainability of the economy.

According to our sources, those who do remit money to friends and relatives in Ukraine, do so in three ways: 1) wire through mechanisms such as Forex and Western Union, 2) transfer from one bank account to another, and 3) bring cash personally when they go to visit family and friends in Ukraine. Due to the history of instability in the Ukrainian banking system on the one hand, and the high fees for using formal transferral mechanisms, bringing the money cash when travelling to Ukraine is the most common option. This is further eased by the fact that the vast majority of Ukrainians abroad can travel back and forth more or less freely. One informant told us that she and two of her trusted Ukrainian friends in Norway take turns in bringing money and other goods for each other’s families in Ukraine. As each of them travels to Ukraine approximately once a year, their respective families receive remittances three times a year.

There are many travel agents and communications providers that operate between Ukraine and Norway, among these two au pair agencies run by Ukrainians. Another example is a website that provides information on travels to East and Central Europe³⁰. Furthermore, the Internet is widely used to find information on how to reach Norway, in addition to consulting any migrants that one might know of. Both the Ukrainian Embassy in Norway and the Norwegian Embassy in Ukraine post information on Norway, Ukrainians in Norway, legislations etc. on their websites, and are visited by Ukrainians who have or would like to have a link to Norway.

Overall, there seems to be a rather strong bond between Ukrainians and relatives and friends in Ukraine and elsewhere. It is very common to spend holidays in Ukraine, or travelling to visit friends and relatives elsewhere, as well as having them come to visit in Norway. On a more everyday basis, it is very common to stay in touch by phone, through Skype or e-mail.

To our knowledge, most Ukrainians do plan their journey themselves, although some might come through the services of for example an au pair agency. There probably is a small

²⁹ www.dom.no

³⁰ www.kalinkatours.no/?gclid=CNaKgbL7hqMCFQI9ZgodZmWTbw

number of irregular Ukrainian migrants in Norway, as there is elsewhere. But the Ukrainian Embassy informed us that since these irregular migrants usually enter the country legally and then become over-stayers at a later point, they are relatively easy to trace. There have also been a few cases of people who were falsely being promised a job while still in Ukraine, which has its similarities to human trafficking. A few years ago, Eastern European prostitution was on the increase in Norway, but has largely been replaced by African prostitution.

Assessment

The case of Ukrainians in Norway is characterized by an ongoing migration take-off. As such, it is an interesting case of study within the context of THEMIS. However, there are major issues related to uncertainties in the migration history of this group. Ukraine has only existed as an independent country since the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991. Statistics Norway has made attempts at reclassifying immigrants who came to Norway as citizens of the Soviet Union. However, it was not until 2003 that all these immigrants had been allocated a national origin, and that the number of Ukrainians in Norway could be verified. Stock figures from before 1991 have also been amended to include national origin. The number of registered Ukrainians in Norway before 1991 is consequently not zero, although it is very low.

Figure 25 illustrates the scope of uncertainty. Before 2003, we know that the true number of Ukrainians in Norway lies somewhere between two extremes: the minimum number is those who are registered as Ukrainians; the maximum number also includes all the people with undefined Soviet origins. We know that the majority of the latter are Russians, and that the true number of Ukrainians therefore lies in the lower bounds of the interval. Still, the uncertainty is considerable. As such, although the group is interesting, we feel that a reliable long-term historical assessment will be impossible to do in the case of the Ukraine.

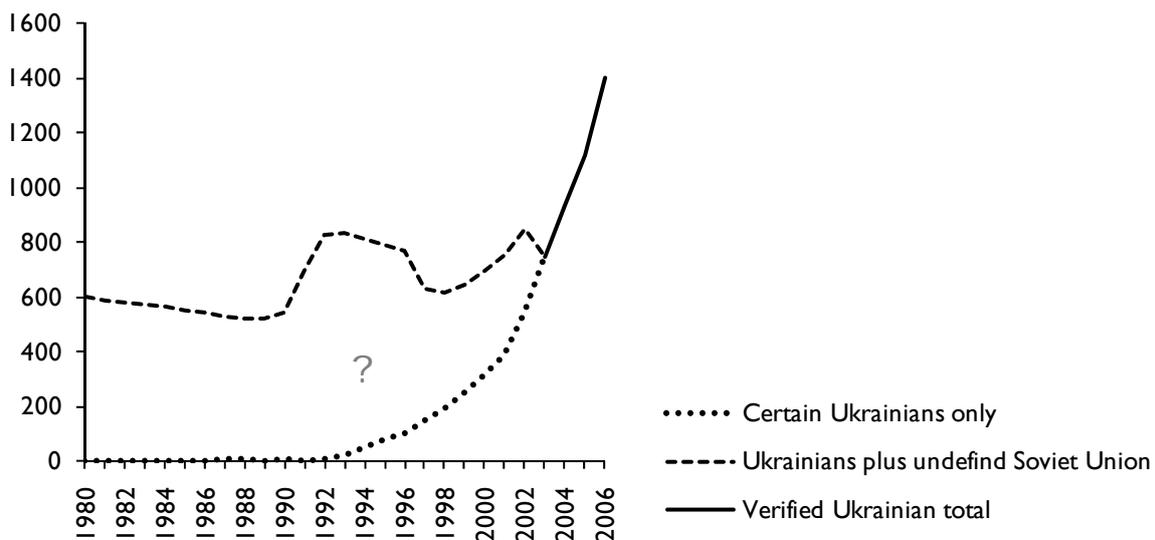


Figure 25. Stock of Ukrainian-born persons in Norway 1980–2006

Source: Calculated on the basis of data from Statistics Norway (Statistikkbanken).

When it comes to the accessibility of Ukrainians, the persons we have contacted have been very quick to respond, and very helpful and interested in contributing to our project. We have found a general curiosity on learning more about other Ukrainians in Norway, among other things in that all three informants have requested to read our finalized report. In addition, they all have already provided us with the contact information of a number of persons that we could interview in the future.

Despite interesting characteristics of the Ukrainian migration to Norway, however, we have observed that there are several similarities in the Ukrainian and Brazilian migration patterns in the Norwegian context. Consequently, it would be adequate to only study one of these groups. As such, due to the uncertainties of the Ukrainian case as explained above, we believe that Brazil would make a significantly better case.

Concluding Assessment

After presenting the six scoping studies with their individual assessments, we now compare the groups in terms of their migration histories, current composition and ease with which we expect to be able to do research on them in a second phase.

Comparison of immigration histories

Figure 26 illustrates the growth of the six immigrant populations 1970–2010 from three different perspectives. The differences help bring out the characteristics of each group. Panel A shows how the absolute numbers have grown, inspiring a threefold classification:

1. India and Morocco — Groups that have grown steadily and become big
2. Brazil and Ukraine — Groups that are currently taking off
3. Bangladesh and Egypt — Groups that have remained small

Panel B ignores the differences in absolute numbers, sets the current size to 100 and shows how the groups have reached their current number over time. This inspires another categorization:

4. Brazil and Ukraine — Groups that are currently taking off
5. Morocco — A group that has grown very steadily over time
6. Bangladesh — A group with a peculiar pattern of take-off, decline and new growth
7. Egypt and India — Intermediate groups without a distinct pattern

Panel C illustrates the same type of index, but with 1980 instead of 2010 as the reference year. In other words, the curves show the size of each migrant group relative to its size in 1980. The short history of Ukrainian migration statistics makes it impossible to include Ukraine in this panel. The remaining five groups fall into three categories:

8. Brazil — A group that displays a remarkable migration take-off
9. Bangladesh — A group with a peculiar pattern of take-off, decline and new growth
10. Egypt, India and Morocco — Groups that have grown very modestly

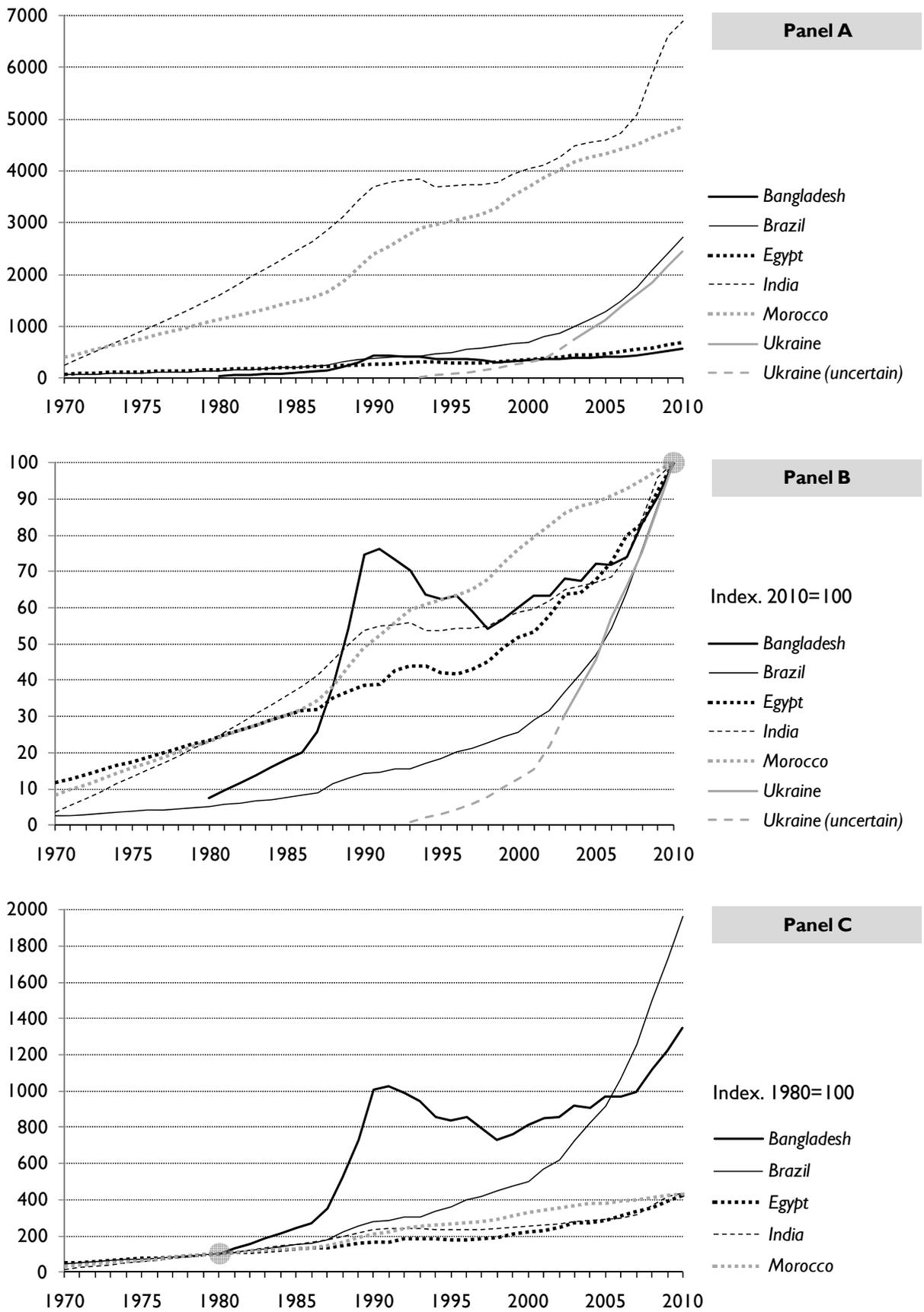


Figure 26. Comparison of stock of immigrants, 1970–2010.

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. The periods 1970–1980 and 1980–1986 is interpolated due to missing data.

This last panel illustrates how it is possible to describe Moroccans and Indians as groups that have stagnated, despite their relatively large numbers.

A possible operationalization of migration take-off would be ‘five-year periods during which the migrant stock at least doubled in size’, based on year-by-year comparison of the migrant stock with its size five years earlier.³¹ In conclusion, regarding the demographic aspects of migration histories, we can say that Brazil and Ukraine are similar, but that Brazil has the great advantage (for researchers) of a long migration history before take-off occurred. Moroccans are the most consistent contrasting case: a long history of gradually slower growth, never experiencing take-off. Figure 27 illustrates the contrast between the two cases. Egyptians are an intermediate case of slow, but accelerating growth, while Bangladeshis and Indians show more irregular growth patterns.

Beyond the purely demographic, there are differences in the dominant grounds for migration settlement. Published statistics do not give us details for all groups. However, summary conclusions can be made: Asylum seeking has been an element in the migration histories for all six groups except Brazilians. The proportion of the current immigrant population who arrived as asylum seekers is low, however. In the case of the Ukraine, informants do not refer to refugees but to political migrants after World War II, as those who fled persecution largely kept their identities hidden and thus in a legal sense are not refugees. It may be difficult to trace any of these people. Most asylum-seekers from a second wave after 2000 are no longer in Norway, as their cases were rejected. Egypt, India and Morocco are countries from where

Table 7 displays the experience of the six groups with reference to this definition. Neither Egyptians nor Moroccans in Norway have ever experienced a migration take-off; Brazilians and Ukrainians are undergoing take off; Bangladeshis and Indians have experience take-off in the past. The take-off episodes among Bangladeshis, Ukrainians and (possibly) Indians apparently began as soon as those groups started arriving in Norway, but the beginning of each take-off is uncertain because of missing data. The Brazilian case is different because take-off occurred after a long, well-documented period of slower growth.

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³¹ This implies maintaining an average annual growth rate of 15 percent or more over five years.

trace any of these people. Most asylum-seekers from a second wave after 2000 are no longer in Norway, as their cases were rejected. Egypt, India and Morocco are countries from where

Table 7. Periods of migration take-off.

Country of origin	Period of migration take-off ¹	Fastest recorded five-year growth ²
Bangladesh	1985 to 1992	313 % (1985–1990)
Brazil	Ongoing since 2002	114 % (2005–2010)
Egypt	None	
India	1970 (or before ³) to 1978 (uncertain)	277% (1970–1975, estimate ⁴)
Morocco	None	
Ukraine	Ongoing (uncertain beginning)	293% (1998–2003, uncertain ⁵) 148% (2003–2008, certain)

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. Notes: 1) Defined as five-year periods during which the migrant stock at least doubled in size, from a starting point of at least 100 people. The take-off period begins with the first year of the first five-year period and the last year of the last five-year period. 2) Excluding five-year periods starting with a stock of less than 100 individuals. 3) Earliest five-year period on record. 4) End of period based on interpolation of migrant stock 1970–1980. 5) Until 2003 the stock of Ukrainian immigrants was uncertain because not all people who immigrated from the Soviet Union had been assigned a post-Soviet country of origin.

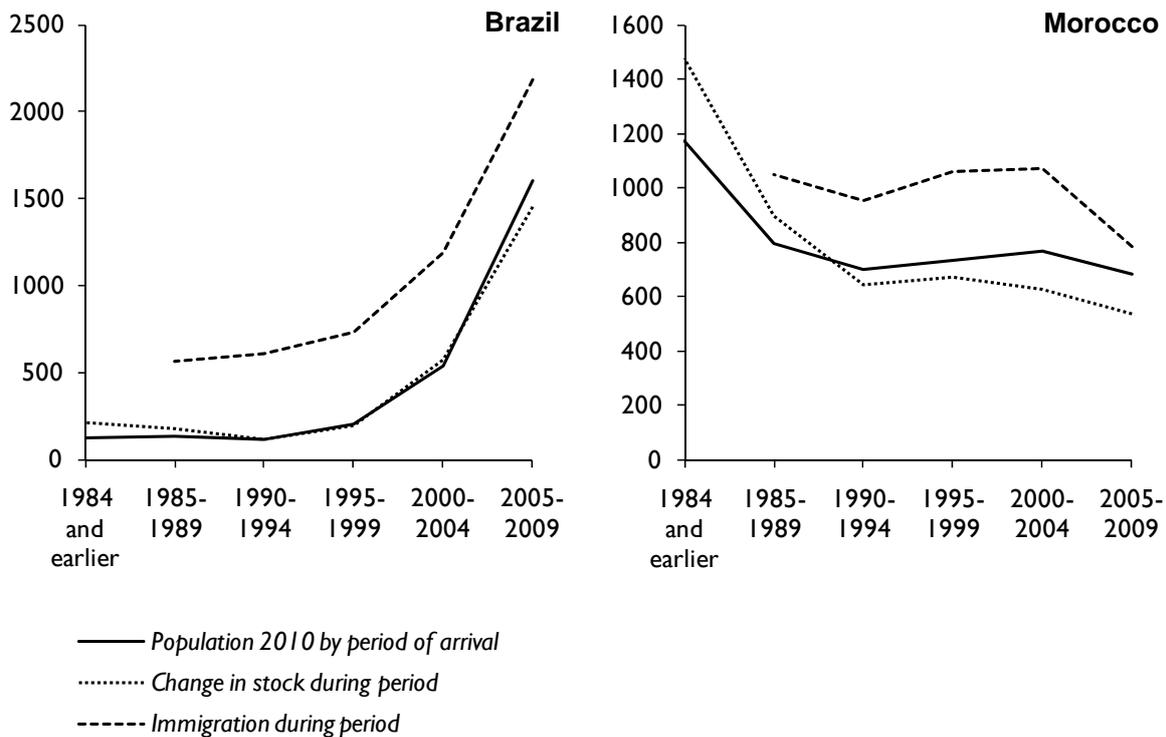


Figure 27. The contrasting cases of Brazil (speeding up) and Morocco (slowing down)

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway. Note: Change in stock '1984 and earlier' displays the migrant stock at the beginning of 1985.

the large majority came as labour migrants or, subsequently, for family-related reasons. Asylum plays a minor role here, and it is likely that only in the case of Morocco we may be able to trace some of the people involved. In the case of Bangladesh, a considerable proportion of the population was granted permission to stay in Norway based on asylum applications.

Family reunification with Norwegians has been important for the migration of Brazilians, Egyptians, and Ukrainians, less so for the other three groups. Labor migration of mainly low-skilled laborers has been important for the migration of Moroccans, Indians and to some extent Egyptians. High-skilled laborers have come to Norway from India, Brazil, and Ukraine. Migration of students has taken place from all countries – it will be interesting at a later stage to study to what extent this type of migration has led to a permanent stay in Norway, as well as to what extent this was a deliberate strategy.

Comparison of current composition

The current composition of the six groups reflects their disparate migration histories. Statistics on age and length of stay are unfortunately not published for all six groups, but other figures provide bases for comparison.

First, some are more mature and established than others. The relative number of descendants gives an indication of this (Figure 28). Moroccan and Egyptian immigrants stand out as having many descendants in Norway (the combined height of the light grey and dark grey bars), while Ukrainians have relatively few. This reflects differences in average length of stay as well as differences in fertility levels.

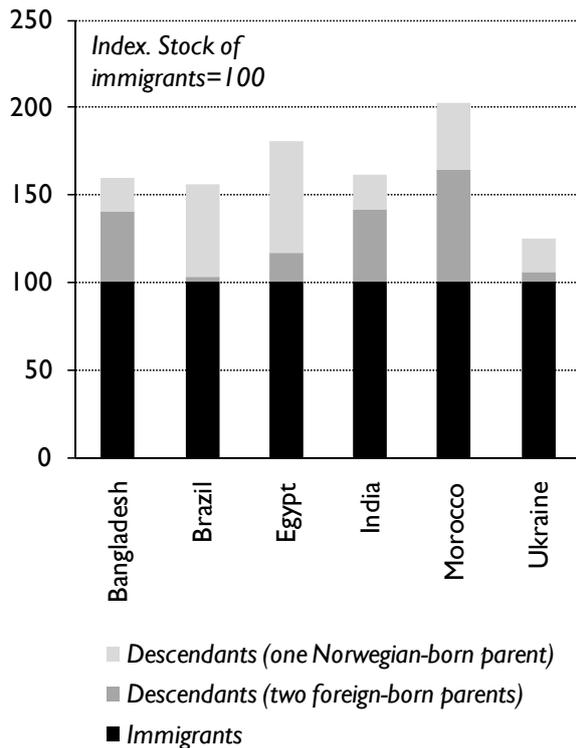


Figure 28. Number of descendants relative to migrants, 2009

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

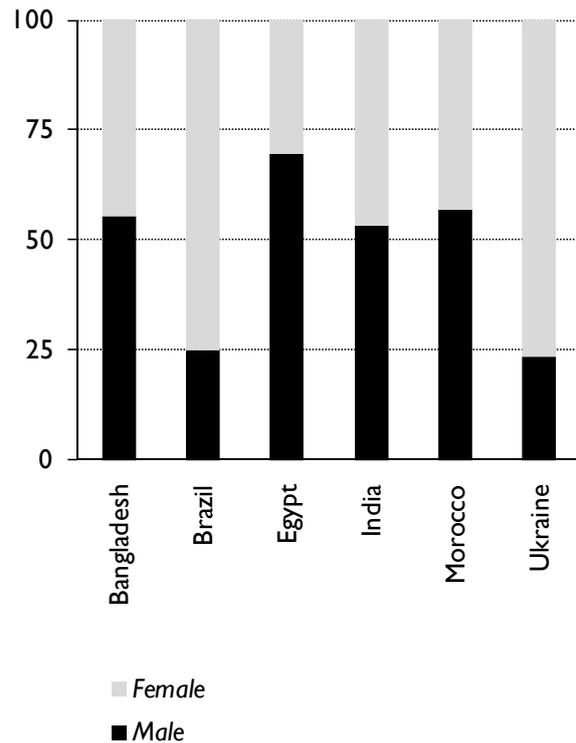


Figure 29. Gender balance of stock of immigrants, 2010

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Statistics Norway.

Second, the gender-balanced groups have not formed families with Norwegians to the same extent as the groups with a skewed gender balance. This is largely because in the latter groups, migration is often linked to family formation with Norwegians. Figure 29 shows that

Brazilians and Ukrainians are overwhelmingly female groups, Egyptians are predominately male, and the remaining three groups are closer to being balanced. These differences are reflected in the proportion of descendants who are half Norwegian (the light grey bars in Figure 28). Brazilians, Egyptians and Ukrainians have most of their children with a Norwegian partner, while the other three groups tend to have children with other foreigners. Presumably, this is in most cases with another person from the same country of origin.

Comparison of the research process

Research in phase 2 on most of the six short-listed groups is going to be a challenge in Norway in terms of their relatively small size. Two of the six short-listed groups, Bangladesh and Egypt, are small groups with currently less than 1000 immigrants in Norway. Two, Brazil and Ukraine, are middle-size groups of about 2500 immigrants in Norway, whereas the remaining two, Morocco and India, are reasonably large groups of beyond 5000. Studying the small groups is going to be resource-demanding, and as such we would prefer to include only one such group.

Besides the size of the group, the level of contact between community members as well as the perceived openness towards the research is of importance. Most of the groups selected, with the exception of Egypt and to some extent Ukraine, seem to have relatively strong social networks within their own community. In some instances, such as in the case of India, there seems to be a split between those who came during different waves. Our experiences during the first phase of the research suggest that the Brazilian, Ukrainian and Bangladeshi communities are very open to the research, being willing to participate and interested in the results. Experiences from the scoping studies on Egypt and Morocco are a bit more mixed – for Morocco we have found a number of possible entry points but also perceived a certain degree of skepticism towards the research. The research on Indians in Norway has been particularly difficult to conduct, due to a great degree of skepticism.

Conclusion

From the above, we wish to suggest a short-list that would be most relevant, interesting and do-able in Norway. Firstly, we feel that Ukraine is very problematic to include as we do not have reliable statistics before 2003. Secondly, we are of the impression that in that case, Brazil should definitely be selected: there are many similarities in migration histories and composition, whereas in the Brazilian case longer time series of statistics are available. In order to have sufficient variation in terms of migration patterns, current composition, geographical location, size, and ability to do the research, we suggest selecting India *or* Bangladesh and Egypt *or* Morocco. In order to guarantee inclusion of asylum migration, and because of our

Table 8. Summary assessments

	Pros	Cons
Bangladesh	Interesting pattern of 'aborted take-off', stagnation and renewed growth; Most relevant group in terms of asylum migration; Easily	Small numbers, in particular outside Oslo;

	accessible community; High degree of out-migration and small numbers in Norway compared to Sweden;	
Brazil	Exemplary case of migration take-off; Possibility of tracing migration history before and during take-off; Under-researched in relation to numerical importance; Easily accessible community; Interesting female-dominated aspect;	No clear research location outside Oslo;
Egypt	Long, but slowly growing history; Interesting male-dominated flow (complementary to Brazilians or Ukrainians);	Difficult to find outside Oslo; Half-way pattern between stagnation and take-off; The forced migration aspect not as strong as originally anticipated;
India	Interesting aspect of high-skilled labour migration; Relatively large numbers in Drammen, making data collection in two cities feasible;	Highly heterogeneous group; Complex migration patterns involving third countries; Relatively difficult research process in the first phase;
Morocco	Exemplary case of maturity and stagnation; Under-researched in relation to numerical importance;	Mixed responses to the research in the first phase;
Ukraine	Exemplary case of migration take-off; Interesting female-dominated aspect; Easily accessible community;	Difficult to examine beginning of migration take-off due to data limitations; No clear research location outside of Oslo;

concerns with the difficulty to do research on Indians in Norway, our preference goes to the Bangladesh community. In order to avoid having to study two small groups, our third choice then is Morocco. As such, PRIO suggests the final three groups of study to be Brazil, Bangladesh and Morocco.

Annex I: Demographic indicators

Stock of immigrants is the number of legal residents who are born abroad and do not have Norwegian parents. This figure differs slightly from the foreign-born, which would also include adopted infants and children born abroad by Norwegian parents. When ‘population’ as in ‘the Bangladeshi population in Norway’ is used in the text, it refers to this figure.

Change in the stock of immigrants (2005-2010) is a simple comparison of how the stock has changed over the past five years, expressed in percentage terms. This is a good indicator of whether there is a ‘take-off’ of migration, or a tendency of stagnation.

Stock of foreign citizens largely reflects recent immigration. The general rule is that immigrants can naturalize after living in Norway for seven years. However, there are exceptions that can allow for earlier naturalization, and circumstances that may delay or prevent naturalization. Some migrants also prefer to retain their original citizenship. The stock of foreign citizens is not a good indicator of demographic processes.

Change in stock of foreign citizens (2005-2010) reflects the balance of net migration, natural increase and naturalizations over the past five years. In mature migrant populations, the number of foreign citizens is typically declining, since immigration is often outnumbered by naturalization.

Cumulated immigration by country of departure (1975-2009) gives the total number of people who have immigrated to Norway from the country in question since 1975. This includes people who have later emigrated or died, and is therefore larger than the current stock of immigrants. Since the data is collected on the basis of country of departure, it includes Norwegians who return to Norway after living abroad, as well as citizens of other countries who have come to Norway after living in the country in question.

Cumulated naturalizations (1977-2009) is the total number of people with a specific former citizenship who have acquired Norwegian citizenship since 1977. It is likely that many of them remain in Norway, but some may have returned, migrated elsewhere, or died. We do not have statistics on current residents by former citizenship.

Immigration by country of departure is the number of people immigrating to Norway from the country in question, regardless of their citizenship or country of birth. Country of departure refers to their country of residence before settling in Norway.

Migration effectiveness is a measure of how much of the total cross-border movement leads to growth in the migrant population.³² If there are large flows in both directions that almost cancel each other out, migration effectiveness is close to zero. If there was only immigration and no emigration, migration effectiveness would be 1.00. Negative migration effectiveness indicates that emigration is higher than immigration. Here, migration effectiveness is calculated in the basis of immigration and emigration by country of departure/destination, not citizenship.

³² Migration effectiveness is calculated as net migration divided by gross migration. (Net migration is the difference between immigration and emigration; gross migration is the sum of immigration and emigration).

Immigration by citizenship is the number of citizens of a given country immigrating to Norway, regardless of their country of birth or country of departure.

Emigration by citizenship is the number of citizens of a given country emigrating from Norway, regardless of their country of birth or country of destination. Immigrants who leave Norway after acquiring Norwegian citizenship are not covered.

Proportion of immigrants not arriving from country of citizenship indicates the importance of indirect migration to Norway. In most cases, the majority of foreign citizens immigrating to Norway come directly from their country of citizenship.

Proportion of emigrants not departing to country of citizenship indicate the importance of onward migration, or the use of Norway as a stepping-stone to other destinations. In many cases immigrants leaving Norway do not return to their country of origin.

Cumulated asylum applications (1995-2009) gives the volume of asylum applications over the period in question, regardless of the outcome. Consequently, this is not an indication of the importance of forced migration in the growth of the migrant population.

Asylum applications per 100 immigrants provides a cross-nationally comparable figure by relating asylum claims to the number of immigrants. This is not a proportion, but simply a reflection of how important attempts at asylum are in relation to the actual migration flow from the country.

Family reunification³³ permits per 100 immigrants is an indication of the importance of family-based migration. The number can exceed 100 since permits given do not necessarily result in immigration in the same year. Some permits may also not be used at all.

Descendants per 100 immigrants is an indication of the maturity of the immigrant population. While Statistics Norway generally defines descendants as children of **two** foreign-born parents, this indicator refers to children with **one or two** foreign-born parents. As a migrant population matures, the number of descendants in relation to immigrants typically rises (Carling 2008). Although descendants of immigrants are not a target group of the THEMIS project, their numbers thus illustrate the group's demographic development.

Proportion of descendants with one Norwegian-born parent indicates the degree to which immigrants are having children with Norwegian-born partners, or with other immigrants. In the absence of information about cohabitation, and limited publically available information about marriages, this indicator can give important information about family formation patterns. (Note that the statistics can only identify children who are half Norwegian, not those who have foreign-born parents from different countries. Thus, descendants of Egyptians, for instance, with two foreign-born parents could either have two Egyptian-born parents or an Egyptian-born mother and a father from another country.)

Proportion of family migration with a Norwegian or Nordic citizen is another indication of how family formation takes place. The data refer to the citizenship of the reference person in Norway—usually the spouse or parent of the immigrant. If the reference person is a Norwegian citizen, it is not necessarily a Norwegian-born person, but could also be a naturalized immigrant.

³³ Including family formation. Published statistics do not distinguish between family reunification and family formation.

Annex 2:THEMIS Information Letter

Oslo, 06.07.2010

Subject: Research on Migration from X to Norway

Dear Sir/ Madam

I am writing from the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). We are at the early stages of a new international research project on the changing patterns of migration and I am writing to ask for your help in this.

This project 'Theorizing the Evolution of Migration Systems' (THEMIS) is a joint initiative between researchers in the UK, the Netherlands, Portugal and Norway. Our aim is to compare historical developments of migration movements to the above four European countries from Ukraine, Bangladesh, India, Morocco, Egypt, Brazil -- and see what are the various factors that both facilitated and hindered the human mobility. For more information please visit our website: www.imi.ox.ac.uk/research/themis

We believe that your experience will be an important contribution to help us cast some more light on the history, patterns, trends and changes of migration movements between X and Norway. We would greatly appreciate it if you would be willing to share some of your insights and thoughts in an interview with me. The proposed interview would be based on open questions focused around the following issues:

- When did migration from X to Norway start?
- Who were the first people to migrate?
- What were the causes for this migration?
- Where did the migrants come from within X?
- Where did people settle on arrival in Norway?
- What were the significant events or time periods in the migration history?
- What factors made migration possible and what made it more difficult?

Your responses in the interview of the interviews will be kept private and anonymous for the purpose of the analysis. We would not anticipate that the interview will take longer than one hour. Ideally we would like to visit you to conduct the interview at your convenience. If you prefer, we can conduct the interview over the telephone.

If you are not able to assist in this way, we would be very grateful if you point us in the direction of others who might be willing and able to spare some time and talk with us.

Thanks you for your help in this matter. We look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Cindy Horst - Senior Researcher/Rojan Ezzati - Research Coordinator, PRIO

Annex 3: Interview Topics

For interviews with key informants in the scoping-study phase.

Personal Information

- Age, Gender
- First entry to Norway (subsequent entries- if relevant)

Migration patterns from X to Norway³⁴

- Who were the first people from x to migrate to Norway?
 - o When did they come?
 - o Why did they come?
 - o From where in X did they come?
 - o How many of them came?
 - o How did they travel?
 - o Where did people from x settle on arrival in Norway?
 - o Where did people from X go, beside Norway?
- How has the migration to Norway changed over the years?
 - o The numbers of people migrating to Norway
 - o The regions they come from in X
 - o The socio-economic class – wealth, education, skills
 - o The reasons for their migration
 - o The routes used
- What – in your opinion - caused these changes?
 - o When did the major changes take place?
 - o What were the significant events or time periods in the migration history?
 - o What factors facilitated or hindered the migration?
 - o What was the state of the economy in X when you left? Declining, improving, unchanging?
 - o What migration policies of the government of X were you aware of before you left?

Type of migration

- What were the causes for the initial migration?
- What were the causes of your migration?
- What was the main reason for someone from X to move to Norway in 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010?
- What sort of visas do people use on first arrival?
- How easy is it obtain visas?
- Has this changed over the years? How? Why?
- What has been the role of immigration regulation in shaping migration to Norway?
- What other factors have been important?
- What about your family decisions?
- Why did you move?

³⁴ Legend : X denotes Ukraine, Bangladesh, India, Morocco, Egypt, Brazil

Transnational Links

Associations

- What do you think are the main associations involving people from X?
- Of which of these are you a member?
- Which other ways of organizing/coming together in Norway are there among people from X?

Networks

- How strong are the contacts between people from X in Norway? How do they stay in touch?
- How strong are the contacts between people from X and those still in X? How do they stay in touch?
- What do you think are the main websites concerning people from X?
- What other ways of getting information / networking / staying in touch with people from and in X are there?

Remittances

- Do people ever transfer money to family or friends in your homeland? If so: how common is this, how frequent, to whom?
- What mechanisms do they use for sending?
- Do you send money or other forms of support (incl goods) to X or relatives elsewhere?
- Who do you send it to?
- How often do you send it? How?

Migration Industry

- Can you list the travel agents and communications providers that operate between X and Norway?
- How do people generally find out about how to reach Norway?
- Is it common people plan their own journey, or are there commonly others helping them? If so, who?
- Do you know whether there are people using informal travel agencies (smugglers)?

Own Migration (if not covered already)

- Can you briefly tell me your own migration history (find out what they were doing in X, their reasons and ways of moving – and what they are doing currently)
- Are there people in your circle of friends and family who have migrated to Norway / Europe before you?
- Do you know people from X in Norway?
- Did you have contact with anyone in Norway / Europe while still in X?
- Have these friends or relatives played a role in your decision to migrate?
- What support did you receive for your journey to/ and residence in Norway and from whom?
- Why did you move to this locality in Norway?
- Do you keep in touch with people back in X? How?
- With whom do you mostly keep in touch (family, friends, business partners, others)?
- Are there other ways in which you keep informed about you homeland?

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Immigration to Norway from Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, India, Morocco and Ukraine

This report presents the findings of six scoping studies on immigration to Norway from Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, India, Morocco and Ukraine. The studies were carried out for the project *Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems (THEMIS)*. This project aims to study under which conditions initial moves by pioneer migrants to Europe result in rapidly expanding network migration and the formation of migration systems, and under which conditions this does *not* happen. The scoping studies thus focus on migration history and demographic characteristics, policy developments in

Norway and other explanatory factors for changes in the patterns. We also discuss institutions and community among these immigrant groups in Norway, and remittances and other transnational ties the migrants maintain to their countries of origin.

The report is based on analysis of publicly available statistics, interviews with a small number of key informants from each group, and a variety of written sources. Some of the immigrant groups we cover are very small or recent, and therefore poorly documented. Among the six groups, Indians and Moroccans

are by far the largest groups in Norway. As of January 2010 Indians are the 14th largest non-western group, and Moroccans follow on the 17th place. At the other extreme, Bangladeshis rank 55th. Absolute numbers range from 6888 Indian to 579 Bangladeshi immigrants. Brazilians and Ukrainians in Norway stand out because their numbers have grown very rapidly over the past decade and they are overwhelmingly female groups. Egyptians in Norway, on the other hand, have a long migration history and are predominantly male.