

PAR MIGRATION NAVIGATOR (WLB_GE)

Socio-cultural and Psychological Predictors of Work-Life Balance and Gender Equality

Cross-Cultural Comparison of Polish and Norwegian Families

ALL WPs REPORT

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Introduction

Our research project goals explored WLB (Work-Life Balance) and GE (Gender Equality) issues asking *what happens when people migrate from less egalitarian (Polish) to more egalitarian (Norwegian) culture and what facilitates and hinders the shift towards improved WLB and GE. Are they becoming more gender egalitarian?*

The research consisted of five **Work Packages (WPs)** that were complement with each other. There were five partners realizing the project – two on Polish side - University of Gdańsk (leader of the whole project) and Polish Academy of Sciences and three on the Norwegian side – International Research Institute of Stavanger (IRIS), Centre for Intercultural Communication (SIK) and University of Stavanger (UiS). All Work Packages involved represented different academic disciplines which allowed us to form multidisciplinary consortium to perform multi-level multidisciplinary research, including comparative sociological and psychological surveys, as well as quasi-experimental designs.

The research has received funding from the Polish-Norwegian Research Programme operated by the National Centre for Research and Development under the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2009-2014 in the framework of Project Contract No. Pol-Nor/202343/62/2013.

Coordinators of the project on the Polish side have been Natasza Kosakowska-Berezecka, PhD (Principal Investigator and WP3 leader) from the Institute of Psychology and Magdalena Żadkowska, PhD (WP1 leader) from the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Journalism at the University of Gdansk, who together with the other researchers from the above mentioned institutions, Kuba Kryś, PhD from Institute of Psychology, Polish Academy of Sciences (WP2 leader), Øystein Lund Johannessen, PhD, Gunhild Odden, PhD (WP4 leaders) and Gunn Vedøy, PhD (WP5 leader) have managed the project between 2013-2016.

3 years, 40 researchers from 5 institutions, over 2300 participants, over 20 publications, over 30 conference papers and now the project is over, so time to summarize what we have accomplished within each of our project WP.

WP 1 Qualitative Sociological Study with Workshop Method Implementation

The main goal of WP1 was to understand everyday life practices of Polish migrant couples in Norway by comparing them to Polish, Norwegian and mixed couples in Poland and in Norway. We have designed qualitative longitudinal study that used in-depth semi-structured interviews method and analysis of on-line blogging.

Objectives

1. To obtain description of everyday life practices and rites of Polish migrant couples in Norway in comparison to Polish, Norwegian and mixed couples in Poland and in Norway.
2. To understand the process of couple integration and disintegration when accomplishing/experiencing stages of: migration to Norway, getting a job, losing a job, having the first baby, having the second baby, deciding about who is going to take maternal and/or paternal leave, coming back to Poland.
3. To get to know individual and couple patterns of balancing work and life.
4. To see changes in above mentioned processes during 3 year-long, longitudinal research process.
5. To understand the experience of fatherhood of men migrating to a country where gender equality is more tangible and present.
6. To see if migration to a country where gender equality is more present affects fatherhood / fathers involvement in child care
7. To extract insight of wider relevance and to make our conclusions useful for couples in general by preparing manuals for couples and individuals. Our manuals are designed to assist them in improving work-life balance by learning to negotiate household and childcare duties.
8. To prepare program for workshops for both individuals and couples who want to develop skills crucial in fostering their work-life balance.
9. To prepare program for trainings for couples who plan to migrate to Norway or other countries.

Method

Our research was carried out in two countries: Norway (Rogaland), considered as more egalitarian and gender-equality oriented than Poland and Poland (Pomerania). More than 10% of all female and male migrants in Rogaland come from West Pomeranian and Pomeranian region. We have carried out in-depth interviews among seven groups of participants:

1. Polish migrants in Norway;
2. Norwegians in Norway;
3. Mixed couples in Norway;
4. Poles in Poland, who did not have the experience of migrating to egalitarian culture;
5. Poles in Poland with experience of living/working in Norway, who re-entered Polish society;
6. Mixed couples in Poland;
7. „LAT” relationships (living apart together, couples who live in two countries, e.g. Polish woman lives in Poland and her husband/partner, either Polish or Norwegian works and lives in Norway).

All in all, between 2014 and 2016 we have conducted **305 longitudinal interviews**, out of which, 129 were joint in-depth interviews and 176 were individual in-depth interviews. Comparison between the above mentioned groups allowed us to follow the dynamics and processes underlying the development of more egalitarian attitudes on individual and family level, among groups who entered more egalitarian culture than their home culture. We analyzed how the experience of migration into more egalitarian society changed the traditional division of house chores among Polish couples. We were looking for answers to the following research questions:

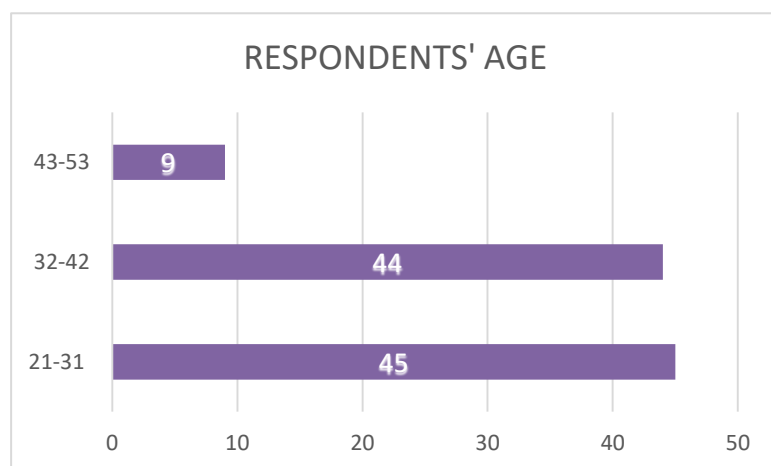
1. **What makes women eager and ready/not ready to overcome their traditional roles?**
2. **What makes men eager and ready/not ready to overcome the socially respected role of “breadwinner”?**

Additionally, we have collected 41 couples’ posts made during on-line blogging with the use of our project’s internet platform – this helped us in “getting” into respondents houses and allowed couples to have time to reflect upon their everyday life. We were especially looking

forward to read about: the way couples spend their leisure time (both at home and outside), which leisure activities they choose as a couple, and which ones do they do individually. We were interested in reading their observations from everyday life in Norway and in Poland. These blog posts also allowed us to see how couples deal with the new challenge – how they fulfill household or parental duty, one that they have never or seldom done before. The couples' on-line posts along with analysis of interviews were presented in the following publications: Herzberg, M., Kossakowski, R., & Żadkowska, M. (2016); Gajewska, M. & Żadkowska, M. (2016); Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. (2016b and 2016c); Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. (2016f); Żadkowska, M., Kosakowska, N., & Ryndyk, O. (2016); Żadkowska, M., & Szlendak, T. (2016); Gajewska, M; Gjerstad, B; Nødland, S I; Vedøy, G; Żadkowska, M. (2016).

Participants

Our group of respondents participating in the project was very diverse in terms of their professional life as well as socio-demographic characteristics. The main differences within the group concerned also the length of migration (varying experiences of migration as a consequence), and the duration of the relationship. Respondents, who participated in the project were exceptional group in terms of analysis that has been undertaken, as the majority of the project participants (75%) have been men and women with higher educational background. 17% of respondents graduated from high school while only 8% of them finished their education at post-secondary or vocational level.

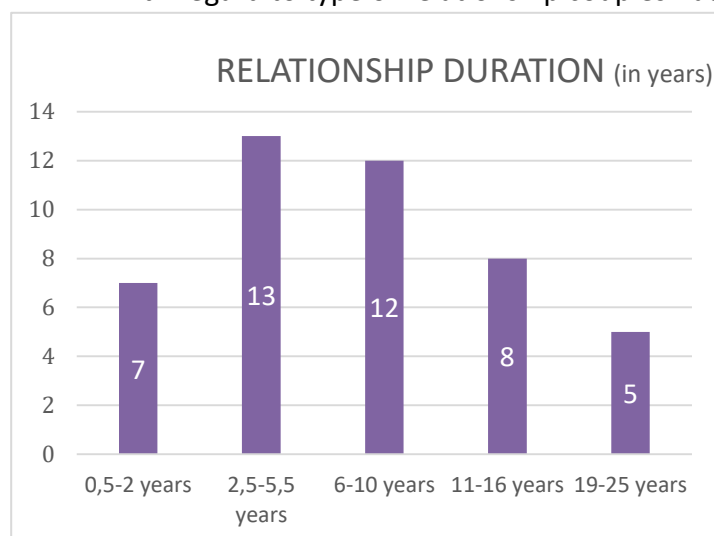


(Concerns 98 participants who were recruited in 2014)

Fig 2. Respondents' age, WP 1

The average age of all respondents was 31,8. The two most numerous age groups were between 21-31 years old and 32-42 years old as depicted by Fig 2. There were only nine respondents whose age fell above those ranges.

With regard to type of relationship couples had, 27 pairs of those who participated in



WP1 stayed in informal relationships, while 15 of them were married. Relationship duration did not exceed two years only in case of seven pairs, while five couples participating in the survey have been together for 19 years or even longer (maximum 25 years). Thirteen couples stayed

together between 2,5 up to 5,5 years, twelve couples have been together between 6-10 years and eight couples were in a relationship not more than 16 years.

(Concerns 45 couples, lack of data in case of three couples)

Fig. 3. Relationship duration in years, participants WP1

The other characteristics of Respondents' group:

Children: 30% of our respondents had no child. In the group of Respondents living in Norway there were 5 couples with one child, 9 couples with 2 children, 2 couples with 3 children and 8 couples not having a child at the beginning of the project. During the time of the project 2 couples were expecting the baby for the first time. In the group of Respondents living in Poland there were 10 couples with one child, 3 couples with 2 children, 1 couple with 3 children and 10 couples without children when recruited. During the time of the project 1 couple was expecting their first child and 3 couples were expecting their second child. Migrant couples recruited for the research have lived on average 3,9 years in Norway.

Our research group participating in the project was also very diverse in terms of participants' professional life, see Fig 4 for summary of their professions

11. Division of household duties – practices of everyday life and changes caused by parenthood;
12. Division of parental responsibilities – practices of everyday life and changes caused by parenthood;
13. Parental leaves – the use of existing state policies and solutions along with the practices of sharing the leave between parents.

In 2015 only joint interviews were conducted and they were focused at:

1. Work and Leisure
2. Family issues
3. Relations at workplace
4. Personal and family finances
5. Division of household duties
6. Division of parental responsibilities
7. Parental leaves
8. Preparations before giving birth
9. Medical care for pregnant women in Poland and in Norway
10. Plans for the nearest future

In 2016 there were both joint and individual interviews with joint interviews focused on:

1. Religion – spiritual aspects and everyday life practices
2. The role of the Catholic Institution
3. Hospitality – issues related to everyday practices regarding hospitality
4. Emotions: jealousy, envy, social inequalities
5. Social inequalities in Poland and Norway
6. Evaluation of migration experience
7. And plans for the nearest future
8. Individual interviews were focused on:
9. Intimate life (mutual attractiveness of partners, sex life and fulfillment)
10. Satisfaction with life with regard to:
11. Success
12. Aspirations in life

13. Emotions experienced

14. Rivalry

15. Failures

The interviews were transcribed, translated and analyzed using MAXQDA (Qualitative Data Analysis Software). The analysis was conducted along with research questions and new analytic categories using Quote Matrix of MAXQDA.

Results & main conclusions

Below we present selected highlights from our results.

While studying Polish migrants and analysing interviews and blogs we came across five important fields of parenting experience issue we decided to have a look at: Giving Birth, Fear of Barnevernet (Children Welfare Service In Norway), Fatherhood, Gender Roles, Leisure and Sport.

Giving Birth - We want a child, but in Norway!

We have observed three types of parental attitudes towards medical service and “the organization” of labour. The first group prefers to give birth in Norway. Female respondents that belong to this group **appreciate more freedom** allowed by the

Norwegian social policies. They emphasize that the labour is considered more natural than in Poland and they feel they are given more choice and are entitled to make their own decisions concerning the labour itself. The **birth is thus de-medicalized** and role of the father is more active in the whole process as they are more engaged in different steps of pregnancy, birth and childcare and they take long leaves (10-14 weeks).

There is more [advantages to give birth in Norway] because of pro-family policy. Back home [in Poland] there is no such a policy. And that's why it looks the way it looks. We are expecting the second child, and we do not have any doubts because of this situation. What we would do? Where we would live? Can we afford a child? Because here [in Norway] there is no such a thing. And here children are not considered to be a cost. People do not think 'can we afford a child?', 'whether our status would diminish?', 'can we afford our child's education?'. When they want to have children, they have them. Of course if they can – Sebastian, 32 years old, father of one, 2 years in Norway.

*In Poland you have to pay for everything, like anaesthesia for example. And here [in Norway] family birth is common and recommended. The delivery ward is different, more like a hotel, because rooms are like our living room. There is a corner bath in every room. There are things like TV set. After the child is born (if it was natural), a woman is not in „hospital room”, she is in hotel-room, close to hospital, where there is father as well. **And he can stay for the night/s** – Marta, 32 years old, mother of one, 2 years in Norway.*

*When you were in hospital, while giving birth, lots of parents were sitting there, practically **non-stop**. I was there too. Everything is well-organized in the hospital. There is food there. It is not like in the Polish hospital. A person feels at home there. Because of food, because it was clean, because of the organization. All fathers were sitting there **non-stop** – Tomek, 34 years old, father of one, 3 years in Norway.*

For the second group of Polish parents giving birth in Norway can come across as a **cultural shock**. They prefer to come back to Polish scheme and follow the path of pregnancy and labour they are familiar with. They are afraid of different attitudes towards pregnant woman and they choose medicalization of labor that is characteristic for Polish health care system.

*Probably you are aware that there are not so many pre-natal check-ups as there are in Poland? When a child is born here [in Norway] it is kind of surprise. That is why we went **to Poland** to do 3D-ultrasound or even 4D – to see the baby’s movements. There was no possibility to do it here – Magda, 33 years old, mother of one, 3 years in Norway.*

And the third group of parents keeps on following two schemes simultaneously – e.g. by having Norwegian gynaecologist and Polish gynaecologist as a **backup** and flying back home for an extra ultrasound (Gajewska & Żadkowska, 2016).

Fear of Barnevernet – Are our children safe in Norway?

One of the themes visible in the narratives of Polish migrants in Norway is the issue of Barnevernet (The Child Welfare Service of Norway). Even Polish mass media in various publications take a negative stance towards that institution and warn Poles of the potential threats of bringing up their children in Norway.

Why Poles look at Barnevernet in a fearful and negative way? Inspired by the migrants’ stories about Barnevernet, we decided to look for the source of this fear. One of the reasons for the existing attitude towards Barnevernet is lack of sufficient knowledge about its policies and procedures. The main source of information about it referred to by our Respondents are Polish media narratives that take form of sensational descriptions of stories of children who were deprived of parental care and love because of Barnevernet actions –

see Nicola's case¹ as one of such examples. Apart from non-sufficient knowledge another reason for the "fear of Barnevernet" are cross-cultural differences between Polish and Norwegian cultures visible e.g. in the family values and parenting styles.

There exist many different strategies of confronting the fear of Barnevernet, observable on migrants' internet forums. Some of our respondents take effort to search for information on Barnevernet by themselves even before arrival, others take part in meetings organized by Barnevernet and embrace Norwegian point of view and parental attitudes, and some "avoid the danger" and decide to either stay in Poland or travel to Norway to work without taking children along (Gajewska et al. 2016a).

It is because it is very hard to raise children because... well in Poland I could just smack, well, I made no harm to this kid when spanking him, but he knew that what he did was wrong. But here God forbid to hit a child ... Barnevernet will come at once and take the kid away. In this regard that it is hard here, especially for foreigners, when little children go to kindergarten, you really have to be on your guard even among friends, whom you let into your house. A kid may even blurt something out at school or at pre-school. And then you have police coming out of the blue... – Jagoda, 50 years old, mother of two, 4 years in Norway.

But there is a different mentality here, too. I see Norwegians bring up their children differently and I think Polish mentality allows you to love children more but you also can hate them more. We are more emotional, we hug children more often, and we kiss and love them more than life, if everything is ok. But in some situations your hand is just itching to spank your kid, when he is naughty. Norwegians are more indifferent and less emotional – Adrian, 30 years old, father of one, 1,5 years in Norway.

As our Respondents confirm many Polish families migrating to Norway might benefit from programmes, which can help them, recognize cultural differences between Poland and Norway and moderate their parental practises accordingly. Taking part in such workshops might help them understand what is considered to be an act against child's well-being in Norway and confront Polish parental style with Norwegian parental style. Increasing Polish migrants awareness about Polish-Norwegian cross-cultural differences and goals and procedures Barnevernet follows might help both Polish parents and their children living in Norway adjust to new life conditions more effectively² (Gajewska et al., 2016a).

¹ Nicola's case – in 2011 Polish private detective helped Polish parents (migrants in Norway) to kidnap their daughter from foster family, where she was placed following Barnevernet decision. The story became a headline in both Polish and Norwegian media. It seems to be very well known among Polish migrants

² One of our project outputs is a manual for couples to manage work-life-balance. In chapter 5 we also include important information about the cross-cultural differences between Poland and Norway and we explain the role of Barnevernet in

Fatherhood – Wikings Changing Diapers? I Do Not Know If They Did But I Do!

In Norway, the welfare state has become a central institutional actor in forming parenthood practises by introducing state incentives for paternal care such as the father quota (Brandth & Kvande, 2012). The father quota is specific period of time reserved only for fathers. “Take it or lose it” the state “says” to male parents. As many studies show this definitely helped in the process of de-gendering of parenting practises, making it more gender-neutral. As a result fathers in Norway are more involved and engaged in child care when compared with fathers in other European countries (Doucet, 2006; Duvander, & Jans, 2008; O’Brien & Moss 2010; Rush, 2015; Ranson, 2015).

Our participants, Polish fathers in Norway, do claim they experience changes in their family life. They work less because of work-life-balance practises present in Norway. They work less and earn more comparing to what they earned in Poland. As a result, they have free time to take care of their children and Polish fathers in Norway consider this to be a significant and valuable gain achieved by decision to migrate to Norway (Żadkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka, & Ryndyk, 2016).

All in all, our results show that migration from Poland to Norway leads to emotionally beneficial care arrangements for young parents. Of course this shift to affectionate, engaged fathering is one of ‘the possibilities on the continuum of male attitudes towards parenting’. Polish fathers, similarly to Norwegian fathers (and contrary to Polish fathers in Poland), are prepared to stay home alone with a new-born child and taking full parental leave. This might be considered as one of the manifestations of social change within fatherhood practices among Polish migrants. However the analysis of narratives from Norwegian fathers indicates that their decisions to stay with the kid and taking full use of parental leave are based on a deeper understanding of the long-term benefits (such as stronger bond with the kid) they can have if they consciously decide to be involved fathers, which is not yet the case of Polish fathers in Norway. Social-democratic fatherhood policies such as ‘father quota’ are a main facilitator of this change.

social life of Norway, see: <http://migrationnavigator.org/ftp/Couplesnavigator.pdf> (Kosakowska-Berezecka, Żadkowska, Gajewska, Wroczyńska, & Znaniecka, 2016)

I think my parental leave lasted 2.5 months, and I believe it was very good. It is nice about Norway that, as a father, I was with children only by myself. I did everything. I just had to. I was changing diapers, I was feeding them, putting them to bed. Everything had to be done, step by step. I really liked it. I do not regret it. It made me got used to it. A MAN got used to it. I had developed a system, tick, tack. When she or he [the babies] were sleeping, I had some free time, and it was great. I regret there is not such a solution in Poland. ... Well, there are, only 2 weeks, as far as I know—it is nothing. Here, we have 3 months off work to take care of the child - Paweł, 36 years old, father of two, 6 years in Norway.

We shared our parental leave. First, I took 8 weeks. Then, he took 6, and I came back to work. There was an important project waiting for me there - Magda 33 years old, mother of one, 3 years in Norway.

Yes, I stayed at home. Did not sleep through 1 night. Sometimes we fell asleep only in the morning - Tomek 34 years old, father of one, 3 years in Norway.

And then he came back to work. In the spring, he had a busy season at work. And then again, 6 weeks for me at home and 6 weeks for him. Our employers took an active part in planning our parental leave - Magda, 33 years old, mother of one, 3 years in Norway.

It is nice about Norway that as a father I was with children only by myself, I did everything, I just had to: I was changing diapers, feeding the baby, putting babies to bed, everything had to be done, step by step. I really liked it. I do not regret it. It made me got used to it. A man got used to do it. I had developed a system, tick, tack. When she or he [the babies] were sleeping I had some free time and it was great. I regret there is no such a solution in Poland... well, there is, only two weeks as far as I know – it is nothing. Here we have three months off work to take care of the child - Paweł, 36 years old, father of two, 6 years in Norway.

Gender Roles – I Vacuum Clean Because I Can

The process of de-genderization of domestic practices is also present in stories about new life of Polish migrants in Norway. In other words, the division into – “*this is men’s duty vs this is women’s duty*” are not so visible in everyday life of a couple. The longer they stay in Norway, the more they get used to cultural cues that manifest gender equality and both genders presence in areas stereotypically associated with opposite gender (such as women driving a big truck or male kindergarten care-giver). This change is specifically visible among Polish men and women, who are in a dual-career type of relationship, have higher education degree and have high social status both in the host country. These factors seem to constitute a form of cultural capital enabling family roles to become more egalitarian. We call this **egalitarian capital** (Żadkowska & Szlendak 2016; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. 2016g), which couples use and develop while in Norway, country that is more gender egalitarian than Poland (Buhlmann et al., 2010).

The difference between Polish couples in Poland and Polish couples in Norway is especially observed in the number of duties that men perform and in how the tasks are contextualized. Polish men and women in Norway simply describe what they do, they avoid the context of gender differences in the description, whereas Polish couples in Poland describe their household practices along lines of gender stereotypes (Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. 2016f).

The process of de-genderization of domestic practices and labour activities and professions is present in Polish stories about their new life in Norway. The respondents at first describe it as a part of cultural shock after migration. However the longer they stay in Norway, the more they get used to cultural cues (father as a cook in TV commercial) promoting gender equality in Norway and as a result they themselves de-gender their practices (share duties according to capabilities, likes/dislikes and time that are not necessarily based on gender stereotypical roles).

There is no rule here, I start to vacuum – I vacuum, my wife starts, she does it – Marcin, 36 years old, father of two, 10 years in Norway.

There are things Darek does better than me... and some I do better than he does... For example Darek cleans windows more effectively and I cook fish sticks better – Agnieszka, 32 years old, mother of 3 children, 1,6 years in Norway.

Male partners undertake childcare duties, along with shopping, cleaning, cooking, washing dishes more willingly than Polish men in Poland. The difference between Polish couples in Poland and in Norway is not only observed in the number of duties that men perform do but how the tasks are contextualized. When asked about their household duties, Polish men and women in Norway simply describe what they do, whereas Polish couples in Poland elicit their duties along the lines of gender obligations congruent with overall social expectations (Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. 2016b and 2016c; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016f; Żadkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka, & Ryndyk, 2016; Żadkowska & Szlendak, 2016).

Leisure & Sport - I Use Mirrors at the Gym To Check Exercise And Not My Looks

Having life more balanced, and having more time for leisure, some Polish migrants in Norway do practice sport a lot (Herzberg, Kossakowski, & Żadkowska, 2016). All Respondents living in Norway admit that sport is omnipresent in Norway: everyone does it regardless of their age and season of the year. In their accounts, Norway appears as a country where nearly everyone does jogging or cycling. Respondents notice that Norwegians treat sport almost as a “religion”:

For sure, all this skiing, at least cross-country skiing, is just a religion in this country - Iwona, 35 years old, 7.7 years in Norway.

[They all do] cycling and jogging; they are very much involved in sports, all year round. Everybody does skiing in winter; they take trips to the mountains; and it's also in line with a kind of Norwegian lifestyle, these mountain hikes, longer or shorter. There are plenty of people where I work, middle aged or even elderly ladies, and they have to go on a trip every week, they can't spend their weekend without going somewhere for a walk, even if it's only on the beach or somewhere nearby, but this outdoor recreation is a must - Maria, 29 years old, 3.5 years in Norway.

The sheer presence of people doing sports in public space, parks, housing estates, mountain' areas and at work makes them feel 'encouraged' to do sport. It seems everybody does sports every day, regardless of their age and the weather.

For example, at our workplace we have an opportunity to exercise in the middle of a day. I think you can use the gym for half an hour every day. People do jogging, they don't make a problem out of it here - Piotr, 35 years old, 7.7 years in Norway.

It is worth emphasizing that the 'network' patterns motivating people to do sport has a deeper meaning embedded in the socialising policy in Norway. Sport is a tool used to bring up children, hence there is a great importance attached to sport in various socialising agendas: on the one hand, in the organisational and formal aspect (schools), on the other – in the family sphere.

The absence of feeling of exclusion from the group of sportspersons also results in the omnipresence of sport. You do not have to be in ideal shape to show up in the gym as no one feels judged. It seems that Respondent and their decisions whether to undertake sports activity are not constrained by shame and fear of judgmental attitudes. On the other hand, women in Poland confess to such constraints. This difference can indicate the acquisition of

new cultural patterns, which do not require women to look ‘attractive’ at all costs as much as in Poland.

The main difference in Poland is that women are often ashamed to go to the gym because they are quite fat and everybody would see that, and here you can go to the gym and a bunch of ‘walruses’ would do their workout and there is no problem. I don’t look at them, they exercise, and they do what they want - Marcin, 26 years old, 5.5 years in Norway.

Our Respondents also appreciate the role of the natural environment in shaping the habit of sports lifestyle. In addition to the accessibility of infrastructure, incentives from employers, and sport as a ‘national good,’ there is also the “extraordinary charm” of Norwegian nature according to our Respondents.

And it’s probably because of the wages. Back in Poland I always thought I would buy a ticket to a gym, but I always said it wasn’t the time yet, there were more important expenses. And here it just doesn’t matter so much, somehow - Renia, 38 years old, 2 years in Norway.

They realise that doing sport is an important element of everyday routine in Norway, where sport belongs not only to leisure time, but is also included in educational strategies and work environment. Migrants experience the presence of sport, they feel that doing sports is not only physical activity, but also constitutes a relevant element of participation in the culture of the host country. To a considerable extent, doing sport ‘the Norwegian way’ means participating in the Norwegian culture. This can be identified as a cultural change, considering that the migrants arrived from the country where sports activity is not part of national identity and culture, but tends to be associated with middle-class life style of the well-educated population from large urban centres (Herzberg, Kossakowski, & Żadkowska (2016)

What was most evident was a kind of lifestyle change. I started to sleep normal hours, work normal hours and suddenly, when I was still on my own, it turned out I had lots of spare time. It gets dark here only at 11 or 12 p.m. in summer, so I used that time as much as I could: I could go fishing, it was great there, I did rock climbing; it was great - Tomek, 33 years old, 3 years in Norway.

Recommendations for further work and research

One of WP1 output is workshop method described in Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. 2016b and 2016c. The method has been tested on 20 couples took and evaluated. It is based empathetic and non-violent communication. It guides a couple through the themes of:

mindfulness, negotiations, gender stereotypes, sex life and migration. It does not offer ready-made solutions to happiness, but instead offers a wide range of ways in which Readers themselves can work on their relationships to make them healthier and more satisfying. Empirical data gathered on the basis of in-depth interviews with couples who contributed to the project, including the trainers themselves who tested it helped us transform scientific results into practise. Our goal was to assist couples in their struggle to achieve work-life balance.

In terms of our future research plans we aim to repeat a part of study among the same group of migrants and non-migrants in 5-years long distance. It would be also useful to repeat a part of study among similar group of Polish migrants in one conservative and one neo-liberal state (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Korpi, 2000; Buhlman, 2010; Thévenon, 2011) in order to observe the change within family life organizations in different cultural contexts.

We also recommend testing our workshop method in different target groups, including mixed couples, Norwegian couples and homosexual couples.



WP 2 Acculturation - Quantitative Scheme Research

WP1 shed light on **family life and gender roles within couples** (Polish migrant couples in Norway, Norwegian couples and Polish couples in Poland) , whereas **the objectives** of WP2 were aimed at delivering the framework for understanding **mechanisms underlying smooth acculturation processes of migrants from less egalitarian society (Poland) to a more egalitarian society (Norway)**. We explored the mechanisms of change in these attitudes, which highly differentiate Polish and Norwegian societies and lead to problems during acculturation process: **gender equality, gender roles, work-life balance, cultural identity and self, parenting styles and honor-dignity cultures values**. These questions are important, as studies on acculturation reveal that migration involves a wide array of stressful challenges that have a negative impact on migrant social functioning. As a result, the experience of migration increases the potential conflicts within families and difficulties on the job market, and may contribute to a greater cultural shock. The separation from social networks in home-country makes migrants' life harder which further undermines their ability to tackle with problems arising during migration.

Method

In data collection we employed the longitudinal online research platform, as well as a paper-pencil method. The list of scales used in the study covers the issues of: acculturation, social trust, values, diversity at work, work-life conflict as well as life-work conflict, willingness to share household duties, household task division, the process of couple's decision making, support received from the spouse, various fields of life satisfaction, agency, communion, homophobia, sexism, and intentions of involvement of collective actions gender egalitarianism.

Participants

Over 1100 participants both in Poland and in Norway: 615 Polish individuals in Poland including over 60 couples, 396 Polish individuals in Norway including 120 couples, and 120 Norwegian individuals in Norway i.e., 60 couples. Data collection started in 2014 and although the main wave of data collection ended soon after, the process is still in progress and the new participants may still join the study.

Materials & Procedure

A complete set of scales counted 201 questions in the longest version delivered to Poles in Norway, and 172 in the shortest one delivered to Norwegians in Norway. These two sets differed because Polish migrants answered to the questions that were designed only for migrants (about acculturation processes). Participants were recruited both on-line and in-person (paper-pencil method) by the research assistants in Poland and Norway.

Results & main conclusions

1. Polish migrants in Norway **benefit from the welfare state's economy** by obtaining higher income and better housing conditions, although they are unable to reach the same well-being level as Norwegians.
2. In migrant couples, women pay more psychological costs than men (they are less satisfied with their life; their work-life conflict is more intensive). **The traditional division of gender roles makes women more exposed to negative effects of tensions appearing during migration.**
3. Although organizations do efficiently minimize the work-life conflict of their native Norwegian workers, Polish migrants benefit from these efforts less. There is a couple of possible explanations, out of which, the lack of information about the **organizational support system among Polish migrants turns out to be the most important.**
4. Internal locus of self-worth (typical for Norwegians) turned out to be a significant private life satisfaction predictor and smooth acculturation predictor, among Polish migrants in Norway. Internal locus of self-worth (occurring mostly in Northern states of the USA, Canada and North-Western Europe) means, that self-worth is inalienable and valued internally. That means it bases on the individual's accomplishments, decisions, and values. In the dignity cultures nobody can deprive individuals of their worth, since its locus is deep inside the person. On the contrary, in the honor cultures (like Poland) one's worth bases on both internal and external quality. Honor can be taken away if a person breaks rules of social conduct.

Different acculturation strategies influence migrants' private life and work satisfaction: We found a surprising result that for the satisfaction with private life (measured with items

diagnosing satisfaction with health, family life, sexual life and life in general), a marginalization acculturation strategy may, in some cases, be more adaptive than assimilation acculturation strategy (i.e., for some people, focusing on the relationship with one's partner, maintaining close rapports with family and friends in Poland, and rejecting contacts with Norwegians actually made it easier to get satisfied in Norway than giving up Polish identity in line with adjusting to Norwegian roles and cultural scripts). We assume that focusing on the relationship with one's partner, maintaining close rapports with family and friends in Poland, and rejecting any contacts with Norwegians actually make it, paradoxically, easier to fit in the Norwegian society, than when an individual rejected Polish heritage and tried to assimilate to Norwegian customs. But the most efficient method of acculturation, as predicted, turned out to be the integration, which is based on maintaining Polish customs in line with learning and practicing the Norwegian ones.

Recommendations

1. As migrants may have poorer access to the established support systems than Norwegians (likely due to lack of information), Norwegian organizations should thus pay more attention to the incorporation of migrants in their support systems.
2. Polish migrant men could offer more support to their female-partners in order to lessen the burden they carry during the migration – and the social aid programs should address both men and women with this message.
3. Polish migrants should search for more information about systemic support available to them in the host Norwegian country.
4. One of the key factors for smooth acculturation has been identified in the internal locus of self-worth (which is typical for Norwegian dignity culture and remains in contrast to Polish honor culture). Acculturation programs may need to pay more attention to explaining the internal (vs external) locus of self-worth, and further studies could investigate broadly that phenomena.
5. The assimilation acculturation strategy turned out not to be the most efficient one, thus, the meaning of keeping contact with home culture, along with entertaining the host culture (the integration strategy) shall be stressed in all support programs aimed at Polish migrants.

WP 3 Culture, self, gender equality and WLB – experimental studies.

Objectives

WP2 focused on acculturation process from less gender egalitarian to more gender egalitarian country, whereas WP3 team conducted 13 experiments that allowed us to analyze the relationship between the way women and men define themselves and their 1) perception of gender relations and 2) attitudes towards gender relations and practices maintained within household. So in this WP3 we focus on women's and men's identities and perception of other women and men, who behave congruent with or contrary to gender stereotypes.

Method

In WP3 we use experiments, which, with careful design, allow us to observe whether and how certain factors influences people's behavior and attitudes in controllable conditions. When describing our results beneath we will be also shedding **more light onto examples of various interesting experiments we have conducted.**

Participants

Our experimental studies were conducted among four groups of individual participants living in a different cultural settings: (1) Norwegians in Norway – gender egalitarian culture, 2) Polish in Poland – less gender egalitarian culture, 3) Polish migrants in Norway (group potentially acculturating into host culture, and 4) Polish re-entering Polish culture after migration. In our studies we compared attitudes of men and women living in two countries visibly differing with regard to gender equality levels, with Norway considered model gender egalitarian country, definitely more gender egalitarian than Poland (Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI), 2015). Additionally we compared Polish couples living in these two countries, as this allows us to compare practises of couples of similar cultural background, yet living in a social system differing with its approach to gender equality (Żadkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka & Ryndyk, 2016). The results presented below are based on data collected among over 1300 participants in both Poland and Norway.

Methods, results & conclusions

Below we present interesting highlights from our literature review and we relate it to our conclusions inferred from experimental studies.

What have men got to do with it?

Women's increased participation in labour market has not resulted in equal distribution of household chores between men and women (Öun, 2012; Lammi-Taskula, 2008; Voicu, Voicu, & Strapcova, 2009). Although there is a noticeable convergence in the amount of time spent by both partners on household chores, inequalities in paid-to-unpaid-work ratio constantly remain favourable for men, who use significantly more time for professional work than for household maintenance (Bonke & Jensen, 2012). Hence, **men are not that visible in the house** – this is the result of gender prescriptions for men to pursue their professional career and for women to be more focused on house and family (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012; Wood & Eagly, 2012).

Though for some theorists gender equality may be associated with loss in men's status and power (by sharing housework and becoming more "domestic" men may risk their professional careers, cf. Rudman & Mescher, 2013), an analysis by Holter (2014) seems to show the opposite. Using a database comprising of a sample of European countries and the United States he examined gender equality variables and their potential health effects and showed that gender equality brings more positive effects for men than expected and that men's importance to gender equality has been overlooked. The results indicate that living in gender equal region of the world increases the chance of feeling happy and decreases the chance of being depressed (regardless of men's income or class).

Holter's data analysis (2014) also prove that **men's involvement in unpaid work in the home is strongly related to gender equality** – it is almost three times larger in the gender-equal countries, compared to the gender-unequal countries.

Why men think they will lose from gender equality?

Basing ourselves on the literature review and our results listed below we propose a model explaining why men are so little involved in household maintenance across cultures. The extent to which division of labour between women and men is perpetuated depends on the level of gender equality in a given country. Across societies, the division of labour

between women and men is maintained through gender role beliefs that justify and normalize this division. These beliefs concerning masculinity and femininity are built along following fixed and interrelated lines expressing gendered associations: agency-career-men and communality-family-women (Wood & Eagly, 2012). Research shows that gender stereotypes are weaker in societies with higher levels of gender equality, where women and men are allowed to perform similar roles in society (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Wood & Eagly, 2012). However if men live in the environment where gender stereotypes are vivid then they follow their gender congruent path. In order to meet the agency standards to be manly enough, men have to avoid feminine tasks for several reasons: 1) economically, being involved in feminine and domestic world doesn't allow to pay duties of masculine gender role which is to be the breadwinner of the family; 2) interpersonally, being a communal man can be seen more negatively by others (backlash effect, Rudman et al., 2012) , and as a result 3) high agency standards set for men can make them sensitive to masculine threat (Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Caswell et al., 2014; Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015; Kosakowska-Berezecka, Besta, Adamska, Jaśkiewicz, Jurek, & Vandello, 2016a). Hence if men perform feminine tasks (e.g. household duties) they may come across as not manly enough. As a result, in order to restore their manhood, they restrain from domestic duties, manifest unhealthy behaviour and this in turn sustains the inequality of the system and thus unequal gendered division of household tasks is perpetuated and they don't benefit from being more involved in household maintenance (see fig 4. for the summary of the model).

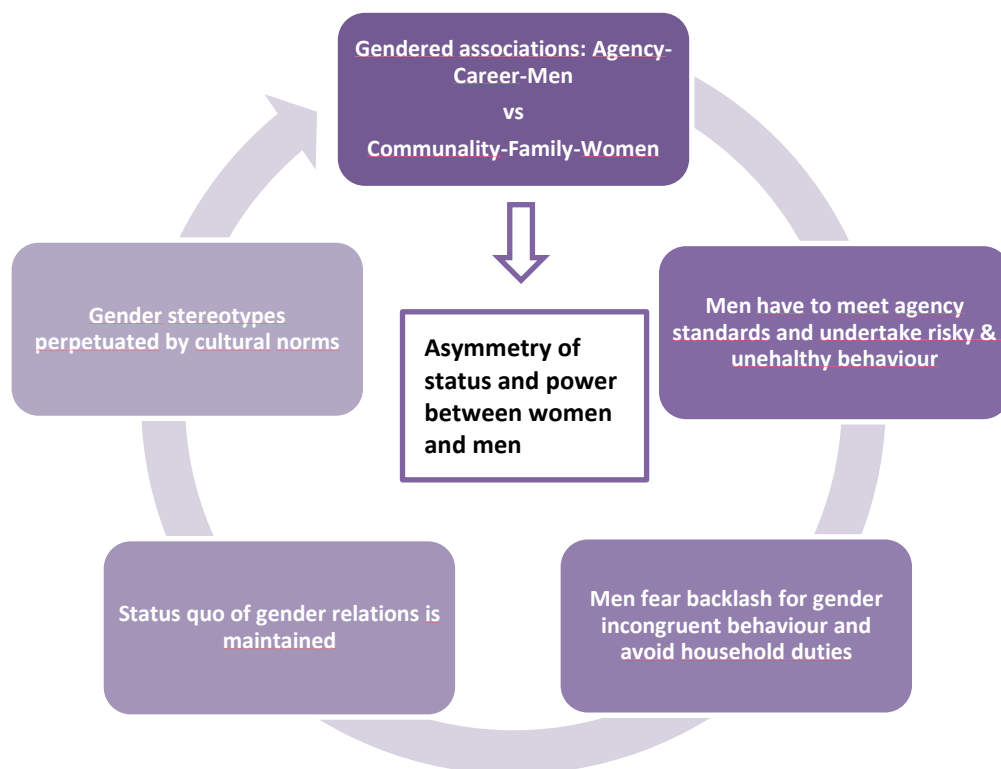


Fig 4. Model explaining men's low involvement in household maintenance. (Kosakowska-Berezecka, Kaczorowska, & Korzeniewska, 2016b)

One of the ways to bring gender equality into housework is cooperation between partners!

In one of our experimental studies entitled: *De-gender them! Gendered division of household labour and men's willingness to share it – cross-cultural comparison of Polish and Norwegian male students* (Kosakowska-Berezecka, Jurek, Besta, Korzeniewska, & Seibt, 2016 f, *under review*), we have showed that the extent to which housework is perceived in gendered depends on culture. In our study (N = 226) we wanted to compare perception of typicality of domestic duties for women and men in Poland and in Norway. Our results show that activities which are generally considered to be typically feminine domestic duties are seen as less feminine in Norway, a more gender egalitarian country than Poland, whereas duties typically performed by men (such as washing the car or small household repairs) are seen as more feminine in Norway than in Poland – this is shown in fig 5 below.

How feminine are the following activities?

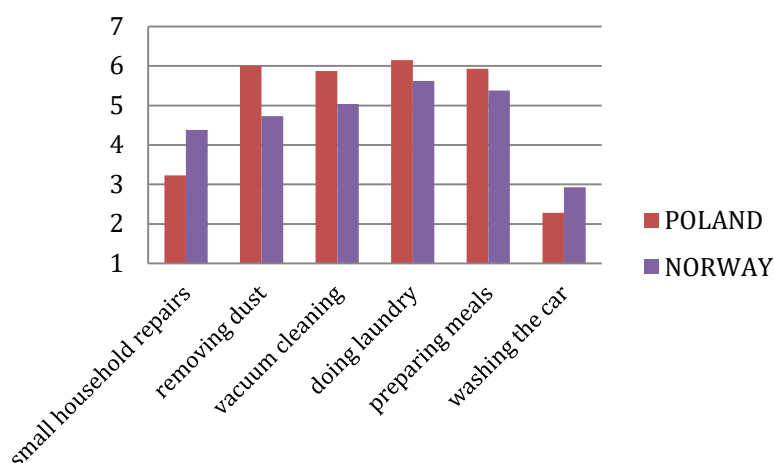


Fig 5 Perception of household duties in Poland and Norway, Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. (2016).

In our another study (N = 333) we wanted to verify whether there are Polish-Norwegian differences with regard to willingness to be more involved in fulfilment of household obligations. Overall Norwegian men and women were more willing to perform household tasks. This result also found confirmation in results obtained with larger

Representative samples where we analysed data from the fifth wave of the European Social Survey (2010) concerning men's and women's perception of their and their partners contribution to housework. The our studies suggest that both Norwegian men and women are more willing to engage in both female and male-typed household duties, regardless of the type of activity (female or male-typed activity) – hence their division of housework is more cooperative and egalitarian than among women and men in Poland.

Housework, parenting and being afraid of losing one's masculinity

Domestic division of duties depicts cultural understandings of masculinity and femininity that are built along gender prescriptions and proscriptions by which activities performed by women and men may be limited to gender congruent ones (Heilman et al., 2004; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016e i 2016f; Rudman et al., 2012). Hence if men do get involved more in domestic work they may be socially punished for breaking the rules of gender proscriptions (backlash effects, Rudman et al., 2012). Backlash emerges when atypical people are judged more negatively, for example on the dimensions of employability

or warmth, than identically behaving members of the other gender (Moss-Racusin, Phelan & Rudman, 2010). In short, both women and men risk backlash when they cross boundaries of appropriate agentic (for males) and communal (for females) behaviour (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010). Stay-at-home, devoted to their family men are suffering from backlash in the form of social penalties for performing counter-stereotypical male roles (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson & Siddiqi (2013) have also showed that men seeking work-life balance may be particularly stigmatized in the eyes of others as they are seen as less masculine and more feminine.

Hence men take risk of losing social status when they undertake communal duties, including household maintenance. One of our lines of experiments have showed that threats to masculinity can trigger compensatory mechanisms such as risk-taking, aggression, or disparagement of gender atypical others. In our study ($N = 76$) we tested whether threat to men's agentic self (information about the level of testosterone) influences men's (a) attitudes toward parental duties, and (b) their support for gender equality. Polish men (but not women) whose gender identity was threatened manifested more traditional attitudes toward parental duties, were more willing to endorse stereotypical gender roles, and showed less support for gender equality and less willingness to support collective egalitarian actions – namely they declared less willingly that that they would take part in demonstrations fighting for gender equality. In this study gender identity threat was induced by feedback concerning men's level of testosterone (our participants received false feedback regarding their own testosterone levels (low or high). We used a short text inspired by results showing evidence of a relationship between 2D:4D ratio and testosterone level (see, e.g., Millet & Dewitte, 2009). After answering questions related to the cover story, participants were asked to measure the length of their index and ring fingers (2D:4D ratio) to measure how much testosterone they have.

They were either assigned to low vs high-testosterone level. We wanted to verify if this information about the level of their testosterone had an effect on men's attitudes toward parental roles and willingness to engage in collective actions promoting gender equality. Men assigned to the “low testosterone—you are feminine” condition showed less support for non-traditional parental roles and lower support for actions fighting gender

inequalities than did men in the “high testosterone—you are masculine” condition. This effect was not visible with regard to men’s declared willingness to engage in childcare. Perhaps involvement in childcare might be considered as an element of fatherhood and, as such, is embedded within the notion of manhood. In our men who found out their testosterone levels was high felt ok to express an egalitarian opinion about parental roles and declare willingness to support gender equality. Contrary to men who thought of themselves as not masculine - this led them to refrain from manifesting such attitudes, in order to regain their sense of manhood. This suggests that resistance to increasing men’s participation in domestic responsibilities might be greatest among men that are the least secure in their masculine standing. It also suggests that one route to increasing men’s participation in traditionally female-stereotype roles will be to reassure men of their manliness despite changing role expectations (for more details on this study see: Kosakowska-Berezecka, et al., 2016abcd).

When and where men involved in housework are appreciated?

As shown in previous studies when a man decides to take a parental leave and become “stay-at home dad”, focused on family and children, he may risk penalization of stereotype-disconfirming behaviors (backlash, Rudman et al, 2012). However the degree at which men are allowed to violate gender norms varies from country to country. Another study realized within WP3 sought to analyse cross-country differences in perception of men in communal roles. The study has been carried out in Canada, Norway, Poland, and India that differ with regard to gender equality levels which might relate to the degree at which it is socially accepted for men to shift from typical gender roles and be more focused on domestic duties. Canadian (N=120), Norwegian (N=97), Polish (N=103), and Indian (N=109) students were asked to evaluate warmth and competence of men and women in domestic roles. The obtained results indicate that the four countries differed with regard to degree at which men are allowed to focus on typically feminine activities and resign from their professional career (Kosakowska-Berezecka et al, 2016e). Our findings demonstrated that men in domestic roles are not seen as competent and likable as women only in Poland and are not as likable in India. In these countries, performing domestic roles is more tailored to women than men, whereas men’s main responsibility is to be the primary provider, which

constitutes a core element of masculinity in most cultures (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). **Therefore, if men are almost exclusively family-oriented, they are viewed not as manly as should be. Losing their agency and competence in the eyes of others, in an individualistic Western context,** might be a strong deterrent for men, preventing them from being more involved at home, as doing feminine tasks deprives them of their masculinity (Vandello & Bosson, 2013).

The perception of men who shift from gender stereotypes also depends on contextual factors – in another series of studies entitled: *Which is Better in Fat Times and in Lean Times: the Macho Man vs. the Nice Guy? Priming Effects on Polish and Norwegian Students' Mate Preferences* (Kosakowska-Berezecka & Besta, 2016i, under review), we have showed that gender stereotypes serve as psychological tools that justify and maintain social inequality and reinforce the widely recognized status quo. Agency and anti-femininity are two widely prescribed qualities for men across cultures, leading them to refrain from engaging in household duties and parental roles (also referred to as communal roles). In our study, Polish (N=106) and Norwegian (N=77) female students were first presented with information which either a) threatened the stability of their country or b) highlighted the prosperity of their country. The participants were then asked to rate their romantic interest in the dating profiles of typical macho men and soft men. Polish women who were provided with system-prosperity information found communal men to be more attractive than agentic men. This effect was not observed in the Norwegian sample; however, when provided with system-threat information, Norwegian students preferred macho men over soft men. So they preferred more stereotypical men when they read information that their country is threatened.

An effect of system-threat was visible only in the Norwegian sample as a priming threat to the socioeconomic system led women to show greater romantic interest in agentic, stereotypical men than soft, communal men. Priming prosperity had no effect on romantic interest in agentic and communal men in the Norwegian sample, likely because this condition was the default system in which Norwegian participants lived. For example, Norway has one of the highest scores on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Better Life Index (2014). Polish citizens exhibit lower levels of social

and political trust, feel less secure economically than Norwegians (EES, 2014), and have lower scores on the OECD Better Life Index (2014). Therefore, threats to the system do not have effects because they might be experienced as the regular state of Poland. System-threat, however, is not default state for Norway, which is considered to have high national prosperity and welfare.

Signals of change?

If the culture individuals live in emphasizes gender differences via gendered role division hence both men and women will describe themselves through the lenses of gender stereotypes following societal expectations of women being communal and men being agentic (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Moss-Racusin, Phelan & Rudman, 2010). This was confirmed in our another study in which 131 participants in Poland read a scientific text either (a) emphasizing the existence of stereotypical gender differences in terms of agency and communality, or (b) claiming that there are no such differences. Results indicated that in the “no differences” condition, men (but not women) showed lower acceptance of gender inequality and a greater willingness to engage in domestic activities. This effect was mediated by participants’ self-perceived agency. In our studies, providing men with information concerning a social system that presented men and women as similar did not lead to masculinity threat, but rather made men describe themselves as less agentic (lower self-stereotyping). Additionally, men who were given information showing that men and women are similar were less prone to justify gender inequalities and more willing to engage in parental roles than did men who read text giving evidence that men and women are different.

Following studies by Laurin et al. (2011), we confirmed that exposure to a status quo that highlights gender differences leads men to engage more (as compared to the “no differences condition”) in complementary self-stereotyping, in line with prevailing gender stereotypes (e.g., men are agentic). This, in turn, triggered compensatory mechanisms related to maintaining one’s manhood. Thus changes in agentic self-descriptions could be responsible for the tendency for compensatory actions and cognitions related to precarious manhood, which maintain gender inequality. In this way, we have shown that if in shared reality men and women are considered similar then men might be more willing to be more

involved in childcare and household duties, since this would be no longer perceived as a threat to masculinity.

Recommendations: cooperation!

Polish men in Norway, in comparison to Polish men in Poland, perform more household duties than Norwegian men in Norway and their descriptions of these domestic tasks are less gendered and they are more willing to be involved fathers. They seem to follow gender egalitarian household duties division. As a result compared to career-oriented men, family-oriented men who are involved in family tasks, such as taking care of children, performing household chores and preparing meals, are equally positively regarded by both Norwegian male and female students. This cooperative approach to household duties is definitely fostered by associating less-gendered meaning of domestic labour in Norway and changes in the perception of gender identity. As a result they do more at home (cf. Kosakowska-Berezecka, Jurek, Besta, Korzeniewska, & Seibt, 2016f). These findings show that gender roles are not built along lines of fixed, universal norms that put demands on men and women by given society but are a flexible set of activities, created through interaction and shaped by a given cultural context. Thus, when men believe housework is less feminine, they might see engaging in these activities as lesser threat to their masculinity.

A very important implication for future policies is thus to put more emphasis on men – although majority of gender equality efforts are aimed at women, our synthesis of literature and results of our studies show, that this is men's lack of involvement in household duties that might suppress further steps in attaining gender equality in a family or in the society. Holter's (2014) 'emerging culture of gender equality' might potentially lead to improvement in men's and women's health and well-being – highlighting men's benefits from gender egalitarianism, and gender equality progress achieved thanks to men's involvement is of crucial importance

Hence the ability to avoid gender stereotypes when sharing household should be included in educational programs - an example of such education program can be found in our PAR Migration Navigator manuals for couples and for trainers that work with couples during workshops (Kosakowska-Berezecka et al. 2016b i 2016c). They constitute publications

in which we share results from our Polish-Norwegian project and present knowledge allowing couples for more effective negotiations of division of household duties and parental roles. Participation in the workshop based on this method might lead couples to negotiate who does what at home instead of following implicit assumptions about housework. And then seeing a man cleaning a flat might won't be so unexpected. But first both men and women need to see the profits of men's involvement in household maintenance.

WP 4 Migrant couples re-conceptualizing childhood and parenting

Objectives

WP3 has focused on individuals' gender identity whereas WP4 has focused on women and men as parents. What happens when Polish fathers and mothers are to become fathers and mothers *in Norway*? That is what we wanted to find out in this work package. Do the parents perceive any differences in how Norwegian parents raise their children compared to Polish parents? And have the parents changed the way they raise their children themselves after migrating to Norway?

Method, Participants, Materials & Procedure

In order to familiarize us with the existing research dealing with Polish parenting styles, we conducted a review of relevant literature offering both historical and contemporary perspectives from Poland and abroad. This literature review was published as a research report (Ryndyk & Lund Johannessen, 2015). Further, during 2014-2015 we collected 45 qualitative interviews with 15 Polish families residing in four municipalities in Rogaland county in Norway.

With regards to our informants' age and family composition, all couples were married, the men were aged 30 to 46 years old, the average being 37 years, and the women aged 23 to 45 years old, the average being 34 years. The interviewed families had on average 1.8 children (nine families with two children, five with one child, and one family with three children).

What concerns the families' length of stay in Norway and the way family migration took place, in most cases it was the father who first came to Norway and then the wife and children reunited with him. Five interviewed fathers have lived in Norway for up to three years, six between four and seven years, and four for more than eight years. The mothers' length of stay in Norway typically lagged about two years



Front page of the report „Review of research literature on parenting styles and childrearing practices among Poles. Historical and contemporary perspectives”, SIK report 2015:3

when compared to that of father's. Ten families had at least one child born in Poland or elsewhere when they moved to Norway. In addition, one couple was established in Norway.

Thus, three interviews were collected with each family: one with the father, one with the mother and one with both the father and the mother. This gave us a very rich material and a lot of data from each family to analyze! The interviews were conducted in Polish by Polish speaking researchers and research assistants. They were all fully transcribed and translated into English by a professional translator.

Results & main conclusions

The table under shows that the informants' perceptions of Polish and Norwegian parenting style differ. If we relate these empirical findings to existing theoretical categories the Polish parenting style would be rather *demanding* and *intrusive* and the Norwegian rather *responsive* and *neglecting* (Odden, 2016).

Table 1: Word and expressions used when talking about Norwegian and Polish parenting styles

Polish parenting styles	Norwegian parenting styles
Obedience, punishment, strict rules, shouting	Relaxed/stress-free (<i>bezstresowe</i> in Polish), no rules
Overprotectiveness	Underprotectiveness, independency, responsibility,
Care and affection	Little affection shown
Appearance important	Little attention paid to personal hygiene of children (dirty clothes, hands and hair, running noses)
Respect for the parents/older people	No respect for the parents/older people

Nevertheless, there is a difference in terms of (stereotyped) general perceptions of Polish and Norwegian parenting styles, and actual attitudes behaved among the parents. Some behave, according to these categories, in a rather "Norwegian way" and also did before they came to Norway by using a rather responsive parenting style.

Regarding *changes* perceived by the mothers, many stress that coming to Norway has improved their economic possibilities and many link this to motherhood in the sense that coming to Norway gave them the possibility to become a mother, to feel like a mother and/or give the child a better future.

«[Coming here] *has changed everything. In Poland we could not afford anything, there were financial problems all the time. We lived with my husband's mother in her flat. We did not have hot water and the toilets were outside [...]. We could not imagine having a child in such conditions*» (Polish mother)

« *In Poland I had nothing. We lived poorly. It has been a huge change to move here. It was amazing to move here. Only here did I feel like a mother. Only here I could relax a bit, I felt comfortable, I did not have to worry whether my child would have food to eat or whether I would be able to ensure a good future for her*» (Polish mother)

Economic security is a structural change, linked to Norway's general welfare system, that might have,

"Most importantly, he [my son] can get dirty kids! [...] I am delighted with the nursery system here" (Polish mother on the Norwegian kindergarten)

according to this study and other studies, a positive impact on mothering (e.g. less "running for money" = less stress = better parenting in terms of attitudes and time spent with the child). Other perceived changes are linked to (the appreciation of new) values such as independency and creativeness, often referred to as "typical Norwegian".

Nevertheless, some mothers state explicitly, that they have not changed any of their

"Here, parents, including mothers, follow somehow a rather casual model of upbringing, or you could even call it non-upbringing of children. For example, for me a 3-year old child is still a 3-year old child with a brain at this level and he or she cannot assess danger. Such children here are uncared for, they approach slopes and they jump from them". (Polish mother on the Norwegian parenting style)

values in terms of parenting when coming to Norway (e.g. "My values are the same here as in Poland"). Others express a negative opinion on how Norwegians raise their children. That is to say that there is, among our informants, a certain diversity when it comes to perceptions and attitudes of

Polish and Norwegian parenting. Further, how the mothers are aware of and put into words these perceptions, attitudes and possible changes differ, from a very conscious discourse to a more unconscious one. We find that changing attitudes and practices regarding motherhood are above all to be understood in light of new structural opportunities and personal experiences (Odden, 2016).

Finally, regarding the female informants, we find in our data that many of the Polish women interviewed feel that they have lost some of their feminine identity in Norway,

which they link to the Norwegian “sporty” appearance. Thus, some tell they now wear sport shoes on a daily basis and/or less make up, which they would never imagine doing back in Poland. “Norwegian women are such anti-women” one of the informants tells.

Regarding changes perceived among the Polish fathers, our research has shown that Polish fathers living with their families in Norway seem to have greatly improved their work-life balance and family life by spending more time together (Ryndyk, 2016). Whereas some informants told us that they have not changed as fathers due to migration to Norway, what they told us about their practices suggest the opposite. Thus, many of the interviewed men talk about having now more time for leisure and family, which is a direct outcome of working under different structural settings in Norway. Similar to Polish mothers’ narratives, they say that **their life is now less stressful when compared to when they lived in Poland**. Furthermore, gaining a better chance to provide for their families as a result of migration to Norway seems to have enhanced Polish fathers’ sense of manhood (Ryndyk, 2016).

“But as a typically true man, I have become one only here. Because in Poland I earned minimum as a construction worker. [...] Here I am satisfied... as a man” (a Polish father, mid-30s, father of one, 3 years in

With regards to their parenting styles, Polish fathers’ discourses on the topic resemble those of the mothers. Whereas a part of the fathers seems to be aware of the changes that happened in their way of

raising children in Norway (for example, by spending more time together), others reject a slight clue of a possible change. Despite this might require different explanations, one of them could be fathers’ subjective perception of a threat to their authority and status that a ‘change’ could suggest. It was well evident in the case of one father who due to temporary unemployment “has become a housewife” in his own words, and who still insisted that his parenting style has not changed after migration. Another two issues that seemed to be of a particular concern for Polish fathers was their children sense of national identity and the right to make their own choices with regards to the future occupation or career. The former was most prominent among the fathers of small children and was mainly related to children’s exposure to the Norwegian values in the Norwegian kindergarten or school. **Some fathers say they are afraid their children will become “too” Norwegian**. The other concern applied mostly to fathers of teenage children who were about to make educational choices

and pertained to the dilemma of finding a balance between what they wish for their children as fathers and the children's right to make independent choices.

Recommendations

Our research findings suggest that many Polish families in Norway tend to **have rather limited contact with and, as a result, fragmented knowledge about the Norwegian society as whole.**

For many Polish families, the main sources of information about Norway seem to be Polish internet forums (e.g. <http://www.mojanorwegia.pl/>) or Polish groups on Facebook (e.g. Tablica Ogłoszeń Polonii Norweskiej with about 23,000 members of *Polacy w Norwegii* with some 12,700 members as of July 2016). Such resources can be useful for migrants especially at the initial stage of their migration experience when they lack sufficient Norwegian language skills. However, an extensive usage of such resources, when other sources of information such as Norwegian TV or newspapers are neglected, may lead to a situation where most of the information one receives about Norway is produced by other fellow Poles and is delivered in Polish language. As the Internet forums are open platforms where everyone can contribute, the information channeled through it can often be biased by one's personal experiences or by what one 'has heard' from someone. Therefore, one of the recommendations of this WP to Polish parents in Norway would be **to find different sources of information they receive about the Norwegian society and specific issues of concern, such as Children Welfare Service (Barnevern) and the like.**

WP 5 Encounters between Polish work migrant families and public sector in Norway

Objectives

The objective of this WP has been to study the encounters between migrant families and municipal services in public sector in Norway so it gave all other 4 WPs wider perspective.

The main research questions were:

1. How does public sector meet Polish migrants' needs?
2. How are values of gender equality and work life balance addressed by public sector representatives?
3. How are these values understood and adapted by migrants?

Municipal services cover a wide range of sectors. We focus on the sectors of education and health. We were not interested in each sector per se, but how they might represent variations of practical and ideological assumptions. The encounters may differ according to these assumptions. With this approach we aim to capture factors that lead to variations between encounters in different sectors on the one hand, and general factors on the other hand.

Method, participants and procedure

To answer our research questions, we have chosen a qualitative approach. We have carried out an interview study in three municipalities in the county of Rogaland. The interviews took place between 2014 and 2015.

The researchers established contact with three municipalities, and got a contact person in each who helped with access to informants. We asked the contact person to select informants who together represented a variation amongst key municipal functions, concerning their work with work migrants. Our informants have been employees from the health and care sector (12), employees from schools and kindergartens (11), employers from private sector (9) and we have interviewed Polish couples living in Norway, both together (15) and individually (30).

The informants from the public sector held different positions. Some were leaders, some administrators while some belonged to the professional staff. Some had general jobs

and met work migrants “by coincidence”, while others had tasks related to integration/migrants as part of their general work description.

The Polish informants were recruited by two Polish speaking members of the research team. They used various informal networks to establish contact. All informants were married. The youngest man was 30 years old while the oldest was 46 years old. The women were between 23 to 45 years of age. All had children by the time of the interview. Some of the children were born in Norway, some in Poland and a few in other countries. In most cases the man had come to Norway alone at first, and then later on the wife and child/-ren followed him. Thus the men had stayed longer in Norway than the women. Four of the men had stayed for more than eight years.

Informants answered questions about the following public services.

Health sector	Education sector
Emergency clinics	Kindergarten
Child health clinics	Primary and lower secondary school
Child protective services	Adult education
Youth and leisure	
Social housing	
Economic allowances and benefits (NAV)	

Interviews with the public servants and employers were carried out by Norwegian researchers, while the Polish speaking members of the team carried out the interviews with Polish couples. We followed a themed semi structured interview guide, and the main themes were:

1. Background information about the municipality, service, company or family.
2. Description of the work migrant families
3. Description of the work migrant families need for public services
4. Potential challenges and barriers in encounters between migrants and public servants.
5. How is gender equality communicated?

6. How are expectations to work-life balance communicated?
7. Description of targeted measures in order to provide equitable services
8. Do the municipalities succeed in providing equitable services?
9. Describe differences and similarities between Polish and Norwegian values
10. How do migrants contribute and get included in the local community?

All interviews were taped and transcribed. The initial analysis was carried out inspired by grounded theory. We read the interview texts with an open mind in order to understand experiences of encounters. All researchers read the texts several times, and discussed thoughts and interpretations repeatedly. We analysed the encounters both specifically for each area and by comparison. As the work evolved the analytical approach became more abductive, and we switched between theory and data.

Results & main conclusions

Encounters between Polish migrants' and public services in the county of Rogaland may **create communicative challenges on both sides**. Polish migrants represent their own specific life world as to culture, values, experiences with and trust regarding public sector. Coming to Norway, they are asked to adapt to more or less different services and system as to rules, values, content and organization. Civil servants might not comprehend the migrant perspective. The findings suggest that that our question about how the Norwegian public sector meets Polish migrants' needs, can be understood in terms of user friendliness:

1. **the service's explicit and implicit assumptions, and how accessible these assumptions are;**
2. **the degree of consensus on values and interests, between the services and migrants;**
3. **the work migrants' motivation for skills acquisition to understand and be understood in encounters with the service, whether they involve language, culture or system expertise.**

We find that the different municipal services are user friendly to a varying degree. The municipal **midwife appears as a particularly user-friendly service**, because of mostly explicit expectations from the midwife, a high degree of consensus on values and interests between the midwife and the pregnant woman, and a high motivation for mutual understanding. Schools and kindergartens can be called relatively user friendly, while the GP, municipal

language courses, and financial support can all be described as partial user friendly. The child protective services appear to be the least user friendly service, because of mostly implicit expectations from the service, low reported consensus on values and interests and the work migrants' motivation for mutual understanding is reported to be very low.

Civil servants generally were not eager to talk about gender equality in encounters with Polish families. This reluctance might emerge as the Norwegian way of thinking about and practicing gender equality is considered the norm and is not up for discussion. Gender equality simply is taken for granted. Additionally, gender equality in the family can be understood as a private practice and an inappropriate topic for civil servants. A few such occasions are mentioned during the interviews. In the education sector, gender issues are raised when equal opportunities for the students are an issue. In the health sector, gender equality seems to be mentioned only when a lack of equality threatens health. We find that civil servants address issues of gender equality only when they perceive that the migrants' practices interfere with their professional responsibilities as teachers or healthcare workers. In the interviews employers primarily stress the **Polish work ethic, willingness to work, and a high motivation to work a lot**. This has implications for their work life balance, something the civil servants also express a certain concern about. Another issue which is evident in the interviews is that some of the work migrants have not as good contracts and general working conditions as Norwegians, which influences their possibilities of work life balance and the benefits in the Norwegian welfare system.

Recommendations

In order to improve contact between work migrants and public servants we find the following measures important:

1. Accessible information in Polish or English about the content and procedures of each service, but also information about what the public servant will expect from the migrant.
2. Cultural sensitivity and an understanding of the specific situation of work migrants when defining / developing and offering public services.
3. The possibility for work migrants to access free or low-cost and quality assured tuition in the Norwegian language, culture and society, at flexible hours.

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