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" *We are different* "

- Stories from unaccompanied immigrants in Norway.

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Abstract

Being alone, without parents or responsible legal guardians is what recognizes unaccompanied immigrants, a group of young people and children meeting a new culture on their own. This thesis gives insight in the experiences from seven young men aged 18 – 23 and their arrival in Norway as unaccompanied immigrants. Central themes are the past, what they left behind, and what they met in Norway and the reality today, transnationalism. Their narratives will be discussed in the light of Bourdieu´s theory of practice.

Unaccompanied immigrants are a group that seems to be met by ambiguity from the Norwegian welfare state, and society. Especially for those who happen to have turned 15 years old before arrival, as they are not the responsibility for the child welfare system. This thesis aims to investigating the social, and cultural changes and how unaccompanied immigrants use their agency to be integrated. The institutionalized welfare state leaves the responsibility for integration to the individual supported from the care system in the municipalities.

Unaccompanied immigrants are a complex and heterogeneous group of youth, met by the Norwegian welfare system with the focus of making them independent citizens within a short period of time. Their social capital and habitus have been constructed in a collectivistic culture. Now, being present in Norway raises the question if the social capital is relevant for the new culture and society. Access to social fields is of importance for integration, and increasing ones social capital, in order to benefit from it. This thesis aims to give insight in this cultural transition from country of origin and the new social and cultural reality in "the child friendly welfare state called Norway".

Acknowledgements.

The informant – my *heroes*. **Thank you** for sharing and giving me a glimpse into a totally different side of Norway, also from your experiences before you came here. I am humble and forever grateful and impressed, of your *strengths* and your agency!

My supervisor; Anne Trine Kjørholt, for keeping up my spirit, even when the project seemed impossible – **thank you**! For pushing me forward, and giving me constructive feedback and interesting discussions, I am grateful.

I also wish to recognize my stay at Brunel University, one semester of my master study – the staff inspired me, and gave me new input. I may not have been the mot participating student, however I was quietly absorbing all the information – **thank you**!

My classmates for being my crying shoulder, and cheering me forward!

My family – for letting me give you a cold shoulder and become a terrible teen again, every time one of you mentioned my thesis. **I love you**!
Mum and Dad – a safe spaced childhood with love and enjoyment, which has given me the encouragement in life to go out and explore – travel – see – and treasure encounters with people.
My siblings, Iver, Karen and Johannes – we may always remember all the bickering, but thank you all for all the good times together –just hanging out all of us. Being there for each other. For care, laughter and angriness.
Auntie – for inspiring me to work with people and children!

As one of the informant said;

My wish for the future?
To become a good person.
Respect my surroundings.
Be kind.
Give help.
Do favours.

Trondheim, spring 2016

Elen.

Contents

1. Introduction

"Childhood is the life-space which our culture limits it to be, i.e. its definitions through the courts, the school, the family, the economy, and also trough philosophy and phycology" (Qvortrup, 1994, p. 3).

This quote from Qvortrup highlights how childhood is more than what it may seem like at first sight. Children are actively participating in the social construction of their childhood, however external factors may limit the extent of their participation. Adults have the power to give children spaces to live, act and think within, still it is also important to remember that children depend on adults in many ways (Qvortrup, 1994). The aim with the new sociology of children and childhood is to understand children as social agents here and now. As competent human beings in the present, and not as becoming's in the future.

My interest for children and childhood started when I in my "leap year" worked as an au pair in Hamburg, Germany. This introduced me to work as an assistant in a kindergarten, this lead me to studying social work specializing on child welfare. Through my bachelor I got to spend 5 months at a children's home in Kenya. This was an eye-opener regarding childhood outside Norway, the differences and similarities. This trigged my interest for the global world, and I did one-year course in Development Studies, with a 2-month fieldwork in India. Still, in that course I missed the focus on children and childhood, which again lead me to apply for the MPhil in Childhood Studies at Norwegian Centre for Child Research (NOSEB). "Childhood studies aims to acquire knowledge about children´s everyday lives and the variety of childhoods as these are lived and experienced in different parts of the world" (Kjørholt, 2011, p. 18).

My encounters with people both in Kenya and India were sometimes overwhelming for a simple farm girl form Norway. Being met by friendly faces and persons with open arms inviting me to their house for a cup of tea, having met me in the street three minutes earlier. This friendliness and openness was opposite to my experiences moving to a new place in Norway for studies, where acquaintances with the neighbours were a long process. With my different backgrounds I aimed to write my masters thesis where I could combine these previous knowledge and experiences. The topic of my thesis occurred to me remembering this one course *Kommunalt Barnevern*, (Municipality child welfare services) back in 2012

about unaccompanied immigrants, and how the Norwegian welfare state separated on age. Did this mean that some are more an entitled to be a child, than others? Trough the first semester of the master's programme, my wider understanding of children and childhood came with reflections on my picture of Norway as the "child´s right country". Therefore I sought out to explore the unaccompanied immigrants experiences meeting Norway.

1.1 Why Unaccompanied Immigrants?

Norway is known for, and aiming to be a country where the children's right and welfare is a primary consideration. Again turning to this lecture in 2012, the care separation of responsibility for unaccompanied immigrants by age could imply some are more entitled the right to be a child, than others. This thesis will look at young persons who have come to Norway as unaccompanied immigrants. Overcoming the separation from families due to divergent reasons, now finding themselves within a new social world, with different boundaries of what it means to be children and childhood. Starting my masters and learning about the social construction of children and childhood I asked myself how would these unaccompanied immigrants experienced their place in meeting a new culture and society. After looking at possibilities to access such a group, I found that I would have to conduct the research with unaccompanied immigrants that had been settled in municipalities.

1.2 Aim of the thesis

"It may be of great importance that their rights are protected [unaccompanied immigrants], and this can only be accomplished if their voices are heard" (UNCHR, 2007 in Söderqvist, 2014, p. 39). My aim with the thesis is to present the voices of 7 young men and their experiences meeting Norway. To discover how young alone comers develop strategies to navigate in their new society. I am aware how this thesis might have no further impact than giving me a grade and placing me on a scale. Still, I wish to contribute to new ways of perceiving unaccompanied immigrants as more than that political label. Meeting the human beings behind. Sharing their stories. This is a complex and diverse process by a homogenous group that seems to be treated as one, "the others". Their shared experience is arriving in Norway being under 18 years old. Using Bourdieu and his social capital concept, the aim is not to argue for social classes within the Norwegian society. Merely to offer a point of view on the process of changing ones social capital, a process that requires access to social fields. "Refugee youth, is a category that is doubly dehistoricized and doubly universalized; whilst muting the voices of those who occupy this category, the category itself is frequently used to serve the representational needs of others" (Wilding, 2012, p. 501). Refugee youth has

become a tool, for representation as it suits the persons in power, controlling the representation; their voices is not necessarily heard, or given weight.

The research objectives for fulfilling the aim of the study became.

- To examine the social and cultural factors that impact the transition for unaccompanied immigrants meeting Norway.
    o To explore factors contributing to integration.
    o To explore factors restrain integration.
    o To explore practical, personal and emotional consequences in moving from one culture to another
- To consider how social workers assess the cultural and social transitions for unaccompanied immigrants.
    o To explore Factors contributing to integration
    o To explore Factors restraining integration

In order to achieve the objectives, the following research questions were formulated

- How do unaccompanied immigrants experience the social/ cultural transition from their home country to the Norwegian society?
    o What are unaccompanied immigrants main challenges and strategies meeting the new society?
    o How do unaccompanied immigrants use their agency in this transition?
    o Does unaccompanied immigrants feel included in the Norwegian society?
    o Is age significant in this transition?

The experiences from unaccompanied immigrants will be the main focus in the thesis. Additionally, I gain knowledge about the perspectives of social workers with the transition after settlement.

- How does social workers experience the sociocultural change for unaccompanied immigrants coming to Norway?
    o What enables and restrain integration?
    o Which strategies do they experience that unaccompanied immigrants use?
    o Which strategies does the social workers use?
    o When are the unaccompanied immigrants integrated?
    o Is age problematic in this?

1.3 Media representations

The documentary "De Andre", "Others" by Margaret Olin (2012) might be an influencer on the conditions for unaccompanied immigrants living in reception centres. The documentary gives insight in the realities for unaccompanied immigrants awaiting response on their asylum claim. Waiting in reception centres and, for some receive the letter of declination at their 18th birthday. This is very much in contrast to the association with the 18th birthday in the Norwegian society.

Starting this master I would not know how my theme would become "the topic of the year". The increasing amount of migrants in Europe, and Norway took the whole world by surprise. Pictures of overfilled boats with children, adults and youths risking their lives crossing the ocean to reach Europe became a daily sight in 2015. What previously had been in the interest of few became a daily topic with news reports on how people risk their lives to reach Europe. The European policy has over the last years been to control its boarders, Frontex, the European border management was established in 2004. The mission is to control borders to facilitate as a coordinator in addition to member states own border control (Frontex, 2004/2007). Now some countries decided to close their boarders. Increasing numbers of migrants are being met with stricter restrictions. This has also become the solution in Norway. Politicians arguing for the need of helping them in their countries so the need to risk their lives to reach Europe disappear.

The "refugee crisis" have brought a public debate. It seems like the gap between "us" and "them" has become very much a more official political standpoint. Openly admitting negative consequences for receiving immigrants and refugees seems to have become the new argument to keep the welfare state to us. Refugees have become a socio-political and economically question, with no exception in "the safe-spaced Europe" (Madsen, 2015). Positive and negative future prospects are highly discussed. Leaving little attention to what they come from, and how neighbouring countries of conflict have a refugee population that is many million times higher than what we see in Europe. Even tough the political and public discussion of today is very interesting, it will not be given very much attention in my thesis, as the informant arrived previous to this situation. Still it could give insight in how they came to Europe and Norway – as the current situation has displayed the "refugee routs". Much of the political discussions are not new, but it has become more public with the increasing numbers of people seeking asylum here in Norway.

Outline of the thesis

The following chapters will try to answer the objectives and research questions, with the following structure; **Chapter 2** gives the socio-political background and context in Norway regarding children and their position in the society. Moving on to the specific group of refugee children, and more importantly for this thesis unaccompanied immigrants. With the aim of giving insight into legal framework, the political context and the Norwegian society, giving both a brief international and European approach before the more specific context in Norway. Also presenting previous research and findings.

Chapter 3 "Theoretical framework" introduces the theoretical framework for this thesis, which have inspired the methodological design and the analysis of the data. Focusing on the contested notion of culture, before giving a short outline of the new sociology of children and childhood, from there moving on to Bourdieu and his theory of practice focusing on social capital and habitus as this is of importance in the analysis.

Chapter 4 "Methods" presents the methodology, and methods used to collect data for the analysis. Describing the process of the project from idea to finished product. Giving insight in choices made, ethical consideration, access process and dilemmas that have occurred during the fieldwork.

Chapter 5 "It´s a totally different culture here…" presents past the cultural and social realities before they came to Norway. Sharing narratives from leaving, to meeting a new culture and society. Presenting the data within the theoretical framework backed up by previous research. The outline of the chapter is what they came from, and what they met – and now finding themselves in a transnational reality – combining those two.

Chapter 6 "Moving in, moving out – the way to independence" focuses on their experiences after settlement, access to social fields, integration and the Norwegian society. The narratives from unaccompanied immigrants explain and understand challenges they meet in the transition from culture of origin to Norway.

Chapter 7 "Concluding Discussions" gives the final discussion in a wider socio-political context. Emphasising the findings and discussions in the analysis chapter. Trying to answer the research questions.

2. Social and Political Context

This chapter will shortly present some facts about Norway and the socio-political context for the thesis. Focusing on children´s place in the welfare society, before presenting a more international focus on refugees. Lastly presenting refugees and the challenges met by migration in the Norwegian context.

2.1 Research site Norway

Norway, Statistics Sentralbyrå ,2014:

What	Number
Area	385 170 km2.
Population	5 165 802
In-migration	70 030
Out-migration	31 875
Immigrant population (total)	135 583

Norway is located in Northern Europe, a small country with high living conditions. Politics is built on a welfare system where every citizen is supposed to contribute for the benefit of the whole population. The Welfare State as known today has been build trough centuries. Norway got its constitution in 1814, being the "junior partner" in union with Sweden till 1905, before that under the Danish crown for 400 years (Gullestad, 2006). Politics has been built on the notion of Norwegian as a homogenous group since independence, as there was not a strong industrial and financial upper class (Halvorsen and Stjernø, 2008). After the Second World War the aim was to build a welfare state for all, previously it had been some sort of social benefits, more and more became a political programmes became universal. Build on the "one nation" making social benefits, which previously had been explicit for wage earners, now became universal. As a starting point for the "Norwegian common spirit", which is still influencing the politics (Gullestad, 2006).

Norwegian family policy has developed from cash support in the years after World War II to a wide range of political instruments; cash transfers, social services and parental leave (Halvorsen, 2008). The state party have long traditions in intervening with children´s position in society. In the 18th and 19th century the solution was to have poor children and families

going on "legd[1]". Social care based on the communities, where poor people walked form farm to farm, and received food and shelter in exchange for work. Some children could also be living at the farm full time, as a housekeeper (Ericsson, 2009).

This changed in the 19th century where the notion became that children would benefit most from working at one place full time. In year 1900 it became a political injunction about legd, so it became illegal. This did not mean that poor children automatically had more rights they still had to work hard for shelter and food. During the 20th century the care system became more and more institutionalized and professionalized. Children's homes and fulltime institutions were a fact. There are many examples of staff violence and violations towards children in this period (Ericsson, 2009).

In 1953 the first child welfare act came, intending children to have some sort of rights on their own. It has been a long development from this to the autonomous child the Norwegian society attempts to acknowledge today. Aiming to be the leading country in order to secure children rights on their own. The ministry of children, equality and social inclusion seeks to secure all children a good upbringing both financially and socially. Norway ratified the Convention on Rights of the Child in 1991. In 2003 the implementation of the convention in Human Rights Act of 1999, gave the convention priority over other laws. This means if there is a uncertainty in a case the CRC shall be weighted as the law (Stang, 2011). Still, there is made an exception in the immigration act, where state regulations may overcome the best interest of the child.

Norway aims to be a leading country applying and securing the United Nations Conventions of the Rights of the Child into practice, making the convention the minimum standard for children´s rights. Regarding refugee children in Norway the problem is, as in many other European countries the bias between political and economical forces, and the need of humanitarian assistance and protection. This is what Watters (2007) referrer to as states of exception, the blur between policy, laws and practices. The state could make exception talking about children´s needs. Justified by the states need to know the "actual need of protection" for refugees. If the state is worried about the child being sent by its family in

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[1]A system organized by the state for poor people and children to work for food and shelter on farms contrary to begging (Ericsson 2009).

order to give reasoning for children to apply for the family to get protection as well, could challenge the states interests.

2.2 The Norwegian welfare state and integration

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that even though children have had a strong position in the society do not guarantee a good outcome. There are examples where the states interest has marginalized and exploited children. The welfare states policy towards immigrants focuses on integration as the key to become part of the welfare society. "Apart from broad formulations of equal opportunities, rights and duties, the meaning of integration tends to be formulated as what it is not: integration is not assimilation, not segregation" (Hagelund, 2002, p. 406). The policies towards immigration and integration have been developed from the 1970´s until today.

It is clear that immigration have challenged the notion of the homogenous Norwegian population. Still, multiculturalism as a term has not been applied in mainstream public and political debates (Hagelund, 2002). Importantly it seems like integration allows and values immigrants to hold on to their cultural background when adapting to the new society and cultural believes. Consisting of two aspects, the social integration and the cultural integration (van Tubergen, 2006). Yet, in the politics immigration thus integration could be seen as a threat towards the homogeneity in Norway (Eide, 2005; Gullestad 2006).

Integration becomes a social process, where cultures meet and through cultural interactions integration happens. Integration requires the immigrant to adapt to the new society in terms of language and work, especially within the welfare state model (Hagelund, 2002). The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDI) works by the goal that unaccompanied immigrants will be integrated in their local communities quickly.

As a refugee in Norway, you are legally bound to attend introductory programmes to learn the Norwegian language and gain knowledge of the Norwegian society is both a civil right and a duty. This course needs to be completed in order to stay in the country (Brekke, 2008). This programme was first introduced in 2003, and implemented in the introduction act, further in 2005 this act was amended to also include an introduction to the Norwegian language 300 hours (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011). "Immigrants need basic skills in language and social issues to understand the fundamentals of Norwegian society and culture,

and the programme imposes a duty on everyone to attain such knowledge" (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011, p. 20).

Immigration and integration has challenged the Norwegian welfare model in many ways, leading to problematizing the consequences of international migration. The progress party (FRP) is the most public voice, from the late 1980´s till today. Not being merely anti-immigrant party, but having interest inn all parts of the politics. The labour party with the coalition government has had most impact on developing the immigration policy in the 2000´s, focusing on the labour market as the main area on integration, and accessing citizenship based on performance (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011). Integration and the welfare state is a complex process, with many difficult considerations to have in mind – especially when talking about unaccompanied immigrants.

2.3 Migration and refugees

"The United Nations (UN) defines an international migrant a person who stays outside their usual country of residence for at least one year" (Koser, 2007, p. 4). International migration has a long history and divergent reasons for the migrant to leave his/hers home and go to live in another country. There are challenges to international migration, especially after 9/11 – there has been a perception of a close relationship between migration and terrorism (Koser, 2007). Migration has become an industry, some parts irregular where people exploit the situation from various forms of human trafficking.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the international organ, to monitor and secure human rights even for refugees, using this definition:

> A person who owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons or race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (O'Niell 1999, p 39).

To be a refugee requires a need for protection. In migration studies the understanding of why people migrate is important, the notion of push and pull factors is found within economical explanation models where migration is a question of investment (Eide, 2013a). Push factors are distinctions outside the individual more or less forcing the migration, factors within the

sending state (Alarian & Goodman, 2016). Pull factors are when the receiving state offers high wages, better labour opportunities and the outcome is increase in production (Alarian & Goodman, 2016). Pull factors has a more positive connotation and could increase the outcome for the receiving state seems more positive, than migration reasoned by push factors. Still, push and pull factors, are just factors – not the whole reason or justification behind the migration. Socioeconomically conditions regarding politics, and individual processes such as social networks are affecting people to migrate (Eide, 2013a).

2.3.1 Children and migration

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) states that refugee children shall receive the same rights as any other child. Emphasising the need of humanitarian assistance according to the convention and other international conventions signed by State Parties and the importance of working with international organisations and NGOs to fulfil this right (Organization of African Unity, 1990; UN General Assembly, 1989). For refugee children, the most important principles within the UNCRC are the best interest of the child, non-discrimination and participation (Bierwirth, 2005). The best interest of the child principle is "a primary consideration" within the CRC, allowing others to dominate the child´s perspectives. Still the notion is that all children shall be treated equally, this does not necessarily mean that all children should be treated with the same resources. The convention emphasises the state´s responsibility to secure the equal treatment of children, whereas the AC does imply this as a responsibility to all actors (Adu-Gyamfi & Keating, 2013). UNHCR (1994) defines unaccompanied immigrants as "those who are separated form both parents, and are not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom is responsible to do so" (Eide, 2013a). Research on unaccompanied immigrants in Europe have identified that immigration involves refugee protection and boarder control, this is challenged by unaccompanied immigrants thus their biological age becomes of importance (Cemlyn and Nye, 2012; Drywood, 2010).

2.4 Unaccompanied immigrants in Norway

The UNHCR definition is also the Norwegian definition. Today unaccompanied immigrants arriving in Norway meets a care system separating between children at 15 years old. The children under the age of 15 meets a system regulated by child welfare services which implies the right to foster care, or care centres on behalf of the child welfare system. Children over 15 come under the care of UDI, in their own reception centres while their asylum claim is treated. All unaccompanied immigrants will spend some time in transit facilities while their

asylum interview and health checks take place (Eide, 2005). Depending on individual needs and health issues transfer to reception centres. After grated asylum they will be settled in municipalities. This process may take a while. With the move from reception centres to municipalities, the official responsibility shift from UDI to the Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDI). IMDI are the ones responsible for municipalities for settlement for all unaccompanied refugees under 18 years of age. This is also where the term shifts from asylum seeker to refugee, because the need for protection has been established with the grant for asylum.

The Norwegian term [2]"enslig mindreårig asylsøker", or "enslig mindreårig flyktning", does not make it clear that we are talking about children. It has a more distanced connection to being a minor, consequently being a child. Implying that being a child is a consequence of the age, and not what defines your needs. The child-part becomes secondary. With granted asylum the term changes from asylum seeker to refugee, still it holds on to "being alone" and underage. The Norwegian term "*enslig*" may also in a wider context be understood as alone and lonesome. The Swedish term is "ensamtkommande" barn – directly translated as "alone coming children". Both Norway and Sweden use UNHRC's definition of unaccompanied immigrants. Additionally Sweden acknowledges them more as children. In practice it seems like the Norwegian system does not provide for the same rights for unaccompanied immigrants as they do for Norwegian youth.

Still it is important to notice that in official documents they use the term child when talking about unaccompanied immigrants. The distanced official term could be reasoned by what Ericsson (2009) describes as ambiguity, which reveals a contradiction in the society between being a child, which has a positive connotation and asylum seeker as a negative connotation. Unaccompanied immigrants have become a heterogeneous group, with divergent experiences having different religious and cultural backgrounds (Eide, 2005). Coming from cities or rural areas, with different socioeconomic backgrounds. From literacy and illiteracy, variations in age, belonging to different groups also within the conflict from their home. Also they have numerous experiences pre and during the flight, which could cause traumas and the need of psychosocial treatment (Eide & Broch, 2010; Oppedal, Seglem, & Jensen, 2009). The

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[2] Enslig mindreårig asylsøker: the norwegian term for unaccompanied immigrants, a direct translation would be: single underaged asylumseeker/ refugee.

Ministry of Children and Equality (BLI, 2009) offers these common identifications for unaccompanied immigrants;

- Lack of parental -care, -guidance and protection.

- Finding themselves in a new country with new culture, language and traditions.

- Often coming from complex situations, armed conflicts, and violence and, in some ways experience loss, deprivation and exploitation in various ways (BLI, 2009, p. 17, my translation).

2.4.1 Historical overview

Unaccompanied asylum seekers are a phenomenon that has been known to exist for years, in Norway the first systematic happening is from Jewish children in World War II (Eide 2005). The history of unaccompanied asylum seekers is long and complex, and over the last years increasing attention from media and NGOs has put this issue on the agenda again (Ericsson (2009). Ketil Eide explored the political and historical view on unaccompanied immigrants in his doctoral thesis "Tvetydige barn" (Ambiguous children). He looked at four main historical periods for unaccompanied immigrants in Norway. I will give a short presentation.

The first periods are Jewish children (1939) and Nansenhjelpen (1964) where NGOs organized the stay, politicians granted asylum within a time frame of three years. The NGOs needed to promise to send the children back after this amount of time (Eide, 2005, 2007a). According to Eide the political discussion towards unaccompanied children at this time had the argument of it being the *worst* form of immigration. Threatening the homogenous Norwegian society. In public, however, politicians gave the impression on how the best interests of the child would be to be in Norway temporarily. "Nansenjelpen" organized asylum for Tibetan children, with the purpose of resettlement in refugee camps in India. Their asylum I Norway was temporary, and segregation were a condition from the Tibetan and Norwegian governments. Norwegian politicians public presentation were that it was in the best interest for these children to know their own culture (Eide 2005; Eide 2007b).

The next group were the Hungarian children, which came with a new political bias, this time a more positive one. The political situation in Hungary was so bad, that Norway as a transit country were not an option. This group they got granted asylum without political conditions. The last group of focus from Eide, he refers to as 1990 sample, youth with a multicultural background. With this group the political notion of threats from this group reinforced, still

hidden in discussions about "vulnerable children". Arguing that the best interest is to know their culture on the bias of them being "the others" (Eide, 2005, 2007a). Officially the needs of protection for unaccompanied immigrants are the central argument, while a restrictive boarder control becomes secondary. Eide questions this notion, as he discovers how there is a hidden predicament between unaccompanied immigrants and restrictive border control. Again causing dilemma between treating them as regular Norwegian youth, or differently in the best interest of the state. Norway being a young nation, many political discussions have been hidden in the notion of building a national identity. The presence of others as discussed, becomes a threat to homogenous Norway.

In Europe, unaccompanied asylum seekers are defined as "persons below the age of eighteen who arrive in the territory of Member States unaccompanied by an adult responsible for them" (UDI, 2015). In Norway, the government has the same definition additionally making a distinction between asylum seekers over and under the age of fifteen. "Immigrants under the age of fifteen are children, and those who are sixteen to eighteen as youth" (Drywood, 2010) This is a common practice in EU countries, however "setting a limit at the age of 14 of itself appears to be inconsistent with article 1 in UN CRC, which clearly states that 'child means every human being below the age of eighteen years'" (Drywood, 2010, p 316). From a legal perspective authorities authorize clinical tests in order to define young persons chronological age.

Studies show how unaccompanied immigrants have higher levels of depressive symptoms, and suffer from traumas compared to peers in the receiving country. They wish to be treated like normal children, and the prospects of "one clearly identified key person who can help them to navigate bureaucratic institutions" (Eide & Hjern, 2013, p. 668). The importance of recognition is emphasised, both from local communities, professionals, government and policymakers. Still refugee minors, has been represented as a problem for integration, as their social background became a problem for the Norwegian society (Eide, 2007b). "Children refers to the political identity of "the child" created through discursive struggles about children´s vulnerability, followed by a claim for children´s rights. When one of these two political identities becomes the "universal" one, the child´s position changes" (Vitus & Lidén, 2010, p. 65). This means that the ambiguity comes along as mentioned, between child and protection and asylum-seeker. The presence of this ambiguity within the welfare state is a threat to a "too generous" welfare system. Vitus and Lidén (2010) argue that the idea of

Norway as a child friendly and child´s right nation "lies more in the discourse than in the practice" (p. 69).

2.4.2 Policy, laws and rights

According to Norwegian policy, unaccompanied immigrants under age15 are the responsibility for the Child Welfare services. Placement will be in special institutions or preferably foster care. Immigrants between 16 and 18 will be placed under the care of the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI), in own institutions, ordinary asylums or detention centres. Norwegian Child Welfare Act determines that all children under the age of 18 have the right to be taken care of by the child welfare system (Barnevernloven, 1992).

The European union came up with an "Action plan on Unnaccompanied Minors 2010 – 2014". This plan proposes common guidelines for the European Union how to treat unaccompanied immigrants. Describing a need for action towards this group of "third-country nationals or stateless persons" arriving EU under the age of 18. Viewing them as a particularly vulnerable group of children. Reasoning their arrival by push factors as wars, conflicts, poverty, natural catastrophes, discrimination, persecution or trafficking as negative for factors the individual. Consequently pull factors is "to be sent by their family in the expectation of a better life or in order to access education and welfare, including medical attention" (European Commission, 2010, p. 3) outside the control of the individual (unaccompanied immigrant). Further more "a threat" to the European boarders and welfare system. Acknowledging the complexity of issues surrounding unaccompanied minors.

Focusing on the "boundaries of the Member States´ freedom of action when dealing with unaccompanied minors" emphasising the need for a common approach from European countries. The common grounds ought to be based in the *respect* for the rights of the child as set out in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the UNCRC. Focusing on the principle of "the best interest of the child" as the primary consideration regarding children, acquired by political authorities. "It is likely that in many cases 'the best interest of the child' is to be reunited with his/hers family and to grow up in his/her own social and cultural environment" (European Commission, 2010, p. 12). The main focus for this action plan is that member states must facilitate and support "third party countries" and fund programmes towards the population in that country. Especially towards children and youth in order to "prevent exploitation" and make awareness for children at risk, at local levels. It seems like the main idea is to target possible "problems" before they reach Europe as the suitable solution. It

seems like the need of protection for this particular group is of importance. "The minors should be supported in their path toward successful integration in the host society" (European Commission, 2010, p. 14). The word "host society" opens for a temporary approach towards the length of the stay, and viewing those who come as out of place "as guests" on the premises of the host.

Wernesjö (2012) suggests that there is a need for research focused on the young persons´ own perspectives of well-being as well as the factors contributing to it. Some of these children´s origin cultures base childhood on social, economic and political circumstances; many countries do not register birth Wernesjö (2012). In order meet immigration policies a proof of chronological age is needed. Unaccompanied immigrants often have experiences despite their age, moving between adult and child, making life decisions and actively constructing their future (Aynsley-Green et al., 2012). Using definitions based on chronological age implies that social constructions and socio-political implications are of no importance (James et al. in Clark-Kazak 2008). Thus there is a need to understand that "the experiences of children and young people vary widely in relation to social, political and environmental conditions, and individual characteristics" (Øien, 2010). Engebrigtsen (2002) looks to Ennew (2002), and children outside childhood where she describes that the unaccompanied immigrants childhood, is contradicting the western notion of childhood, thus becomes children out of place. Which again could lead to a pathological approach to their problems, as medical problems, and not due to their situation. Meaning that the western notion could be the time for children to play within the care, protection and support from their families.

By the end of 2014, 6 200 unaccompanied immigrants were living in Norway, out of them 80% are boys. 77% were under education or in employment, or in the introductory programme. Most unaccompanied immigrants in this period of time came from Afghanistan, Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sri Lanka and Iraq (Dalgard, 2016). This statistics are naturally reflected in this study.

Unaccompanied immigrants are characterized as a vulnerable group of youth with special need for care and protection (Eide, 2013a; Oppedal et al., 2009). At the same times this group of youth is resourceful and has made choices and overcome struggles to arrive in Norway. Eide and Broch (2010) points out the considerable importance of age for unaccompanied immigrants, as this will determine the relationship between the immigrants and the state. The

clinical age tests may have a two-year margin of error. As Aynsley-Green et al. (2012) also points out there are tensions between laws, practices and the CRC. Previous research on unaccompanied immigrants focuses on emotional well-being and mental health problems. There are numbers of research focusing on traumas and psychological problems unaccompanied immigrants face Drywood (2010). Research on unaccompanied asylum seekers in Norway gives insight into their motives to enter Europe, routes and how they cope with the transition to a new culture and meeting a social care system (Wernesjö, 2012). The report "Dependent and independent" gives a picture of vulnerable youths, especially those over the age of 16 living in care residences, as they are more lonely and vulnerable than those under the age of 16 (Oppedal et al., 2009). Norwegian policies towards child migrants mainly serve the interests of the state, founding the principle of the child´s best interest on an abstract child with a universal ideal childhood (Oppedal et al., 2009). Again, looking to Engebrigtsen (2002) and further Ennew, (2002) presenting "children outside childhood", the political notion is that a child belongs to their parents. Children find themselves alone in a new culture they are in fact out of place as their place is with their family, in country of origin. The best interest of the child is within the safe space with love, care and support from their family. Thus this notion requires that the child in fact have a family, which is not the case for all children, especially for all unaccompanied immigrants.

2.4.3 The Asylum process and Settlement in municipalities

It is of importance to have some insight in the asylum process from registration to settlement, in order to have a understanding of the many stages after arrival in Norway. First it is registration at the police, which entails fingerprints and why you are applying for protection, and identity papers. After that one will be sent for a short-term stay in a transit reception centre where the asylum interview from UDI is undertaken. After the interview there is a move to a new reception centre to live while the application is being treated. The last step is residence permit, or rejection (NOAS, 2011). This is the ideal way, in reality one risks having to move between several receptions centres before the final answer from UDI. It is also depending on the over all asylum situation and the capacity of the system.

When asylum is granted the responsibility is in the hands of IMDI. For unaccompanied immigrants, this means that IMDI will find a municipality that will have the responsibility for them. There is various ways in organizing the care for unaccompanied immigrants within the municipality (Berg, 2013). It could mean different living arrangements; foster care, living

with relatives, apartments with inspection from staff, apartments without supervision or institution with fulltime staff (accompanied living), or part-time staff. In some cases they could go into a child welfare institution specializing on giving special and adequate care (Berg, 2013). The Child Welfare Act establishes the fact that unaccompanied immigrants have rights, regarding settlement Barnevernloven (1992);

> §3-4. Housing measures for unaccompanied refugee and asylum-seeking minors.
>
> In connection with the settlement of unaccompanied minors who have submitted an application, the municipality shall carry out an assessment of individual needs and provide suitable housing measures on this basis. The King may make regulations regarding the municipality´s functions related to settlement.
>
> If the municipality, in connection with the assessment under the first paragraph, finds reasonable cause to assume that circumstances exists which may provide a basis for measures under Chapter 4, the child welfare service shall investigate the matter; see section 4-3.

This means that the child welfare services in the municipality shall secure that the rights for unaccompanied immigrants regarding care and protection shall be met, still the municipality itself may give this help as they find most adequate, and are free to find solutions on their own (BLI, 2009). The municipalities are advised to map out the competence and capacity within the municipality to offer the best help as possible, some municipalities decide to implement the responsibility within the immigration office, others within the child welfare services. There are no official requirements other than what is mentioned in the child welfare act. It is stated that the child needs is the same as for Norwegian children without parents. Emphasising the need of caring adults, focusing on safe care solutions and the need of special attention towards cultural, religious and situation in country of origin (BLI, 2009).

Use of terms

The Norwegian debate uses the term immigrant and migrant incoherently (Hagelund, 2002), this will be reflected in this thesis. Unaccompanied immigrants will also be referred to incoherently, as staff leaders consistently referred to them as "our youths". When discussing unaccompanied immigrants lived experiences within the Norwegian culture and society, "us" and "them" appears. It may seem like I reinforce such categorizations, this have not been the aim, however sometimes such categories have become necessary. Anthias (2006) argues that with the increased globalisation, and new forms of migration to separate between ethnic groups or 'racial' are no longer possible. I have tried to avoid such terms in the thesis, and have not used the term "ethnical Norwegians", as this may imply that my informants are not

to be included as Norwegians. I know that terms some places have been used incoherently, and it may seem like generalizations have been made.

Summary

In Norway the state have had a big impact of children's lives since the 18th century, which have become increasingly legally binding over years. The child welfare act in 1953 as the starting point where children were to have rights on their own. When implementing the CRC Norway aimed to be a pioneer securing children's rights and position in the society. However this has been challenged in diverse ways over the years, and there are many stories where the institutionalization of children have been a dark story with exploitation and lack of rights. Unaccompanied immigrants seem to be what is challenging the "innocent child" and Norway as a child's rights pioneer today. This will be further discussed throughout the thesis.

3. Theoretical perspectives

The aim of this chapter is to present the theoretical perspectives that have influenced my study and will be used throughout the analysis. Focusing on cultural encounters and the understanding of children and childhood as a category that is socially constructed and in some ways challenging the common notion of childhood in the "western world". We may ask if it challenges the idea of "the child friendly Norway". In my study the culture is a key concept. Bourdieu and his theory of practice focusing on his notions of capital, as a tool to survive and exploit the possibilities within culture – emphasising on social capital and habitus, and how this may be applicable within childhood studies as a tool to understand the informant as a minority in society. One could ask how my research project is relevant for childhood studies, I would argue that the notion of childhood as a social construction and the issue of age which will be discussed later could leave some groups of children "un researched", therefore I would say that there also is a definite need to conduct research on older children. Especially those who find themselves in a marginalized situation, with little power to advocate for themselves, it is a need to include them and their experiences into childhood studies. Late childhood is still childhood, and even if the informant are youth, they may be seen as leaving childhood rather than entering adulthood. "Childhood is a complex phenomenon, which therefore requires complex understandings that cannot be arrived at by looking trough a single disciplinary lens" (James & james, 2012, p. 2). In this thesis it will be an interdisciplinary approach, using concepts from childhood studies, migration studies and sociology.

3.1 Culture

Culture is a complex and contested concept (Abu-Lughod, 1991). According to Hylland Eriksen, culture could imply various meanings, from a historical understanding, which implies that culture is something that is given form one generation to the next. Which is "what makes communication possible" shared values and experiences which leaves human beings to understand each other (Eriksen, 1997). Culture could be what separate "us" from the "others" (Eriksen, 1997), Marianne Gullestad criticise him for this understanding, claiming that this is an example of racism - especially in a Norwegian context. The separation of immigrants never gives them the possibility they need to be part of the society. Saying that the notion and separation of "us" and the "others" represents culture in a way that makes "them" lesser than "us", giving the assumption that "we" reason and think and "they" are propelled to do as culture bids. However I would like to point out that Gullestads´s point

comes from a Norwegian context, and that Hylland Eriksens point comes from a more overall perspective, and I understand Gullestad´s point is to show how Hylland Eriksens notion is problematic in the Norwegian context because culture have the tendency to be perceived as something "they" have and Norwegians have not Gullestad (2006). "We" (Norwegians) is constructed to be the unmarked normative centre in relations to various people who are marked as different, which leaves us with the notion that integration is something minority people have to achieve, and not a mutual reflection and adaption (Gullestad, 2006). According to Gullestad, culture is "the dimension of meanings in social life" (Gullestad, 1989). However I will present Bordieus theory that has inspired my thesis perceiving and understanding culture. Pierre Bordieus theory of practice focuses on culture to be understood as an economic capital, it is something we inhabit, and we can use it in different forms in order to change the outcome of the capital one possesses. Culture is bound to time, place and space, the same goes for children and childhood, which with the new sociology of childhood has had an interdisciplinary approach where childhood and children are seen as active participants in creating their lives within the structural and cultural boundaries from society and culture.

3.2 Children and Childhood

According to the United Nations General Assembly, "a child is defined as any human being under the age of 18" (Clark-Kazak, 2009). Over time this has become a international measurement and most countries in the world do now acknowledge that 18 is the age that differentiates between children and adults, thus it is important to remember that in many countries and cultures the practical meaning of age is not taken into consideration in their daily life.

> Any childhood is situated within whatever system of social stratification operates in that society; any childhood is built around gender, as it is understood in that particular society; any childhood is part of a set of generational relations with older age groups; all children have parents in one form or another and are socialized in one way or another – the details will vary but the process is common; and similarly all childhoods are shaped by politics, law and economics. Such social-structural dimensions thus provide the wrap for the fabric of childhood as a social space" (James, 2010, p. 493).

This shows how the time and space, society and politics will affect childhood. Everyone has a childhood it just changes in time and society. Qvortrup focuses on childhood as a structural phenomenon. It will always exist in every society, but it will have different and individual

meanings. He also points out that even if childhood has individual characteristics there will be generations with similar experiences making it a collective experience as well. "Childhood is – sociologically speaking – not a transient phase, but a permanent social category. Childhood persists: it continues – as a social class does – to exist as a structural from, irrespective of how many of its ´members´ enter and how they may leave it" (Qvortrup, 2002, p. 50). Childhood is consistent, but its form and content will change with the society, and social constructions making it an individual and generational experience. "We can consider childhood and youth as contingent and continuous, forever in the making" (Nayak & Kehily, 2013, p. 8). In this thesis childhood per se, is not the most important, even thought the informant have been asked to compare their childhood and daily life in the past, to their daily lives in Norway. Regarding unaccompanied immigrants, their one childhood may shift within many societies and change many times as childhood is socially constructed within societies.

3.2.2 Sociology of childhood and children

Childhood studies, and the new sociology of childhood appeared in 1980´s when it was academics in different countries that at the same time found an interest in children, and children´s positions in the society and from there came the understanding of children as social actors. This new sociology of childhood established three key concepts, which has been important for the field of childhood studies; first childhood is socially constructed, second that children are worthy of study in their own right and third; children are competent social actors (James & James, 2001).

> There is now widespread if not universal acceptance of the premise that childhood is indeed socially constructed; that children are worthy of study in their own right; and that children are competent social actors who may have a particular perspective on the social world that we, as adults, might find worth listening to (James and James, 2001, p. 35).

The adult-child dichotomy; childhood studies are challenged by the UNCRC´s definition of children as a person below the age of 18, which again makes the distinguish on child and adult. "This suggest that the category of childhood is fractured not just by the different social constructions of childhood in different political, cultural and economic contexts, but also the significance of different ages within childhood" (James, 2010, p. 490). The critic is that childhood studies lack to recognize the problematic issues with the boundary between childhood and adulthood, and the cultural understanding of age, which will be discussed later in this chapter. However, I wish to point out that even if children and youth are seen as social

agents and important in their own right, it still is common to se them as becoming´s rather than beings. James, Jenks and Prout (1998) offers four ways of studying children, in this thesis the focus will be on to.

3.3.3 The minority group child

"Children are marginalized in sociology because of their subordinate position in societies and in theoretical conceptualizations of childhood and socialization" (Corsaro, 1997, p. 7). The minority group child approach understand children as the minority in the society; "Trough ascribing to children the status of a minority group the approach seeks to challenge rather than confirm an existing set of power relations between adults and children" (James et al., 1998, p. 30). This approach requires an understanding of children as adults – with the same rights and agency, simply a minority from a structural point of view. However using such an approach "the derive from the necessary transformation of any social group into a status of the group for-itself instead of just in-itself, through the imposition of a politicized uniformity that defies the differences within" (James et al., 1998, p. 31). Making children a minority group for themselves, outside the mainstream society, rather then a group within the mainstream society. In the case of unaccompanied immigrants, there are many challenges on how they should be seen, however I would argue that to see them trough the minority group child is beneficial, even with the risk of leaving them as "outsiders" from the mainstream society, which they in some ways are very much.

Within the new sociology of children and childhood, children are acknowledged for constructing their own life worlds, and participating with the construction of their childhoods, different discourses will affect how they are seen and understood. Children are not to be seen as strictly vulnerable and unable to take care of themselves, or simply the same as adults - rather as social agents taking part in constructing their own realities, their childhood is produced trough their encounters with their surroundings. One could ask if the informant could be compared to children, and therefore relevant within childhood studies, especially since they now have turned 18 years old, and from there they fall out of the United nations definition of a child, however as they find themselves in a living situation where they could be seen as late children from the society – being in upper secondary school, and transitioning out of childhood, as well as adulthood. Looking at the informant from the minority group child, which implies to see childhood as a universal category in relation to its rights, qualities of personhood and status identity (James et al., 1998). As pointed out by James (2010) the

UN definition of childhood means excluding children and youth, that comes from a culture where being a child is a structural phenomenon rather than a biological (age) determined fact. Even if the informant are not defined as children today, they came to Norway as children therefore their experiences is of importance. I would say that there also is a definite need to conduct research on older children, which again leads us to the term youth.

3.3.4 The socially constructed child:

The natural order of these concepts within childhood studies would be to present the socially constructed child, before talking about the minority group child, however in the case of unaccompanied immigrants they would rather be understood as a minority group and not socially constructed, therefore I present it the same way here. "To describe childhood, or indeed any phenomenon, as socially constructed is to suspend a belief in or a willing reception of its taken-for-granted meanings" (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998, p. 27). This understanding makes the distance from the social constructionist´s approach reasoning by looking at existence and causal powers of the social structure, rather seeking to understand how members of the society socially construct their realities. "Childhood does not exist in a finite and identifiable form" (James et al., 1998), all members in society construct childhood, and children partake in this construction themselves. Childhood is not a homogenous part of the population in all societies rather heterogeneous. These constructions are different within cultures and societies, social fields.

3.3 Youth

Youth is often perceived by society of being in limbo between childhood and adulthood (James, 2010). Childhood studies has become a new way of understand children and respecting them for their agency and with their own perspective and understanding of their surroundings. Yet youth has a larger history of being subjects to studies in their own worth, however "Studies of young people and particularly those defined trough the social category "youth" have a large history largely outside of childhood studies and continue to be studied as young adults rather than late childhood subjects..." (Nayak & Kehily, 2013). An interesting point by this approach is the common "understanding" of youth as a transition towards adulthood, and not leaving childhood especially with the focus of children as "beings" here and now rather than becoming's. Viewing youth with focus on the transition to, and neglecting the transition from, Nayak and Kehily (2013) gives the example of play as children´s way of understanding their surroundings and a natural way to learn while if young

people were to play it is seen as threatening and disturbing. To play is unfit for adulthood therefore "unfit" for young people, and neglecting the possibility that play could be useful for young people as well. Studies of young people are recognized by two main approaches: youth culture and youth transitions. Youth culture studies mainly focusing on subcultures and youth as resistance trough rituals, rebellion against the mainstream society. Viewing youth as transition period implies the notion that "we are all mainstream now" and that youth is recognized by the changing patterns in global media and cultures, and key changes that "everyone" goes through Nayak and Kehily (2013). Further they suggest; "…the youth cultures tradition and the youth transitions paradigm exist as roughly sketched categories rather than mutually exclusive approaches to the study of young people" (Nayak & Kehily, 2013, p. 20). Therefore they wish for a holistic approach towards studying youth. Still it is a fact that youth as childhood and adulthood are all transitional stages in life, moving from one place to another, as Bourdieu argue "youth has been an evolving concept, layered upon layers with values which reflect contemporary moral, political and social concerns. Youth is a social construction with social meanings…" (1978 in Jones, 2009, p. 1). Internationally youth have not received the same attention as children, according to Ansell (2005) this could be seen in connection to the society´s ambivalence towards youth as both idealistic and impressionable; the hope for the future, and a threat to the existing known society, which again implies the "need for change" that comes with youth.

> Youth have had much less prominence internationally than children. This may relate to the popular image of children as innocent, apolitical and outside of economics – an image that cannot be sustained in relation to youth, who are undeniably self-willed political beings and undeniably engage in (or disengaged from) economic life (Ansell, 2005).

3.4 Social chronological age

There are blurry boundaries between children and youth, depending on cultural background and traditions. In the "western societies" the divide is often based on chronological age (Jones, 2009, p. 1). The United Nations definition of youth is people between the ages 15 – 24. However the international legal understanding of 18 as the distinction between child and adult is being criticized for primarily reflecting western psychological development and legal traditions (Clark-Kazak, 2009). The main point of criticism is that the western notion of chronological age does not take into consideration the cultural, traditional, political and environmental variations that there traditionally may be in order to understand traditions. Definitions based on chronological age overlook social constructions of children and childhood. As Clark-Kazak and others points out age is very much depending on

sociocultural definitions and values. Therefore there are attempts to find a definition of social age as a measurement, which will leave room for the different sociocultural environments.

Clark-Kazak (2009) argues that age need neutralizing alongside biological sex, male/female. Reasoning by that age is a social construct as well and that there is a need of social age as a concept of its own, leaving room for the different socially constructions of age there is.

> The analytical distinction between biological and social age is non the less useful for development theory, policy and practice because it helps to move beyond a polarised universal versus social construction debate, focusing instead on the need for a greater understanding of the social meanings ascribed to biological development (Clark-Kazak, 2009, p. 1310).

Therefore the term social age gives room for more social meanings and roles ascribed to stages in the human life cycle, still leaving room for generational considerations. This term opens for a cultural and social construction, depending on more than a date, and year in the birth certificate.

3.5 Social Capital, Bourdieu and Culture

"Social capital is often understood, explained and approached as a multidirectional combination of *social network, mutual trust* and *reciprocal expectations*" (Rantalaiho & Teige, 2006, p. 21). Social capital has become a widespread concept, approached by many scholars. I will try to give a short introduction before going on to Bourdieu and his use of the concept. From Coleman´s perspective individuals create social capital by investing in social relationships. It is individual, and individuals can benefit from using it in groups. The family is the central location of social capital. "In Coleman´s theorising, strong families and communities are the key to high levels of social capital and correspondingly to its mobilization to the benefit of the development of children and young people" (Rantalaiho & Teige, 2006, p. 29). The effects of, and resources from, depend on family and networks around the child. Putnam has further developed Coleman's notion of social capital, focusing on the family as essential for social capital. Further Putnam discusses bridging and bounding social capital, where bridging is what brings different groups together and bonding capital depends on the strength and stability for instance "stable family life" (Rantalaiho & Teige, 2006, p. 34). Putnam looks critically at the development of the "digital era" where TV has replaced face-to-face communication in the leisure time. Critically observing the decreasing volunteering and engagement in the local communities, which is the main part of the bridging

social capital. In this thesis Bourdieu´s notion of social capital will be used, mainly because Coleman´s and Putnam´s social capital theories gives the responsibility to adults and families to facilitate for social capital for their children. Which is difficult for the informant as their social networks is not present in Norway.

3.5.1 Bourdieu´s Theory of Practice

I choose to use Bourdieu's social capital perspective, as this is what seems to be most applicable for the informant, as social capital is something that belongs to the individual within the society. "The theory of practice put objectivist knowledge back on its feet by posing the question of the (theoretical and also social) conditions which make such knowledge possible" (Bourdieu, 1977/1997). The aim of Bourdieu's theory of practice is to give insight in how we make sense of the social world, and affects it by continuing the construction, still this is restricted by surroundings, and the agents are not aware of this process. Bourdieu focuses on the social construction of the society, and how theoretical approaches are not simply facts, but socially constructed within the time and context of their origin (Kasin, 2011).

Bourdieu's theory is a tool to understand the social field the which the actor is a part of; "It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory" (Bourdieu, 1986/2011, p. 83). Social capital becomes the tool for accessing and partaking in the constructions in social fields, depending on the agent's ability and habitus to benefit from the different forms of capital to exploit the possibilities there is with the different forms of capital. Bourdieu's different forms of capital are

- Economic capital, which implies all types of economic ownership.
- Cultural capital, which again can be divided into two forms;
    - Embodied: dispositions in mind and body.
    - Objectified: cultural goods.
- Institutionalised: which implies institutional recognition e.g. academic qualifications.

All these different forms of capital are made meaningful trough symbolic capital (Mayall, 2015). The point for Bourdieu is that the objective structures constructed by sociologists also need to acknowledge the structural constrains, in order to understand one needs to acknowledge the dialectical relationship (Bourdieu, 1989). He also points out that cultural

capital is depending on time and context. Since the society changes over time what the content of cultural capital also changes according to values in the society (Bourdieu, 1986/2011). In addition to this Bourdieu also presents social capital as another form of capital; this implies social networks for instance family, class, part of a school etc. "The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those whom he is connected" (Bourdieu, 1986/2011, p. 89). Social capital are linked to social networks, memberships into groups, which reflects the individuals separate capital and what links them together (Bourdieu, 1986/2011). Social capital is always depending on a bigger context for the individual, however the individual is also part of making its own social capital.

Pieterse (2003, p. 31) referrers to the world bank definition; it brings the social into economics and therefore social capital is "the glue that holds society together". Social capital is culturally bound, depending on values emphasised in one specific culture, and individuals can invest and use strategies with their existing capital and use it to change their surroundings. Social capital is both given and made, kinship and family is nothing one can choose, but one can choose how to relate to this network as an individual. However Bourdieu's point is that these different forms of capital can be used/invested in order to change their capital. For instance economic capital can give new objectified capital, and it may change your social capital and institutionalized capital. People that have moved between cultures may have challenges with old and new forms of capital. This may include all forms of capital, economic, cultural and social. The previous mentioned cultural capital, and the embodied form is what Bourdieu calls habitus; "Socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structures, and the socially structured situation in which the agents interests are defined, and with them the objective functions and subjective motivations of their practices" (Bourdieu, 1977/1997, p. 76). The habitus regulate the agents' actions and is constructed within the social fields by the agents; it is a way to make sense of the world. This process is continuous and is not an intentional process, more an invisible process surrounding us in all social fields. This construction is trough lived experiences.

The importance of this talking about unaccompanied immigrants is that Bourdieu offers a tool to understand how agents are included and excluded to participate in social fields due to their own experiences and the rules of the game, which will be presented in the analysis

chapter. Bourdieu uses the term social fields instead of society in order to exemplify the social construction of the life world, the fields is a game with no clear rules and is a product of the agents within the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In this process the agents use their capital in all its forms habitus is socially subjective, and structured by the field also a way to structure and understand the field. Talking about the minority group child, they will have their own social fields, still it also is a question if and how to access "mainstream" social fields.

With Bourdieu's approach to social capital the power for certain groups becomes essential in how one can benefit from social capital. He explains this by *doxa*, the unspoken and accepted rules in each social field. All agents in society maintain Doxa, the challenge is that doxa occurs as "the natural state". "The natural and social world appears self-evident" thus easily becomes commonly accepted as Bourdieu (1977/1997) explains it. Culture is what rules and controls the social fields; society where the dominating groups has the power of control. Opinion is the part of culture that can be discussed thus over time changed.

Bourdieu have been criticised to only be applicable for the French society in the 1960´s and 1970´s, and that his theory is too widely applicable which again makes it hard to grasp, with the point of characterize the imbalance of power. Denying the processes behind the power imbalance and reasoning the lack of social capital as the individual's shortcomings. Also that economic capital has been essential for all the other types of capital. If one accepts Bourdieu's social capital, one also accepts that social networks do not automatically provide social capital, and economic capital does not necessarily provide social and cultural capital (Wells, 2011). Despite all the criticism some of his ideas have been widely applied and used even today. I choose to use Bourdieu as his theory have a tool to look at society in sub-sections; social fields and for unaccompanied immigrants their daily activities could be seen in this light.

3.5.2 Culture and social capital in non-western countries
Most of the informant came from sub-Saharan Africa I know that to categorize continents with one culture is somewhat impossible. For the anonymity of the informant, I found it best to give this short presentation, knowing that it might give the impression of generalizing their culture of origin; moreover it could give some insight in their background and cultural values. "Culture is a mix of shared values and beliefs, activities organized in daily routines of life,

and interactional experiences that have emotional meaning" Pieterse (2003). The aim is to give an insight in what might be valued in their culture of origin. Individuals use their agency in order to act out the way they are. African parents encourage interdependent skills rather than individualistic autonomy (Weisner, 2000, p. 142). To be part of a bigger social setting, and have cooperation skills is seen as strength and to view its surroundings as a common project and to have a unity as a common project is valued in their society. African youth is recognized finding themselves in limbo between traditions and community (Burgess, 2005). The best interest of the community still has an importance in building cultural capital to become part of the society. Family life implies great responsibility and from early childhood one is expected to take part, and help with daily routines and contribute to the family life Burgess (2005). Even in the African charter of the rights of the child, article 31 establishes the "Responsibility of the child". Confirming that children have responsibilities towards the children and society, also how the child shall respect its parents and elders (ACERWC, 1990). As teenagers one is expected to help take care of family members, elders and younger siblings. Leisure and spare time are often used to hang out and play soccer among boys (Abdullahi, 2004). Arab youth has traditionally become adults by marriage, however economic and social pressures have lessened the salience of that marker; which again has contributed to increased recognition of adolescents as a stage with its own challenges and markers (Booth, 2002).

3.5.3 Youth Culture and social capital in Norway

As mentioned in the background chapter; children´s and youths position in the society is acknowledged and taken into consideration as the Convention on Rights of the Child were ratified in 1992, and again incorporated into the human rights act in 2003, however it is depending on the practices in the field in how this has a practical impact or not (Kjørholt, 2010). Youth and adolescents in western countries are often seen as a group that are endowed with independence, leisure, education, employment opportunities and better health than adolescents before them. Youth and adolescents are seen as freedom (Arnett, 2002). As discussed previously the challenge when discussing youth is the connotation between youth and, the notion of beings and becoming's. In a Norwegian context youth is often seen as belonging to a subculture, with a clear distinction as in-between; not children, and not fully adults (Fauske & Øia, 2010). Identity and identity construction has become an increasing interest looking at youth and Fauske and Øia (2010) mentions the increasing individuality and that identity construction implies to "fine ones true self". Norwegian youth lives

dependently independent lives where the goal is to find their own special and unique identity, within their social capital and among the peer culture. It seems like family is secularised, individual needs goes before the collectivistic understandings. In Norway organized activities is commonly used as leisure or spare time activities among youth. This is valued and understood as a replacement of community with the increasing institutionalizing within the welfare state.

3.6 Agency

"Young peoples agency has not always been recognized, but with the new sociology of childhood the importance of children's and young peoples agency in their own right were acknowledged as important.

> Agency is understood as an individuals own capacities, competencies and activities through which they navigate the context and positions of their life worlds, fulfilling many economic, social and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives" (Abdullahi, 2004).

Agency is depending on the context most importantly the sociocultural and political context, as this affects how much agency there is room for in the society. Agency is also depending on the relations and the power in the relation agency is almost always negotiation between human beings (Robson, Bell and Klocker, 2007). Agency is dynamic, dependent on individual and other circumstances which may make it difficult for individuals to be aware of their own agency, and sometimes bigger circumstances may limit the individuals agency this may be family or society boundaries e.g. laws restricting individual freedom. "The actor is someone who does something and becomes agent when interacting with others, contributing to a wider process and social and cultural reproduction (James, 2009). The actor is the individual carrying out his or hers agency in a bigger social context which again may lead to changes both for the individual and for its surroundings. How unaccompanied immigrants choose to use their agency will be explained more in the analysis chapter. Young people negotiate spaces while creating own experiences (Robson et.al 2007). As mentioned earlier agency is negotiated between agents in the society. However children and young people is not necessarily seen as agents in their own right. Due to the reason that children does not have the same legal and political rights as adults – even though they have some legal rights trough national and international laws. Agency can be described as thin and thick agency; depending on factors such as age, poverty, gender and ethnicity can enhance or reduce

people's agency. Thin agency depends on external circumstances for instance being marginalized. Young people can choose to negotiate their agency or provide their own actions despite adults.

3.8 Transnationalism

When discussing unaccompanied immigrants and migration today, transnationalism becomes a concept of importance, transmigration is in its simplest from; transmigration or a trans migrant is one person that lives across boarders. "Transmigrants are frequently represented as liminal ('in between') and perhaps also 'above and beyond'. A variety of terms (transnational itself, translocal, cosmopolitan) carry this implication or convey a presumed creolity, hybridity or postnationality" (Grillo, 2007, p. 201). For unaccompanied immigrants they often find themselves in such a limbo, between their origin culture (and often family) and their new culture with their sociocultural and political expectations. This new reality is transnationalism; relations to relatives and friends in other parts of the world, today such contact often happens trough the Internet (Söderqvist, 2014). It appears of importance to discuss new types of cultures and identities, and view transmigrants as competent to construct their own identities, rather than to subscribe to existing patterns (Söderqvist, Bülow and Sjöblom, 2015). Emphasising the need for the host country to have an understanding of the transmigrants ethnical and social networks as an asset, and find new ways to see these situations as problematic and troubles of leaving the past experiences behind. "The transnational family becomes an environment in which new social norms and values centred mobility, dispersion and long-distance exchanges can be learnt" (Nedelcu, 2012, p. 1351). Transnationalism is a way to keep up the past cultural beliefs, social capital and habitus within the new country and the old, country of origin.

3.9 Spaces and places

"Place is what becomes of space when it is invested with meaning and comes to have some kind of identity in its own right"(Clark & Gallacher, 2013). Spaces is always relational, heterogeneous, constructed and contains some sort of social action. Spaces give the possibility for agents to makes places. One also makes the separation between informal and formal spaces and places, where the informal ones is where children and young people have the possibility to make their own places, based on their own constructions. Where formal places seems to be what is constructed for children by adults (Clark & Gallacher, 2013). Children and young people will negotiate their spaces "young people are able to make use of official channels and processes so as to negotiate their own uses of space and to enable their

own activities*"* (Clark & Gallacher, 2013, p. 32). It can also be internal conflicts between peers on how spaces should be used. Bourdieu use the term social field as a way to understand spaces and places, however he claims that social field is constructed by the agents and that each field has its own rules (doxa), and according to these rules the social members will evaluate the individual and ascribe them a position there, within the field. A space becomes a place when it has meaningful relations for the individual; it entails a social construction with other human beings, in order to become a place (Bak, 2013, p. 26). This can again be related to Bourdieu and how social fields and spaces is socially constructed and not fixed.

Summary:
Children and youth are socially constructed depending on the context in that specific place and time. This chapter have given a short presentation on the studies of children and youth. Further attention has been on the contested concepts of culture and social capital. The main focus is Bourdieu and his theory of practice focusing on social capital, which further will be used as a analytical tool in the analysis chapters to share light on the experiences from unaccompanied immigrants. The process of a new cultural and social reality is complex and consists of new social fields, and cultural capital, individual agency and being at risk, and resilient in this process. The next chapter will give an insight in the process of gathering data for analysis.

4. Methodology and Methods

This chapter will give insight in my approaches towards researching unaccompanied immigrants as social actors in their own right using a qualitative approach. The outline of this chapter is to present theoretical approaches to methodology and methods, before presenting how methods were used as research tools in order to gather data in this research. The aim of the chapter is to give insight in the research process from idea to analysis. Primary data has been gathered by trough qualitative semi-structured interview and life grid.

"For children to have a voice and identify themselves as citizens, there has to be acknowledgement of their status as social actors in their own right" (Kellet & Robinson, 2004, p. 91). This also applies for unaccompanied immigrants. The humanistic approach favours qualitative research methods, as most suitable to understanding the whole person and the meaning and purpose of behaviour (Eide, 2013b). The origin of qualitative methods is to be found within humanities; sociology, anthropology, geography and history (Mayoux, 2006). "Qualitative methodologies are characterized by an in-depth, intensive approach rather than an extensive or numerical approach" (Limb & Dwyer, 2001 p.6). Each discipline have further developed their own research methods still there are no specific boundaries between disciplines and qualitative methods. Qualitative methods view informants as experts and by understanding their experiences researchers gain knowledge about the phenomena (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014).

4.1 Doing research with children and youth

With the new sociology of children and childhood, children and young people has become worthy of studying in their own right, "People who study childhood are increasingly seeing children as capable of creating their own cultural constructions, including that of childhood" (Qvortrup 1994; Montgomery, 2002, p. 50). The history of research on children and young people presents research done "on" rather than "with" children. This changed in the 1980´s, with the arguments that children and youth have to be seen as competent reliable social actors. Giving information about their lives on their own. Historically studying youth have similarities to childhood studies, regarding studies "on" rather than "with". France (2004) argues "Recognising this context is critical if we are to undertake research undertake research that has a positive contribution to make to debates about what it might mean to be young" (France, 2004, p. 175). Even if the informant have turned 18 years old, they found themselves in a difficult life situation. Therefore it was important for me to recognise the context and trough whose perspective information were gathered, form a political point of view, social

workers or unaccompanied immigrants themselves. In my thesis the main aim is to have experiences from unaccompanied immigrants. This led me to qualitative interviews and life grid as research tools, as the informant had turned 18 years old, I choose not to use child friendly methods. Qualitative interviewing seeks to gain in depth information (Gu, 2013). Qualitative interview became the main method for data gathering.

4.2 The qualitative interview

Qualitative research is recognized by the fact that information is gathered from a small group where the aim is to gain in-debt information about the informant's life and lived experiences. Qualitative research often have interview as the main approach; "based on the conversations of daily life and it's a professional conversation; it is an interview where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and the interviewee" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 4). The qualitative interview gives insight in the meaning making processes of individuals, in that sense gives further understanding of the life world of the informants.

For this research project interviews has been used as the primary method for data gathering. More precisely semi-structured interviews as this opened to follow up on answers from informants. In the semi-structured interviews the researcher will have themes and an interview guide to follow during the interview, but there still will be an option to follow up on narratives from the interviewee. It is a flexible interview that seeks to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2012). The structure of the interview is as a conversation between two parties, still aware of the unequal positions between the researcher and the interviewee. The interviewee talks according to a set structure (interview guide) from the researcher (Gu, 2013). Plausibly having additional information outside the interview guide. Still there will be limitations to information gained from interviews. The researcher will not necessarily know every person the informant is talking about, this will often make the informant to create changes in the story (Gudmundsdottir, 1996). "Our informants tell stories – stories that show how they have used a narrative structure to organize their images and experiences" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014). Interviewees will not necessarily give correct information; some may think certain answers are preferable. It will always be a broader context the researcher could be restricted from; informant will choose what to tell and what to keep for themselves. I left this option very open in fear of causing distress or problems for the informant. "Narrative interviews center on the stories the subjects tell, on the plots and structures of their accounts" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 178).

A narrative is a story – a lived experience the informant chooses to share during the interview. I did not ask for specific stories during my interviews, however when informants started to share stories during their interviews I let them tell the stories. Sometimes I followed up on these stories and asked the informant to elaborate on what they had told. "Content and a narrative analysis struggle continuously with the problem of context or the embeddedness with the text or story within personal or group experience" (Manning & Cullum - Swan, 1994, p. 474). Focusing on their experiences from childhood till presence somehow the whole interview is narrative, as it is about their experience during their life. The understanding of narrative as an ontological condition for social life is connected to available social, public or cultural narratives (Kjørholt, 2004). We all have stories to tell, and through qualitative methods these stories, that surrounds us at all times get a voice hence the possibility to be heard from a wider audience. Eide (2005) emphasize how to do research on previous events may not always give the full story, as the process of recalling everything in one story is hard. This will again restrict the past from being presented as it was in that moment. Also how historical happenings always will entail a construction both from the informant and the person analyzing such stories. However, "*Knowing todays circumstances determine what and how we reconstruct… …our new past is not more final than the previous one*" (Lowenthal 1985, p. 411 in Eide, 2005, p. 17). It will always be some problems and challenges doing research in retrospect, as memories can be shaped by present experiences. In this research process, life grid were used as a tool a tool exploring experiences in the past, also opening up for the informant to compare past and present throughout the interview.

4.2.1 Life grid
The life grid is an approach, where the researcher use a "grid" or "table" structure, with the aim of visualise aspects of the informants lives. It is a tool to give the informant an overview over past experiences. "The grid has the 'potential to alter traditional interview dynamics' and power relationships" (Wilson, Cunningham-Burley, Bancroft, Backett-Milburn, & Masters, 2007, p. 137). Life grid was used as a research method, as a way for informants to reflect around their daily routines, and their life course, the life history. Life history interviews aims to understand the circumstances in which the informant were born (Gu, 2013). Through life grid memories were, systematised their routines and their environment, also providing for a scheme where they can keep their focus during the interviews. It provides for an option to reconstruct their life stories (Richardson, Ong, Sim, & Corbett,

2009). Life grid can increase respondent's degree of control, and can be used as a tool to avoid sensitive and intrusive themes. It provides for a chronological life representation however there is no need for the informants to talk in chronological order. Life grid is a time line over the informant's lives and experiences (Wilson et al., 2007). Dividing the columns into life periods, and the horizontal lines will consist of the individuals environment, where, with whom, what (activities) and will have the possibility to give own comments. I used this with various luck, and not in all of the interviews. "The ability of the life history method to trace this process from the social actor´s viewpoint makes it a proper approach for immigration research" (Gu, 2013, p. 510). The two main arguments is; "the developmental social process", migration is not a one time happening, but a social and constructive on-going process, and "relocating oneself and one´s family to a new society is one of the most drastic actions that a person can take in their lifetime" (Gu, 2013, p. 510). In this research the aim was to grasp this process, and find the strategies and challenges in meeting a new culture.

4.3 Power imbalance

In any research there is some sort of power imbalance, especially when conducting research with children and young people. The research interview involves a clear power asymmetry between the researcher and the subject (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014). This power imbalance needs to be acknowledged in the research process. Doing research with marginalized groups whether it is children and young people in their own, or unaccompanied immigrants, ethical considerations must me made. Such ethical considerations must be a continuous process t throughout the study. The qualitative interview also could empower the informants, by giving them a voice (Gu, 2013). In society, the issue of power surrounds us at all times this is especially important between children, youth and adults (Kellet & Robinson, 2004). Undertaking research with unaccompanied immigrants the researchers position has to be as clear as possible. Many informants have been interviewed several times as a part of their asylum process. "Imbalance in power are central to all relationships, but they are magnified in adult-child relationships, as research projects cannot erase the context of adult power that children face daily in their homes, school and communities" (Gudmundsdottir, 1996, p. 295). Still it is important to acknowledge this imbalance in power even if it is not clearly outspoken it is incorporated in the situation both for the interviewer and the interviewee. In this thesis interviewees are referred to as informant, and not participants, as they have not been part of the whole research process. Referring to unaccompanied immigrants as informants means that they have specific experiences in interest for the study (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014).

I tried to make an interview situation where the power is shared between the interviewee and me as a researcher, which I will explain further later on. However, in the end it was me as the researcher that has had control over the information they gave me, and the analysis of their experiences, and some would argue that in order to keep the power imbalance as little as possible, the informants themselves should be given the option to be part of the whole research process from analysis to finished product.

4.4 Sample

"Sample is a sub-set of the overall population (of individuals or events) with which the research is concerned" (Tisdall, Davis, & Gallagher, 2009, p. 229). In my case the sample is unaccompanied immigrants that has come to Norway.

Accessing unaccompanied immigrants proved to be a challenging process, therefore I had little limitations for the study and the sample. Other than it being unaccompanied immigrants, that had turned 18 years old having experienced coming to Norway. I had no gender limitations, but as the largest number of immigrants coming to Norway is male, this also was reflected in the study. I agreed with the gatekeepers that due to the limited time of contact between the researcher and the informant, it was of importance that informants were not struggling from traumas. "Both legal and ethical frameworks rely upon the notion of competence but such a concept is problematic. Many professionals working with children and young people are, by law and statute and, given the power to define who is competent and who is not" (France, 2004). For the researcher this is important to keep in mind that the gatekeepers socially construct determine who is competent to answer and participate in a study. Often reasoned by protection from harm, and emotional health and wellbeing. For me, access became a multiple-step process.

Step 1 Accessing reception centres

I contacted UDI in December 2014, asking for possible access to reception centres as and a sample there. The answer was that I, as a master's student would have to be part of a bigger research project in order to access trough them. This led me to other options, and unaccompanied immigrants that had been granted asylum and their experiences in retrospect, after settlement. I also chose to interview unaccompanied immigrants that had turned 18 years old, as they also could give informed consent on their own and not depending on legal

guardians, still they would have gatekeepers restricting my access.

Step 2 Accessing municipalities

In May/June 2015 I contacted municipality; A, which I knew had a big care system for unaccompanied immigrants. I got an agreement with them to conduct my interviews in September. As far as I understood this would not be a problem. Still, by the end of August when I contacted them again, the migration situation in Norway had changed and the capacity of the care system were being tested, so the capability and the access I assumed I had, were not there anymore. Still we had a meeting and they told me that they would help me to hand out invitations to possible informants. This situation led me to another Municipality; B.

Step 3 Accessing Informants

Municipality B were positive, and gave me access to two informants. Municipality A handed out the invitation to 20 unaccompanied immigrants however, this did take some time both on mine, and their hand. From I sent invitations to the municipality and they passed them on it took approximately one month. Still the municipality were very helpful, and they also had their social workers to contact possible informants, reminding them about my invitation and encouraged their participation. This led me to four informants; still it was only two that agreed to meet me for an interview.

Step 4 Uncertainties

This was the longest and hardest time in the whole research process. I knew that I had a small sample and was not sure that the data I had gathered was rich enough. I had contact with municipality A, asking them about the access for informants, still it was with no luck. I also contacted three new municipalities about possible informants, with no luck due to the difficult situation with the whole migrant situation in Norway. At this point I was about to give up the whole project. I contacted municipality B again, and now they had more informants, and I got to interview the two I had interviewed first, for a second time. This was also the case with one of the informant from municipality A, which left me with 7 unaccompanied immigrants as informants, out of this 3 of them I met with twice.

Step 5 Realities.

As the access process was so hard, I also choose to include two staff leaders as informants, sharing the experiences and voices from professionals what they found challenging working

with unaccompanied immigrants. So in early February I had my last interview, which left me with this sample:

Clark is 19 years old	He came to Norway at the age of 17. He waited one year in a reception centre for his application to be treated, before he got residence in a municipality in Norway. He came from sub-Saharan Africa, and still has contact with his family there. He has now lived in Norway 2 years.
Bruce is 19 years old	He left his home at 13, and came to Norway at the age of 16. He lived in two different reception centres before he got residence in a municipality in Norway. He is also from sub-Saharan Africa and has contact with his family. He has now lived in Norway 3 years.
Peter is 19 years old	He came to Norway at the age of 9, with his siblings from sub-Saharan Africa. He got foster care residence in a municipality in Norway. Peter and his siblings had been living three years in a refugee camp before their arrival to Norway. He has now lived in Norway 10 years.
Tony is 19 years old	He came to Norway at 16; he lived in one reception centre before he got residence in a municipality in Norway. He came here from a sub-Saharan country. Tony lived with his family before he chose to leave for Norway; where has lived for 3 years.
Robert is 18 years old	He came to Norway at 16, and lived in one place before he got residence in a municipality in Norway. He came on his own from a central Asian country. He did not wish to share anything about his family. He has Now lived in Norway 3 years.
Thor is 18 years old	He came to Norway at 16.5 years old, and lived in one place before he got residence in a municipality in Norway. He came from sub-Saharan Africa, and chose to migrate on his own, despite his family´s wishes. He has now lived in Norway 2.5 years.
James is 23 years old	James came to Norway when he was 16 years old. He lived at one reception centre before he got residence in a municipality in Norway. James came here from Central Asia, after spending some years in a refugee camp there. He has now lived in Norway 7 years.

Additional I interviewed two staff leaders from municipality A, and B. In municipality A, the staff-leader were educated as a social worker responsible for one institution as part of a wider system of unaccompanied immigrants organized by the child welfare services in the municipality. This municipality is quite big in Norwegian terms, with over 100 000 citizens. Caring for over 100 unaccompanied immigrants. In municipality B the team leader were educated as a nurse, specializing in psychiatry, now titled psychiatric health worker. In this municipality settlement were organized under the municipality, collaborating with the child

welfare services. This was a smaller municipality with less than 10.000 citizens, caring for less than 100 unaccompanied immigrants.

4.4.1 Doing research with unaccompanied immigrants

Undertaking research with unaccompanied immigrants it is of importance to make the researchers position clear, as many have been interviewed several times as part of their asylum process. Unaccompanied immigrants may be reluctant fearing their information will have consequences for their asylum claim. All the informant had been granted asylum thus this did not seem to be a problem for the informant. The asylum interviews aims to confirm the credibility of the immigrant (Lidén, 2013), which again has a clear power imbalance between the interviewer and the interviewee. Gudmundsdottir (1996) explains how imbalance in power is magnified in adult-child relationships; this will also be the case for unaccompanied immigrants as they are daily-undermined adults with power over their lives.

Hopkins (2008) approached research with unaccompanied asylum seekers in three parts; first discussing the present, secondly immediate past, and if the interviewee felt comfortable discussing such issues, pre-flight experiences. Unaccompanied immigrants are vulnerable, and may have distressing and traumatic experiences. Some researchers choose to leave out all pre-flight experiences; at the same time it is important to keep an open mind not to assume what the informant may find difficult to talk about (Cahill, 2007). Doing research with unaccompanied asylum seekers means that there are many ethical considerations. "Assurance that ´you can tell me any time you want to stop` tends to deny powerful influences that may deter interviewees from saying they want to leave" Hopkins (2008) solved this by giving the informants the option to stop the interview situation, by an equal choice between two activities; continue the interview or undertake an activity with the others.

4.5 The research process

This part will present the actual research process that I used for my data collection from interviews to analysis.

4.5.1 Interviews across culture

"When doing cross-cultural interviewing it is difficult to become aware of the multitude of cultural factors (habits, practices, positions, narrative resources) that affect the relationship between interviewer and interviewee" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 168). I was very aware of this for the first interview and aiming to use simple language and questions. Yet, I

discovered that I as the researcher, and Norwegian, assumed that the understanding would be the same for the informant. Having left to little consideration to cultural differences when formulating questions. This became clear as I asked about the Norwegian context, taking for granted a mutual understanding. This did impact the rest of the interview as I became tense, and struggled to rephrase questions. Here an example from investigating daily routines and social networks.

Researcher: Ehh.. Who do you have contact with during a regular day? (Stressing) I guess that there would be many different persons…

Informant: Ehm… No. I only have one friend and he is the one contacting me all the time

Researcher: Ok, what about the teachers?

Informant: When we are in school I have contact with my teachers.

In this situation I feel that I affected the interviewee in a negative way. Making it harder for him to answer, in fear of being compromising and make a point of his small social network. "Since, the main purpose of qualitative interviews is to gather in-depth information about the subjects´ perceptions and experiences, using a language with which the subjects feel comfortable helps them to express themselves freely and vividly" (Gu, 2013, p. 514).

All the informants attended Norwegian courses, and could express themselves in Norwegian. Still, considering their language limitations I automatically changed to "bokmål", the official Norwegian during the interviews. Some informants seemed to be unconfident of their ability to use Norwegian still they expressed themselves clearly. I tried to make the language challenges a good experience for them, as it was opportunity for them to practice Norwegian. I confirmed and supported them, as some had little practice of using the Norwegian language in encounters outside school. The challenge became to ensure that informants had understood the question and for me, their answers. This was solved by rephrasing questions, and answers, in order to give informants understanding of my perceptions. This seemed to be appreciated from the informants, and they did not have problems to clarify where needed. Yet, I sometimes feel that I put my understanding into the question – not leaving it neutral and open-ended. "The interviewer and the interviewee often come from different worlds, which could result in different understandings of the same word" (Gu, 2013, p. 508). This was reappearing when asking about age in all my interviews; still it also is a way to explain what I am asking, as age can be a challenging notion.

Researcher: Does age determine what you are allowed to in your home country?

Informant: No

> **Researcher:** Not at all? … So when you came to Norway, where, here it is like when you are 18 years old you are allowed to decide on your own and.. so how is this in your country of origin?

This situation in hindsight shows me how I, as the researcher in a attempt to explain the question also could impact the informant. This also applies for how the informant understand the questions asked, I spent time on going trough the same themes in different ways during the interview. As a way to control that I had understood what I was told. Still, the best would be as Gu (2013) suggests conducting the research in the informants' native language.

4.5.2 My position as a researcher

In every study the position of the researcher is important to be aware of, and especially when undertaking research with children and youth. I will not go further into child-adult roles, as the informant were youth. Still, I present Abebe and his "child-friendly adult" approach, as this is was my attempted. Abebe (2009) presents the "friendly adult" – role, with the aim of minimizing the power, meeting children treating them with respect, as a friend. I worried if my background as a social worker would affect me during the interviews, fearing it would impact the information and create reasons for their situation and experiences. This did not affect me as much as I worried, as I tried to think of the informant as the experts. Leaving out my reasoning and explanations. In migration studies, there is a question if one is positioned as insider, or outsider researcher. The insider is when the researcher belongs to the immigrant group studied, leaving me as the outsider. This challenges the understanding of culture and migration history, language and trust. The positive being an outside researcher is that due to the cultural gap, is to examine components that the insider position do not typically observe (Gu, 2013). Yet, I found that as insider in the majority society, I presumed mutual understanding of the new society. I cannot tell if this is the case or not, as I have no possibility to adapt to the insider research position, however I recognize the dilemmas and negative sides, recognizing that the cultural gap also accessed me to new information.

Opposite to Hopkins (2008) I choose to, discussing the informant's experiences unstructured, following up on the informant's answers. Comparing experiences from the past (pre-flight) to the present. However as the informant have granted asylum, and had a refugee status, what they told me could not impact their asylum claim. My approach was not indented to be this way, but as the informant seemed to be most comfortably explaining, and comparing experiences moving back and forth in time I let them. Even though I had structured my

interview guide the same way as Hopkins (2008). Throughout the interviews the informant continuously compared their experiences, past and present it appeared to be the easiest way for them to reason. I found it helpful as I could build my further questions about their past on the comparisons they told me, however in some interviews it also made me stressed. I kept an open mind to what the informant wished to share, and did not at all ask about their experiences during the flight. When the informants themselves shared information about their flight. Again, I in fear of being intrusive or was cause stress or trauma for them, I did not go further into this information. Still I confirmed what they told me, as it could be of importance for the informant. My intent for this study was not to learn about their flight experience, but the cultural change moving from one society to another and experiences within the new, Norway.

4.5.3 Interview context

Meeting my first informants, I was tense about the interview context, as I had left it open for the informants, and the gatekeepers. I had one interview at a youth club, one at a library, three at a café and the remaining seven interviews at an office at the institution. I was worried to meet in a public place, however, the informant did not seem to mind. In a way it became a more intimate situation, giving the informant more control and limiting the structure of power. Yet, increasing the question of confidentiality and privacy for the informant. I knew that the café we had agreed to meet was a known place for them. As it was connected to the social care system in the municipality they seemed to be were comfortable. I choose to meet them at a time during the day where it was few people at the café. As Abebe (2009) explains he also conducted his interviews community spaces, "where everyone seemed to be preoccupied with their own affairs". This is the same impression I got from being at the café.

4.5.4 Being the Interviewer

Even if my position as researcher aimed to keep the issue of power neutral, the power-imbalance became clear. I could see how the informant expected me to take control. However, those I met twice, seemed to be more open to take control the second time we met, and started asking me questions in return;

Informant: Like in my country of origin, you are expected to help out within the families, especially girls, when they start to become adults. Like not children but teens kind of… Is it the same in Norwegian families?

Researcher: Well, that would wary. In some families children help a lot doing household chores or something. In other families children would have no responsibilities. For me when I grew up, I had to help out by babysitting my younger siblings or partake with farm chores.

At first, I was not sure if it would be ethical for me to respond, in fear of impacting my informant. Nevertheless I choose to answer by the best of my ability. Having awareness how I could be interpreted as the represent for the Norwegian population. Emphasising how I only could make assumptions, and what I expressed would be a matter of personal experiences. In one interview, the informant wished to have a staff member present. When the staff member had to leave the room, the informant told me how some friends and him had been out drinking some alcohol and walking in the streets at night. Meeting a Norwegian man, asking for cigarettes, and trying to make a conversation they asked if he (the Norwegian) could use "bokmål" talking with them. "And then he told us that he could not do that, he said; I don't speak "bokmål", I only speak dialect… can you tell me why is that?" Reading trough the transcript of the interview I only confirmed his history without giving an answer. In hindsight I wish that I had answered and discussed this situation more, even if I did not have the answer.

As mentioned, I used life grid with as a research tool, with various luck. Experiencing how it could be a good tool for structure and trying to recall lived experiences. For some informants it seemed frightening, I felt that this restricted some of the interviews. Having to fit the information in a structured table, which seemed unfamiliar for some informants. It may be due to my uncertainty as a researcher using this research method, adding pressure affecting the informant. In one interview I found the life grid approach very helpful, as my informant also was reluctant to talk too much about his past experiences. However, as I filled out the table, he could see the sheet in front of us, and how I used it. He made sure that I did not confuse him as he told me about his experiences in country of origin. I began to ask about current experiences, "Now we are talking about my experiences in my origin country, we will wait with my recent experiences till later" he told me during the interview.

"Being a researcher, being a friend?" is a question raised by Kjørholt (2011) reflecting on the relations between researcher and informant. How we affect each other trough encounters could and from there build friendship. "Doing research with children manes building trust by spending time and being together, sharing everyday life, giving moral support in different ways, participating in games and play, sharing meals, talking and sharing thoughts and more" (Kjørholt, 2011, p. 32). In my case this occurred as informants asked me questions like "why is that?" I answered my best and shared my reflections as a Norwegian. Being a friend, and sharing from my experiences, as this was a way to open up to give back to the informant. I

can also see how I became more confident throughout the process. In the beginning I was afraid of silence, in the last interviews I used that as an advantage, giving the informants room to think and reason before giving answers.

4.6 Ethical considerations:

Doing research with unaccompanied immigrants has many ethical considerations, and in the Norwegian context children is often seen as vulnerable, however as mentioned in the intro, it is of importance to include the voices of unaccompanied immigrants. To include children in research may give them the feeling of being heard and appreciated. This was important for me during my interviews and my role as the researcher, acknowledging their experiences and competencies when participating this research project.

4.6.1 Informed consent:

"Informed consent entails informing the research participants about the overall purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design, as well as of any possible risks and benefits from participation in the research project" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 93). Before conducting the interviews I introduced myself and explained the purpose, and aim of the study. Emphasising voluntarily participation, and the possibility to withdraw at any time. "Participants can only consent if they are informed about, and understand, something of the nature, purpose and likely consequences of the research" (Tisdall et al., 2009, p. 15). Informed consent is debated in studies regarding youth, since they find themselves in a blur between childhood and adulthood. However, one could argue for presumption of competence, rather than incompetence, crediting children to be able making decisions in their life (France, 2004). The aim of the study was challenging to explain due to language barrier, and securing informants knew what they agreed on. It seemed like cultural differences became clear when some did not know what a master thesis is. I explained how, and why I was doing this project and why their experiences is of importance. Before, during and after the interview I repeated the option to withdraw. Emphasising that the option to withdraw also was open after the interview, they could text me or, let their gatekeepers know. Some of the informant seemed reluctant to read and sign the informed consent paper this could be due to their literacy level or language skills. I spent time to explain why I asked them to meet me, and emphasised that to take part in the study were voluntarily and that the data would be presented anonymously.

4.6.2 Consequences for the informant

It is important to remember that the young people should have protection from harm during a

research project. The researcher needs to make sure that the youth does not adversely take harm from the research project (France 2004). For this study reflections were made, being sensitive towards pre-flight and family situation, in fear of causing stress. Along with informed consent a list of themes for the interview were handed out (See appendix, V, p. 122). Leaving it for the informants to clarify if there were issues they did not wish to discuss. Throughout the interviews I confirmed that they still were open to discuss what they had not left out, by asking "is it okay that I ask about your family?". Cahill (2007) raises the question of who is to define what is traumatic for one person, as is individual. During interviews some informants told about loss of family members and witnessing difficult situations, which others could be define as traumatic. When informants shared such sensitive information I did not investigate further, as I have limited knowledge about traumas. Still I took it as a sign of trust, and for me it was important to acknowledge their experiences, by confirming their stories. When encouraging children and youth to tell their life stories, sensitivity towards their information and protection from either disclosing something they may not have wished to, or damaging their fragile coping situations is important (Abebe, 2009). I choose to acknowledge it as it was part of their life stories, for them it could be significant parts. However I did not ask to elaborate more into such themes.

4.6.4 Anonymity and names

The anonymity for the informant is important, especially conducting research on a marginalized group (Morrow & Alderson, 2011). "The principle of anonymity is that individual participants should not be identifiable in research outputs" (Gallagher, 2009, p. 19). I solved this by not mentioning the name of the informant, municipality or the country of origin in the study. In the transcription process I only mentioned gender, age and municipality A or B. Considerations were made for informants to choose their own names, however in fear of making them recognizable the option was not implemented. Naming them myself inspired by superheroes, as a symbol of how they were perceived. In addition making their names international. Norwegian names were considered, however, this could make the wrong connotations, as many of them did not consider themselves Norwegians. Information about anonymity was presented with the informed consent, yet some told me they were comfortable with me using their name. One of the informants wanted to have his anonymity confirmed several times during the interview. He seemed to be reassured and gave more information as his anonymity was confirmed, except his gender and age.

4.6. 5 Reciprocity:

Reciprocity needs ethical considerations regarding how it is perceived from the informant and the surroundings, it can lead to misunderstanding and embarrassment between researcher and informant (Morrow & Alderson, 2011). It could lead to participation for "the wrong reasons", as the motivation could be payment. Still, for the researchers to give something back could be a sign of appreciation. Abebe (2009) choose to give back in form of paying for meals and "giving them some money" as a token of appreciation for the children's participations. I surprised the informant with a gift card as a surprise after the interviews, as a token of appreciation. I considered giving small gifts, yet as I did not know what they needed or would value I choose gift cards, so they could buy something themselves. Most of the informant received this with gratification, however in one interview the informant emphasised how it was not necessary. He was happy to contribute and wished to participate regardless of the gift card. He told me how reciprocity would come in some way or another "you know, if you do favours you will always get something good in return later on in life". I explained how I agreed, yet, I wished to give him the gift card as it was my appreciation to him. I gave him the opportunity to accept or not, emphasising how this was not purely "payment" but my way of giving back.

4.7 After the interview

After the interviews I tried to make a short summary for myself where I highlighted what seemed to be the main issues during the interview. Still, I transcribed the interview detailed as soon as possible after conducting them.

4.7.1 Transcribing interviews

Transcription is the process when one turns the oral information from the interview into writing. After permission from informants, I recorded our conversations in order to have clear transcripts. "Transcription is an interpretative process, where the differences between oral speech and written text give rise to a series of practical and principal issues" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 203). I also kept a notebook during the interviews where I wrote down if there was something I felt was significant. Transcriptions were made as accurate as possible, with codes for long pauses during the interview. My notes included body language where it seemed of importance. During the transcription notes for me, and my position as a researcher were made before the next interviews;

> **Researcher:** Can you tell me about a regular day for you?
>
> **Informant:** In Norway or?
>
> **Researcher:** yes, in Norway.

Informant: Yes, I go to school every day… (pause) [Talks quietly] Aaand, that is good for me. It makes me happy.

Researcher: (*Clearly stressed and almost interrupting the informant as he answers*); Do you wake up and go to school on your own?

This is an example of how detailed reproduction of our conversations was made, including the strength of the voice from informants. I choose to keep grammatical errors in the transcripts, to "reflect the subjects minds and expressions" (Gu, 2013, p. 515). Enabling to perceive how informants had phrased the statements, as this could affect the interpretation during analysis. The transcription of interviews is a long process, I choose to transcribe them in Norwegian and translate them as I began the analysis.

4.7.2 Coding

The process of coding the interviews was interesting; in the beginning I found it challenging to distance myself from the interview guide. I had to go trough the data and divide into social fields and this gave me the tools for coding. Open coding processes were attempted, categorizing data after examining, breaking them down in bits, conceptualizing (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014). Segments of text were marked in colors attached to codes for identification. Colors were used to separate between codes, themes and concepts identified resulting in these codes: care system, religion, future, cultural differences, age, "us/them", childhood and family, identity, meeting Norway, integration/ culture, food, social networks, music, education and habits (body language). From colored themes in the interviews, segments from interviews were sorted by themes in a document. Focusing on social fields and how the codes seemed to affect social fields, and the social fields the codes, starting the interpretation leading to analysis..

4.7.3 Analysis

"To analyse something means to separate something into parts or elements" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 219). It is in the researchers power how division into elements come out, with a responsibility to ensure that the story told to the audience reflects information from interviews. This process establishes if it is a deductive or inductive approach. Deductive is when information is from something general to something special trough falsifying a hypothesis. Inductive is information from something general to something specific, in this research unaccompanied immigrants experiences with the social and cultural change. "In the analysis phase of the research project data are sorted, named, categorized and connected, and all these activities entail interpretation" (Boeije, 2010, p. 94). This process proved to be more

challenging than anticipated. To make distance from the interview guide and look at the interviews again was challenging. I had to go trough the interviews having Bourdieus concepts of social capital and social fields in mind in order to find information. Leaving me with a top-down analysis; from "social capital" as concept to the specific content of social capital identified for the informants, an inductive approach.

4.7.4 Presenting the data and findings

When presenting the findings, the researcher uses the analysis and interpretations made and present them to the audience. "The interpreter goes beyond what is directly said to work out structures and relations of meanings nor immediately apparent in a text… …interpretation recontextualises the statements within broader frames of references" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 235). Data and analysis will be presented in the same chapter, findings will be backed up with previous research, and theory. This could make it more difficult for the reader to identify findings therefore I present quotes from the informant and analyse them in each section. "In qualitative research, it is the researcher´s that constitute the results" (Boeije, 2010, p. 150). This means that the interpretation could be different by different researchers, aligned with the frames of references and theoretical framework used. I present the statements from the informant as narratives, small stories told during interviews. Previous research and theoretical framework will give insight in interpretations from narratives.

4.7.5 Validity

"Validation rests on the quality of the researcher´s craftsmanship throughout an investigation, on continually checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting the findings*"* (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 284). In qualitative research this can be reached trough triangulation by using multiple methods to secure the trustworthiness of the findings. This project may seem to be insufficient, as only qualitative interviews have been used. Yet, the findings have been crosschecked to the transcripts at several times. "To validate is to theorize. Validity is not only an issue of method. Pursuing the methodological issues of validation generates theoretical questions about the nature of the phenomena investigated" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014, p. 287) This can achieved trough asking questions like "what" and "why" during the interpretation. It also becomes a question of reflexivity and that the researcher reflects on how he or she might affect the study (Tisdall et al., 2009). It becomes a question of trustworthiness, for me it has been important to keep to the transcripts and the voices from the informant. Still, my interpretation may be different form others.

Summary:

This chapter have presented a theoretical insight of qualitative methodology and methods for childhood studies. The main focus has been to present the research tools and reasons for choices made throughout the research process. Trough semi structured qualitative interviews, and life grid the aim was to increase the understanding of unaccompanied immigrants experiences in meeting Norway. Insight in the data gathering process has been presented, including challenges and ethical considerations. The project has not been easily done, and I am aware that I have a small sample, however, I ended up with rich data and throughout the analysis the problem became to limit the study to certain points. The following chapters will present the findings from the data.

5. It´s a totally different culture here…

This is a quote from Peter, one informant who came to Norway at the age of 9, reflecting on what he came from, and what he met – a change that has led to a new reality as transnational youth. Unaccompanied immigrants challenge the Norwegian authorities and the "common" view on childhood and children; how they should be perceived, is it as in need of protection being a child on your own, or being a refugee. As mentioned, I have two analysis chapters this being the first; where I wish to present their stories about the past and where they came from and their experiences meeting Norway. The analysis of my informant's findings will be discussed in regard to previous research and theory, trough the narratives of the informant. Focusing on the cross-cultural encounters, structural boundaries and the ambivalence they found themselves in the crossroads between children, and adults. I also find it of importance to reflect on how unaccompanied immigrants tend to be perceived by the society. Are they anchor for the rest of the family to come here?, or as in need of protection?, or as their parents trusting the "Norwegian state" to take care of their children (Ericsson, 2009). As the informant has been granted asylum, their need of protection is recognized.

2. ...Meeting

- Country of Origin
- Culture
- Family
- Uncertainty

- Norway
- New culture
- Transnationalim
- Care system

- Access to social fields
- Encounters
- Meaning
- Belonging

3. Being Integrated

1. Coming from...
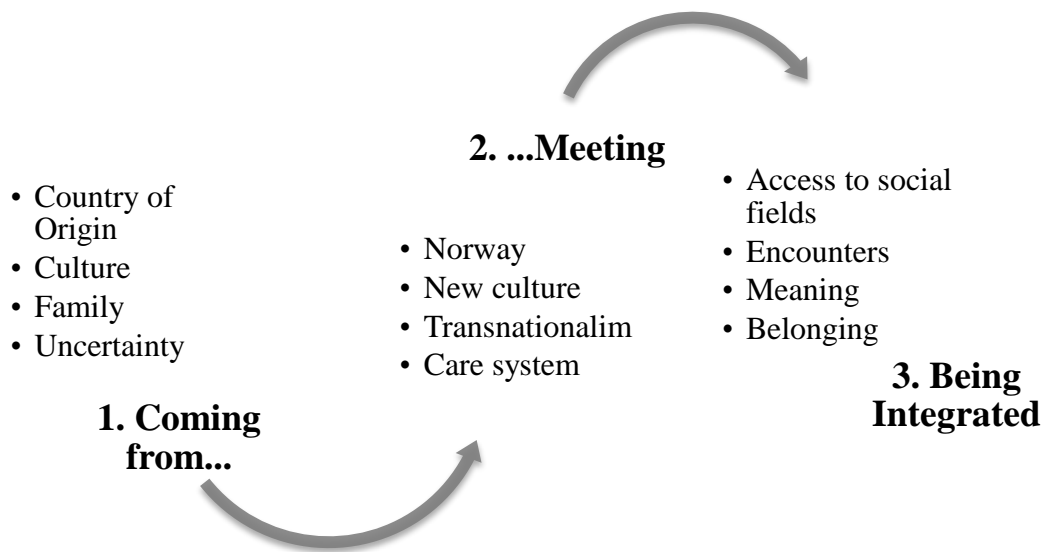
The figure above illustrates how I will present my analysis. First I present their experiences related to where they came from and the social capital they came with. There is no clear-cut border between the past and the present, rather dynamic interrelatedness between memories of the past and their reality today. One may ask whether their social capital is relevant in their new society?

5.1 Cultural encounters; from what – to what?

> It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory… …In particular, it defines and disinterested those form of exchange which ensure the *transubstantiation* whereby the most material types of capital – those which are economic in the restricted sense – can present themselves in the immaterial form of cultural capital or social capital and vice versa (Bourdieu 2011, p. 83).

Capital is not merely an economical term, it affect the social agents in all his or hers actions. Some informants recall a social world, where community and shared responsibilities were highly valued and part of their habitus, the embodied state which agents use within social fields. The rules of the game, or the social field cannot be found per se, but trough relations in practice (Moore, 2008). "African children learn to be interdependent, to share resources, and to live within family and community authority systems with at best covert questioning of them" (Weisner, 2000).

"It takes a village to raise a child" is an African proverb, which gives insight to the notion that the child has multiple caregivers, which again leads to valued relationships with multiple adults. Children are supposed to take part in household duties and contribute to the family, which again contributes to the village (Abebe, 2008; Corsaro, 1997). The informant is a heterogeneous group and all have different experiences from the past, and the aim is not to generalize, rather share some insight into what they recalled as important. Still, memories are not fixed, but changes with us (Eide 2005), hence their memories might have changed with their lived experiences with the transition from country of origin and Norway.

5.1.1 …Memories of the past

> It´s a totally different culture here, than where I come from. Norwegians and Africans have a different view at the world, now I´ve adapted the Norwegian way. In the refugee camp, we were people from many African nations. You did not need to know people in order to have conversations. Here one needs to know people to talk to them, but there it was like, I knew almost everyone you know, even as a child everyone knew who I am. I could never raise my voice to adults, and when I greeted adults, I would make sure that my handshake is light, out of respect you know. It´s supposed to be some sort of difference between children and adults there. I always address my siblings with titling them, like I would newer just use their first name; always have sister or brother first. You know I still miss it sometimes, all those people, and the sharing like. I don't know how to explain it but like it was just something holding us together, watching out for each other. In our culture, you would take things easy, or like – nothing will run away from you… I miss that you don't have to know people to talk to them, and food you know, it´s something special when I meet up with my

> siblings during holidays and we eat traditional food, that´s something special. I miss the food, the people and like the informal open society…   - Peter.

Peter recalled an "open society" where his presence was valued. Many people cared and shared the responsibility for children, and the child itself had responsibility to contribute. His habitus was bound to respect, for his elders, and for his contribution to the community in the refugee camp. Social capital was attached trough family, to the larger community within the camp. Communication with strangers' facilitated new social ties, which according to Putnam (1993) is bridging capital. Trust came with belonging and familiarity with social agents. In the same way as Peter, other informants told stories about this "open society" with trust and belonging. Peter used the term "unstructured" and "structured" societies, comparing his past with the present. Respect and knowing how to greet adults had become part of his habitus, the embodied capital. Thor told me how his way of contributing was trough working after school;

> I used to work in a small shop, like a small business after school. I earned money for me, and the family. I bought a cup for like 2 kroner right, and sold it again for a little more.   - Thor

Abebe (2007) discuss how children´s contribution is valued contribution in families, and how this again gives valuable knowledge and production, which is beneficial for the child, the family and the society; "the force in the continuation of social systems themselves" (p. 82). Along with Thor, both James and Robert shared similar experiences of work as part of their social capital;

> I had responsibility for half of my family at the age of 13/14 years old, almost the adult in the household. I worked and earned money to the family.   - James.

James gave the impression of his work as valued and counted on. The family relied on his contribution and how trusted him as an important part of the family household. Robert´s memories were different, yet indicated the same social capital;

> I came from hard realities you know; my days were hard work from morning to evening. Sometimes we did not have food, so we had to go to bed without eating. I lived with my family, but I had to spend my days with working with my parents, or go up in the mountains shepherding our cows and sheep. It was hard work. I did not get any love or care from my parents. The days were like this till it became dark. It was hard and brutally for a child.   - Robert.

Robert describes his contribution as hard work giving the picture of low parental attention and support. It seems like Robert view this social capital as negative, and that his contribution came without care and love in return. Roberts's experiences seemed to lack belonging outside

the kinship, it became something bad and it came with a cost the lack of love and care. All the informant explained that the community they came from attached their social capital to something bigger than the individual.

> Going to school the neighbouring kids, and me always walked together. We used this route to play. We walked together for protection too right, like if something should happen on the streets we were many together and could protect each other. We used to go for a swim after school and like we did not need to go back until it became dark in the evening. Every day after breakfast I used to go out and the neighbouring kids waited for me, and then we walked from house to house to pick up each other to go to school right. In our community every house had an open door, and like we just were together, and spent time together kids.   - Tony

Tony describes the neighbourhood as an area of safety, open doors, offering trust and support during the daytime. A place one takes care of each other. He talks about his school route with ambivalence; on the one hand it was a social field without parental control and play became part of it. On the other hand it was hazardous and dangerous, walking many together offered protection. The understanding of spaces and places for children are socially constructed, either from the children themselves or in a structural way from adults (Clark & Gallacher, 2013). For Tony and his friends it was some sort of positivity still he emphasised how the protection was most important, as they had experienced friends losing their lives on the school route.

My impression is that memories of the past were contested with certain ambivalence. Family and neighbourhood were regarded as a positive place where they belonged and received support. The society seemed to consist of uncertain realities and, lives with problematic prospects of the future. It seems like a transition from a culture where family, neighbourhood is valued within difficult realities. Tony gave this picture;

> In Norway time flies, everything is planned. Every second. In (country of origin) time does not pass that fast, and like there, the struggle is to make the day work and to survive you know. My mind set has changed; it is kind of difficult.   - Tony

For Tony, the change from the collectivistic culture to Norway also entailed a change of his habitus, as he said it "my mind-set has changed". This change seems to be conflicting, he has adapted to the new society, Norway and with this adjustment his social capital from the past has become irrelevant. The informants are a heterogeneous group and has come from various realities, it seems like they transitioned from a culture of origin where community were valued over the individual. Building their social capital on the individual value to the wider community. These experiences gives a small glimpse into what they left, I did not ask

specifically about their flight or reasons to leave, still some shared stories from this to me, James reasoned like this;

> Now I think, that back then, it was our situation; the poverty that decided for us. I had to work, due to lack of accessing the school system and equal possibilities as others. I had to choose to become an adult, and work. It was a bit hard in the beginning but we get used. This was also what made me leave; I had no future there. My first meeting with Norway is something special I still can recall well…

It was a sunny day and I arrived in a bus from Sweden, around 9 or 10 o´clock, two African boys and me. We came to the central station in Oslo, the capital of Norway. We walked trough Oslo S[3], it was very quiet and few people around. I taught "this is very strange, what sort of place have I come to?" No one around, we walked out and I saw up Karl Johan's gate[4] and there were so many people standing there, in some strange clothes. What is this, I thought, by now I was on my own as the African boys had spilt. I was shocked, what is happening here? Just a lot of people and simply strange… first I thought it had been an accident or something, but then I understood it could not be that, since people were dressed up, men in suits and women in dresses and… Some people came with drums as well, and other instruments, they had the same clothes, a uniform in a way. And I thought this must be something special, I must see. I followed the marching band up the street, Towards the Norwegian castle. There were lots of flags wavering in the wind, people had flags in their hands, and they were so happy and smiling, shouting I didn't understand then, now I know. It was "HIPP, HIPP, HURRA". I did not manage to go all the way to the castle, when I heard someone talking in English; I asked, "What is this?" They explained to me that it was 17th of May, the national day of Norway, and that people were out celebrating. So I was around the whole day and looked at the children´s parades and marching bands. When people left in the afternoon I were all-alone, again. I found some police officers and told them that I was in Norway illegally and that I had just arrived. By now it was closed everywhere. The police officers called their bosses or the central, they took me to Grand Hotel and I got to spend the night there. The next day they came and woke me up, and I went into interviews and from there to a transit asylum. That was my first day in Norway. A different day, like, in comparison to normal days here…   - James, 16 years old at the time.

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[3] Oslo central station; the main railway station in Oslo; the capital of Norway.
[4] Main street in Oslo

5.1.2 Leaving from, or leaving for?

The story of James´ first meeting with Norway is, as he says different. He arrived in Norway on maybe the most child friendly day of them all. 17th of May is the day where children may do as they please – it is the day one can have ice-cream all day long. Children parade in the streets waving their flags children is a symbol. "In Norway today, it is a matter of pride that children parading with flags are at the heart of the 17th of May celebrations, when Norwegians commemorate the establishment of their constitution in 1814" (Gullestad, 2006, p. 126). 17th of May has become the celebration for children most of all. In addition 17th of May might be the day where the "heterogeneous Norwegian" is celebrated; we all are "one". Robert was not part of this. He was alone. Arriving in the "child friendly-Norway" at the day where children´s parades are symbolic pride. He was not included into this celebration at that time; he was present, not included.

The reasons behind risking ones life to reach Europe, and eventually Norway are complex. Øien (2010) found that unaccompanied immigrants choose to leave as part of a family decision. A family meeting, where her informants had been included making the decision to go a family matter. Out of the informant some seemed to share this experience, others did not. Thor told me this story about leaving;

> I could not tell anyone about my decision to leave, because if someone found out I could get arrested. Even my family didn't know. When I left from (country) to Sudan, in the middle of the night, I was afraid and knew it could mean death; still I had to do it since there was no future for me if I stayed. So when I came to Sudan I called my family, and they talked a lot, and was very angry with me! But I told them I have to do this because I need democracy. If I want that I have to leave my country I told them. They were very angry with me, now it´s better though. But still, people don't know how it is you know, going to Sudan, from Sudan to Libya and then trough the Saharan desert. You don't know, people wouldn't understand. Like some did not survive, some of them I walked with died and like… I had a friend that told me about Norway, and the prospects I had for a good life here, a good job and education.
>
> - Thor.

The decision to leave was Thor's alone reasoned by the need for democracy and freedom. Thor left on his own – despite his parent's wishes. "Voice and agency are not essences awaiting discovery, but are instead emergent properties of processes of construction" (Lee, 2008). Agency is not simply something one has; rather something one negotiates and construct. For Thor he chose to use his agency to leave, for freedom and democracy despite his parent's wishes he "negotiated" or broke his parents restrictions by leaving without telling them. Even if the informant chooses to leave to fulfil the parents view, have to use their

agency in the flight. It is not a question about agency, rather if it is thick or thin agency, this seems to be easily overlooked in media, as they present "anchor-children". "The notion of "thin" agency is particularly useful for avoiding portrayals of young people simply as victims when conceptualising children´s agency in marginalized situations" (Robson et.al 2007, p. 137).

I find it important to keep this in mind, looking at how media and some researchers present unaccompanied immigrants, as "having no choice" but to grant their family´s wishes by going to Europe. Thor gives the example of thick agency, as he decided to leave against his parent's knowledge reasoned by his wish for a better future. He claims that his country has reduced his prospects in life, which implies no future for him. As I understand him he had "no choice" but to change his living conditions for a better future, so he used his agency despite restrictions from politics, military and his family, in order to come to Norway.

Clark told me that his dad had told him to go, he did not tell me if it was a mutual decision or not. Still, that is why he ended up in Norway. James told me that the situation as an illegal immigrant, with little rights and prospects for the future made him leave for Europe, and then Norway. Clark seemed to be leaving due to family reasons consequently thin agency. The same goes for James; still his reasons were the little prospects for the future, as he had no rights as an "illegal" immigrant where he lived (Robson, et.al 2007). Thor had both thick and thin agency, thick as he did not tell his family about his decision and left despite their wishes, also thin, as it was the structural situation that made him leave.

James stated that he used his agency in order to have a future, to get rights and be treated like a human being. By changing his surroundings – he accomplished it, which represent thick agency. He used his agency to go across the structural boundaries that held him back from partaking in society, and from there he decided to go on for a better future, where he had more rights and could take part. All these boys choose to leave something behind in order to have better prospects for their future, in one sense had no choice but to leave. One could ask if they have thin or thick agency, I would argue that there is no either – or, these young boys all had the same wish for their future. Using their agency taking control and change their surroundings, in order to have a better future. This can be seen in relation to push/pull factors as mentioned in the background chapter. Making it a question whether they are leaving wars and conflicts, or leaving too a better life (Watters, 2013). However it is not just that simple it

is complex reasons behind both, and it is only the receiving country that seems to have a need to know basis for the motivation behind is, in order to categorize people properly.

5.2.2 …Meeting the new; Norway
Coming to Norway implied an uncertain stage in reception centres while their application for asylum is treated the informant this is within the years between 2005 – 2014. The grant of asylum, means a new moving, breaking social ties, and a new period of uncertainty when being settled in a municipality. It is important to present this in order to understand where they are at now;

Peter (19 years old)	-	Came at 9 years old (2005) with his siblings, lived with them for a while (he does not recall how long). In Municipality A.
	-	Moved in with his teacher from school for 2 years.
	-	Moved to his foster family where he has been living the last 6 years
James (23 years old)	-	Came at 16 years old (2009) lived in one reception centre.
	-	Settled in Municipality B the same year.
Tony (19 years old)	-	Came at 16 years old, (2013) lived in one reception centre.
	-	Settled in a municipality A in 2014.
Robert (18 years old)	-	Came at 15 years old, (2013)
	-	Settled in a municipality B in 2014.
Thor (18 years old)	-	Came in 2013, 16 years old, lived in a reception centre.
	-	Settled in municipality B in 2014.
Clark (19 years old)	-	Came at 17 years old, (2012). Lived in two reception centres (Waited one year for his application to be treated).
	-	Settled in municipality B in 2013.
Bruce (19 years old)	-	Came at 16 years old, (2013) lived in one reception centre. (He left his country of origin in 2010).
	-	Settled in municipality B in 2014.

As Peter and Tony said they look at, and understand the Norwegian society as profoundly structured and individual, where things are planned ahead, and in several ways taken for granted.

Many of the informants seemed to make this distinction between "us", and "them" (Norwegian youth). Some made this distinction stronger than others. It seemed like some of

the informant understood the Norwegian childhood as "proper childhood" as they phrased it, I got the impression that this implied, that their own childhood were not.

> It is hard to say or tell about Norwegian childhood or family life, but it is a big difference from my country of origin. In Norway, if children whish to like go for a swim the parents has to come with, and like if the child wants to buy something the parents need to participate. Where I´m from, like, my parents would decide. They would not do something with their children unless they wished to do it, the child could not determine what the parents should do. In Norway there is much more freedom, and you have kindergarten and like good schools for everyone. Even like for the youth, and like people around my age is so different. And they don't know how I travelled to Sudan, from there to Europe, and like when I walked trough the desert I witnessed people dying, and like risking my life. Like Norwegian youth don't think, they just focus on school and like… We are different.   - Thor

Firstly Thor describes the "western" childhood, and how children are to be seen as in need of care and protection, reflecting upon the fact that the parents need to assist their children in everyday activities. Montgomery (2002) gives three discourses to understand childhood, in a historical context, childhood as time of innocence; the romantic childhood, as the evil child; the puritan or the "tabula rasa" childhood as a time of becoming. Some of the informants talked about the Norwegian childhood as the romantic discourse, with children in need of protection and support. As Thor, and other, informants indicated, "the parent has to go with their child", opposite what he had experienced previously. This cultural difference seemed like they taught that children could be treated as unable, as their parents would be around to give support. Also how it seemed like the child had power over parents. It seems like informants have adapted the "northern" idea of childhood as a time for leisure and play.

Qvortrup (2002) points out how childhood also has a structural form, and that every childhood has its own characteristics, that makes it special for that time, for each child, it becomes generational in that sense that children of one generation share structural boundaries. Still it will be affected by other characteristics such as social class and where one lives. Even if children are agents and constructing their own realities, there is structural boundaries determine how children can do this construction. Childhood is bound to time and place. "Societies in the North have constructed the idea that childhood and work are incompatible and that schools is the most appropriate place for children" (Montgomery, 2002, p. 70). The informants seem to have adapted this notion of childhood as the time for play and leisure. Clark and Tony emphasised the structural way as well;

> Like childhood here is so different form my country, in every way. And here like, they live this good life, and have like rights and education. You know where I´m

from, 70% of all children don't have opportunities for education and like, some don't even have a place to live…   - Clark.

Here children go to kindergartens, and we don't have that where I´m from. And like, I used to work in a kindergarten after my arrival, since I couldn't go to school. And therefor I choose to work in a kindergarten, and because children, you know it´s easy to communicate and they show you when they wants something. We don't have kindergartens in that way, we don't have it at all. Here children learn everything easily, and like at an earlier age, and everything goes faster… Here children has to go to school or kindergarten, and like to learn things…   - Tony

Tony mentioned how children are expected to learn, and spend time at school in a different way than he was used to. Jens Qvortrup (2002) looks at the structural changes in society as children moving from the "traditional child labour to schoolwork" (p. 55). This has become the western view on childhood, and trough this gives children the possibility to interact with other segments of society trough parental and adult control, as the institution (School) is under a socio-political influence. The informant comes form a reality where childhood is relying on their work and contribution and it seems like they find the Norwegian childhood as the opposite. Yet, Qvortrup points out the "western" childhood have become a new way to rely economically on childhood, as education benefits and contributes to the society in the future. Robert emphasised this as he told about how he talked about Norwegian childhood and youth, also the conflict he experienced coming to Norway, he phrased his expectations like this;

I taught I would get a family you know, love and care. I wished to feel safe and happy not sad and depressed. I also had heard from a friend that children in Norway were granted good care. I did not know what we would get, I had just heard like, if you go to Norway you would have a family, I did not expect to get that, but I wished and hoped for it to have a caring family, you know. And Norwegian youth are lucky; they got love, care and protection. I think they are lucky, especially those of them under 18 years, like from 12 – 16 years old. And like they have good memories from their childhoods, and you know, my experiences make me different. And it is kind of hard to get to know them… and you know, even if you are over 18 years old, you are not independent. You still depend on others, and like to be an adult does not mean that you have to cut contact with your parents or like… you need to have that relation.
                                                                                                   - Robert

Robert shared this point of view talking about childhood, and he emphasises how lucky children growing up in Norway are, in the sense that they receive love, care and support without asking for it, and could be identified as an important part of their social capital. At the same time he also explains the different realties where he came from, and how his social capital seemed to be shortcoming. The informant also explained how Norwegian children

would be in kindergartens, and that they would not have those institutions in their home countries; there childhood would rather be to take part in work and contribute to the family, not have freedom as they understand that Norwegian children has.

Gullestad (2006) emphasises how Norwegians has this image of being undoubtedly a homogenous nation, and having what she calls a common spirit. This homogeneousness and common spirit has been challenged with immigration, and from there it has become this notion of "us" (Norwegians) and "them", the others.

> The context of home and family life are to a large extent taken for granted in Norwegian discourses about childhood – for example, that children belong to their parents, and that a stable family life with married parents and at least one sibling is the best social environment for a child (Gullestad, 2006, p. 137).

Stability and outdoors activities are valued as important for children (Kjørholt, 2004; Nilsen, 2008), stability also emphasises growing up at one place, not moving around. Informants, picture the "western notion of childhood" as a place for care and protection and as they say, far from their old realities. Peter was the one with the closest experiences to the Norwegian family life, as he was in foster care for 6 years, he said this:

> I was used to just talk to everyone around me and like I had no plan or appointment to meet someone there, cause where I came from, you just like got to know people from such random encounters… you could say like, here in Norway you are allowed, and have the opportunity to have a childhood… like… it is something you only have one chance, right… you´ll never a second opportunity. Here I always had to ask for permission, like when my friends came over or, when we were out playing, I had to ask my foster parents for permission, like "can he eat dinner here too?" or "can we have a sleepover?" which was taken for granted where I´m from, we share what we have… In some ways it have made it easier for me too, since I have that level of respect, like I have two foster siblings, and I have never raised my voice to them, or had a fight. As they are older than me, I have respected them. The same goes for my foster parents, if they asked me to do something, like go out with the trash or anything, I have done it. But it has made it harder in a way too, because if they have suggested that we should do something, I have said yes, even if I did not want to, out of respect you know… I grew up like with adults telling, and me doing…   -Peter.

Peter looks at Norwegian childhood a bit differently than the others, as finds parental control strange, especially that he had to ask for permission if he wants to have friends over for dinner. As Peter was the only one that had been in foster-care he had the closest experiences from the Norwegian family life, as he also explained in the interview, he thought that this had made it easier for him to make friends here in Norway;

> Like, some of my friends have not been aware that I have lived in foster care, that I am a foster child in a way. Things have just been normal. Like every other child, I have not noticed a big difference.

It seems like being part of a foster family have given Peter a "cover" to be just like any other child, and not perceived as "unaccompanied immigrant". This could have benefited his social capital, as he became "one of us".

The informant have moved from one country to another. From what they describe as a collectivistic, in Peter's words "unstructured" as I understand it, social fields are informally structured. Social capital and belonging is the "natural way", and it seems like you are treated as part of something bigger, and valued for your contributions. Within the neighbourhood, love, care, protection and interdependence denotes belonging and is valued as habitus and social capital. In a way Putnams (1993) notion of social capital and the value of family and local community which brings "bridging" and "bonding" where "social capital is a by–product of other social activities" (p.170). When meeting the new and Norway, for some transnationalism seems to be a way to benefit from ones social capital. Where it previously had been informal social networks within the communities, it now seems like most of the social network is bound to formalised institutions (Wells, 2011).

5.2.3 … and a new reality; Transnationalism

"Transnational social formations – also called field of spaces – consists of combinations of social and symbolic ties and their contents positions in networks and organisations, and networks of organisations that cut across the borders of at least two nation states" (Faist, 2013, p. 450). For the informant transnationalism is mainly contact with family and friends back home. Nonetheless, some of the informant had no families, or little contact with networks in country of origins. Others had social ties and networks in other European countries. This can be seen in connection to Bourdieu and social capital; the volume of social capital depends on the social network and the ability to mobilize effectively, also mirroring the economic, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986/2011). Meaning that their networks are part of this cultural and symbolic capital.

> I have contact with my family back home approximately once a month over phone, but it is hard you know, the network access back home is unstable, still I try to call them right.   - Thor.

So even if they have contact with their families back home, it did not mean that it was a daily contact, and some told me about how they would filter the information they told their parents.

> Like, my mother used to decide, but not anymore. Now I make my own decisions, it was kind of hard in the beginning. When I moved I began to make my own decisions at once I had to do everything on my own. For me, it was not hard. Like when I came to Norway I still got to decide mostly on my own. This I have not told my mom.
>
>   - Bruce.

Interestingly Bruce had yet to tell his mom that he was the one independently making his own life choices. By not telling his mom, she could believe that there was adult control over his actions thus not feel obligated to interfere, for Bruce it could be a way to keep his agency outside parental control. Tony told me about his mom and how she still had some sort of control over his actions in Norway;

> Like when I first came here some other boys and me wanted to play a football match against another group. And then we had to walk for very long to get there, and like when I told my mom she said; "no, you are not going, you have to choose football or me", even if I was here in Norway and she still is back home… We usually talk on the phone and, like recently I have been worried about something my family goes trough, and like it is challenging, and they expect me to contribute with money and like I worry for them… So now I am having more contact to my mother than I usually do. And for me and my friends, like we say we don't know how or why, and it´s kind of fun, but if you do something bad here - your mother will know, even if she´s back home, and we don't know how…   - Tony.

The story Tony tells illustrates what is by Engebrigtsen (2013) referred to as "distance parenting", and is often made possible by the local network with people from the same origin country. Further Tony explained to me how he could be approached by people he had not met before, yet they knew him and he found that this was due to social networks in his country of origin.

Economic contribution could be seen as part of their social capital, as it has been valued for them while they lived in the country of origin. For the staff-members economical contribution creates a dilemma as according to policies money for the youth to cover living expenses in Norway, not to be sent abroad. It was only Tony that mentioned this to me, and he presented it as a consequence of what his family were facing.

> We have some rules, and for us it is politically determined how much money (pocket money) the youths receive. We are aware that economic contributions to their families back home occur, we do not wish to contribute to this. We have a system where we are responsible, at the same time the youths know how much money the municipality receive for settling them, and wonder why they are the last ones to receive the money.
>
>   - fagleder B.

Money becomes difficult and the municipalities cannot determine how their youths spend their money, only give advice. Such advise will be according to Norwegian policies again, not giving weight to their social capital or cultural believes.

> Globalised networks now characterise modern societies at all social levels, including the cultural and the economic. Although this does not minimise the importance of ethnic and cultural ties, it does mean that these ties operate increasingly at a transnational rather than merely national level (Anthais, 2006, p.19)

Clark shared the story of how his mom had his mom had organized for him to have a social network here in Norway.

> Recently my mom phoned me, telling how she had met a relative of us, who now lived in Norway. So my mom told me like how she had told her that I lived in Norway too now, so that other lady told her (my mom) to give my number. When that lady came back to Norway she phoned me up, and like told me how she had met my mother when she visited (country of origin), and she told me that I could just come visit in holidays and stuff. Now I have someone to visit here in Norway to.   - Clark.

"Even if child migrants keeps quiet about their families and social networks, some seems to have parenting over distance trough the contact there is between family and relatives in the origin country, and social networks in Norway" (Engebrigtsen, 2013, p. 174 my translation). For Tony and Clark this seemed to be trough wider social networks and direct contact with parents, even if their knowledge of how their families would receive such information was varied.

In addition to the transnational reality, the social roles and expectations would change with the social fields. Ericsson (2009) discuss how child welfare institutions, historically and today entails that children will be moved from their known surroundings. Their social roles, at school, in the family and among friends will be changed and some might be lost. Especially regarding the relationship to their family. For the informant it seemed like such losses of social roles naturally impacted their social capital. From being a breadwinner and contributing to their family life in interdependence with family and neighbourhood. To a independent life in Norway, depending on social benefits. The story of how James felt is wrong to receive care and money can be seen in connection to his previous role as a breadwinner. This transition involved a shift from being actively participating to passively receiving. Moving from care of staff, to independent life may also entail such a loss of roles.

> We spend a lot of time to make the transition to a new culture as good as possible, we have used to bring in people form the same nationality to come and tell their experiences about the cultural transition, and when we get a bigger group from one nationality we sometimes have an interpreter come and stay here rather to just have it over phone, in order to give our youth some sort of key for the integration process.
>
> – Fagleder B.

They enter a social care system, where the point is to have structural boundaries and approaches towards the fact that children are in need of care and protection. Some of the informant also reflected on this reality, and how I, and we (Norwegians) could not understand, and it seemed important to them how they carried along some of their culture within them:

> I felt it was up to me to present; who am I, where am I from – you could never come and visit there (country of origin) and you don't know me. In the beginning like; food we are not a match. Clothes; we are not a match. Language; we are not a match. In some ways we were very different. I had to choose between my culture and traditions, and the Norwegian, so I choose the Norwegian culture and traditions. But, I still have my culture, now on the inside of me. My culture is still within me.   - James.

Out of the informants, it was some that shared James approach, and explained to me that even if they had come to Norway their culture was still within them. The transnational reality would for some mean that they have to make choices, these choices is not always easy to spot. The question becomes who is to decide and accept such choices, for some it seemed to be a family matter trough distance parenting (Engebrigtsen, 2013). Others, as Bruce, hold back information, so choices can be made without parental control. The situation becomes two sided with obligations to the past and the social capital they came with and conflictingly the expectations transitioning into the new by changing their social capital. James seemed to have hidden this transition, as he said "I still have it with me, now it´s just only on the inside".

They also talked about meeting ethnical Norwegian peers, and how some of the informant seemed to feel like they were not equal;

> They think (Norwegian youths), like they don't know what it was like right. How I left my country and crossed the desert… they don't understand, and it´s not comparable… like some of the people I crossed the dessert with did not survive, I witnessed people dying… still, Norwegian youths they just think how they are going to cope with school and move on… We are different!   - Thor

This reflection shows how, the lived experiences also made the difference, ethnical Norwegian youths would not have such experiences, and to some extent these experiences is

something one has to live trough in order to fully understand. Still, this does not mean that all Norwegians have a "happy go lucky" life. Though to understand each other's experiences is a consequence of encounters, and having the possibility to share.

Interdependence and transnationalism could be what creates belonging. "The feeling of belonging is created trough what Hammond (2003) calls emplacement: a continuous process where space becomes a meaningful place trough daily interaction with the physical and social environment" (Ursin, 2011, p. 230). Emplacement generates belonging trough relationships, attitudes and beliefs, which creates ties to a new place. Belonging is thus a social creation, and for unaccompanied immigrants this construction would be trough social encounters and depend on the access to social fields. Anathias (2006) argues that belonging is bound to boundaries, which include hierarchies, which exists both within and across boundaries. Further how resources are not automatically bound to social capital, making the example of minority languages, which may be negatively perceived. Arguing that belonging and migration can conceptualise people to be "displaced", the opposite of what is regarded as being "in place" (Anthias 2006). The argument goes further with that "home" and "belonging", is socially constructed and negotiated. To be part of a certain group could be belonging, it could also make separation that Gullestad (2006) claims introduces racialization "us" and "them".

Transnationalism could be a challenge for the politicians and the society in the receiving country, as there is no control over the content within such social ties. For the immigrants it could be a way to keep the interdependence with the family. Looking at this in the wider political context in Norway, and the Jewish children as presented in chapter 2, was seen as a threat towards the Norwegian society. Still today, over 70 years later "otherness" and that transnationalism, the presence of culture from country of origin is a threat to the Norwegian society from a political standpoint. But this could also be seen in connection to dependence or independence. Devine and McGovern (2016) studied immigrant children and family as a social field, they found that the habitus for families were linked to aspirations and expectations to families in country of origin. This can also be seen this study, the interdependence is facilitated trough transnationalism. Migrant children often get the position as facilitators and mediators in the migrant family (Devine & McGovern 2016).

According to Lee (2001) children are easily seen and understood as dependent due to their naturally (biological) stat where they are "belonging to adults". For unaccompanied immigrants the contact with families could threaten the states control over parents, and their influence on their child. In the homogenous national community in Norway, there is little recognition of alternative cultural value (Ylvisaker, Rugkåsa, & Eide, 2015). Immigrant parents in Norway are to learn how to be appropriate parents, and mirror the Norwegian way meeting social services their "ability to parent" are being controlled and measured. There is little room for external reasons such as poverty and marginalisation becomes overlooked within the system. "Blaming the mother" is often what is given weight (Ylvisaker et al., 2015). Hypothetically this could also be the case for transmigrant families also as they are easily blamed for controlling their children trough distance parenting.

The biological way of seeing children as "belonging to their parents", the children´s dependency becomes a consequence, where adults are in the position where they can move "in and out of dependency" (p. 23). Further Lee (2001) draw on how children´s dependency can be seen as an institutional weakness rather than a physical weakness, and how the society trough its institutions control the children´s lives and access. For the informant some experienced such a dilemma, connected to their dependency after their arrival in Norway. They had to become part of a social care system to have the prospects of a better life; this dependence primarily gives practical necessities for survival. The political aim is to become independent, which will lead integration. The interdependency, which they had with their families, becomes absent with their presence here in Norway. Where they previously had contributed and negotiated this dependency, it now has become a structural way where learning interdependency comes from accessing social fields. As they now find themselves in Norway the past becomes memories and feeling of loss, Thor said it like this:

> I miss to be there. We went swimming everyday. Sun. I want sun. And my mom, like…   - Thor

Reading trough research and articles on social capital, it seems to be impossible to present it without presenting family as a facilitator. Family offers belonging and support, also it becomes part of the solution to facilitate for new social networks and social ties. Thus, for a group of vulnerable children, the lack of family becomes part of the problem. Western societies tend view "the unhappy child" as a result of insufficient adult protection in need for rescue as the innocent child (Ennew, 2002). However, I would say that the informants are not

covered by the notion of "the unhappy child". As the Norwegian system makes a separation of unaccompanied immigrants based on biological age (over and under 15 years old). The child welfare services are only responsible for them under 15 years old in practice, implying that 15 years old is the limit between the innocent and "unhappy child". Their need of protection is somewhat greater than for the children (youths) that already have turned 15 years old. If one has turned 15 years old at arrival one would not have the same rights or the need of protection. However, it could be that unaccompanied immigrants over 15 years old, is to be more responsible on their own could be seen in connection to the fact that the criminal age in Norway is at 15 years old, so they are to be held more accountable for their actions. Are unaccompanied immigrants over 15 years old represents the puritan discourse, as "the evil child" (Montgomery 2002), as they are a "threat" to the welfare state, especially if they were to apply for family reunification, with the aim to exploit the welfare benefits. Ansell (2005) discusses how youth have not received the same prominence as children as they are not as easily seen as "innocent". This is not something I can answer, but it seems to be the case, as the state is reluctant to give all unaccompanied immigrant the same rights regarding living and care situations.

Summary

Unaccompanied immigrants go trough a big transition, leaving their families and known surroundings using their agency to change their life prospect and manage on their own (Eide, 2005; Engebrigtsen, 2002; Söderqvist, 2014; Øien, 2010). Being met by a new culture and becoming part of a social welfare system means becoming dependant (Söderqvist, 2014; Wernesjö, 2015). This also affects their social networks, which now are dominated "by contact with institutions (schools, social services, police, lawyers, health services, language classes)" (Wells, 2011, p. 327). Some informants do not have families, and are alone in the world. Others still have families, which means that they now live within transnational reality, where their families in their country of origin could influences their daily life, and offer important support trough interdependence and belonging (Oppedal & Idsoe, 2015). As a support system and the capital from social networks, it also could mean additional challenges for them, and for the receiving country. With the risk of generalizing, they came from a reality where "it takes a village to raise a child" yet; this "village" and how it was constructed varied depending on the cultural values in that community. They arrive in Norway with unfit cultural and social capital, no or, limited economic capital and their social networks are transnational. Their language and social capital is not relevant, the next chapter will look

closer into how they access social fields in order to exchange and benefit from their social capital.

6. Moving in, moving out…

This chapter will focus on my analysis of the informant' experiences and access to social fields within their new realities in Norway. Applying Bourdieu´s theory of practice; focusing on social capital and social networks and connections, how agents use to change their positions within social fields. "Contacts and group memberships which, trough the accumulation of exchanges, obligations and shared identities, provide actual or potential support and access to valued resources" (Bourdieu, 1993 p.149 in Morrow, 1999, p. 756). Social capital is developed trough lived experiences and social encounters in social fields, which according to Bourdieu is the society. For unaccompanied immigrants part of their social capital have been developed in their country of origin, parts during the flight, trough their everyday life. Still being in a new country does not mean that they don't have contact with the old.

6.1 Moving in…

According to the political system unaccompanied immigrants shall be settled within 3 months after their asylum claim is granted (Berg, 2013). The most common living arrangements in municipalities have become living with supervision or institution with fulltime staff (accompanied living), or part-time staff. For the informant, all with the exception of one had lived in some sort of apartment with supervision from staff, before living on their own.

The staff members I met with had different approaches how to carry out this care and facilitate for integration. In Municipality B, the unaccompanied immigrants lived either in their own, or in a shared apartment, they did not have common areas with staff where they could meet up, or hang out. Still they worked with integration and follow-up form an office with a open door policy, and as the team leader told me; the group of staff seek to meet and actively follow up on their group of immigrants, as they had found this was the way that worked best for them.

> I think there are too loose guidelines in order to define what type of care unaccompanied immigrants have after settlement. This group of youths gives municipalities quite a lot of money for settlements, money that comes with few guidelines. Municipalities often find themselves in economically difficult situation, and with little requirements for the money; it is the immigrants who do not receive adequate care and help. In the long run this fails their integration process, and the immigrants could end up as social benefits clients. With no requirements for staff competence regarding the care rights it becomes difficult. Even if it is stated that they have the right to get assistance from the child welfare system, still this does not mean that they will receive such assistance. I work really hard towards the politicians in this

municipality to justify how we distribute this economic support. Politicians see that other municipalities do not spend as money much on staff. Those living in care centres from the child welfare services have much better conditions, and formal requirements for staff, even in reception centres– they have stricter requirements to competence among staff members. When it comes to settlement there is no requirements, if the child welfare system does not follow up closely no one will hear these youths. They are the B-team, and needs people fighting for them and their rights after settlement.   - fagleder B.

Further the informant also asked for follow up from the fylkesmannen[5] as that is the regional institution who shall conduct control over child welfare situations, to make sure that children´s rights are met. Muncipality A had a different approach, as they had institutions for unaccompanied immigrants up to they turned 18 years old. After their birthday the unaccompanied immigrants had the opportunity to leave and live in apartments where the tenant receives some economic supplement to function as a "host". Which means spending some time during the week with the immigrant, to facilitate as an integrating arena and as a support system. The staff-leader I interviewed from this municipality was the team leader for a shared household, with accompanied living. The immigrants lived there till they turned 18 years old, before moving out and their care shifted to another section in the municipality. This was both positive and negative, as I understood my informant;

We have tried to find a way for our youths to be integrated in the best possible way, and we work to the aim to make a good home as possible for this youth. Our youth only stays with us from 15 – 18 years old. We work towards the local community maybe more than other accompanied living institutions in the municipality, at the same time we can se when they turn 18 years old they seem to get closer and closer to the wider system for unaccompanied immigrants in the municipality. - fagleder A.

To a high degree it is left open for the municipalities to carry out their help and assistance for unaccompanied immigrants from the state political authorities. It is a political question how to spend the economical resources, on both state – and municipality level. In the coming section I will discuss how the society, politics and social care system affects the informant, in order for them to access the Norwegian society.

To be in institutional care means that one stands out from the "normal" in the Norwegian society (Ericsson, 2009), Söderqvist (2014) points out the importance to point out the different reasons to be in institutional, or child welfare care in Sweden. This argument also is relevant for Norwegians. The reasons behind unaccompanied immigrants need to be in institutions is absent parents. The distinction is that Scandinavian youth find themselves in

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[5] Regional Municipalites, which has the responsibility to find legal guardians for unaccompanied immigrants.

institution and care centres as a consequence, or for their own protection. The state has intervened in their family life, and moved them out, in the name of the best interest of the child. "The experience of migration are linked here to a feeling of being different and to a lack of belongingness related to the unaccompanied minor´s own and other´s perceptions of ethnic minority groups" (Söderqvist, 2014, p. 51). In addition to be different due to their country of origin, their differentness doubles as being in an institution is not common in society. Perceptions of institutional care are built on behavioural problems for youth, or poor parental care in the Scandinavian terms (Ericsson, 2009, Söderqvist 2014). This could also in some ways affect their agency.

6.1.2 "I did not wish to be settled here"

As mentioned in the background chapter Norway has a long tradition for taking care of children and from the 20th century they got more and more rights manifested in the law. Still, "The ambivalence surrounding the political identity of asylum-seeking children makes their identity highly contested: it questions otherwise hegemonic definitions of children and childhood…" (Vitus & Lidén, 2010, p. 63). As pointed out by Eide (2005) there is an ambiguity when it comes to unaccompanied immigrants and the politics towards this group, Ericsson (2009) argues that the Norwegian system is challenged with the notion of children with a "positive" connotation where the state emphasises their need of care and protection. Contrastingly asylum seekers have a "negative" connotation, with a need to prove the authenticity of their asylum claim, and the actual need of protection.

In chapter 2, I discussed the term "Enslig mindreårig flyktning" (unaccompanied immigrant) regarding these opposite connotations as discussed by Ericsson. Still it is important to notice that in official documents they use the term child when talking about these kinds of children, however the official term has a distanced connection to children per se. The term ambiguous children is used by many authors discussing unaccompanied immigrants, and refugee children (Eide, 2005, 2007a). Ericsson describes it like this; "Even in 2009, there is a fear of 'being stuck with' unaccompanied immigrants. Even bigger is the fear of their families coming along; that anchor children by their attachment to Norway, will bring a whole ship of relatives" (Ericsson, 2009, p. 159 my translation). As the informant have moved on to settlement, their need for protection has been acknowledged. Discussions about pre-settlement experiences gave insight in difficulties accessing the social fields from arrival. Unaccompanied immigrants have legal guardians appointed from Fylkesmannen during their

asylum claim, as a way to ensure that their legal rights are sustained and followed up. Undoubtedly the informant had different experience with their legal guardian, some described tem as a "grandmother", and others did merely know they had one. Not one told about having a guardian after settlement, which I have found out, is the case.

> The system I meet is sort of difficult, but I got positive on my asylum claim so, now it is good, but it was so hard being in the reception centre. I became depressed and just waited, and waited and I could not know what happened. I waited for a year. I can't recall that much, but when I first came to Norway, I went to the police, and the police officer did not believe me when I told him where I was from. I said I am from (country) and only speak that language, where the police officer replied; I am from Kosovo, but still I can speak Norwegian, so the language you speak don't mean that you cannot come from a neighbouring country. That was kind of frightening; still I got to a reception centre, in a small rural municipality. Only old people lived there you know, no one at my age, it was hard… and I had like a, this person (legal guardian) but it was like she did not make the time to get to know me. My guardian came for the asylum interview, and that´s it. I did not feel like I had a guardian you know, and I did not know that if it was strange or like, before I heard some of the others talking about their guardians. I did not understand the point with these persons, like what I had was normal for me, and I could not tell anyone or discuss if I did not get along with my guardian. I did not know the point, but still at the interview (asylum interview) she was there with me, and I felt like I was not alone.   - Clark.

Some shared this experience with Clark, looking back at the time in the reception centre as a time with uncertainty, which again caused stress. Some shared that they were unhappy with how they got settled in the municipality:

> I was planning if I got a positive response to my asylum claim, I would decide which municipality I should go… and like they asked us; "where do you want to go?" and I had decided for like one of the bigger cities you know. So when they told me I had to come here, I was so angry and frustrated. I told them, 'No! I did not decided to go to 'B', I decided like Bergen or Stavanger'. They tried to comfort me, this one man from the same country as me, called me up and like told me how it was to live here in this municipality and that it was not that bad. And my friends from the reception centre all had the same wish, and it was only me that ended up here you know, and I did not even want to live here… now it is okay to live here.   - Thor

Thor explains how he assumed he was asked where to live and for him to decide for his future. Others of the informant shared this view; they wished to settle in the bigger cities rather than living in a small municipality. Telling how they got angry and stressed to go to a small place where it´s nothing to do, rather than being with their friends in the cities. This can be connected to social capital, and how they with their friends also were a part of a bigger social network. The shared social capital and habitus could help them when entering new social fields in Norway. Agency and social capital is interconnected, agency affects your

social capital, which again affects your habitus, a continuous process used to navigate in social fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Being together in reception centres, facing the same problem created common experiences, being minority in social fields thus the society. It could be a way of belonging creating commonness trough shared experiences. Thor expressed how he would like to be with his friend. In the settlement process his agency had been denied, as he ended up in a smaller municipality separated from his friends. Others shared this, however, they seemed to reflect on this in a more positive way in hindsight, as Bruce told me;

> I have lots of friends, but they live in Oslo. I have four friends, we used to live in the same reception centre, and I was the only one that had to go a different place than them. It was really hard you know, still we have contact and I visited them this summer that was good to spend some time together with them again. I remember the day I got here (municipality B), I cried and it was a long journey, and I did not know what to expect and like Oslo is a big city, I like to live in the big cities. So I came here to "B" and cried, all my friends were together in Oslo before I left. And like after a few months it became better and better, and when I went to see them again I saw that to live there is not all that positive. Like my friends, they do not attend school, and like just wants to drink beer and like, it hasn't been good for them. Even the language, like here I attend Norwegian class, I have not had one-day absence, but my friends there like, in a week they have at least two day absence, hanging around in the city centre, drinking, smoking and like it is hard for them. I find it is better for me here.
> – Bruce.

By comparing his situation to his friends, Bruce seems happy that he ended up in a smaller municipality rather than a big city. Now he could see how he had managed to gain more knowledge into language and spending his days attending school, knowing that staff monitored his attendance. Still I understood that he also worried for his friends, what future would they have? Not attending school, and hanging around in the city centre just drinking and smoking as he says. As Bruce, others had not wished to be settled in a small municipality. After a while, they seemed to be happy with the fact that they lived in a smaller municipality where staff focused on stability and close follow-up. It seemed like it affected their social capital in a positive way. Living in a small municipality gave prospects of education, again the possibility for increasing their social capital, trough possibilities for employment in the future.

Settlement in municipalities also involves breaking social ties with friends from the reception centre. Ennew (2002) suggests that for street children "who usually belong to a supportive group of children" (p. 400) care should be built so that friendships are to be built on, rather than broken, this could also be considered for unaccompanied immigrants. Their journey

often entails handling broken ties. For James this can be seen as he came to Oslo, two African boys and me. Others like, Thor told how they have had friendship in reception centres that became long distance friendships after settlement. Within a system that focuses on preparing them to become independent and contributing adults, social ties are not necessarily taken into consideration.

> When we came, we got offered care and help. Free living arrangements, food and school, and activities: we got this note, just like when you collect packages from the post office, we needed to collect our money at the municipality building, like pocket money. And I noticed that there were just elders and I, and I taught to myself, this is kind of wrong. It is not mine, this money does not relate to me, and I started to think how to not depend on this anymore… I only wished to be out of the system and to take care of myself. I taught how to get out if this situation. Even if those who worked in the system told me that I had plenty of them for this process… but I did not feel that way. I just like taught how to de independent.   – James

As discussed in the previous chapter, James was used to contribute to the household, and be economically independent. He seemed to appreciate how he previously had been a valued member in the family, trough interdependence. The new reality with the money from social benefits with nothing in return affected his social capital in a negative way. Where he previously had been able to contribute and affect, he now could be seen as merely a recipient. His observation was that is was "the elders and I", noticing how he stood out from other youths.

According to Berg (2013) accompanied living is the most common living situation for unaccompanied immigrants aged 16 – 18 years old, as was the case in this study. All with the exception of one had lived in some sort of apartment with supervision from staff, before moving on to independent living. They all had different experiences with the living situations;

> It was good to live in a apartment with staff, even if I did not like that they came to check on us if we didn't go to school one day. And I had someone to talk to, everyday I was in the office to talk to the staff, and like practice my Norwegian you know. We could discuss what had happened during the day and like this was a good thing. Now I share apartment with a boy that used to live with me before, and I think that's for the best. Still sometimes it is hard, when I have problems or something. The first week in accompanied living I learned the route on how to get home. The second week I visited our neighbours, one of the staff members wondered what I was doing… and every year we used to have a big summer party, and I told the staff that we should invite our neighbours too, but they told me that they wouldn't do that… where I live now, we have nice neighbours, still there is a lot of older people, and one day I asked this old lady if I should help carrying her shopping bags, to her house, at first she wouldn't let me, now I am allowed to help her. I still have some contact with them. - Tony

For Tony, accompanied living provided a place for him to question, and understand the "rules of the game" in social fields. Questioning taken for granted rules, what Bourdieu calls doxa. It is the relations between positions that recognize social fields, each field has its own game-rules which agents make sense of trough their habitus. The association to "the game" is used in order to understand how agents can use their capital, strategically to change their positions. For Tony living in accompanied living, he could rely on staff in order to increase his language competence, and change his habitus. He used his agency to increase his capital.

> Still since I have turned 18 years old I am in the care system for the municipality, and like I have a new contact person, still it´s my first contact person I feel most comfortable talking too… sometimes she still calls to like check on how I am doing, but it´s their job you know. Like, last time we met, and I told you about my family, I was so worried and stressed, couldn't manage to go to school or anything… so I talked to her, and she offered to meet me like, but she couldn't do anything. She emphasised with me, still like there was nothing she could do right… when I lived with them, for two years, and like it was very comforting, they were my family. They only family I had here, and now I understand, it was just their job, right. When I tell them that I consider them as my family it is a big announcement you know, it is like the biggest honour and respect I could give to anyone. Like I wish to take care of them, as they grow old, give back what I´ve got. Like a mother took care of you for many years right, and here you just put her into a care centre for old people… If I have the money – I shall take care of them (the old staff members). Still, it is kind of hard, and I miss to have that person, right, that human being like giving from their time, and just being their in their own, and not because it´s their job. I miss having that person who care just because I am me, and not as a consequence of their job.
>
> - Tony.

Tony expresses how he misses a person, human being that would worry for him, outside it being their job. To have that one person to contact whenever he needs, regardless of work hours. He was clear on this matter. He told me how he wished to work with unaccompanied immigrants in the future, and how he should care outside of it being a job. As he further explained, to care for others was part of their culture, their habitus. He knew that his mom still worried for him, even if she still found herself in country of origin. He said:

> Despite our hard realities, we care for each other, we think about each other. We ask about each other. Someone always calls, or check in on you. I knew that I had people worrying for me. That's a good thing. Still, I know that for my mom, someone is visiting her everyday or she visits someone… [laughs] they talk about everything, right.   - Tony.

I got the impression that Tony talked about the value of knowing that someone worried about you, as a positive thing, it could entail some sort of belonging. I would call it positive worrying – to know that someone care, and his mom offered this even if it was from distance.

Berg (2013) gives a similar example meeting unaccompanied immigrants, and how they long for someone to check in on them. Contrasting Norwegian youths that usually view parental worrying as something annoying. Oppedal and Idsoe (2015) found that transnational families offered emotional and support and belonging, even from distance, offering love and sense of being valued. Thrana (2014) studied love and relations within social work and at risk youths in Norway. How love and affection was something the youths wished for from their social workers as a way of confirming them, and their needs. The staff leaders I talked to, also recognized this issue, for them it seemed to be problematic in order to distinguish between professional and personal;

> For us, the personal group this is something we discuss, emotionally it is difficult. It is hard to know that they (unaccompanied immigrants) are so alone. We have to be professional, but that isn't always that easy. We know that they consider us as their parents. When the youth calls you mom, it affects you – and does something with the professionalism in the job. We do our best, but we sometimes feel that we don't do enough for everyone; we are responsible for 43 youths. Still we need limitations in order to do a good job, and function in life too. We know that our youths wish for a support system, a family they could call whenever they need it. It is also something about the uncertainty for the future for them, how will they manage outside the system and support from us…   - fagleder municipality B.

Still, both professionals I talked to told me how they tried to be available for their youths even if they had moved out of the system and their care per se, being willing to still have some sort of responsibility for the youths.

> For us, we have had many discussions about the ethical issues for us as staff to engage in the lives of our youths, and to include us in their life – or for them (youths) to be included in our lives, "can I as staff invite one youth for coffee in my home?" "Can I bring them to handball practice?" It is also a question about confidentiality and not to compromise information about the youths right. Still we know that there is research on how it could be traumatizing not being able to take part in the Norwegian society, maybe even more than the traumas and experiences one has had pre-flight. We have agreed that it is a good thing to take part in each others lives, as long as one protect the past and situation of our youths.   - fagleder municipality A.

The foundation of professionalism is how educated people carry out their work within the ethical standards and work conditions still give good quality care in their work (Knorth, Van den Bergh, & Verheij, 2002). Working with children and youth within the limits between professional and personal may be hard, and as Thrana (2014) found within social work in Norway, love is bound to this dilemma between personal and professional; "love is bound to private/familiar relations and to a limited extend professional care" (Thrana, 2014, p. 5 my translation).

The ambiguity unaccompanied immigrants are met by in the society can be seen in connection to the fact that these youth is as said by Engebregtsen and Ericcson to be out of place drawing the comparison to Ennew and street children.

> Unsupervised children on city streets are not only physically "out of place", but also misplaces with regard to the model of the developmental state and with regard to the cultural assumptions that accompany that mode. Such children have failed to become "becoming's", but… that does not mean they are understood as beings (Lee, 2001, p. 58).

This entails that these youth challenges the western understanding of children and youth, and the fact that unaccompanied immigrants find themselves out of place, as they live in a country alone away from their friends and family, contradicting the biological principle, and how children's place is with their families. Still, "As long as children´s experience and knowledge is controlled to a large degree by adults, be they teachers or caregivers, then adults can think of themselves as "knowing more" than children" (Lee, 2001, p. 89). Not trusting a child to know best, and being dependent on the "knowing adult", somehow the informant still find themselves in such a position as they find themselves in a care system even if they have turned 18 years old. Still to enter a new society and cultural reality could restrain how their voice is heard, even if they are seen as adults, hence the ambiguity they could be seen by from the society.

Tony used his agency when he was living in care to use the staff as a way to enhance his social capital, trough informal encounters with them he discussed what he had experienced during the day, and tried to make sense of it. I understood it as he was mapping out possible ways to access social fields, trough the encounters with the staff. From there he could create meaning, which again could lead to belonging. As the professional in municipality A told me, there the staff tried to use their social capital and network as a tool to enhance the social network for their youths, and in that way create a space for meaning and belonging. They focused on making arenas and access to social fields, still as both municipalities emphasised this is not easily done, or a black or white process, and it is not something the staff and professionals can do alone, the youth themselves also needs to participate in order to benefit.

6.2 Children, Youth, Adults, or simply in between?
The informant gave the impression that they understood themselves as adults rather than children, and some found it hard or strange to be perceived as children upon their arrival in Norway. The informant has constructed themselves as adults, and some of them comes from

a confusing family situation, even with relatives or family friends taking care of them in Norway. The institution leader also confirmed this as she noted how they used to work with the youth in terms of being dependent, and that it is okay to be a child. From this one could say that as the informant clearly understood themselves as adults, it would be ok for the system to leave the "child-part" out of the term when talking about them. I would like to point out that the informants also had a vision that they were adults after they had turned 18 years old. Implying that for some years they had still seen themselves as children. Bearing in mind their situation and living conditions, would in many societies mean that they are adults, as they have no parents thus is responsible for themselves. Still it is important to have in mind that Norwegian law considers anyone under the age of 18 years old as a child. This means that the informant have the right to be treated as a before turning 18 years old.

6.2.1 Age
"Children do not suddenly become adults at eighteen in all societies, nor are they necessarily treated as children up to that age. In many societies, there is a gradual process of attaining rights and a complex series of rites of passing" (Montgomery, 2002, p. 68). I relate the narratives from the informant to this sentence, firstly because they describe their childhood as a time where they were treated as adults in the sense of responsibilities and work, still being children. Some of them also tell about how their parents and families still see them as children, and some says that they would be children in their family's eyes, till the day they get married. "Age is not a fact of being" (Jens Qvortrup, 2002, p. 55), it requires construction from something bigger than oneself. The informant move from a culture where biological age is simply a number, with little meaning for them personally, entering a culture where age is essential, especially for them, since age will determine which care and help they receive. Bruce and I met two times, and we discussed age in both interviews the first time this is what he told me;

> It was really hard, I were 13 years old when I left, now I am 18 years old. I was 13, missing my family and I didn't know anything. I was alone, and traveling, still a child you know. I became an adult when I turned 18 years old, because when you are 18 years old, you are by the Norwegian law allowed to do what you want, and this makes you an adult. Like all over the world it´s like this, at 18 years old you become an adult. That´s just how it is...   - Bruce

The second time we met, he explained it a bit differently:

> I am an adult, and I became adult when I moved from my country. Like, if you were a child you wouldn't know how to prepare food and like taking care of myself. But I did, I made my own food, and like I as I decided to do. It was hard, but I had to take

care of myself, and that means I am an adult. I became adult because I migrated, in that process; like I had to take a job and work, and when it became a civil war there I still had to go trough Sahara to reach Europe. It was hard, and it was a real struggle, and when I came here I was a child because I was 16 years old… still I got to decide a lot on my own, and now that I´ve become 18 years old I decide everything, but I have not told my mom that its like that here…   - Bruce.

I find it interesting that Bruce explained it differently to me the first, and second time we met, and I think the combination makes most sense; he was still a child in many ways, even if he had to take care of himself like an adult. The fact that he had not told his mom that he himself was the decision maker after being granted asylum could imply that she did not share this view of independence. Clark also reflected on this;

> Here in Norway it is a bit easier… to decide on my own, and like back home the family decided, still it is good in a way, I like to decide on my own. Like, where I´m from age does not matter at all; at 17 years old, or 25 years old, it does not matter - the family's decision goes first. And still my mom does not think of me, or treat me like an adult. She think I am still a child, still she can see how I´ve grown older in a way, like that I am not 12 years old anymore, still I am a child for her…   - Clark

This illustrates the challenges with age, and childhood. The Norwegian notions on children and childhood, is in line with the UN definition, and the Convention of rights of the child. However the CRC has been critiqued for advocating a "western notion" of childhood, not opening for other approaches to children and childhood (Boyden 1992; Freeman, 1983; Pupavac, 1997 cited in Adu-Gyamfi & Keating, 2013). Some of the informant also told me how age as a "deciding concept" over their life was a new thing, here told by Robert:

> Like I did not even know that there was a difference in being over and under the age of 18 years old before I came to Norway. And like here children it´s like their parents or the law deciding for them, but where I came from we did not decide like that, but now I understand it, what it means to be over or under 18 years of age, and like I know what a rule is.   - Robert.

As others of the informant, Robert had not reflected on age pre arrival to Norway, still interestingly enough in the beginning of our interview when we talked about daily routines he pointed out to me that the reason behind him deciding his own routines, was due to the fact that he had turned 18 years old. Peters reflection around this was more in the sense of adulthood or not;

> To become adult in Norway is in a way to take care of the little things you have here, to become adult in (country of origin) involves grandparents, aunts and uncles a bigger context. You are to take care of them too right.

James had experienced how age was restricting his agency after his arrival in Norway, since he wished to be independent outside the care system; still he accepted how they had to keep in touch in some ways, since it was to make sure that he managed this life on his own.

For unaccompanied immigrants, the Norwegian system has little regulations after settlement. Municipalities have considerable self-determination regarding the social care system for unaccompanied immigrants. The Directorate of Integration and Diversity offers guidelines and states that the refugee shall be settled in the right municipality taking into consideration the needs of the child, age and family relationships Ericsson (2009). With no mentioning on staff requirements, or how this care shall be practiced however as Eide (2013c) points out a 17 year old could have the experiences and care needs as a 14 year old. Thus as Klark-Cazak (2009), argues the biological age should not determine the care and support offered. Today, the Norwegian system works on the determination of biological age.

Unaccompanied immigrants does come alone, sometimes they come with relatives or friends, they still are without parents or legal guardians, and in that sense to be covered by the CRC. "Because adults are of a certain age, they stand safely outside its terms of reference. Chronological age can serve as a cloak of invisibility that conceal adults´ shortcomings" (Lee, 2001). One could see the informant in this setting; chronologically they are adults, still with their living situation being alone without a strong social network and support, one could say that they are shortcoming as adults, and in some sense they are not able to take care of themselves, as they are economically depending on a social care system. Still it is important to consider that this does not necessarily mean that they are inadequate to take care of themselves, rather the socioeconomically conditions they find themselves in. "Children have always played an economic role as recipients of the benefits of adult labour and have received the effects of activities undertaken on their behalf by caregivers" (Lee, 2001, p. 75). However this representation is in the western consumer society, and for the informant this role does not necessarily adapt to them before their arrival in Norway, and this dependency can be challenging for the immigrant himself seen in connection with the loss of social roles, as I have discussed earlier. Peter, seemed to have a different approach to age, and turn 18 years old as he told me this:

> Like, when I turned 18 years old I became, like that is kind of when you first can decide if you want to move out or still be part of the system… and for me, the transition has been gradually and kind of smooth, still I did worry a lot the year I turned 18 years old. Like how would I cope, and how would my future be. Every night I taught about it, like now you are 18 years old, and should be able to be

independent and take care of yourself. I knew I would be able as I had a part time job, which I probably could get more hours. My foster parents supported me and we discussed it a bit, so I decided to live with them till I finish school at least. - Peter.

In connection to what I have discussed, Peters understanding of age had become the "Norwegian chronological age", still this did not automatically make him adult. As Lee (2001) discusses the shortcomings of adults can be hidden in the chronological age, this could also describe what Peter felt, as he reasoned, he was in a way able to take care of himself as he had a job, and was able to pay for himself, still he seemed to need the support system and care from his foster family, which was what made him decide to live longer with them.

6.3 Integration and access to social fields

"The social world is, to a great extent, something which agents make at every moment; but they have no chance of unmaking and remaking it except on the basis of a realistic knowledge of what it is and of what they can do to it by virtue of the position they occupy in it" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 74). The informant had diverse experiences communicating and socializing with Norwegian youth, still all had tried football as a measure towards integration, however the informants experiences with this varied, some had choose to quit and still some of them still played. As integration is socially bound where the key is to access the social fields within the mainstream society, which is the argument behind the Norwegian policy of integration.

6.3.1 Football as a social field

The Directorate of Integration and diversity (IMDI) talks about volunteering as a resource for integration and how sports activities, and voluntary organisations often is understood as the glue in many local communities, and how this is a good opportunity for immigrants to practice language (IMDI, 2014). This has been something all the informants has experienced, still it seemed that even if they got to participate in a such a social field as football, it did not automatically contribute to integration outside that social field. From IMDI there is little information of what to be done, other than that there is multiple ways to contribute for integration. It seems that the informants, has gotten a good understanding of "Football as a social field", however sometimes their lack of social capital made them exposed to flaws, feeling that their Norwegian teammates and peers were the ones in control. "We can think of a field as a space within which an effect of fields is exercised, so that what happens to any object that traverses this space cannot be explained solely by the intrinsic properties of the object in question" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 100). The agents are using their social

capital to navigates and find strategies to use their agency within the field. Each agent has its own force (agency) which it could use to change their positions which again would lead to that the structure of the field could be changed or transformed.

The staff members I talked to, also emphasised football as a social field, and as a field for integration, where the unaccompanied immigrants had the chance to be among Norwegian peers, and from there expand their social capital. However it was a difference of how they worked with this, still they emphasised the fact that their youth had to become members of a Norwegian football team, rather than a team with other immigrants, and how this gained contact with peers, and trainers, and how the staff would take part as parents participating in the organizing of matches, volunteering as it is expected from parents. In municipality B, the key was to collaborate with trainers and participate at matches however not that much outside that. Municipality A had the same strategy, however they also seemed to try to encourage their youth to participate in getting a bigger social network, in multiple ways. For instance at birthdays they would encourage the youth to invite all people they have had some sort of contact with being the teacher, football trainer, previous staff members and others that the youth has been in contact with, and they had some positive experiences with that, and also for the youth himself to see how many people he actually had in his life. Now I will present Clark and Tony´s experiences with football as a social field:

> Really, when I started secondary school, I only knew the boys from the football team, now I see them every day; we are at the same school and everything. Like, we are friends at football, not outside practice. And I think that it is kind of hard to be integrated, one thing is that we are in different classes, still they are kind, and like some say "hi" if we meet outside practice. Still, in the beginning if I met them at the shopping centre or on the streets, I greeted them, but they did not greet me in return. I just taught, ok – it must be the Norwegian culture, like how they didn't say "hi" to me. It´s juts like that; they do not greet me, just some of them. I can see how they treat each other differently, and even if they are polite and kind; but their personalities are not open, I cannot get to know them. With our instructors we just discuss football and what to do. Like at trainings we are all friends, and treat each other the same. Like, I don't think it's the instructors that are responsible, and at those football arenas we treat each other the same. Still outside we are not friends, even if I can see how they are friends outside football too. Like we don't communicate, just like say "hi" sometimes. It´s different for them because they are in the same class most of them, and still they are friends. For me I just can talk to them about football, at practice or matches. Like we don't talk to each other about friend's stuff.
>
> <div align="right">- Clark.</div>
>
> I had no friends here in Norway; I did not know anyone right. I liked to play football and wanted to join a team, from there I got to know people. I still have contact with some of them, like 9 boys I still have contact with some of them, like we talk

sometimes and we greet each other. I played with. Not all, but well… Maybe half of the team, 9 persons, I felt like it was not many of them like… you know I have some friends also from (origin country), and we came at the same time, right. They don't know anyone from Norway yet. And we came at the same time… I think it was good that I did such things. Yes, I don't know, just try something right. Just something, I don't know for instance I have football and at the same time I taught that there I could gain more language knowledge and just learn more, you know. I think that was very smart of me. Still it was always me that had to take initiative to start the conversation, Norwegian youth never does that, I think we are more social like, and like I love to meet new people, so I just start to talk to them. You know I wrote this essay at school, describing Norwegians; like you are like a box, and like you need to figure out how to open it, to get to know people. Even at football I needed to make the first contact.

- Tony

For the informant they use their agency variously, and I also understood that their level of social capital affected how they choose to present themselves within the social field. Peter and Tony used their agency to communicate and be part of the social field in their own right, they challenged their positions thus the rules of the game within the social field. They used their agency to become a part of the social field; and build relationships from there. Their diversely experiences with football as a social field did not mean that their agency were genuinely different, they all had managed to find their place as agents in that specific field, and use their social capital to communicate and change their place as agents. For Clark and Bruce the situation were different their social capital stopped within the field, they did not use or have the access to use their capital to change or challenge the rules of the field. As Clark said it, "at practice we know what to do, and we´re all kind of friends there so we just listen to the instructor and do as we´re told". The rules of the field and the rules of the game are understood by all. James, Tony and Peter contrastingly seemed to use their agency to change or challenge these rules, in order to make contact and build friendships from there. Using their agency and knowledge to enhance their social capital, which further more led to friendships and a larger social network. Improving their social capital has benefited their cultural capital by changing their habitus. Now that their symbolic capital have increased, to access social fields would be easier, as symbolic capital is what agents use entering social fields. The change of capital towards the majority symbolic capital becomes beneficiary for the agent.

Football as a social field did not meet the expectations from Thor and Robert and they choose to quit, Clark and Bruce still played, but are careful to use their social capital towards the other players. Their experiences is that within the social fields, "we are all friends" as Clark

said, Bourdieu states that; "The force of the field exists only as far as its effects" (Thompson, 2008, p. 71). In order to benefit Clark and Bruce needs to challenge their position within the field, yet this do not mean that they will benefit more. The effect of football as a social field has been bigger for James, Peter and Tony as they used their agency to benefit outside of the field. Clark and Bruce reasoned that their teammates did not wish to be their friends outside practice. They had experienced meeting teammates outside practice and not having their presence acknowledged, even if Clark or Bruce greeted first. So their social capital has not gained outside the social field. Yet, they pointed out how they liked football, and emphasised that they were happy about the activity, which meant something for them in their daily routines.

James, Robert and Thor had all chosen to quit the football team; James reasoned this by his age, and how he had become too old to be part of the team. Thor explained it by telling how the trainings took a lot of time, and went on late, so he preferred to play on the team for asylum-seekers. However one could also link it to the fact that football, as an integration arena did not effortlessly offer a bigger social network to the informant. Approximately one out of three youths in Norway are two times a week, or more in an organized sports activity (Fauske & Øia, 2010). Football is the most popular children´s sport in Norway and for some the organized trainings start as early as 6 years old (Helle-Valle, 2008), further football also is a competitive game where the aim is to win, and in children´s football there is a debate whether skills or participation should count the most. In the youth category it is accepted to give more playing time to the most talented athletes, however it is also the discussion weather the professionalization makes young people quit or not. For the informant they play in the oldest youth league and the question is what is the motivation to be a part of the team. In municipality B, they had two too three practices a week, depending on if it was a match included or not. I did not have any interviews with ethnical Norwegian youths to discuss their initiations towards this, still at this level and age, the professionalization has become important, as they play in leagues and the aim is to do its best. Is the motivation the same for Norwegian youth and immigrant youths? This is something I cannot give the answer for, still both staff members told me that they did not work towards Norwegian youth in terms of integration, due to lack of resources and possibilities. Also it could be that many ethnical Norwegians had quit as demanded a considerable amount of time, and with the professionalization the requirement to a part of the team entails a certain level of skills.

6.2.2 School as a social field

In the Norwegian system unaccompanied immigrants does not automatically have the right to education, as it is only primary education that is covered by the CRC, thus this is only accessible for unaccompanied immigrants that up to 15 years old. The informants had different experiences with education, both pre flight and after arrival in Norway, however, what most of them shared was to have an education in the future (de Waal Pastoor, 2015). Their experiences with schooling upon arrival depend the age, as the system do not offer education for the age group 16 – 18 years old during the asylum process. Four of informants was in, had passed, or quit upper secondary education. de Waal Pastoor (2015) says that despite their high motivation unaccompanied immigrants are more likely to drop out from secondary education.

The remaining three informants in this study were still in language/primary educational classes, however the care systems do not give them place at a local Norwegian school – rather, in the educational system for all immigrants – following language classes and the introductory programme. They do not access as a social field with Norwegian peers. It seemed like they had various experiences with the educational system they had met. Now I will present three different views, from Clark (19 years old) who now is in secondary education, Peter (19 years old) who is currently in college and Tony (19 years old) who is in language classes.

I interviewed Clark twice, the first time he had just started secondary education. He emphasised how he liked school, however he found it hard to get to know his Norwegian classmates. The second time we met, we talked about the same issues, and Clark seemed to be more confident with school as he said

> Now school is good. It was hard in the beginning you know, especially with the Norwegian youth, getting to know them and stuff… Even if we spent some time in class on getting to know each other, we only learned the names, not personal things or like… it was just this one boy I knew, we are in the same care system, so we just talked to each other all the time, when we had breaks and stuff. Now, it works better though. I even got my first Norwegian friend, and he has slept over at my place sometimes. We made food together, and like he said that I should come visit him and his family, but they have cats and dogs, and I´m afraid of animals so… still I try to make more friends, and now I have one Norwegian friend, but that´s juts the beginning you know, more will come. Starting from the first term we all came at the same time, from different municipalities, to the same school. We were many that did not know each other – it did not take any time for them, and they got to know people all over school in a way. I thought, wow, them and I came here at the same time,

> already they know everyone at school. 'Why don't I know everyone by now?' I told myself that I needed to contact them and in way just get to know everyone. But you know, some just don't want me as a friend… They don't think the right way, you know… Still people are kind to me, but its like, it´s just their personalities, they are not open. Still I don't think it's the schools responsibilities to fix things, or like change. No, because I really like the way they do things, and they try to get to know me as I am, as Clark you know. Another thing is that this is the first time in class that I share desk with a girl. We don't have that where I´m from. At first I taught it would be harder to communicate with the girls, but now it is – it´s the same! I know everyone you know, I can talk to everyone! Everyone.   - Clark.

The first time we met Clark was silent and told me about school quietly, the second time he was more confident. When he told me he knew everyone now, he was telling with confidence and seemed to be proud. For Clark, getting into the secondary school has opened new doors, giving him the possibility to extend his social network thus exchange his social capital. In the first meeting he seemed a bit reserved when we talked about school and I understood that he enjoyed school, but he found it challenging to talk about it. He blamed himself for being too shy to get to know people. The second time we met he had completed the first term, and he seemed more confident, and he also was open on how the others (Norwegian pupils) had more contact with each other. Peter who came to Norway at a earlier age, had progressed into Norwegian class earlier, this is how he remembers it:

> I stayed in a "introductory class[6]" when I first came here, with other children, just to learn the language, however I did not stay in that class for long… I don't recall exactly, but I recall that the leaves on the trees were orange, so it had to be in the fall. And I started at a "introductory class" – and that did not take that much time… I think I started as I got here (Norway) and my classmates were other immigrant children, I was in that class for a few months, before I came into a class with Norwegian classmates… Yes, I think it did… it was not years I spent in the introductory class, just a little while, and we shared building with the Norwegian kids, so when I started in the other ordinary class, I still had my immigrant friends to meet in the breaks. I still have some contact with a few people from this class.   - Peter

Peter accessed a class with Norwegian classmates early after arrival, and as he explains, he still has some occasional contact with his peers from this time. He had school as an arena for integration at an early stage, and as he explained he had the possibility to be with immigrant peers and Norwegian peers at the same time. Tony is still in Norwegian class, at age 19 and would finish there this spring, and moving on to secondary education in the fall, he still has not attended classes at a Norwegian school.

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[6] Newly arrived students are given training in special prep classes. With the aim of achieve sufficient Norwegian skills, orally and written (de Waal Pastor, 2013b).

> Like, I will complete primary school as a private candidate and start secondary education in the coming fall… Actually I am experiencing some trouble at school with my teacher, you know there is many different types of teachers, right? Some one get closer to than others… and I had a teacher that I was really close to, and we had a very good relation right. Now, I have a teacher which… it´s kind of difficult between us… and you know when I turn 20 years old, in April, I will not have like access to the system any more, now we have like homework assistance, but I will not have that after I turn 20 years old, so I have to manage all on my own trough high school, and I am a bit worried about that.   - Tony.

So, Tony, Clark and Peter have different experiences with the school system, and this again seems to effect how their social network among Norwegians is. In Norway schools is almost where youth spend most of their time; which again is a big arena for developing social capital, and interacting with peers. As Clark explains he experienced that he had to spend time and energy to be able to get to know his Norwegian peers, and still he did not manage to "get to know their personality" as he explained it. For the informant it seemed to be a connection between where they found themselves in the school system, and how much contact they had with Norwegian peers, and how their social capital developed. I could see that those of the informant who had most experience with Norwegian class mates, seemed to have a bigger social network within their municipality. This was also something both of the professionals reflected on:

> You get a lot effortlessly to be in a Norwegian class at school, but it is also very challenging, still those times it works. Even "mottaksklasser" is a good thing, however it is over a short period of time, and there are limitations for how long one could stay in primary school, even if they can apply for an extra year. We can see that sometimes it is an advantage for them to be settled with us when they are 15 years old and access Norwegian schools, still they are to learn what Norwegian pupils have spent 10 years in school to learn…   - fagleder A

> With the new requirements form "fylkeskommunen" they have to pass the Norwegian primary school education and a social sciences test before they can apply for secondary education. It is supposed to take 3 – 4 years; still we see that in reality it somehow goes a bit quicker. Still the younger they are when they come to us, we have more time to support and prepare them.   - fagleder B.

School is a meaningful arena for unaccompanied immigrants to establish friendship and build new social arenas. It is also important for the future, and the ability to access and contribute to the society (de Waal Pastoor, 2013a). School has a cultural meaning also, and many unaccompanied immigrants come from no, or little education, or some still has some education from their home country, the informant seemed to have some sort of education pre flight, still they did not seem to. Clark explains how he has never shared a desk with a girl before, nor experienced the gender mixed class like this. Peter got another access to school;

this is in connection to how old he was when he came to Norway – children in the age 6 – 16 years old usually get the opportunity to start school relatively early (de Waal Pastoor, 2013a). And there is many things one needs to consider, from learning to read for the first time, or learning a whole new alphabet, and new letters.

Traditionally parents in Norway have to assist their children´s homework. Unaccompanied immigrants are more or less depending on such help. Good homework assistance is important for unaccompanied immigrants, and how they preform in school, which again is a motivating factor for them, as research show how school drop-out is common for this group (de Waal Pastoor, 2013a). The informant appreciated this help, and told me how this was important for them, still they seemed to be worried how they would manage moving on to secondary schools, and age also seems to be essential here, as Peter was the only one that had gone trough schooling as Norwegian peers, and now as many other 19 year olds, had moved on to college. The situation is a bit differently for those who has turned 16 years old, they have rights to 250 hours of Norwegian class and fro there it is up to the municipality and the Fylke[7] when it comes to how they will receive education. To be accepted into secondary school, one must pass primary school exams, and from there move on to secondary school.

This does often entail "primary school for adults" – before moving on to secondary school (de Waal Pastoor, 2013a). The negative thing here is that this often means attending school with other refugees, which again means little, or no contact with Norwegian peers. This means that in many cases the immigrant has turned 19 years old before he can start in a class with Norwegian classmates, which is important for school as a field for integration. Again it needs to be a balance between knowledge and access. For the informant, only one was in college as the "natural school stages in Norway" at the same time and age as Norwegian peers, two were in secondary school, three still in primary classes, and one had not finished secondary school, but gone on to work instead. However it is important to mention here, that there also is Norwegian pupils dropping out of school, and that isn't merely a problem among unaccompanied immigrants. Still it is difficult to complete secondary school, especially if one has shortage in education pre flight.

> It was hard, like I hadn't attended 10 years of primary education; I did not grow up here, and like had only been in Norway for about a year before I had to go. It was almost impossible to start in a class with Norwegian classmates that had other

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[7] Regional Municipalities.

qualifications to be in school. We had no problems like socially, but in class, like when we had subjects – like it is important that one is respectful to others so I could not ask question all the time when it was something I did not understand. Like to keep asking the teacher to repeat and explain over and over again… it became to big of a difference both for them and me. Norwegians had like 10 years of schooling before, and like it was so much I did not know, that made it even harder for me, and I did not wish to disturb for the other pupils in the class so… I had to small knowledge to do that, and I told the staff and the municipality; like I couldn't speak the language properly – so maybe it would be better with me for some sort of placement instead, to learn the language, and maybe start secondary education another time. So that's what happened.   - James

James did choose not to continue in school, as he found it irrelevant for him at that time. He would rather learn the language well, and then focus on education again later on. He started working in a kindergarten, and now he works fulltime at a supermarket. School is not only a physical place, but also a social field.

Peter who had the longest experience with the Norwegian school system reflected on secondary school as the natural state, his attendance was among Norwegian classmates. He told me about how he had good friendships from there. Clark and Robert had the similar experiences being classmates, however, they emphasised how it took longer for them, than other classmates to get to know others. As Clark said; "we all started at the same time you know, in August – still like after a month all the Norwegian pupils knew each other, and I like, only knew my classmates". Robert seemed to share this experience, telling how he had spent a lot of time to adapt into class, and become as the others, similar to Clark.

Both Clark and Robert had been in Norway for almost 3years before they could be in a class with Norwegian classmates, and for them it was their fist opportunity to get to know Norwegians on their own. Clark told me he did use to hours on homework every day. The entire group of informants emphasised the importance of school, and that the main goal for the future was to have education. In order to contribute to the society, this was undoubtedly important for them. For Peter and Clark, school had also offered important social networks, a positive contribution for their well-being. Svennson and Eastmond (2013) argue that school is of importance for creating a support network for unaccompanied immigrants. Bourdieu have stated that education creates reproduction of the power relation's trough sorting students from the habitus from the dominating class (Wiltgren, 2013). The official report regarding integration, NOU 2011:14 stresses the importance of creating school as a learning arena; "An

including school is not about creating *us* and *them* it is about creating *all of us*" Education is important for social mobility, work and living conditions especially as the work force in Norway have a need of skilled workers, as the employment for unskilled people is harder than seen earlier (NOU, 2011). Education is important to be able to participate and contribute as fully members of the society.

6.2.3 Language and habitus

> I never taught about language. Never. I taught that Norwegian language was like English, it was a bit hard, how would I cope, and would I learn it..?   - Thor.

The citation above is from Thor, explaining how he was not aware of language as a possible obstacle meeting Norway. Language is a non-instinctive human method for sharing and communicating ideas, emotions and desires, voluntarily produced symbols (Edwards, 2009). Bourdieu argues that it is in fact more complicated, and that language inhabits a great deal of power.

> Language forms a kind of wealth, which all can make use of at once without causing any diminution of the store, and which thus admits a complete community of enjoyment; for all, freely participating in the general treasure, unconsciously aid in its preservation (Bourdieu, 1991 p 43).

With power, language also becomes a way to distinguish between agents in social fields. "The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45). This means that the official language set the norms for schools, public services and political institutions it also implies making it a general need for the population to have knowledge of it. In this sense language also inhabits a great deal of power, for those who have the position to restrict and develop the language further. Standard language becomes the everyday (normalised) use of the official language. Bourdieu argues that language also has the power to make separations.

> The act of categorization, when it manages to achieve recognition or when it is exercised by a recognized authority, exercises by itself a certain power: 'ethnic' or 'regional' categories, like categories of kinship, institute a reality by using the power of revelation and construction exercised by objectification in discourse (Bourdieu 1999, p. 223)

Learning the Norwegian language was the one thing all the informants emphasised as most important to become integrated into the society. Language becomes as Bourdieu (1991) argues the categorization separates between agents, and becomes a marker of where one belongs. To learn the language could increase the opportunity to future employment and

access to social fields (Brekke, 2008, p. 109). For the informant language seemed to be the biggest obstacle to integrate and be included among Norwegian peers. This was something the informant seemed to be surprised by, in meeting Norway. Habitus, and behaviour also seemed to bring new challenges and the informant had diverse experiences and thoughts about this.

> It is hard to get to know Norwegians you know, you need good language skills to get to know them… like here (municipality B), in school we have learned to speak bokmål, and here the local people speak dialect, so when I meet people I still don't understand what they are saying, because their dialect is kind of hard, and it goes too fast when people are speaking to me, I don't understand them. Some people here becomes afraid, and don't want to talk with Africans. But if you have good language skills you could explain yourself, who you are and like… like when I am at football I only communicate in English, like because they use dialect and then I don't understand them, and they don't speak bokmål, I haven't asked them too, but still… they know I don't speak Norwegian, and like this other night, me and my friends were having some drinks and like we went for a walk, we met a man and we began to talk with him, I asked him if we could use bokmål, rather than dialect and like he would only use dialect so we had to speak in English… why is that?   - Bruce.

> Really, it was hard with culture and such stuff and behaviour… Still, now I have managed to adapt. Now I´ve become social… in the beginning it was like, hard to communicate with Norwegian people, because I taught, like we could not communicate very well… like I told you about football and school, still now I can manage better, due to my language skills.   - Clark.

Bruce explains how language and the language skills they require in language class are not adequate to communicate in the municipality he lives. Bokmål is one of two official Norwegian languages and is used in learning books and official documents, still Norwegian dialects can be profoundly different from "Bokmål", and as Bruce explains he has little experiences using Norwegian, especially when it makes it hard for him to understand the dialect, so he preferred to use English to communicate. "… a dialect is a variety of a language that differs from others along three dimensions: vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (accent)" (Edwards, 2009, p. 63). Still the informant emphasised how the first goal for them was to learn the language before they would proceed to education. Also by the staff members I talked to the importance of language were brought up as being of great importance, when asked about seeing a common strategy for unaccompanied immigrants in order to be integrated;

> It must be schooling and learning the language. Many of them are really working hard with this process, and try to learn everything from the first second. We have seen that some of our youths have made their own timetable, over their spare time for what to do in order to adapt to the language. Still it may be too much for them, but tells us

something about how decisive they can be, both to make most of their days, and because spare time could be a bit frightening and gives the opportunity to think about things that is hard.   - fagleder A.

For the youth to learn the language seems to be the most important, when they come to us and when we have had meetings to map out the way to go, with the newly arrived youth and most of the youth says that the most important for them is as they say it "I have to learn the language".   - fagleder B

Language is important in order to gain access into the Norwegian society and as Gullestad (2006) gives examples of, language alone does not guarantee a good integrating process. Still language is a complex process and may reflect on "status and place" in the society (Edwards, 2009). For the informant language seems to be what integrates and separates, as they find their own language skills to be to poorly to interact with Norwegian youth.

Habitus is a structuring mechanism, which is embodied in agents; still it is influenced by the context. It is a produced and re-produced with interactions between agents and social fields, habitus is what gives access to social fields. Social fields are sub-spaces within the multidimensional space, which we know as society (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Unaccompanied immigrants habitus may be conflicting with the social fields they meet within a new country. Trough Bourdieu, Devine and McGovern (2016) they emphasise habitus, and gives the example of positive and negative components for developing habitus. Transnationalism offers positive relations and belonging, on the other hand their habitus can also be connected to shame and shortcomings both in the previous culture and within the new society. Devine and McGovern offers two ways to perceive habitus for migrant children within their families, positive components seem to offer belonging and inclusion. Negative components could be seen as the consequence of such belonging, connected to how one is presented within the society. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the informants habitus have been developed trough positive components such as love, solidarity and intimacy, – also negative components; shame, sadness and failure (Devine & McGovern, 2016). The informant seemed to experience this in the public space, with casual encounters, meeting people on the bus or in the streets;

So when I came to Norway I used to greet people I met, regardless if I knew them or not, and If I knew someone we used to have a handshake and even a hug, even if it is boy and boy. And like respect elders with a light handshake. And if someone enters the room you would get up out of respect. I used to do this as I arrived in Norway too, you know if I met someone in the street in (country), and did not greet them they could approach me and ask me why I did not they would approach me and ask why I

> disrespected them. Here in Norway people did not greet me back, so I felt like that they all disrespected me, I used to do it like for 5 months after my arrival… - Bruce.

It was more of the informant that shared similar experiences as Bruce, meeting the Norwegian society where people do not talk to each other unless they have some sort of previous relations. Bruce's previous experiences could be connected to the negative and positive components of habitus, greeting people was a sign of respect and acknowledgement, in Norway this became different, maybe even shameful as it could be seen as sign of love and affection. Tony also shared some thoughts and experiences around this;

> Like, when you give someone a smile they say that you would receive a smile in return. Still, I don't see that here, like in the morning in the bus everyone is just serious. I am a happy boy [laughs], I don't know why, and I am outgoing keep just talking to people, but at the bus it is just me and my friend talking, like it is a full bus, still only us talking, why is that?   - Tony.

The habitus the informant entered the social field with, to contribute to the community will be better than just the individual, and this seemed to be conflicting for the informant. The previous experiences seem to be in connection to a social reality where the individual is important, maybe even more important than the community. Peter also told me how his habitus had changed over the years he had been living in Norway;

> Like it took some time for me to get to know the Norwegian system, and like how to behave, I remember when I first came here, I used to love to go and swim… so I went to the pool, cause I had this season ticket, so like I used to go there on my own like, and I didn't think that was weird at all, going alone. I had that mind-set you know, that I would always find someone else to hang out with, like, as I knew it from the refugee camp. And I did get to know a lot of people there, but now like, in hindsight we have talked about it, and like how weird it was of me to do that, just go alone and like… I don't think I would have done it that way now, as I know how the society works. But you know I was a child and just met other children and we just had a good time, and like we are still friends today some of us… it could be since I was so young, only 9 or 10 years old at the time, it could be like easier to just talk to people, and you know.   – Peter

He explains it with the fact that his mind-set was different thus his habitus and social capital where the natural habitus, and what enabled approaching strangers and build relationships from there. He also told me how he used to change his habitus and behaviour depending on which friends he met in Norway, if it was friends from his origin culture or ethnical Norwegian friends;

> When I am with my Norwegian friends, I have to restrain myself a bit. With my (origin country) friends we just laugh and like there is no seriousness. With Norwegian friends we have to be serious at times, and like we can talk about feelings,

which I cannot with my (origin country) friends as we learn that we do not talk about feelings and stuff.   - Peter.

This shows how Peter uses his social capital, and adapts to the situation, the social fields and follows the rules set by the other agents, and use his agency in order to fit in. To me, it seemed like he appreciated both ways of approaching life. He also told me how he hoped it would continue like this in the future.

> …Social habitus is increasingly shaped by the transnational dimension of social life. As a system of "durable and transposable" dispositions (Bourdieu 1979) that generate practices and representations, social habitus conveys the way in which an individual´s social background and early social experiences imprint on his or her "way of being" in the world trough an – often unconscious – process of internalisation of exteriority (Nedelcu, 2012, p. 1345).

Which regarding transnationalism determines agents use of agency in order to change and adapt their position of power. Peter changes his social capital within the social fields, with his Norwegian friends he use the "Norwegian capital", whit his other friends he uses his "hidden capital".

6.2.4 "Us" and "the others" (Norwegians)
In the previous chapter Thor stated, "We are different", and linking it to his experiences during the flight. Gullestad (2006) argues that the construction of Norway as a homogenous nation where equality and commonness have been essential in building the nation. Immigration has challenged this homogeneousness. The informants told me how they were different from Norwegians;

> I wrote an essay in school explaining how Norwegians are like a box – one needs to open it, to get to know them. Even though our realities are hard, we care for each other. Someone always calls, or check in on you. Even now, we share our food and what we have. I feel we are more social. I know that I have people worrying for me. That is a good thing!   - Tony.

Tony described his social network as being "more social", this could mean that it is more collectivistic where sharing is caring. Thor told me how he preferred advice from his friends, the informal social network than from staff;

> I usually go to school with some friends. It is better to walk together, because if you go alone you think about your family and stuff.   - Thor.

The informant seemed to find comfort with each other, as they had shared similar experiences, they could give advice and support each other. The staff leader in municipality B confirmed this:

> They see them selves like on unity "we are a family – brothers" which find themselves in the same situation, and that they need to help each other. If they get angry at us (staff) as youth sometimes does – the whole group gets angry together – they kind of fight the battle together, but that's a good thing too.

This again can be connected to their social capital, and habitus. Their cultural capital values the collectivistic thinking, and standing up for each other is part of that. It also could be that they find comfort that they in some ways share the same experiences, and when they come to Norway, they became a minority, their social capital were not usable. As mentioned in the previous section, they accessed social fields, thus this access did not automatically bring meaning and belonging. James choose to use his agency to challenge the rules, and change his position within the field, he explained it like this;

> I felt like it´s my duty to present myself for them (Norwegians), they cannot visit me, and you cannot come to me and visit and get an understanding of what I come from, right… also it is I that came here to Norway without an invitation, therefore I have to adapt.   - James.

He chooses to actively go to the youth club in the municipality, and from there engage in the youth's panel for the youth club. He told me that he had a power-point presentation of himself and how he came to Norway. This was his way to gain access. Talking about transnationalism in the previous chapter, the informant seemed to view Norwegian youth as a care-free lifestyle. Out of the informant, Peter, James and Tony were the ones that had most experience being part of such encounters. Interestingly, it seemed like they had found common grounds or links in order to get to know them. James told me how he expanded his social network;

> First, I helped my elder neighbours shuffling snow as he saw this was something they struggled with. I was young you know, so for me it was easy to help them. This was how I got to know some others of my neighbours, we were at the same age and he lived here alone to go to school as he came from another municipality. So we were both new to this municipality B, we still have contact today. We attended parties together, even if I was not allowed, and he took hiking and fishing…   - James.

James and this friend were both new to the same place, municipality B. It seemed like this similarity created an entry point into new social fields for James.

Gullestad (2006) describes how Norwegian neighbourhoods has gone trough a transition from community to what she calls "close environment". In connection to women entering the labour forces, which again have influence the institutionalisation of childhood as the structural form Qvortrup refers to. According to Gullestad these close environments is closely

connected to specific places, and connects people to each other. The informant seems to have troubles to be considered as a part of such places, as they told me they did not spend their holidays within their municipalities of settlement. Clark told me:

> I spent Christmas holidays in Sweden visiting some friends there, before that I spent some days in Oslo.

It was not only Clark that spent his holidays another place than where he was settled, Tony and Bruce also told me how they preferred to spend long holidays with friends which includes leaving their municipality of settlement for a long period. Tony told me how he had met some ethnical Norwegian friends trough football, still he pointed out that they had grown up in a multicultural area, leaving me with the impression that this was part of the reason for their friendship.

Previous research suggests that education and employment is of great importance for unaccompanied immigrants (Oppedal et al., 2009; Söderqvist, 2014; Wernesjö, 2015). In the interviews the informant told me about their future plans, and wishes. The one thing that all seemed to agree on was the importance of getting education and a job. Thor said it like this;

> Like now I am not Norwegian, I will become that later, one has to know the language first, and the rules of the game… Have a profession, and follow your dreams and hopes, but you need to know something's, like how the society is, and who's the king and like. You have to know this to become Norwegian!   - Thor

We also discussed what it was to be a Norwegian and if they considered themselves as Norwegians or not, this can be seen in multiple ways, and is often linked to identity, however as identity was not something I asked about during my interviews, and a contested concept I will not go further into identity. Still, as I did in the previous chapter it can also be linked to transnationalism;

> I am Norwegian, you know when I turned 18 years old I planned on getting my drivers licence right, as Norwegian youths do when they turn 18 years old. So now when I have that I am like the Norwegian youths you know…   - Clark

To have a drivers licence at 18, even if he did not have a car was important, as it was something he could recognize from the other Norwegians. Interestingly this was not only mentioned by Clark, also Thor told me how he was spending time to read for the theory test, as he was trying to get his drivers licence. Peter and James had both gotten their drivers licence, interestingly this can be said as being of importance for Norwegian youths to, still

they often have the prospects to borrow a car from their parents or family, and in that sense use their drivers licence.

For unaccompanied immigrants this is not necessarily the same, they do not have a car, still it seemed to be of importance to have a drivers licence. As Clark stated; "As Norwegian youths do when they turn 18 years old" it could be interpreted as a way for them (unaccompanied immigrants) to do as they saw ethnical Norwegians do, and how the drivers license seemed to be important, when turning 18 years old, especially as they saved up, and used their own money to pay to have it. It also would probably be a resource in the future as it possibly could increase mobility if they had a car in disposition. Could the drivers licence be something that the informant has seen as of importance from Norwegian youth, therefore the meaning became to meet the need of belonging? Even tough it could mean belonging it is of importance to emphasise the fact that to have a drivers license also could mean increased mobility. For unaccompanied immigrants to have a drivers' license could belong in the sense of identifying and an attempt to belong. Anthias (2006) argues that identifying and belonging is two separate things, and that belonging entails a sense of being accepted as a full member.

Transnationalism as discussed in the last chapter include the links to a bigger social network, and some would link this directly to culture, and the lack of adapting to a new culture, or leaving the old. Yet, the impression I got from the informant what that their view on their future combined the past and the present, transnationalism in a way;

> I have always taught that when I become an adult I will by a big house, so the kids of my siblings can move in with me if there is a need… that is something I would not imagine my Norwegian friends would do. For me that is something I would do, and appreciate.   - Peter.

It was not only Peter that shared such stories, some of the informant seemed to be concerned in a way, what would happen to them when they grew old. They all emphasised in the interviews that in their culture it was the son or daughters responsibilities to take care of their extended family members when they grew old, and how they found it strange that we in Norway offered institutional care to our elders instead of family care as they were used to. Tony told me this:

> The only thing I am sure of is that when I become old, I will move back to my country of origin, and receive good care from my family. I will not be put in an institution as you do here.   - Tony.

The possibility to be put in an institution seemed frightening for Tony, he would preferred his family caring for him before professionalised care from strangers. It also seemed like this was something he had been discussing with other people, and he told me how he had heard stories about old people in institutions where their families never ever visited them. For him that seemed impossible, and he also linked it to the fact that it was a way to show respect for his parents. Some expressed some sort of worry about leaving their parents behind, not being able to take care of them as they grew old, also how it would be for them (the informant) to become old here in Norway, who was to take care of them? We also spoke about being Norwegian or not, they all seemed to see it differently and found it hard to identify themselves as either, or is there a need for such black or white identification? This is what they told me;

> Yes, No, or in a way… I have lived in Norway longer than I have lived in (country); I was only 9 when I came right. In a way I´ve become really Norwegian, still I am a bit what I came from. I try to have a good mix right, I think about it sometimes, like identity, because I don't go to church every Sunday, as others from my origin culture does. In a way I don't fit within the community from my origin country, I'm in a limbo you know…   - Peter

> When I got my citizenship some years back it was a special day for me, which I remember very well… that was a big deal for me, to become Norwegian.   - James

> I would say that I am kind of in between Norwegian and origin culture. - Robert

Wernesjö (2015) found that her informants had a prospect of the future, and "when *they* get to know us" a change, and acceptance into the local community would happen, this is something I could recognize for the informant as well, and for some its seemed like with this change they would become Norwegian. "*Young people from refugee backgrounds are typically further enclosed by their ethnical cultural identity, which in many cases becomes so dominant in accounts of their lives that it precludes attention to their subcultural activities*" (Wilding, 2012, p. 506). This illustrates how the culture of origin may dominate how they (the informant) are perceived and how their agency could be limited trough "the eye of the beholder". In a way it could be that their refugee background is restricting access to social fields. However for their future they emphasised to have education and a job, which would enable them to access the social fields, and contribute to the welfare state as well.

My wish for the future?
To become a good person.
Respect my surroundings.
Be kind.
Give help.
Do favours.
- Robert

Summary:

The statement form Robert closing the chapter, was not unique talking to the informant however he was the one that phrased in a way I found beautiful, simple, vulnerable and strong. He keeps on looking forward, continue to fight and build his future. This chapter has shown more of the recent challenges the informant have meet on their way to independence; "These are young people who will not wait to be transformed. Rather, they are doing the transforming themselves while engaging with both local and transnational opportunities, both online and offline" (Wilding, 2012, p. 509). Unaccompanied immigrants meet multiple challenges with the new social fields in Norway. They are a vulnerable group in several ways. I got the impression that the informants' represents were a resilient part, of this vulnerable group. They have all adapted well, using their agency to navigate their best within the social fields. This new social fields in Norway, seems to base on reasoning of what it is not, and where "you" are different over what "we" have in common. Everyday culture becomes the "natural way" and the "reality" what Bourdieu (1977/1997) calls doxa – that is just how it is. When the informant asked me during the interviews "why is it like this here (in Norway)?" Often my initial taught were "that's just how it is", this was what I had simply accepted without questioning or noticing it – the doxa.

As many stated, "Integration is difficult" and as discussed in the thesis, in the Norwegian context reasoned by what it is not, rather than what it is. Integration is socially constructed, a social process which needs access to social fields with the aim to benefit in form of a greater social network. Consequently, enrich the lives of unaccompanied immigrants as they possibly have someone to depend on outside the professional system. Nevertheless this is not an automatically benefaction, rather a process with many components; language barriers, habitus, social capital and agency. These components may affect positively or negatively.

7. Concluding remarks

The process of writing this thesis has been interesting and challenging. Some child migrants are victims of war, loss of parents due to difficult circumstances, some victims of poverty, and split families. Unaccompanied immigrants become victims of global inequality, restraining their parent's opportunities to give their child the best care and prospects for the future (Engebrigtsen, 2002). Such inequality does not stop with granted asylum in Norway, as one should expect form "the Child-Friendly Norway". It seems like coming to Norway also means coming to short and being "irrelevant" according to social capital.

My findings suggest that the informant enter Norway with valuable and rich social capital and low economic capital. However it seems like their social capital is not relevant for the new social fields, which is where the problem starts. Their habitus has been constructed in a society where the individual human being in dynamic ways is interwoven in interdependencies and mutual responsibilities in everyday life. Collective thoughts and sharing and caring are contrasted as they arrive in Norway, as Tony said; "people do not greet back here". Habitus is what creates meaning the tool to understand social fields; their tool becomes wrong in the Norwegian context. My findings indicate that some find it hard to become included in their local communities. It seems like it is not simply a question about their ability to adapt, but a question if the social structures within the society offer the option to access social fields. Bourdieu (1977/1997) argues, that the aim of social capital is to access resources trough exchanging existing capital, thus also a social process. Unaccompanied immigrants seem to have a hard time activating such exchanges due to lack of access to social fields. The doxa, is the unspoken rules of the field and requires access to the field in order identify this "natural state". To change ones position in the field doxa needs to be challenged for agents to change positions.

Unaccompanied immigrants lack families in Norway and thereby they become dependent on formalised institutions. Though everyday life in Norway can be characterised by individualisation, there is also a high degree of family- orientation. The (nuclear) family has in many ways become the marker of where one belongs, whereas the immigrants in their countries of origin were attached to the wider community and a larger group of people.

It seems like it becomes a question of power, Bourdieu (1989) claims that social capital becomes an issue of power, where elites in the society have the power to position themselves well within social fields. This is not necessarily manipulated by elites, but it comes off as the natural state (doxa), as it is not easily identified all agents in society contributes to confirm this state as they do not challenge it.

For the informant this becomes clear as they become marginalised within the society. This marginalisation makes them stand out in three ways; firstly for being refugees, secondly not being children, thirdly being alone. The "negative" notion of being a refugee as discussed previously, is in Norway closely connected to a threat towards the homogenous Norway (Eide, 2005, 2007b; Engebrigtsen, 2003; Ericsson, 2009; Gullestad, 2006; Hagelund, 2002). This again creates the ambiguity towards refugee children, what Ericsson and Eide calls ambiguous children. My claim is that unaccompanied immigrants over 15 years old at arrival do not get the chance to transit out of childhood (Nayak & Kehily, 2013). From arrival it is focused on a good transition to become an independent and contributing adult. This can also be seen in connection to how unaccompanied immigrants over the age 15, youth, is not perceived as having the same need of protection as children do (Ansell, 2005; Ennew, 2002). In the country that aspires to be the pioneer regarding children´s position in the society, Norway, unaccompanied immigrants becomes what Ericsson (2009) calls stepchildren of the society, or as said by Ennew (2002) "Children outside childhood". Being in institutional care, which makes them stand out, connected to the fact that they do not have family (Ericsson, 2009; Söderqvist, 2014). Institutionalising makes it clear that they are alone.

The second marginalisation, being alone makes them stand out in the society. Where the political solution is professional care, the unaccompanied immigrants are left with fragile social ties. In my study the professionals and the unaccompanied immigrants confirmed this. Also, with the few guidelines towards how this care should be provided, it is the unaccompanied immigrants that suffer. Even today unaccompanied immigrants seems to be "the worst form of immigration" creating ambiguity in society (Eide, 2005; Ericsson, 2009).

However, for the unaccompanied immigrants, they have the ability to change their social capital, and they have been trough various transitions reaching Norway. During this time social ties have been created and broken, they have the ability to cope, and are not afraid to make contact with new people. Their agency is rich. As they also proves by how they use

their agency to access new social fields, learning the language and the future prospects of employment and, give back.

Almost all of the informants separate between "us and them" which could imply that the feeling of belonging and inclusion were lacking, thus transnationalism offered some sort of belonging (Athais, 2006; Söderqvist et.al, 2015; Oppedal and Idsoe, 2015). The informants' attempts to benefit form the best of their ability in order to partake in the Norwegian society.

Age seems to be of significance, from a structural and political point of view, which again makes it significant for the unaccompanied immigrants, however, my findings suggests that age is not something unaccompanied immigrants have deliberate relation to. After arrival to Norway, age entails a new power structure, which the unaccompanied immigrants seem to accept. This power structure does not allow a transition out of childhood, rather into adulthood with the focus to become independent. Form the staff members it was emphasised how it was an advantage to be as young as possible in order to have a good transition into the new society. Also in order to which education one access, age becomes significant (de Waal Pastoor, 2013; 2015).

It takes a village to raise a child – in Norway one may ask if it takes an institution.

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Apprendix I Interview guide Unaccompanied Immigrants

First, explain the aim of the thesis, and why you are meeting them, anonymity, and the possibility to withdraw at any time. Also; go trough the themes, and let them decide what they are comfortable talking about.

- First, Lifegrid, yesterday, or a regular day here in Norway, and then in the country of origin. Leave it up to the informant what he/she wish to share.

Daily routines
- How is a regular day for you?
    - Are you making the decisions and plans on your own?
    - Whom do you meet during the day?
        - Relation to these people?

Dependent or independent
- Do you depend on others during the day?
    - Whom?
    - Why?
    - Changed after arrival to Norway?

School:
- How do you experience school?
    - Do you feel that your need for help is met?
    - Future aim?
    - Like with school?
    - Dislike with school?
    - Is there something you would change?

Social Network
- How is your social network?
    - Family
    - Friends
    - Family back home?

Religion:
- Are you religious?
    - Do you "preform" your religion regularly?
    - Have it changed since you came to Norway?

Care system
- How have you experienced the care you have received after arrival in Norway?
    - Is this the help that you need?
    - How do you experience the way to independence?
    - Expectations upon arrival?

Age
- How is age in your country/ culture of origin?
    - Important?

- Does age decide what you are allowed?
- Do you feel that age is different in Norway?
    - Main differences?
    - Have age been limiting you after you came to Norway?
        - In what situations?
    - Have age given you new possibilities after your arrival to Norway?
        - In what situations?

Norway:
- How is Norwegian youth?
    - Are there any differences between you and Norwegian youth?
    - What do you think about Norwegian childhood?
- Did you know anything about Norway pre arrival?
- Can you tell me about your first meeting with Norway, both positive and negative things…
    - First meeting with the municipality?
    - Meeting the community?
    - Work possibilities?
    - Expectations to public services?
- Have you done anything to adapt to a life in Norway?

Past:
- Could you tell me anything about yout childhood in your county of origin? You decide what you want to tell me and how much you want to share.
    - Urban/rural
    - Parents
    - Siblings
    - Friends
    - School and education
    - Work
    - Home
    - Economic situation?

Future:
- What is your future hopes and dreams?
    - Family
    - Friends
    - Social network
    - Economy

Apprendix II Interview guide staff:

First explain aim of the thesis, anonymisation and the possibility to withdraw at any time.

To work with unaccompanied immigrants:
- What do you consider of importance working with unaccompanied immigrants?
  o Why?
  o Is the system flexible for you to work as you find it useful?
- What are the challenges working with unaccompanied Immigrants?
  o In what ways?
  o Strategies in difficult situations?
- How do you support the U.I adapting to a new culture?
  o What is of importance?
  o Why?
  o Are there any strategies you can recognize from the U.I in this process?
- What is stimulating integration?
  o In what ways?
- What is restricting Integration?
  o In what ways?
- What is the long-time aim for integration that you work to reach?
- I recently red an article from SSB, where it came out that 40% of all U.I over a ten – year period now lived in Oslo, when only 7% were settled there from the start? What do you think about this?

Culture, spare time and social Networks.
- How do you support your U.I regarding social networks, and increase this?
  o Do you feel that they have a safe and good social network?
  o Do you work towards Norwegian youths in order to enhance social networks, and integration?
- What kind of spare time activities do you offer?
  o Do the U.I benefit from this?
  o Does it give grounds for integration?
- Food is kind of an identity marker, and creating meaning in many countries, how do you approach meals and food?
  o Some of the youths I have talked to gives the impression that they miss the cultural meaning of food, what do you think about that?
- What is your impression of the meaning of religion for the U.I?
  o Can you see that this is changing over time?
  o Do you have any strategy how to approach religion?

Politics
- How do you feel about the political frames and rules meeting the U.I?
  o Is it promoting integration?
- Is the politics in this municipality promoting integration?
- Do you work towards politicians?
- Do you discuss politics with the U.I?

Finally:
- What do you think about the term "Enslig mindreårig asylsøker?"

- o The English term Unaccompanied Immigrants, asylum seekers without legal guardians, is "enslig" the same?

- Is there anything you would like to add?

Apperendix III NSD Form

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Anne Trine Kjørholt
Norsk senter for barneforskning NTNU
Loholt Allé 87, Pavillion C
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Vår dato: 09.09.2015   Vår ref: 44345 / 3 / AGL   Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 26.08.2015. Meldingen gjelder
prosjektet:

44345	The Significance of Age
Behandlingsansvarlig	NTNU, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Anne Trine Kjørholt
Student	Elen Isaksdotter Tyldum

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være
regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet
gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i
meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt
personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger
kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de
opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et
eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding
etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database,
http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 30.05.2016, rette en henvendelse angående
status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Audun Løvlie

Kontaktperson: Audun Løvlie tlf: 55 58 23 07
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:
OSLO: NSD. Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no
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TROMSØ: NSD. SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no

Apperendix IV Invitation letter unaccompanied immigrants

Invitasjon til å delta på masteroppgaveprosjekt.

Hei,
Jeg er en jente på 25 år som studerer master i Childhood Studies ved NTNU, nå skal jeg skrive masteroppgave. Temaet for oppgaven er hvordan personer som har kommet til Norge som enslige mindreårige asylsøkere opplever overgangen til det norske samfunnet og norsk kultur, og hvordan de har opplevd den hjelp og støtte de har fått.

Derfor tar jeg nå kontakt med deg. Om du kunne tenke deg og fortelle hvordan du har opplevd dette, ta gjerne kontakt så kan vi avtale intervju. Det vil være et intervju på ca 1 til 2 timer. Om du ønsker å ha med deg en venn eller en annen støtteperson er dette helt i orden for meg. Jeg ønsker å gjennomføre intervjuene fra 29/9 – 29/10. Om du har muligheten til å stille opp vil blir jeg glad.

Om du kunne tenke deg å stille på intervju vil du bli bedt om å signere en avtale om å bli intervjuet, jeg kommer til å be om å få ta et opptak av samtalen vår.
Hvis du har sagt ja til å bli intervjuet og angrer etterpå, er det bare å gi beskjed, så kommer jeg til å slette alt som er fortalt.

Om du ønsker å delta, eller har spørsmål vennligst ring/send sms eller mail til:

Elen I. Tyldum
Tlf: 99226298
Mail: elenit@student.ntnu.no

Apprendix V Informed Consent

Request for participation in research project

"Working title; The significance of age"

Background and Purpose

This project aims to gain knowledge of how unaccompanied immigrants experience the social and cultural transition coming to Norway. With a qualitative methodological approach the research will gain knowledge of unaccompanied immigrants own experiences and reflections around being submitted to be of a certain age. Their experiences of transmigration and the changes in their social and cultural environment will also be part of the research. The aim of the research is to explore how children experience and negotiate their agency in a society, and social care system based on chronological age. This is an independent student master thesis Project, Mphil in Childhood Studies at Norwegian Centre for Child Research (NOSEB) at Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

To participate is voluntarily, and you are asked to participate since you are previous unaccompanied immigrants over the age of 18 that have been granted asylum

What does participation in the project imply?

As a participant in this project there will be interviews lasting about 1,5 hours, depending on the participant it may be two interviews. You as a participant will determine what to answer and what you do not wish to share or talk about. The questions will be about lived experiences, from being in a family to an independent life to a social care system in Norway and independency again. The researcher will start the process asking participants what he or she feels comfortable discussing and what to leave out. The interviews will be audio recorded and the researcher will take notes, after the interview the researcher will transcribe the interview and the identity of the participants will be anonymous. After the interviews are transcribed the audio-files will be deleted permanently.

What will happen to the information about you?

All personal data will be treated confidentially. No other than the researcher and the supervisor will have access to information about the identity of participants. After the interviews, the researcher will have transcripts of the interviews where information will be anonym. All information will be kept in locked archives. A list with links between informants and interviews will be kept separate from the other information, and it will not be accessed by other that the researcher and supervisor. A list of names will be kept separate from the other data in order to leave interviews out if some participants wish to withdraw. Participants will not be recognizable by names or where they live, in the publication gender, age and origin countries will be recognizable.

The project is scheduled for completion by 30th of May 2016. After the completion data will be anonymised and deleted.

Voluntary participation
It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.

If you would like to participate or if you have any questions concerning the project, please contact researcher/student Elen I. Tyldum mobile 99226298, supervisor Anne Trine Kjørholt.

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Services.

Consent for participation in the study

I have received information about the project and am willing to participate

----
(Signed by participant, date)

I agree to be interwieved and asked about these themes:

Theme during interview	Yes	No
Origin country		
Family and childhood		
Age		
Age determination		
Cultural transitions		
Daily routines		
Future		