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Kris Kalkman

DAY CARE AS AN INTEGRATIONAL ARENA AND INCLUSIVE ENVIRONMENT

Newcomer Migrant Girls' Sociocultural
Transitions and Negotiations of Identity,
Home and Belonging



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NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Thesis for the Degree of
Philosophiae Doctor
Faculty of Social and Educational Sciences
Department of Social Work



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Summary

Norway's population was in April 2016 estimated to be 5 223 300 persons (SSB, 2016b). The Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDI), estimated that in 2015, 13% of the entire Norwegian population were people with a migration background (IMDI, 2016); many of these being preschool aged children. With 90.4% of all children between the ages of 1 and 5 participating in day care (SSB, 2016a); many migrant children are represented among the day care population. Even though the body of research in relation to diasporic, migrant and mobile childhoods is growing, there are reasons to be critical as much of it fails to capture the situated and contextualised nature of newcomer migrant children's negotiations of identity, home and belonging (Ní Laoire et al., 2010).

In Norway, early childhood day care is promoted as one of the best integrational arenas in which migrant children (including those seeking asylum and refugees) can receive early intervention aimed at easing their transition into future school and society. However, with an intervention focus on future integration, entering an ethnic and culturally diverse early childhood environment, such as day care, can be challenging for many reasons. Accessing peer group interaction, whether play or other forms of social interaction, and becoming socially included, presupposes competencies that exceed the basic linguistic ability of saying 'hello'.

At an overall level, this thesis positions itself within the tradition of social work, addressing day care as an integrational and environment for newcomer migrant girls. The research approach is anchored within the interpretivist/constructionist research paradigm and in line with the underlying principles of the sociology of childhood. The theoretical background draws on but is not limited to sociology, cultural studies and social psychology. Inspired by social and structural theory, as represented within and through the sociology of childhood, this thesis asks: *What facilitates newcomer migrant girls' integration and inclusion in everyday social reality in day care?*

Setting scope on the everyday lives of two newcomer migrant girls, Bahja and Aisha (4 years old) in a Norwegian day care institution, the girls have been observed and interacted with over a nine-month period (September 2013–June 2014). Participatory observation and participatory methods are combined with open video observation for documenting and investigating the girls' everyday sociocultural transitions, such as moving from an introductory group for children with a refugee background into a mainstream day care group.

With particular interest on how, in everyday life, newcomer children's personal problems are interlaced with structural issues (Alanen, Brooker, & Mayall, 2015), the thesis highlights the complexity of in particular

these two girls' everyday social struggles, adapting to a highly dynamic and evolving environment. This thesis reveals the girls as being active participants in their multilayered and complex transitions characterised by continuous negotiations of identity, home and belonging.

The overarching aim of this thesis is to contribute to the early childhood migration discourse, using its findings as a means to strengthen the care environment for newcomer migrant children and building respect for childhood diversity. Through detailed qualitative analysis of small sample sizes of selected empirical data, the data are used to illustrate aspects of the two newcomer girls' everyday worlds. The four articles written for and presented within the thesis address the intersection between what facilitated the girls' integration and inclusion in everyday social reality by highlighting how equal opportunities for integration and inclusion depended on not only the girls' ability to negotiate identity, home and belonging with both peers and practitioners, but also receiving opportunities to do so.

The contributions of the thesis are a set of considerations viewing newcomer children as active social agents within their transitioning processes in day care, understanding day care to be a social sphere consisting of multiple fields characterised by social struggle. The thesis underscores how newcomer children are integrated into day care peer communities yet are required to negotiate their inclusion through actively positioning themselves—and others—in such ways that they achieve status. Having negotiated a status such as that of an insider, they then can actively begin to construct and re-construct their cultural identity, re-establishing the relational dimensions of home and belonging.

In terms of literature, the thesis contributes to a broadened view of existing theories that position (newcomer) children as competent social actors. With respect to practice, the thesis provides practitioners, researchers and policy-makers an inside view of the complexity of newcomer children's sociocultural transitional processes when entering a heterogenic peer community in day care. With the research being interdisciplinary, its contributions are expected to be relevant for a broad audience working with early childhood and migrational matters. As such, this thesis is understood as being a valuable contribution to creating awareness and debate surrounding early childhood migration and newcomer children's on-the-ground childhoods in day care—and presumably in the overall educational system.

Sammendrag

Norges befolkning var i april 2016 anslått til 5 223 300 personer (SSB, 2016b). Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet (IMDI) anslo at i 2015 besto 13 % av den norske befolkningen av personer med innvandrerbakgrunn (IMDI, 2016); mange av disse er barn i førskolealder. 90,4 % av alle barn i alderen 1 til 5 år går i barnehage (SSB, 2016a), noe som vil si at mange innvandrerbarn er representert blant barnehagens populasjon. Forskning tilknyttet diaspora og migrasjon øker. Likevel er det grunn til å være kritisk siden mye av denne forskningen ikke belyser nyankomne barn med migrasjonsbakgrunn og deres forhandlinger om identitet, sosial tilknytning og tilhørighet i sine nye sosiale omgivelser (Ni Laoire et al., 2010).

I Norge er barnehagen fremmet som et av de bedre integreringstiltakene der barn med migrasjonsbakgrunn (inkludert asylsøkere og flyktninger) kan motta tidlig intervensjon som retter seg mot å lette deres overgang fra barnehage til skole og inn i det generelle samfunnet. Men, med tidlig intervensjonsfokus på fremtidig integrering, kan det bli oversett at det å gjøre sin inntreden i en etnisk og kulturell mangfoldig arena kan være utfordrende av mange ulike grunner. Å bli inkludert i jevnaldrende grupper og det å delta i deres aktiviteter, enten i lek eller andre former for sosial interaksjon, forutsetter en viss form for kompetanse som overgår grunnleggende språklige evner som å si "Hallo".

På et overordnet nivå posisjonerer denne avhandlingen seg innenfor tradisjonen sosialt arbeid ved å utforske barnehagen som en integreringsarena og et inkluderende miljø for nyankomne innvandrerjenter. Avhandlingens forskningstilnærming er forankret i det fortolkende paradigme sosial konstruksjonisme, og i tråd med de underliggende prinsippene innen barndomssosiologi. Den teoretiske bakgrunnen som avhandlingen bygger på er i hovedsak sosiologi, kulturstudier og sosialpsykologi. Inspirert av sosial og strukturell teori, som er representert i og gjennom barndomssosiologi, stiller denne avhandlingen spørsmålet: *Hva tilrettelegger for nyankomne jenters integrering og inkludering i barnehagens hverdagslige sosiale virkelighet?*

Over en ni-måneders periode (september 2013 til juni 2014) har det blitt fokusert på hverdagene til to nyankomne innvandrerjenter, Bahja og Aisha (4 år gamle) i en norsk barnehage. Deltakende observasjon og deltakende metoder har blitt kombinert med åpen videoobservasjon for å dokumentere og undersøke de to jentenes sosiokulturelle overganger i løpet av deres første år i barnehagen. Spesiell vekt har blitt lagt på deres overgangssituasjon fra en introduksjonsgruppe for barn med flyktningbakgrunn til en ordinær barnehagegruppe.

Med fokus på å finne ut hvordan nyankomne barns personlige problemer som oppstår i overgangssituasjoner i barnehagen er sammenflettet med mer overordnede og strukturelle spørsmål (Alanen,

Brooker, og Mayall, 2015), fremhever avhandlingen kompleksiteten i særlig disse to jentenes hverdagslige sosiale kamper innenfor et dynamisk miljø. Avhandlingen viser jentene som aktive deltakere i sine flerdimensjonale og komplekse overganger preget av kontinuerlige forhandlinger om identitet, sosial tilknytning og tilhørighet.

Det overordnede målet med avhandlingen er å bidra til diskurser om tidlig barndom og migrasjon ved å bruke funnene som et virkemiddel for å styrke omsorgsmiljøet for nyankomne barn samt bygge respekt for mangfold. Gjennom detaljert kvalitativ analyse av et begrenset utvalg av empirisk data, blir aspekter ved de to jentenes hverdager illustrert og diskutert. Avhandlingens fire artikler belyser hver for seg skjæringspunktene mellom hva som la til rette for jentenes integrering og inkludering i barnehagens sosiale virkelighet. Dette gjøres ved å understreke hvordan like muligheter for integrering og inkludering avhenger ikke kun av jentenes evne til å forhandle identitet, sosial tilknytning og tilhørighet, men også av å få muligheter av både ansatte og jevnaldrende til å gjøre det.

Avhandlingens bidrag er et sett med betraktninger som ser nyankomne barn som aktive sosiale agenter innenfor sine overgangsprosesser i barnehagen, hvor barnehagen forstås å være en sosial sfære som består av flere felt preget av sosial kamp. Avhandlingen understreker hvordan nyankomne barn integreres i barnehagens relative autonome barnegrupper, men at de fortsatt er pålagt å forhandle sin inkludering gjennom aktiv posisjonering av seg selv, og andre, på en slik måte at de oppnår status. Etter å ha fremforhandlet en status som insider, kan de aktivt begynne å konstruere og re-konstruere sine kulturelle identiteter og re-etablere de relasjonelle dimensjonene av sosial tilhørighet.

Når det gjelder litteratur bidrar avhandlingen til et utvidet syn på eksisterende teorier som posisjonerer (nyankomne) barn som kompetente sosiale aktører. Med hensyn til praksis, gir avhandlingen utøvere, forskere og beslutningstakere et innblikk i kompleksiteten i nyankomne barns sosiokulturelle overgangsprosesser når de gjør sin inntreden i et heterogent tidlig barndomssamfunn. Forskningen er tverrfaglig og dens bidrag forventes å være relevant for et bredt publikum som arbeider med tidlig barndom og migrasjon. Denne avhandlingen anses som et viktig bidrag for å skape bevissthet og debatt rundt tidlig barndoms migrasjon og nyankomne barns situerte oppvekst i barnehagen - og antakelig i utdanningssystemet som sådan.

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Kris Kalkman

Trondheim, July 2016

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Abbreviations

BLD:	Barn- og likestillingsdepartementet (NO) – <i>Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion</i>
IMDI:	Integrerings- og mangfoldsdirektoratet (NO) – <i>Directorate for Integration and Diversity</i>
JBD:	Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet (NO) – <i>Ministry of Justice and Public Security</i>
KD:	Kunnskapsdepartementet (NO) – <i>Ministry of Education and Research</i>
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SSB:	Statistisk Sentralbyrå (NO) – <i>Statistics Norway</i>
UDI:	Utlendingsdirektoratet (NO) – <i>The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration</i>
UDIR:	Utdanningsdirektoratet (NO) – <i>The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training</i>
UN:	United Nations
UNE:	Utlendingsnemnda (NO) – <i>Immigration Appeals Board</i>
UNHCR:	The United Nations Refugee Agency
UNICEF:	United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund
WBG:	World Bank Group

1. Introduction

1.1 Focus of Thesis

Social work represents an overall perspective surrounding what makes it necessary or important to draw attention to or lines between, the needs of people which have been depicted as a matter of public concern and those who have been relatively free from concern (Gray & Webb, 2013). As such, the role of social work has become a matter of responding to any attempts that reconcile individual autonomy with social solidarity (Gray & Webb, 2013), giving particular attention to promotion of human welfare through the prevention and relief of suppression and marginalisation (Scott & Marshall, 2009). Social work deals with the central issues of people's everyday concerns and draws upon various traditions of knowledge. Its aims are on the one hand to improve living conditions and empower people to become more independent and on the other hand to explain why particular events happen to a group in relation to the wider contexts that shape people's everyday lives (Gray et al., 2013).

The theme of this thesis fits well within the tradition of social work, addressing day care as an integrational and inclusive environment for newcomer migrant girls. Exploring in particular what facilitates newcomer migrant girls' integration/inclusion in everyday social reality, this thesis assesses negotiations of social position and status, as well as constructions and re-constructions of identity, home and belonging within the first year of day care within a Norwegian day care peer community.

The starting point for my analysis of migrant girls' everyday life in day care started with an interest in the increasingly powerful ideas surrounding the growth of migrants in society and migrant children within Norway's educational system, especially in day care. These ideas emerged within various child-political contexts, as well as within migration and (early) childhood research stressing migrant children as being at risk, needy and vulnerable.

Historically, the Norwegian day care discourse has placed emphasis on the significance of day care for children's social, cognitive, and emotional development. However, the current early childhood day care discourse has undergone a shift in focus, moving from a holistic view of children and their childhoods to viewing the child as a *storage device* and early childhood as the most apt time for *programming* children with *learning codes*. The early childhood 'programming discourse' is an idea which has found echoes both nationally and internationally and is well-established within and supported by dominant global institutions such as the World Bank Group (WBG) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

This shift was most easily observed from 2005 when the political responsibility of Norwegian day care was transferred from the Department of Family Affairs to the Ministry of Education. Signalling a strong political desire to create cohesion within children's educational trajectory, the Ministry of Education *rode the wave* of a narrative about early childhood education which seeks global hegemony, a narrative "of 'investment' in 'human capital' to improve 'standards' and 'performance' and achieve 'economic payoffs' that will give high 'returns and investment'" (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 2013, p. vii). Creating much anticipation surrounding the political transfer and day care as a learning environment, children received the right to day care in 2009. This process was initiated in early 2006 when the new Framework Plan for the Content and Tasks of the Kindergarten was implemented, and great effort was made to firstly establish national day care coverage enabling all children ages 1–5 to participate in day care and secondly to improve day care quality, politically understood to be the "conditions and processes that are needed to fully exploit 'human capital'" (Dahlberg et al., 2013, p. vii).

Even though diversity is stressed as positive—with issues concerning children's welfare and child development appearing on both national and international agendas—this shift represented the end of diversity. Movement and experimentation in early childhood education became segmented: fixed within a perpetuate state of tried, proven and unchanging formulas said to deliver quality (Dahlberg et al., 2013). Embedded within this view lies a central point of concern. Increasingly, through the reports of powerful international organisations there is an ideal for children which is homogeneous and moulded upon visions of an imagined Global North-derived child (see OECD, n.d.; Taguma, Litjens, & Makowiecki, 2013; WBG, 2011, 2014).

Critiques of such reductionist thinking, decontextualized research and the production of universal claims (Dahlberg et al., 2013) have been expressed by Alan Pence and Bame Nsamenang (2008), stressing that diversity should be a strength to work with, not an obstacle to overcome, yet:

[...] forces of homogenization that concern us are largely invisible. [Global North] assumptions and understandings have become the normal and natural way to see and understand children, regardless of culture and context. Local perspectives, activities, and practices are all too often considered to be deviant or deficient by comparison and, like local languages, submerged in their wake. (Pence & Nsamenang, 2008, p. 1)

With an increase of immigrants coming to Norway, the Norwegian government has expressed via powerful rhetoric that migrants are seen as a danger for the Welfare State. This fear is echoed in the recent vision of the Norwegian Government, which states that *all* children should have a safe and good experience in day care and in their future lives. In its attempt to reach this goal, the government has established four overarching goals to increase the quality of day care. These aims are described in the white paper Meld. St. 19 (2015–2016) as:

- Creating a day care offer of high quality, available to every child
- Creating a day care offer which is qualitatively good and tailored to children's needs
- Ensuring a day care environment in which children can thrive, grow and learn
- Ensure that when starting school, children are able to speak the Norwegian language and are able to collaborate and interact with both peers and adults, with the desire to learn

The government's aims are described as having been established based on visions of how contemporary Norwegian society is rapidly changing, and as such specific societal needs occur. A qualitatively good day care offer in the future, they describe, will still have some characteristics of day care as it was in 1975—when the first day care policy emerged—yet there will be also differences. Day care's pedagogical offer should as such be developed to take into consideration technological development, global mobility and migration (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016). Proposing a more systematic approach to shaping day care's pedagogical offering, the government aims to ensure that migrant children will receive a proper and adjusted day care. This should be done by enacting more structured systems and routines that will support children's need for special adaptation, if necessary with the aid of external instances (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016).

With a political rhetoric that increasingly emphasises day care as one of the most apt measures for integrating early childhood asylum-seeking, refugee and other migrant children into future mainstream society (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2006, 2010a, 2016), it may appear at times that migrant children's everyday lives and their immediate childhood experiences are irrelevant, or to be more precise, unappreciated. Continuous portrayals of migrant children as requiring early intervention lead to stereotyping and a questioning of these children's ability to succeed in their own immediate lives.

These ambitious political aims (or children's political truths) are by themselves incapable of ensuring that migrant children who are able to speak the Norwegian language when starting school are included by their peers and able to experience positive collaborations and interactions. This thesis attempts to present a more nuanced and dynamic image of migrant children's *on-the-ground* lives and immediate childhoods in day care. This is done by placing particular attention on the lives of two migrant girls, both with refugee backgrounds. The thesis describes these girls' first year entering day care, the year before starting school based on participatory observation over the course of nine months. It places scope on the delicate social interplay and problems occurring in the two girls' everyday lives by focussing on the girls' actions and interactions within the host peer cultural environment. Issues of inclusion and integration are interlaced with structural ideas that organise and shape newcomer children's relations, illuminating how actions and interactions are guided by social, political

and historical discourse and contribute to the formation of newcomer children's immediate and on-the-ground childhoods in day care.

1.2 Aims and Research Questions

Even though there is a growing body of social research that gives an impression of asylum-seeking, refugee and other early childhood migrant children's living conditions (see Berg et al., 2015; Lauritsen, 2012; Lidén, Seeberg, & Engebriksen, 2011; Seeberg, 2009), relatively little is known about girls' individual and collective experienced contests during their first year entry into day care, the year before starting school. With the unique conditions of migrant children's circumstances, important aspects in relation to girls' everyday sociocultural integration/inclusion require additional attention. There is namely a social and cultural view that girls, supposedly, and contra boys on average develop their social and linguistic competencies more quickly, leading them to be more interested in partaking in academic activities that promote linguistic awareness (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016). Such developmental views can without much effort be translated into powerful ideas that migrant girls are more prone to become integrated into their educational surroundings and within mainstream society. Ethnographic and psychosocial research, however, have indicated that a lack of attention to gender differences in relation to subtle forms of non-violent behaviour defined as *relational aggression* have frequently gone unnoticed. Research indicates that as a group, girls are more prone to being relationally aggressive (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Evaldsson & Tellgren, 2009; Goodwin, 2006; Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011). Crick et al.'s study reveals that the degree of aggressiveness exhibited among girls is underestimated, mainly because particular forms of aggression relevant to girl peer groups have not been discussed as much as boys' overt and physical aggression.

The overarching goal of the thesis is to make a contribution to the early childhood migration discourse, using the thesis's findings as a means to strengthen the care environment by making a more nuanced discussion of the girls' everyday social contests and placing focus on respect for diversity. More specifically, the aim is to broaden current ideas surrounding matters that facilitate migrant girls' successful *integration* and *inclusion* in day care. In order to understand how integration and inclusion are facilitated, integration is understood as, on the one hand, the migrant child being taught to act so that he or she avoids disrupting day care's and societies' structural organization and challenging their stability. On the other hand, the child works together with its social environment to promote and uphold day care's functioning as a unity. Social inclusion/exclusion, I use as referring to the contextual and situated outcomes of migrant children's *on-the-ground* negotiations in relation to

access to friendships, sharing, and overall social participation within relatively small and autonomous peer groups having their own culture and hierarchical structure.

To explore this, the overarching research question asks: *What facilitates newcomer migrant girls' integration and inclusion in everyday social reality in day care?* This question has been explored throughout four articles by making detailed qualitative analysis of small sample sizes of selected empirical data.

The thesis's four articles are listed below:

- Article I:** "They Need to ...: Exploring Practitioners' Attitudes in Relation to Newcomer Migrant Children's Participation in Assessing and Defining Their Needs in Norwegian Day Care" (Kalkman, Valenta, & Haugen, 2016. To be submitted to *Childhood* for second round of review)
- Article II:** "It Takes More Than Just Saying Hello: Recently Arrived Migrant Children's Multimodal Access Strategies and Social Positioning Work in a Norwegian Kindergarten" (Kalkman, Hopperstad, & Valenta, 2015 in S. Kibsgaard & M. Kanstad (Eds.), *Lek og Samspill i et Mangfoldsperspektiv*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget
- Article III:** "Here We Like Playing Princesses: Exploring Role Play as Migrant Children's Re-makings and Re-memberings of Home and Belonging" (Kalkman & Clark, 2016, submitted to *European Early Childhood Education Journal* (EECERJ))
- Article IV:** "'Do You Want This?': Exploring Newcomer Migrant Girls' Peer Reception in Norwegian Day Care: Experiences With Social Exclusion Through the Exchange of Self-Made Artefacts" (Kalkman, Hopperstad, & Valenta, in *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood* (CIEC), Volume 18, Issue (1) in press)

The supplementary questions guiding the four articles have been:

Article I:

- *How does newcomer children's participation in assessing and defining of their needs relate to practitioners' attitudes?*

Article II:

- *How can newcomer migrant girls' negotiations of inclusion and social positioning work be understood as multimodal access strategies into peer group activity?*

Article III:

- *How can role play be understood as a representation of social attachment and well-being within distant and immediate surroundings?*

Article IV:

- *What types of social and structural conditions contribute to newcomer migrant girls' social exclusion within everyday child-governed activities in day care?*

1.3 Thesis Outline

Following the current introduction, the thesis consists of the following chapters:

Chapter 2, *Background*, provides an overview of migration trends in Norway, presents the concept of mixed migration, sets focus on children's rights and migrant children's care and education, and addresses recurring concerns in migrant children's integration and education.

Chapter 3, *Theoretical Framework*, presents the overarching theory social constructionism, anchoring the work within the sociology of childhood followed by a presentation of key aspects from transitioning and social positioning theory used for structuring the analysis of newcomer children's every-day life in day care.

Chapter 4, *Related Research*, builds further on the presented theoretical framework, presenting related research used for the production and expansion of themes and concepts to explore what facilitates newcomer children's integration and inclusion in day care.

Chapter 5, *Methodology*, presents the ethnographic location, the ethnographic design, epistemology, considerations made in shaping the methods, processes of interpretation and analysis, and methodological and ethical considerations.

Chapter 6, *Summary of Articles*, provides a summary of the four articles written for the thesis.

Chapter 7, *Presentation of Articles*, presents those articles.

Chapter 8, *Conclusions*, This chapter presents the contributions of this research followed by reflections on the study's strengths and limitations, lessons learned and suggestions for future research.

2. Background

This chapter presents relevant background for the research by giving an overview of migration trends in Norway and discussing the concept of mixed migration. The following sections focus on children's rights and migrant children's care and education. Finally, this chapter is concluded by addressing recurring concerns in migrant children's integration and education.

2.1 Migration Trends in Norway

Over the past fifteen years, international migration has continued to grow rapidly. Over all, peoples' movement over international borders has led to a global ethnic and cultural diversity, and as such migration is not a contemporary phenomenon; people's state of normality being mobility (Brochmann & Kjelstadli, 2014). International migration has been and is among the most emotional and controversial subjects within contemporary societies (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014). One of the reasons that migration and migration-related issues are such controversial subjects is that in general the phenomenon causes broad political, social and cultural engagement.

Historically, migration in Norway has been associated with the massive migration of Norwegians to North America from 1860 to 1920, generally with the hope of escaping poverty and establishing a new life (BLD, 2012; Brochmann & Kjelstadli, 2014). Starting in the 1970s, migration to Norway became more significant than emigration from Norway. Over the course of the following years, the majority of migrants coming to Norway were predominantly individual refugees and refugee families from Asia, Africa and, to some degree, Latin America. From 2004 to 2007, the expansion of the European Union (EU) represented a significant shift in the migrational pattern to Norway, both in size and composition (BLD, 2012).

In April 2016, Norway's population was estimated by Statistics Norway (SSB) to be 5 223 300 persons (SSB, 2016b) and the largest groups of migrants coming from outside the EU and living in Norwegian reception centres for asylum seekers were people from Syria (8 459), Afghanistan (5 380) and Eritrea (2 419) (SSB, 2016c; UDI, 2016b). According to Lars Østby (2015), in early spring 2015, approximately 500 migrants and asylum seekers were registered as coming to Norway each month. This number increased by October 2015 to approximately 8 000 persons a month—at its highest peak, reaching 2 500 persons per week (Østby, 2015). The municipality of Oslo has reached a population of approximately 650 000 over the last two years. The migrants living here were estimated in 2015 to be 24.5% of the population; 1.1% of these people had a refugee background (IMDI, 2016). In the municipality of Trondheim, migrants made up 11.4% of the population

(approximately 187 000), yet the percentage of people with a refugee background living here was higher than in Oslo, an estimated 2.3% (IMDI, 2016). In the municipality of Tromsø, located far to the north, it has a population of approximately 76 000 people. Of these, in 2015, 11.3% were migrants and 2.3% had a refugee background. Estimates from 2015 reveal that, in total, 13% of the entire Norwegian population has a migrational background (IMDI, 2016), with many of these people being preschool-aged children. In May 2016, there were a total of 2 232 registered asylum seekers between 0 and 5 years old. The majority of these children are coming from the countries Syria (870), Afghanistan (329), Iraq (213), Eritrea (138) and Ethiopia (133), but the ratio between girls and boys is unavailable (UDI, 2016a). With 90.4% of all children in Norway aged 1–5 participating in day care (SSB, 2016a), many of the total 109 247 migrant children between the ages of 4 and 5 are or will be represented among the Norwegian day care population.

2.1.1 Definitions of migrant categories in light of Norwegian state policy

In Norway, *migrants* are generally categorised by those who have migrated; those Norwegian born with two foreign parents; and those who have chosen to move for the reason of economically improving their lives (BLD, 2012). The United Nations High Commissionaire of Refugees (UNHCR) defines migrants to be people whom have moved to a foreign country for a defined or undefined period of time to improve aspects of their lives (Edwards, 2015). Independent of the reason for migration, the term migrant is thus generally used if and when a person has migrated to the country by choice (Fandrem, 2011). Creating multiple ethnically diverse groups within societies, ethnic-minority groups are visible “through the presence of different-looking people speaking their own languages, the development of ethnic neighbourhoods, and the establishment of ethnic associations” (Castles et al., 2014, p. 264). Similar to migrants, *refugees* are categorised in various ways. A refugee as defined by Article 1A (2) in the 1951 Refugee Convention is:

a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him— or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution. (UNHCR, 2011, p. 3)

Resettlement refugees or quota refugees are people registered as refugees by the UNHCR but who are unable to enjoy the offering of a permanent protection or solution within the country in which they are currently located, and therefore they require resettlement in a third country (UDI, 2016d). *Asylum seekers* are those who request asylum. After having requested asylum, they enter a process in which there is an assessment surrounding their qualification for international protection. During this evaluative process, the person is assigned the status of *asylum seeker*. In Norway, a person can only receive the status of an asylum seeker if he or she is registered with

the Norwegian Immigration Police (PU) and officially applies for protection. This status is active until the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) or the Immigration Appeals Board (UNE) has made either a positive or negative evaluation. If the asylum seeker has received a positive evaluation, he or she is given the status of a *refugee* and is generally placed on humanitarian grounds under the law of international protection. After having received status as a refugee and attaining a residential permit, a *family reunification* can be sought, allowing the refugee's family to come to Norway (UDI, 2016c). If the appeal for asylum is denied, the status of asylum seeker is withdrawn, and the person must leave the country. If, however, that person chooses to remain, he or she is considered to be in breach of national law and can be subjected to a forced return (UNE, 2016).

2.2 Mixed Migration

This section presents ideas that draw attention to some of the challenges in relation to the categorization and organization of migrant, asylum seeker and refugee children within the Norwegian day care system and overall society. The aim is to explore how children who are new to a country are more than a category, assumed to have had their own lives within their origin early childhood communities. However, when entering the host country, authorities often will view migrant children in a developmental way, their childhood seen as objects of economics and politics, their class, gender, race, and ethnicity defined within and through processes of migrational and child political discourses.

In contemporary times, through increased migration from the Global South to the Global North, Europe and Scandinavia have received an increasing number of young children entering the countries in search of safety and a better life. Travelling hundreds of miles over land and water, families with their children come either with or without their families from Africa, the Middle East and Asia, often putting everything at stake with the hope of reaching their goal. Even though the various migrant categories are used on a political level to describe and segregate entire groups, on an individual level, categorisation becomes socially and ethically challenging. The challenges in relation to social research is that categorisation generally does not take into account the fact that migrants, refugees or asylum seekers as persons, within an everyday life, cannot be described in a unilateral dimension as each and every one of them, young and old, has multiple characteristics and intersecting cultural identities.

In accordance with statistics from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), globally, there are approximately 56 000 000 children fleeing from conflict, poverty and extreme weather (UNICEF, 2016). UNHCR statistics reveal that more than 50% of all 20 000 000 refugees are children—people under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2016b). UNHCR uses the combined term 'refugees and migrants' when referring to the movements of

people by sea or in other circumstances where they consider both groups be present, such as the boat movements occurring in Southeast Asia and the Mediterranean Sea. In other cases, UNHCR specifically uses the term 'refugees' if and when they refer specifically to those people fleeing from war and/or persecution across international borders. On the other hand, UNHCR uses 'migrants' if and when referring to people who have moved from one country to another for reasons which are not included within the legal definition of a refugee (Edwards, 2015). Even though refugees and migrants are recognised by UNHCR as being fundamentally different categories of people, there is a current trend which makes it increasingly more difficult to sustain current practices of categorization. The reason for this is that migrants and refugees are increasingly making use of the same routes and means of transport to reach overseas destinations, which also is referred to as *mixed migration* (UNHCR, 2016a). Mixed migration as a phenomenon causes categories to become blurred as refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and other migrants, unaccompanied minors, environmental migrants, smuggled persons, victims of trafficking and stranded migrants, among others, all become part of the mixed flow (IOM, 2016).

In the analysis of migration, Van Hear (2011) noted that researchers make a basic distinction between 'voluntary' and 'forced' migrants. Van Hear describes this distinction:

[...] is maintained in the policy world, where the governance of international migration is shaped by the conceptual distinction between 'voluntary' and 'forced' migration as mutually exclusive categories: this is reflected not least in the different institutional architecture for refugees and other kinds of migrant. In reality of course the distinction is far from clear-cut. For those who are classed as 'voluntary', especially towards the lower levels of the socio-economic scale – such as labour migrants from lower income backgrounds – there may be only limited choices available. Conversely, those classed as refugees or asylum seekers – that is 'forced migrants' – may look to expand their life opportunities, especially once they have reached a place of relative safety; in a way they may transmute from refugees to economic or betterment migrants. Often poverty, inequality and conflict co-exist: those who flee a country where conflict, persecution, discrimination and human rights abuse are rife, for example, may also be trying to escape dire economic circumstances – which may themselves feed into such conflict, persecution, discrimination and human rights abuse. (Van Hear, 2011 n.p.)

Inspired by Van Hear, it becomes possible to recognise how families with young children experience mixed motivation about leaving the country. Driven by a combination of fears, uncertainties, hopes and ambitions that may be challenging to unravel, families choose to make use of the same routes and means of transport, engaging the services delivered by human smugglers. Often, their children feel as if they have to travel in uncertainty and fear over prolonged periods of time. Once arrived to the host country, politicians and mainstream societies' distinct usage of concepts and categories within their migrational political discourses will

affect the ways in which the families are welcomed. The manner in which they are subsequently represented within society will affect the way these minority groups come to relate to themselves, thereby influencing any existing social relations among minority groups and the relation between minority and majority (Fandrem, 2011).

The concept of mixed migration is powerful as it illustrates and problematizes a blurring of the categorisation of migrant children. A mixed migration perception raises awareness—if not caution—to make an effort to isolate and link all social, structural, political and representational aspects of inequality (Crenshaw, 1991) by pre-labelling children as migrants, refugees or asylum seekers based on a political assessment of protection. However, if this is done, a loss of recognition can occur, as even though some of the experiences of these children differ at various levels, many of the emotional and psychosocial needs (e.g., the re-establishing of a social network and experience of belonging) will be the same (Kirova, 2001).

As such, throughout the thesis I have chosen to use the unifying term *newcomer children*. The term newcomer is not a term referring to a static and legal category. Rather, newcomer is considered to refer to a social dynamic and active process. Like the terms *minority* and *minority groups*, the term newcomer is used to distinguish a particular group of children who can experience being oppressed or stigmatised based on a particular racial, ethnic, biological or other specific characteristics and made marginal in relationship to their access to power (Scott & Marshall, 2009). The aspect of power stands central within the term newcomer, defining power not as something physical but as something manifesting itself through the (inclusive or exclusive) actions of people and their institutions (Punch, Bell, Costello, & Panelli, 2007, p. 207).

Essentially understood as something relational, this thesis gives account to newcomer children's access to relational power through recognising continuing micro-scale manifestations and negotiations of position and cultural identity occurring within children's shared situated activities. Seeing that newcomer children engage in the construction, co-construction and reconstruction of their multiple cultural identities within their new host community, emphasis within a newcomer perspective will be on how children engage themselves in activities and relationships with adults and peers (M. Woodhead, 2008a). A newcomer's perspective, I argue, is considered useful as it points to how refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and other migrants, unaccompanied minors, environmental migrants, smuggled persons, victims of trafficking and stranded migrant children are—depending on their contextual and situational experiences and the specific relations they are and have been located within—instantaneously in a state of being (a person) and going through a process of becoming (a recognisable and accepted identity in a social community) (M. Woodhead, 2008b).

2.3 Children's Rights: Newcomer Children's Care and Education

2.3.1 Article 28 and 12: Children's right to education and expression of concerns

Norway ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1991, and children's right to education is captured in Article 28 as one of the fundamental rights guarantying all children access to free public education (UN, 1989). Guarantying all children in Norway access to free public education, Article 2 of the CRC addresses the principle of equal treatment. Article 2 states that state parties shall respect and ensure that the rights set forth in the convention shall be done without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion; national, ethnic or social origin; or property, disability, birth or other status (UN, 1989). This is understood as the Norwegian State ensuring minority and migrant children, children living in remote places, girls and disabled children equal access to education (Helgeland, 2016).

Children's right to education is regardless of parents' legal status or residence permit. This means that similarly those residing illegally in Norway—or those who are awaiting the result of their request for asylum and have been living in Norway for longer than three months—have the right to school, and parents or caregivers have the responsibility to ensure their children attend (Helgeland, 2016).

The aim with children's education, not its content, is stated in Article 29 of the CRC, emphasising that children's education should contribute to:

- a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to his or her fullest potential;
- b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
- c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilisations different from his or her own;
- d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups, and persons of indigenous origin;
- e) The development of respect for the natural environment.

In relation to the state's duty to provide an education that will contribute to the development of a child's personality, his or her talents and physical abilities to their fullest potential, Norway has the obligation to ensure that access to children's education is done equally and without any discrimination. This means that groups of traditionally marginalised children (e.g., children with disabilities, those living in poverty, or any other group which often is systematically exposed to social exclusion, such as migrant children from non-Western countries) are integrated into their educational surroundings without feeling ostracised, experiencing a denial of particular

rights and/or access to power. To ensure this, Article 12, commonly referred to as *children's right to be heard*, emphasises that those children capable of expressing their concerns shall be heard and their views taken into account. This is understood within the context of this thesis, as that questions surrounding newcomer children and their childhoods in day care shall be resolved not through side-stepping them; rather, they shall be given space and opportunity to participate within decision-making processes (Sandberg, 2008).

2.3.2 Article 7 and 8: Children's right to identity

Children's right to identity can be seen as captured through Articles 7 and 8 within the CRC. They combined emphasise that states' parties shall ensure children have the right to a name, acquire a nationality and the right to know and be cared for by their parents. Simultaneously, states' parties shall give respect to children's preservation of their identity, including their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities (UN, 1989). Within Norwegian contexts, a part of preserving children's identities, according to Høstmælingen (2016), includes authorities having a responsibility to attain and preserve information surrounding children's childhood and adolescence such as schooling, where a child was raised and with whom, a child's social and cultural environment, his or her interests, and more. However, the extent to which this responsibility stretches is unclear and who has access to this identity-related information—the child itself, caregivers, local authorities including police and the courts—are under debate (Høstmælingen, 2016). Høstmælingen raises an interesting aspect namely who sets the premises for gaining insight into newcomer children's sociocultural identities and who and how these shall be preserved. Will this preservation occur through the child's testimonies, or will this occur through the testimonies of parents, local authorities, assessments made by child services or psychologists working at refugee crisis teams? A critique could consequently ask whether or not adults' accounts will counter newcomer children's self-understood and self-expressed identities and contribute to an altering of these identities, constructing new and perhaps unwilling childhoods.

2.3.3 Day care's purpose and its organisation

Norwegian day care follows the principle laid down in Article 28 and Article 2 of the CRC, making such care accessible to all children registered as living in a municipality in Norway regardless of their families' social, economic or cultural background.

Day care statistics from 2015 reveal that there were 283 500 children between the ages of 0-6 participating in Norwegian day care. Nationally, this represented coverage of 90.4% of all children in the age group of 1-5 years old. Overall, 6 086 day care institutions were registered, of which 3 251 were privately owned, 2 820 were owned and governed by municipalities, and 15 were owned by the state. Comparing with

2014, the participation rate for those 1–3 year olds has increased with 1%. The participation rate for those 2-5 years of age has remained stable at 96%. In 2015, on average, for those 3–5 years old, they partake 41 hours a week. There were a total of 93 960 practitioners distributed among the day care institutions. The percentage of formally qualified day care teachers has increased slightly, with an average holding rate at 35% (Utdanningsforbundet, 2016). From the 283 500 children who were between the ages of 0 and 6 participating in Norwegian day care, 43 400 spoke a minority language. Comparing minority-language-speaking children (those speaking another first language than Norwegian, Sami, Danish, Swedish or English) with migrant children (all those who have migrated to Norway and those with parents who have migrated to Norway), the participation rate of migrant children is at 74%, compared to minority-language-speaking children (SSB, 2016a).

In accordance with the Norwegian Framework Plan for the Content and Tasks of the Kindergarten (FWP 11), the purpose of day care is to provide children, in collaboration with their home, an environment in which care and play stand central. Here, practitioners shall promote learning and formation as these are described as being key in children's overall development (UDIR, 2011). The social mandate of day care is to offer preschool-aged children (1–6) a caring and educational environment, providing both education and a public service to the children and their parents (UDIR, 2011). Practitioners shall promote basic values such as community spirit, care and shared responsibilities, while representing an environment that instils a respect for human dignity and diversity. Children in day care shall experience a care environment that promotes equality, freedom of thought, compassion, forgiveness and solidarity (UDIR, 2011). A central concern within Norwegian day care provision is children's overall development through positive early childhood experiences. Interacting with peers regardless of age, gender, ethnic background and ability, practitioners are obliged to ensure all the children in day care with equal opportunities for partaking in meaningful activities with peers and peer groups (UDIR, 2011).

2.3.4 Asylum-seeking children's day care offer

The living situations of asylum-seeking children have been frequently criticised. These criticisms emphasise that day care provides children who are living in such a vulnerable situation with a possibility to establish a social network and learn the Norwegian language through interacting with peers (Berg et al., 2015; Justisdepartementet, 2011). Even though day care is recognised as a social arena in which newcomer children can socialise with peers, legally asylum seeking children have been excluded from the right-to-day-care provision as stated within § 12a in the Norwegian day care law. This law emphasises that all children who are living and registered in a community in Norway shall have the right to day care. Interpreted this means that all

children—regardless of their legal status—if living in a reception centre for asylum seekers, are not registered as living in a municipal; the consequences of their living arrangements exclude them from the right to day care.

In an effort to compensate, the Directorate of Immigration (UDI, 2012) shall provide those children living in reception centres from 2 years old to compulsory educational age with an offer (minimum three hours per day from Monday to Friday). This offer can be organised depending on the child's age and access to day care and be given in the reception centre's *barnbase* (children's base). The function of this offering shall be to contribute to a varied and meaningful daily routine and ensure that parents can partake in Norwegian classes and the introduction programme (UDI, 2012). From the point that children reach the age of four, the municipality in which the reception centre is located will receive a subsidy intended for the purchase of early childhood provision in a municipal or privately owned day care institution. For children in between the ages of 2 and 4, an offering can be made either for participation in a *barnbase* or in day care. For those children below the age of 2, the reception centre shall arrange an offer on its premises (UDI, 2012).

Strong criticisms have been given to asylum-seeking children's denial of the right to day care and the offerings organised by UDI and the reception centres (see Berg et al., 2015; Justisdepartementet, 2011; Lauritsen, 2015; Lidén et al., 2011; Seeberg, 2009). These critiques have emphasised that participation in day care is much preferred over children's bases as day care enables asylum-seeking children to establish social relations with peers and adults outside the reception centre. At the same time, critics have collectively stressed day care as providing a more normalised everyday routine, allowing asylum-seeking children to partake in a more comprehensive offering of pedagogical activities. Recently (in June 2016), the Ministry of Justice and Public Security (JBD) has proposed facilitating municipalities to offer free day care core hours to 2- and 3-year-olds who have been granted a residence in a municipality but who are still living in a reception centre (JBD, 2016).

2.3.5 Day care as an integrational and inclusive environment

At the centre of day care's organisation is children's right to participate, as discussed previously. Within an everyday context, this means that pedagogical activities shall be organised and planned in such a manner that children are given both time and space to influence their lives within day care (UDIR, 2011). Through their social and cultural organisation, day care becomes a central arena for newcomer children's development of multiple cultural identities through interacting with the receiving day care community. Within the FWP, culture is interpreted as art and aesthetics, patterns of behaviour, knowledge, values, attitudes, experiences and modes of expression (Gjervan, 2006; UDIR, 2011). Newcomer children's cultures and their cultures of childhood as such

should be recognised through day care's physical and organisational framework, aiming to provide newcomer children with, on the one hand, varied forms of play—inspiring their imagination, creativity and self-expression—and, on the other hand, opportunities and spaces for reattainment and preservation of their cultural identities.

The Kindergarten Act, Section 2, Content of Kindergartens, states that in doing so day care's pedagogical content shall convey values and culture, providing “room for children's own cultural creativity and help[ing] to ensure that all children experience joy and ability to cope in a social and cultural community” (UDIR 2011, p. 31). However, as discussed in **Articles I** and **II**, receiving opportunity and space requires from newcomer children considerable negotiation with both peers and adults and is tightly interlaced with finding the culturally approved ways of accessing the cultural environment. Seeing the interchange between instruction and children's self-chosen and self-governed activities as central, the two newcomer girls in focus were constantly located in between practitioners' and their peers' requirements of being receptive to local, regional, national and global influences yet often struggling to find the most accepted ways of *being* a child and *becoming* included within the physical and organisational framework of day care.

2.4 Recurring Concerns in Newcomer Children's Integration and Education

For day care communities, relating to a diverse linguistic, cultural and religious child population should be a resource and a positive contest. Yet, in a quickly changing society characterised by globalisation, an increase in diversity can be met with a problem-oriented view and defined as an unwanted situation (Gjervan, 2006). A problem-oriented view on diversity is founded upon a mono-cultural understanding in which the majority's language and culture are recognised as the primary concerns and prerequisites for educational institutions to achieve their aims (Gjervan, Andersen, & Bleka, 2006). On the other hand, diversity as a resource refers to attitudes in which diversity is recognised as being a resource for the educational community, regardless of children's and parents' backgrounds. The latter perspective accepts that children and parents come to day care centres with various predispositions, desires and needs (Gjervan et al., 2006). In line with these perspectives, this thesis seeks to explore how particular attitudes in relation to diversity within the day care community facilitate the integration and inclusion of newcomer children in every-day life.

Historically, the US (and Europe), are considered having a tendency to frame their educational discourses on diversity as a resource, providing bilingual education and helping newcomer children attain their heritage language and heritage culture (Tobin, Arzubiaga, & Adair, 2013). However, in recent times, day care

and school discourses have been increasingly redirected towards secondary language or majority language learning, emphasising educational arenas to be sites “to get children of recent immigrants and other young children defined as ‘at risk’ off to a good start academically” (Tobin, Arzubiaga, & Adair, 2013, p. 4). Newcomer children’s risks have been linked to parents’ challenges in finding employment and families’ limited knowledge and linguistic competencies of their adopted country (Grieshaber & Miller, 2010; Tobin et al., 2013). Other identified risks, all of which are multidimensional and interact with each other, may include refugee trauma (Fazel, Reed, Pantert-Brick, & Stein, 2012), children’s dissimilar values and experiences with racism (Connolly, 1998) and poverty (Berg et al., 2015; Lidén et al., 2011).

Even though multiple risks can cause concerns, I have described one overarching distress within the national and international educational discourses: attempting to ease newcomer children’s anticipated future integration and their developmental well-being in school and society. **Article I** gives particular attention to this problem and focusses on practitioners’ assessments of the two girls’ needs, questioning how policymakers’ and practitioners’ conclusions about the requirements of newcomer children are particular ways of conveying ‘truths’ about the girls’ requirements for becoming successfully integrated members of society. **Article II** stresses that the integration discourse, though important, often neglects how newcomer children’s subjective experiences of migration are multidimensional and play out on multiple social and cultural platforms, day care and schools being dynamic social arenas. These platforms are all characterised in their own ways by social competition and micro-political struggle. Once newcomer children enter these dynamic social settings, they become aware that in order to become included, they must engage themselves within these complex and highly structured social arenas or fields (Bourdieu, 1993). It is suggested in this thesis that characterised by anticipation, anxiety and practical concerns, newcomer children’s contests in entering an unfamiliar social setting are not so much considered as standing in relation to their possible distant future—becoming successfully integrated members of society—but are linked to their immediate lives and situated childhood experiences in day care.

2.4.1 Early intervention

Since 2010, a considerable growth in children with linguistic and cultural backgrounds other than Norwegian has resulted in the current statistic that children under the age of 10 constitute 50% of all migrants living in Norway (SSB, 2016d). Even though ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversities are generally referred to as important resources within both day care and school (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2009, 2010a, 2010b), government documents have expressed a growing concern with the distance between newcomer children’s future rate of success and that of the general population (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010a, 2016). Statistics reveal that

newcomer children score relatively lower on their test results and have a reduced rate of success compared to other children in mainstream society (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016). Moreover, connections of risk have been established between migrant parents who have little or no formal education and their children's delayed enrolment in day care (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016). Since the late 1990s, *early intervention* has been offered. The meaning of this deceitfully simple term can be summarised by the title of an English government report, 'Early Intervention: Smart Investment, Massive Savings' (Allen, 2011, cited in Dahlberg et al., 2013, p. vii). In Norway, as in the rest of Europe, early intervention has become a central feature in promoting day care as a means for improving migrant and minority language-speaking children's success rate in society. The 'scientific fact' that early intervention in the form of day care has a profound impact on newcomer children's future lives—which may be partially true—is extensively exaggerated in much of the literature (perhaps especially within the assessments, documents and reports of international organisations and governments) surrounding childcare (Penn, 2005).

Since 2006, the day care policy—or perhaps more aptly said, the early intervention policy—has been carried out by offering 20 hours of free day care per week, making the 'at risk' children's participation more economically feasible (see Bråten & Bogen, 2015; Gjervan, 2006). More recently, the early intervention policy has been further developed and proposes that state representatives visit migrant families in their homes to promote day care as a social offering that allows their children to learn the language before starting school and have the possibility to interact with ethnic Norwegian peers. Even though studies, such as Chinga-Ramirez's and the articles presented within this thesis, have criticised the idea that an early intervention focus is merely beneficial for migrant children, early intervention in the form of day care is still politically regarded as perhaps the best way to cater to newcomer children's needs. This is preferably done by developmentally mapping newcomer children's linguistic competencies and social skills (see BLD, 2012; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010a, 2011, 2016).

2.4.2 Newcomer children's needs

A recent study revealed that, contrary to the early intervention narrative, newcomer children within the Norwegian educational system experience social and structural contests ranging from social exclusion and bullying to discrimination and racism (Chinga-Ramirez, 2015). Chinga-Ramirez's data analysis regarding the life stories of minority students revealed that students' 'success rate' is influenced not only by aspects of cultural capital but perhaps more by the psychosocial conditions that characterise the individual schools and the social discourses that are dominant within their educational surroundings (Chinga-Ramirez, 2015). A discussion of this

aspect of psychosocial conditions and newcomer children's needs can be found in **Articles I, II, III and IV**, which address performances of cultural identity, becoming socially excluded and experiencing relational aggression from peers. Reformulating a previously asked question in relation to identity, a central concern in establishing newcomer children's needs is whether or not adults' accounts will counter children's self-understood and self-expressed needs and as such contribute to an altering of these, constructing new and perhaps unwilling ones. Martin Woodhead (1997, p. 68) stated:

If needs can be identified with children's nature, with universal qualities of their biological and psychological make-up, then the evidence of scientific enquiry can provide the basis of social and educational policy and practice. But, if, on the other hand, needs have to be seen as cultural constructions, superimposed on children 'in their best interests' as future adult members of society, personal values and cultural ideologies have a much bigger part to play and the politician's or practitioner's authority is substantially diminished.

With anticipated lower rates of success due to newcomer children's parents having little or no formal education and children's subsequent delayed enrolment into day care, early intervention has been discussed as a political means for mapping newcomer children's needs to elevate these children's anticipated academic results in school. In the following section, attention is given to another type of concern, namely day care practitioners' sociocultural competencies and abilities to meet an ethnically and culturally diverse child population.

2.4.3 Practitioners' sociocultural competencies and abilities

In this section, attention is not given to newcomer children's needs as causes for concern; rather, this image is inverted, giving attention to how practitioners' sociocultural competencies and abilities cause concern when meeting the requirements of a diverse child population. The public discourse surrounding day care as an integrational arena is based on promoting the development of the Norwegian language as a vital component for future integrational success. Many of the arguments are well-funded. However, minor attention is given to newcomer children's situated childhoods in day care and how these have been characterised by their migration and their experiences with social mobility (Ní Laoire, Carepena-Méndez, Tyrrell, & White, 2010). Attempts to do so have partially been done by politically recognising that the daily contents and organisation of day care as well as practitioners' competencies and abilities to meet migrant and ethnic minority children's requirements within a diverse child population should be strengthened (BLD, 2012; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010a, 2016). This has been proposed, on the one hand, through multicultural education, multilingual development, language didactics and knowledge surrounding language stimulation, mapping of language skills and the overall organisation of various pedagogical offerings. On the other hand, practitioners are expected to strengthen their cultural competencies and cultural knowledge surrounding people's migration, cultural transition and

intercultural communication.

On the surface, recognition seems to be generally given to migration's cultural complexity in understanding that local and global phenomena are intertwined with children's daily realities. Within in-depth discussions concerning migrant and ethnic minority children's requirements in diverse child populations, those practitioners with whom I spoke gave much weight to the former of the two above mentioned requirements. Through the conversations, it became apparent that they—willingly or unwillingly—neglected the complexity that follows life-changing processes (e.g., experiences with multiple cultural transitions and intercultural communication occurring within the social reality of children). Emphasising practitioners' requirements in accordance to day care policies to strengthen newcomer children's multicultural education, multilingual development, language didactics and knowledge surrounding language stimulation, the mapping of newcomer children's language skills seems to be the overall concern. However, if done in the absence of cultural competencies and the cultural knowledge surrounding newcomer children's migration, cultural transition and intercultural communication, it can be interpreted that *didactics* can replace *multiple listening*,¹ practitioners focussing on shortcoming and outcomes. Through such practice, newcomer children can end up feeling stigmatised, essentially having become 'the other' (Connolly, 1998; Devine, Kenny, & Macneela, 2008; Goffman, 1963). It is suggested in this thesis that the danger of such an absence of recognition is that, by itself, this will lead to marginalisation and social isolation (Grieshaber & Miller, 2010) and that practitioners should develop a reflexive stance, questioning their own cultural competencies and cultural knowledge surrounding the complexity of newcomer children's migration, their everyday sociocultural transitions and intercultural communication.

In this section, attention has been given to practitioners' sociocultural competencies and abilities to understand how migrant and ethnic minority children's situated childhoods in day care are characterised by migration and social mobility. It is suggested within this thesis that even though it seems that practitioners give recognition to local and global phenomena being intertwined with newcomer children's daily realities, there is still an overemphasis on the promise of language stimulation, the mapping of language skills and the overall organisation of various pedagogical offerings.

¹The concept of *Multiple listening* is addressed more extensively in the section *Participatory Research with Children* and refers to the acknowledgment of practitioners to create prolonged time and make available additional resources that enable newcomer children to reflect on their ideas and daily experiences.

3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the thesis's theoretical framework. First I present the overarching theory which is social constructionism. Next, I anchor my work within the sociology of childhood. Finally, I present some important aspects from transition theory and social positioning theory which are used for structuring my analysis of newcomer children's every-day life in day care.

3.1 Social Constructionism

In order to construct meaning regarding the life-worlds of newcomer children, a sociological phenomenological approach has been chosen given its concern with examining social reality through people's experiences of their everyday lives, or 'life-worlds' (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009). Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) was concerned with the manner in which people grasp each other's consciousness while living within their own stream of consciousness (Ritzer, 2011). Social constructionism, as proposed by Schutz, has as such been developed from primarily focussing on individual consciousness into equally focussing on people's intersubjective life-worlds, meanings and motives for their actions and interactions (Ritzer, 2011). Seeing that social reality is a product of people's activity, Schutz argued that our assumptions, cultural expectations and social conduct are socially derived, social reality manifesting itself through a complex interplay between face-to-face relations and societies' social structures (Schutz, 2003). Schutz's take on *social reality* can enable identification of how newcomer children's every-day experiences within the social reality of day care are:

The sum total of objects and occurrences within the social cultural world as experienced by the common sense thinking of [newcomer children] living their daily lives among their fellow-[peers and with adults], connected with them in manifold relations of interaction. [Living in] a world both of nature and of culture, not as private but as an intersubjective one, that is, as a world common to all of us, either actually given or potentially accessible to everyone; and this involves intercommunication and language. (Schutz, 2003, p. 137)

Recognising how intercommunication and language stand central in creating meaning enables reflection on children's *life worlds* and their cultures of communication in every-day social reality (Christensen & James, 2008). Habitually people's actions and interactions are taken for granted; most often we rarely question usage or meaning. However, if and when attempting to discuss people's life-worlds, Michael E. Gardiner stated that:

[...] any discussion of 'every-day life' will be inseparable from a political project that seeks to unveil and critique what it takes to be debased, routinized and ideological qualities of daily existence in modern capitalist society, but also to locate certain emancipatory tendencies within this selfsame terrain. (Gardiner, 2009, p. 162)

Following Gardiner's thoughts, Heather Montgomery (2003) emphasises that a social constructionist researcher should accordingly not be concerned with facts about people; rather, he or she should draw attention to dominant ideas that shape their life worlds. This means that the researcher should make attempt to illuminate those suppressive tendencies within a society (on a micro and macro scale) and reveal how categories are constructed and based to uphold dominant socio-political and scientific bodies of knowledge. By doing so, he or she is able to bring to the forefront and problematise the everyday. The researcher can reveal how facts are constructed and held together through sets of discourses which are "interconnected ideas that work together in a self-contained way, [hereby creating] a particular ideology or view of the [life] world" (Montgomery, 2003, p. 47).

Within the exploration of newcomer children's every-day life in day care, social constructionism can be a powerful means in uncovering aspects of facilitation in relation to integration and inclusion. This because, even though newcomer children have in resemblance with other children commonalities such as their growing, changing and learning, the lenses provided by social constructionism help to uncover and better understand how children within time, space, and culture will differ in the ways they express their growth and change (Montgomery & Woodhead, 2003). Instantaneously, social constructionism also allows for the investigation of why children and adults in the host community might respond in particular ways to newcomer children. Placing focus on particular views and ideas surrounding what newcomer children are, what they should be able to do, and what the role and purpose of day care is, attention is drawn to how these ideas create a particular form of organization and decision making which contributes to newcomer children's experience of every day social reality.

3.1.1 Five binding tenets of social constructionism

Even though social constructionism is a vast field covering many strands, Lock and Strong (2010) describe five binding tenets holding the field together. First, in relation to meaning, the focus within social constructionism lies on how intercommunication and language (verbal and non-verbal) symbolically provide different qualities for those who communicate through the use of a shared language and those who do not. The second tenet refers to the researcher viewing *meaning* and *understanding* as having their origins in social interaction. This signifies that agents have established an agreement as to how the shared symbolic forms of conversation are to be understood. These first two tenets surrounding intercommunication and language are extensively addressed in **Articles II, III** and **IV**, which draw on examples of children's everyday cultural

routines and how play instances are identified as social fields in which struggles for power and position are fought through symbolic insinuations affirming newcomer children's position as either insider or outsider.

The third tenet recognises discursive practices used within meaning-making as inherently embedded within sociocultural processes specific to a particular time and place. This is illustrated in **Article III**, which discusses how newcomer children can fall into a liminal phase due to a loss of cultural references and use their role play as a site for making meaning.

The fourth tenet emphasises social constructionists as being uneasy with an essentialist view or the idea that there are essential characteristics of people (Lock & Strong, 2010). Rather, social constructionists aim to make the culturally familiar become unfamiliar. This point is addressed especially in **Article IV** by questioning forms of relational aggression and how this has become socially and culturally recognized as being *girl-drama*.

The fifth and final tenet is that social constructionists adopt a critical stance to the topic at hand, being concerned with social justice, revealing the operations of peoples' social worlds and linking these to the political seizure of power often accomplished through unawareness, so as to change these (Lock & Strong, 2010).

Throughout this thesis, my analysis of newcomer girls' life worlds in day care is done using a social constructionist lens and voicing "a [strong] concern for issues of power, the articulation of subjectivity, the relativity of knowledge, and the exercise of these with respect to [age, ethnicity], gender, subjectivity and [at times] colonial discourse" (Lock & Strong, 2010, p. 9). Using social constructionism as overarching theory has provided me with the opportunity to critically address and question ideas on: developmental needs, newcomer children's participation, assessment of needs, newcomer children's access and negotiation strategies into peer activity, social inclusion, practitioners' focus on language learning, newcomer children's sense of suitability within their new surroundings, role play as a reflection of cultural identity, every-day social and cultural transitions and experiences with social exclusion and relational aggression.

3.1.2 Sociology of childhood

In order to study newcomer children's every-day life in day care and facilitations of integration and inclusion from their point of view, this thesis is positioned within the sociology of childhood. According to William Corsaro (2011) there are two basic tenets within the sociology of childhood. The first is that children are considered to be active social agents who through their actions and interactions construct their own cultures simultaneously as they contribute to the production and uphold of the adult world. The second is that childhood is considered a structural part within any society. As such, one body of research in the sociology of childhood has primarily focussed on making children and their everyday childhood experiences the basic units and

categories of study, no longer linking them to other categories such as families or day cares, on which they allegedly are dependent (Corsaro, 1985; Corsaro & Eder, 1990; Kyratzis, 2004; Skånfors, 2010). Another body of research has explored childhood to be a structural and intergenerational phenomenon within any society, using the term 'childhood' to socially distinguish from and interrelate with 'adulthood' (Alanen, 2001; Qvortrup, 2008). The latter set of ideas "can be contrasted (to some extent) with the [former] strand of work that starts from the lived experiences of children, as recounted by children; and that seeks to foreground children's agency" (Alanen, Brooker, & Mayell, 2015, p. 1).

Aiming to reach a better understanding of *why* and *how* newcomer children's day care childhoods are as they are, my approach has been to combine these two sets of ideas and hence to exceed the *structure-agency* debate. For that reason, I follow Alanen et al. (2015, p.1) in creating a theoretical framework that allows interrelating these girls' "private troubles with public issues." This has been done by moving forward from the idea that practitioners' decision to transfer the two newcomer girls onto a majority group was founded upon policy concern surrounding the necessity of newcomer children learning the Norwegian language before starting school. As such, the transfer has been understood as, on the one hand, being a *public issue* as it relates to the integration of migrants into the educational system and overall main stream society. On the other hand, as a direct result of transfer, *personal problems* arose as the girls were placed within a majority peer community. This necessitated the two girls to actively engage themselves within an existing, and at times hostile, social world that was governed by majority peers, their inclusion being depended on their establishment of relation with high status girls.

As I have explored matters of early childhood through a sociocultural approach this has led to the research becoming interdisciplinary and as such encompasses a variety of fields and disciplines, including sociology, cultural studies, anthropology, social psychology, social and cultural geography, education and social work. This interdisciplinary scope means that I have drawn upon, adapted and produced "a diverse and eclectic mix of different approaches for exploring and analysing childhood and children's lives" (Callagher et al., 2013).

3.1.3 Transitioning

The previous section related the thesis to the sociology of childhood. This section lends a more specific consideration to migration as a period of transition. Central ideas from social transitioning theory are presented not by referring to basic tenets but rather by intertwining relevant research surrounding migration and early childhood. By doing so, it has become possible to provide a more specific attention to newcomer children's 'border-crossing' from the home environment into life outside of the family. Subsequently, attention is given to

powerful ideas that tend to deny children's migrancy, failing to recognise migrant children's loss of cultural identity and social attachment and connection.

3.1.4 Migration as transition

The human migration process is a highly stressful experience (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) and migrating to a new country necessitates children to engage in the process of transitioning from one sociocultural community to that of the host community. The term 'transition', though a powerful concept is not without problems as it has a variety of meanings; such meanings are not easily captured in a single short definition (Vogler, Crivello, & Woodhead, 2008). Following Vogler et al. (2008, pp. 1-2), transitions are defined and understood to be:

[...] key events and/or processes occurring at specific periods or turning points during the life course. They are generally linked to changes in a person's appearances, activity, status, roles and relationships, as well as associated changes in use of physical and social space, and/or changing contact with cultural beliefs, discourses and practices, especially where these are linked to changes of setting and in some cases dominant language. They often involve significant psychosocial and cultural adjustments with cognitive, social and emotional dimensions, depending on the nature and causes of the transition, the vulnerability or resilience of those affected and the degrees of change and continuity of experiences involved.

As a turning event in newcomer children's lives, transitioning into day care signifies a crossing from the home environment into life outside of the family. Early years transitional research (Dockett, 2014; Fabian & Dunlop, 2007; Vogler et al., 2008) has considered that the manner in which children experience their transition will not only make a difference in how they cope within the early months of their new situation but may as well have a much more long-term impact. The extent to which they feel successful in their *border-crossing* (Tobin et al., 2013) most likely influences their subsequent experiences (Fabian & Dunlop, 2007).

3.1.5 Suitability

Children's practical, 'on-the-ground' concerns during key transitions are characterised by expectation and excitement as well as tension and anxiety (Broström, 2002). In an effort to create smooth transitions within day care, Stig Broström saw that children need to feel secure, comfortable and at ease within their new sociocultural environments. Thus, a fundamental goal of any successful transition is to help children feel *suitable*, ensuring they feel they are the right person in the right place (Broström, 2002). The process of experiencing suitability can be illustrated by understanding how, besides a new language; the host community will contain rules and expectancies surrounding newcomer children's behaviour and conduct.

Transitioning into a day care's sociocultural community encompasses as such more than learning a language, as it forces the newcomer child to become aware of significant changes in relation to groups, positions, roles and sociocultural expectations. On the one hand, they are expected to rapidly learn the social rules and values of the day care institution and of their new peer cultural community. On the other hand, they are required to come to terms with changes in their identities, roles and relationships (Fabian & Dunlop, 2007). Newcomer children's success and "ability to adapt to [day care's] dynamic and evolving [play] environment directly affects their sense of identity and status within their [day care] community over the short and long term" (Vogler et al., 2008, p. v). In order to better understand the everyday sociocultural challenges in newcomer children's early childhood day care transitions, Brooker saw it as imperative that practitioners understand the childhood cultures of children's backgrounds when starting day care (Brooker, 2008). These aspects are extensively addressed in **Articles II, III and IV**, which examine the dialectics in children's play by focussing on how the two newcomer girls were required to come to terms with changes in their own identities, roles and relationships if they wanted to be included.

3.1.5 Identity, home and belonging

Due to being different looking, speaking their own languages, the development of ethnic peer groups and the establishment of ethnic associations, newcomer children in early childhood can become socially constructed as being 'the other'. This reinforces an ethnic majority–minority framework (Ní Laoire et al., 2010). Powerful ideas and conceptualisations of newcomer children tend to deny early childhood migrancy by privileging continuity and fixing cultural boundaries (Ní Laoire et al., 2010). Such practice suggests that this "surface treatment of cultural diversity" contributes to constructing newcomer children in deficit terms (Devine, 2009, p. 521).

Recognising preschool-aged children's migrancy, in all its aspects, **Article III** draws attention to how one of the girls constructs and arranges her social relations, belongings and connections to place. **Article III** also presents an illustration of how role play performances are cultural scripts, indicating newcomer children's immediate and distant social relations. Understanding that cultural *identities* are related to place, an important acknowledgment is that migrant children's sense of *home* and *belonging* are socially produced and, as such, fluid, contextual and mobile (Ní Laoire et al., 2010). Home has therefore not been recognised as a physical, privatised and domestic space; rather, it was understood as being socially "routed through complex webs of connections and attachments [decoupling] the concept of 'home' from a distinct physical location and instead [positioning] it as a mobile concept in relation to multiple social fields of attachment and belonging" (Ní Laoire

et al., 2010, p. 157. Belonging, in its terms, has been used to refer to the “relational dimension of personal identity, the fundamental psycho-social ‘glue’ that connect [or disconnect them] to [or from their peers through] beliefs and ideas, to ways of dressing, talking, playing, learning, laughing, and crying” (Woodhead & Brooker, 2008, p. 3).

In order to better understand newcomer children’s transitioning or border-crossing from the home environment to life outside of the family, conceptualisations of home and belonging should be considered by relating these with a breach in the relational dimension of newcomer children’s personal identities. Such ideas can help to increase understanding of how beliefs and ideas—ways of dressing, talking, playing, learning, laughing and crying—serve as central aspects within newcomer children’s cultural identity. These social and cultural signifiers of belonging are twofold. On the one side, they ensure inclusion to those who master the local discursive practices. On the other side, if children are unable to talk and act in accordance to the local discursive practice, the same social and cultural signifiers can become hallmarks that stigmatize, segregate and exclude children into becoming ‘the other’.

3.2 Positioning

In the previous section I concluded with the idea of how newcomer children can become marked as being ‘the other’. To elaborate on this, I present in the following some key ideas regarding how talk and action can be understood as acts of social positioning.

As the cognitive psychology of social action, positioning theory stands in sharp contrast to other strands of psychology that nurture the idea that social behaviour should be understood as a response to social stimulus (Harré et al., 2009). Positioning theory adds that “a previously neglected dimension to the processes of cognition—namely concepts and principles from the local moral domain, usually appearing as beliefs and practices involving rights and duties, [and as such,] is an important development in discursive psychology” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 6). Moreover, Harré et al. (2009) emphasised that:

attending to features of the local context, in particular normative constraints and opportunities for action within an unfolding story-line, it becomes clear that access to and availability of certain practices, both conversational and practical, are determined not by individual levels of competence alone, but by having rights and duties in relation to items in the *local* corpus of sayings and doings. These acts are constitutive of unfolding story-lines which are often realized in conversations, but not necessarily exclusively so. (p. 6)

At the core of positioning theory stands conversation. Here, conversation is understood in a broad sense, including non-verbal contributions and other forms of social interaction such as play, a highly discursive and dialectic interplay occurring between the participants as exemplified in **Articles II** and **IV**. Davies and Harré

(1999) saw conversation as the unfolding of the combined actions of all participants, the members collaborating in making an effort so their own and each other's actions become socially determinate. Through their discursive practices, members to the conversation actively produce and share social and psychological realities using an established and shared language and language-like symbolic system typically used for making meaning within a particular culture (Davies & Harré, 1999).

Using a host of semiotic resources such as image, gesture, gaze, speech and posture (Jewitt, 2009), people engage in conversation that exceeds the spoken language, making effort to intentionally and unintentionally position themselves and others so that their personal stories or storylines become socially determined (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). This is illustrated in **Article II** and **IV**.

A central concern for participants within the conversation is to hold themselves to the specific rights and duties in relation to their position within the local moral domain, understood in a day care context as the social organisation of the peer community. This means that a newcomer speaker has a particular subject or position within the social world he or she inhabits, and from this position he or she may speak and act (Davies & Harré, 1999). This should not be understood as a newcomer child or newcomer children's social positions being segmented; rather, position(s) unfold through and within newcomer children's own and others' stories. Within these stories, particular positions become available for peer speakers to take up. As already mentioned, taking up these positions can occur intentionally or unintentionally.

The most basic distinction to be made within the process of positioning is, according to Van Langenhove et al. (1999), *first-order* and *second-order positioning*. First-order positioning refers to the natural ways speakers are located within a moral space and use multiple discourses and intersecting storylines. Within the moral space peer group members can, based on their particular rights and duties, perform talk and action without these being questioned by the other members, the storyline naturally evolving. However, if the motives of a newcomer speaker's talk and action are (intentionally) questioned, second-order positioning, or reflexive positioning, occurs (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). Reflexive positioning means that the storyline shifts from its original purpose (contributing to the development and upholding of the conversation) to the story itself (other speakers questioning its contribution, scrutinising its content and intentions). When this occurs, the speaker under question is positioned by the other speakers. Given it is understood as a discursive act, positioning :

[...] always implies a positioning of the one to whom it is addressed. And similarly, when somebody positions somebody else, that always implies a positioning of the person him/herself. In any discursive practice, positioning

constitutes the initiator and the others in certain ways, and at the same time it is a resource through which all persons involved can negotiate new positions. (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 22)

From this section, attention can be drawn to how within the realisation of a conversation and through the creation of storylines newcomer children can actively negotiate their own and others' social position. This they can do by intentionally refusing certain discursive acts or elements from their peers and introducing new and altered forms of their own discourse (Davies, 2003). In order for their talk and action to become socially accepted and integrated, they must first become accepted as intelligible, natural and free from alternative motives. This means newcomer children must negotiate their position in various contexts and situations.

4. Related Research

Building further on the presented theoretical framework, this chapter presents related research that has been used for the production and expansion of themes and concepts to explore what facilitates newcomer children's integration and inclusion in day care. Within the sections, key perspectives are linked to the relevant articles.

4.1 Children and their Childhoods as Causes for Concern

The sociologist William Corsaro acknowledged how children's current lives are seen by adults as causes for alarm and their social problems as threats in need of adult intervention (Corsaro, 2011). Such a view has historically led to children being pushed into the margins of societies' social structures. In the Global North, this has generally been done by societies having a forward-facing view that focusses on what children will become: "future adults with a place in the social order and contributions to make in it. Rarely [...] viewed in a way that appreciates what they are—children with ongoing lives, needs, and desires" (Corsaro, 2011, p. 8). Within the Global North, a dominant view that children and their childhoods "cannot be imagined except in relation to a conception of the adult" has manifested (Jenks, 2005, p. 3). As such, the adult-child relationship is locked within a binary reasoning (Jenks, 2005) with children as a minority group not so much being ignored as being faced with multiple forms of discrimination and marginalisation (Corsaro, 2011; James et al., 1998; Thome, 1987).

Embedded within Global North judgments and perceptions of children and their childhood needs, lay deeply rooted developmental conceptualisations of children as being irrational, recognising their accounts as childish or "less developed and in requirement of explanation [and instruction]" (Jenks, 2005, p.4). Such forms of marginalisation can be used as a reflexive stance to set the scope on how adult/child dualisms form the core of children's everyday subordination. Berrie Thome (1987, p. 96), especially noted:

The authority of parents (and within that, the authority of fathers) over children –are often invoked to justify other forms of social inequality. Different types of power—of kings over subjects, slave owners over slaves, and men over women—have been justified by defining the subordinates as "like children", inherently dependent and vulnerable, less competent, incapable of exercising full responsibility, and in need of protection.

Within the Global North, the conceptualisation of children as inherently dependent and vulnerable, less competent, incapable of exercising full responsibility and in need of protection can historically be traced to the writings of John Locke (1632–1704), among others, which viewed children as irrational as they have not yet

developed into adults (Archard, 2015). Locke saw that because children are in the absence of reason they are as such disqualified from citizenship; this warrants at the same time their subjection to their parents (Archard, 2015). Viewing children as weak and vulnerable, incapable of providing for their own looking after and lacking reason, he viewed children to be unable to truly act freely, as freedom itself requires a form of action that stands in line with the law of reason. As children are incapable of doing so, Locke saw that they lack the means to be free (Archard, 2015). Though having been written several centuries ago, Locke's arguments still echo within early childhood literature, especially within child psychology and developmental psychology. Within these fields there has been a historic nurturing of the idea that children's development has at its end point a rational, civilised (male or female) adult (Walkerdine, 2009), making children and their childhoods causes for concern.

Due to increased globalisation and migration, a growing body of research is contesting developmental views which generally have been supported by powerful organisations such as WBG and OECD. Often represented in national and international Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) evaluations, these organisations make universal claims to a "technical fix that assures individual and national survival in a cut-throat globalized market and supplies balm for social ills" (Dahlberg et al., 2013, p. vii). Childhood researchers have contested such universal perception. They emphasize that children across the world grow up with a radically different sense of self and relationships to others depending on the particular times and places in which they lived and were raised (Penn, 2005). The sociology of childhood contests child psychology's and child development's claim to "offer special insight into understanding early childhood, [as they have] difficulty explaining these differences in children's self-perception and habits" (Penn, 2005, p. 45). Further, Penn (2005) argued:

[...] what is considered 'scientific fact' in understanding childhood is in fact biased towards a particular societal view. For instance, [...] there are pervasive views about the ideal family, the ideal child and the ideal surroundings that imbue understandings of young children. These views contrast sharply with understandings about young children in the South. (p. 45)

In line with Penn, Montgomery (2003) saw that within the Global North there are powerful and particular expectations of how children coming from countries in the Global South are to be. These expectations are enforced through various types of media which appeal to the idea of helplessness and vulnerability. Summarized in three ideas, the Global North discourse stresses firstly the ideal of a global childhood, an ideal many of the Southern countries fail to meet, with children from the South set up in contrast to white children in the North. Secondly, this discourse is framed around racist stereotypes portraying families in the Global South as 'poor and helpless'. Thirdly, this discourse strengthens the idea that the only way to help children and families

from the South is through Northern intervention (Montgomery, 2003).

Within this section, particular ideas surrounding newcomer children and their childhoods as causes for concern have been presented. Within this thesis I argue that the needs discourse is linked to the types of childhoods that practitioners, in light of day care policy, are expected to produce for migrant children. That such ideas can lead to every-day marginalization is shown in **Article I**. Here, it is demonstrated how practitioners used needs-statements to convey their judgment surrounding what was best for children, in the process of dismissing children's self-expressed needs. **Article IV** elaborates on social exclusion. The article demonstrates how practitioners, if they choose to explain newcomer children's behavior in light of trauma they can fail to give recognition to social struggle, competition and relational aggression occurring within children's situated lives in day care.

4.2 Sex and Gender

Knowledge surrounding children's sex and gender has historically been portrayed through a scientific point of view, understanding sex to be the biological base upon which gender is overlaid (Rogers, 2003). From a social constructionist perspective, Barbara Rogers saw children's sex and gender as much social constructions as they are biological. Being a fundamental marker within children's lives, gender having been assigned from birth, boys and girls are generally treated differently. Social expectations raise the awareness that gender is constructed through social processes (Montgomery & Woodhead, 2003). On the one hand, scientific theory and research have revealed many aspects surrounding the biological processes and mechanisms related to sex and how gender is acquired through social processes. On the other hand, social constructionist theory and research have expanded conceptualisations of "the fluidity, complexity and subtlety of gender both within and between cultures, historical times and socio-economic settings" (Rogers, 2003, p. 210). Bronwyn Davies (2003, p. xi) emphasised that children's "sex and gender are at one and the same time elements of the social structure, and something created by individuals and within individuals as they learn the discursive practices through which that social structure is created and maintained." As such, being "a competent member of society as it is currently organized derives from our capacity to attribute to others and to aid others in attributing to us, the 'correct' gender" (Davies, 2003, p. 13).

Davies's thoughts draw attention to how social discourses surrounding girls are not fixed but dependent on a particular social and cultural setting. As such, particular ideas about girls and their childhoods are related to the kinds of childhoods we want to produce for them, all depending on adults' individual experiences and wider sociocultural beliefs (James et al., 1998). This aspect is addressed in **Article I**, seeing that when entering day

care, newcomer girls' are assessed in relation to their psychosocial and cultural adjustments. A strong feature within these assessments of adaptability is practitioners' social and cultural framework in which they assess the type of relationships they feel newcomer girls are required to establish if they are to learn how to *be*—or, rather, *perform as*—a socially and culturally accepted girl. The shaping and moulding of newcomer girls within a particular society will as such heavily depend on the culture into which they are born and the relations in which they are located on the one hand (Rogers, 2003). On the other hand, it will depend on the culture in which they are placed after resettling within a host community, a point illustrated and discussed in **Article III** through the usage of role play, strengthening further the idea of newcomer girls' intersecting identities.

4.3 Play and Peer Culture

Historically, adult-based models of socialisation have viewed children as being passive recipients of adult culture by constantly reproducing it (Evaldsson, 2009). As such, most traditional theoretical and empirical research on early childhood play has investigated play through a developmental perspective, focussing on children's cognitive development, language learning and internalising of social skills (Evaldsson, 2009). This section, however, places particular interest on play as a highly cultural and discursive act used both for making meaning and site for social struggle. This is done with the aim to describe 'play as a cultural activity' (Corsaro, 2012; Kirova, 2010). Göncü et al. (2007) recognised that if and when the aim is to understand "children of different cultures from their point of view, [we need to] make sense of the occurrence and meaning of their play before we reach judgments about its adequacy" (p. 156). Marilyn Fler (2009) saw that, generally, play has been portrayed as being performed correctly by children from the Global North, privileging their conduct and thereby creating an overlap between conceptualizations of play and the play of children from other communities. Such privileging has generated powerful misrepresentations of children's activities in the Global South lacking the pretend features of Global North children's play (Göncü, Mistry, & Mosier, 2000, cited in Fler, 2009). More recently, social researchers have criticised such universalistic and evolutionary assumptions, claiming that they neglect children's agency as well as the sociocultural context in which they live and of which they are a part (James, 2009; James et al., 1998).

In recent decades, interpretive studies on childhood cultures and play have stressed children's socialisation and cultural meaning-making practices as highly active social processes through which they negotiate (either accepting or resisting) a variety of social positions and cultural resources (Corsaro, 2012; Davies, 2003; Kyrtzis, 2004; Löfdal, 2006; Skånfors, 2010). The dynamic processes through which norms, attitudes and values are established and expressed will as a result be more similar within a group of children

attending the same local day care while assumingly varying across time and culture and from peer group to peer group (Löfdal 2010). James et al. described a *peer group* as a group of equals based on either their social status or age (James & James, 2008). *Peer cultures*, on the other hand, are autonomous and creative social systems consistent of the production and sharing of stable sets of activities or routines, artefacts, values and shared concerns (Corsaro, 2009, 2011, 2012; Corsaro & Eder, 1990). Central themes related to the study of peer groups and peer cultures have investigated status, power and authority and how these are manifested within peer groups and peer group interactions. Recent studies within Swedish kindergartens have revealed how children are in constant need to negotiate their social position within peer groups (Löfdal, 2006; Skånfors, 2010). Findings from these particular studies reveal that children's social status and position are not fixed; rather, they are fluid and contextually bound to the situated activities of the peer group. This point has been illustrated in several of the thesis's articles exemplifying observed situations in which high-status children use their relational power to ensure that they receive a leading position within the peer group's negotiations. The studies of Löfdal (2006) and Skånfors (2010) are particularly interesting as they illustrate, similar to **Articles II and IV**, how status retention is achieved by leading group members who promote activities in which their specific skills or competencies are seen as valuable.

4.4 Girls and Social Exclusion

Relatively few studies have focussed on the collective discursive processes and meanings of social exclusion in early childhood girls' play and how their social orders are accomplished and maintained (Evaldsson & Tellgren, 2009). However, there is research indicating that girls can utilise the social affordances of their play routines to establish hierarchical structures within the social organisations of their peer groups. In the following, three selected studies are presented that have been key to the development of the thesis's core ideas.

Amy Kyratzis's (2007) study on the social affordances of pretend play in American preschool girls' interactions revealed how three girls established power asymmetry. This was done by one girl engaging herself as the leading reporter and managing the other girls' activities. Through membership categorisation, the activity itself provided abundant opportunities for the differentiation of roles, as the manner in which the characters were announced by the leading reporter determined all the transition points within the activity. Olga Griswold's (2007) study on Russian girls' achievement of authority in pretend play illustrated how girls deployed multiple semiotic fields (language, body, physical space and objects occupying the spaces of play), revealing how members "displayed their statuses within culturally established authoritative hierarchies by invoking [age, gender, cultural knowledge, institutional roles and so forth] in talk-in-interaction" (Griswold, 2007, p. 310).

Through her analysis of authority in pretend play, Griswold saw the girls accomplished ascribing power while securing their own places on the lower strata of the hierarchy by combining multiple semiotic systems and ratifying power from below in at least two ways. First, the girls actively and voluntarily placed themselves in a subordinate position, renouncing any potential claim for power. Second, the subordinate girls submitted without protest to the powerful actions and decisions of the authoritative figure, even if perhaps not being in agreement with them. These two ways of power legitimation provide, according to Griswold, the possibility of establishing and maintaining authoritative hierarchies in non-conflictual, non-competitive environments (Griswold, 2007).

In their empirically based study on negotiations for power and exclusion in Swedish preschool-aged girls' play interactions, Ann-Carita Evaldsson and Britt Tellgren (2009) addressed how communicative competencies in the collective processes of social exclusion were part of the girls' emerging peer culture and how their place in the adult world was located within the educational setting of day care. Their work revealed that the girls were highly capable of appropriating and manipulating multiple interactional and cultural resources. By doing so, the girls were able to alter the structure of the play, transforming the activity by controlling its boundaries through changing and negotiating and renegotiating the characters. This allowed them to redefine their play agenda, shifting continuously between pretend and non-pretend play frames. The girls' collaborative and interactional processes involved, among others, complex communicative competencies such as mitigation in voice, requesting and rejecting requests for access, creating oppositions, ignoring their peers and "using age, length, size etc. to achieve power, subordinate others and strengthen alliances" (Evaldsson & Tellgren, 2009, p. 17).

Combined, these three studies bring important attention to how play and social exclusion within an early childhood girl peer group are entangled and made possible through collective and strategic manipulation, using "power and language structures available in the adult culture in peer play interactions to produce their own rules of orders" (Evaldsson et al., 2009, p. 17). On the one hand, these studies illustrate how preschool-aged girls are highly capable of and made able to utilise a host of semiotic resources including language, gesture, posture and more to co-construct powerful moral and social orders. This draws attention to how girls can avoid attention and succeed in "building and subverting local social hierarchies, including their ways of co-constructing age and gender hierarchies in pretend play" (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007, p. 279). On the other hand, these studies, in combination with the theoretical framework, demonstrate that the facilitation of newcomer migrant girls' integration/inclusion in everyday day care social reality is a highly complex and dynamic undertaking involving great risk and thereby requiring some bravery on the part of the newcomer.

5. Methodology

In this chapter, the study's research methodology is presented. This includes a presentation of the ethnographic location, a description of the day care institution's organisation and overarching aims, an overview of the process of entering the field and the participating children's profiles. Hereafter, I present the ethnographic design, epistemological accounts, considerations made in shaping the methods, processes of interpretation and analysis, and finally methodological and ethical considerations.

5.1 Choice of Ethnographic Location

The initial plan was to conduct fieldwork in three separate day care institutions. In planning the practicalities of the fieldwork, it nevertheless became apparent that the overall proposal was overzealous; a realisation occurred that with an interest to gain insight into newcomer girls' situated lives in day care, the multiple sites of research and the number of research participants would most certainly diminish the quality of a rich, reflexive analysis of ethnographic data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). As a result, I decided to limit the number of day care institutions to one ethnographic location. The advantage of this choice was that this would enable me to gain a more extensive insight into the taken-for-granted everyday life of a small number of newcomer migrant girls'. Limiting the field to one ethnographic site was furthermore considered to provide the necessary dispositions in which the dialectic relationship between agency and structure could be better observed, given meaning and analysed.

5.1.1 General description of ethnographic location

The day care institution referred to by the pseudonym Kongsvingen is made up of two mainstream groups with two additional groups that serve as introductory groups (to be described in the following section). Kongsvingen is located in one of the main municipalities in central Norway. Located near the municipality's city centre, Kongsvingen has represented a host of nationalities among its population (children and practitioners) and has viewed this ethnic and cultural diversity as a part of its cultural identity. Kongsvingen aims to highlight the linguistic and cultural diversity within their everyday activities. Their intention is to enhance the experiences of children, parents and practitioners in that the institution's ethnic and cultural diversity provided enrichment to the day care community. Similar to other Norwegian day care institutions' pedagogical aims, Kongsvingen is committed to creating opportunities for friendship between children; practitioners aim to establish friendships and facilitate good peer relations, as this was understood as a prerequisite for children's holistic well-being.

In line with national day care policies, practitioners take an active approach to children's learning processes by attempting to create versatile and effective learning environments with a particular focus on stimulating children's language development and providing enhanced opportunities for positive early childhood experiences. Understanding that experience affects children's self-perception, practitioners are instructed to be reflexive regarding how they understood children's talk and action and reflect on their own decisions, actions and attitudes towards children. To ensure adequate development in their language work, Kongsvingen actively uses several commonly used and standardised methods for mapping children's Norwegian language development. The materials used for this mapping consist of themes addressed through the usage of words, songs, games, activities and pictures. Within small groups (2–5 children), they gather 2–3 times a week, engaging in activities that would further strengthen and develop their language training. The program is also used as a monitoring tool to assess newcomer children's Norwegian skills before starting school. Simultaneously, as within most day care institutions in Norway, singing and music are actively used in newcomer children's language learning.

5.1.2 Introductory program for asylum-seeking and refugee children

The introduction groups were established in early 2000. Over the years they have gained extensive experience and expertise in facilitating newcomer children and their families. Generally, after the families' asylum processes have revealed that they are entitled to protection, parents are obligated to initiate their participation in the introduction program for adults. Through the introduction program, parents partake in Norwegian classes and social studies on Norwegian society. The introduction program can be interpreted as being one of the first steps designed for parents' integration into mainstream society. Children generally partake in the introduction groups for one year. The introductory day care's main goals are to give children a good start in learning the Norwegian language, considering the families' primary language as the most favourable starting point. In order to effectively communicate and build relationship between newcomer children and adults, Kongsvingen emphasises that such a relationship requires sensitive interplay between children, parents and practitioners. This concern is safeguarded through the appointment of a primary contact person for the newcomer child and his or her family, a pedagogical practice which is common for all children during their initial time starting day care.

Several practitioners working in the introductory groups were bilingual. In total, there were two groups (Squirrel: 1–3 years old; Badger: 3–5 years old). However, due to the mobility of asylum-seeking families and refugee families', the number of children participating within the two groups was relatively unstable. At the time

fieldwork began, there was only one group with children between the ages of 2½ and 4. After two months, several newcomer families with children 0–2 years old led to the establishment of the second introductory group. In total, the introductory groups had a capacity for 10–15 children with four practitioners working. Two were so-called assistants; the other two were pedagogical leaders. Kongsvingen aimed at adding meaning and context to the newcomer children and their families' everyday lives by bridging the known with the unknown. As such, practitioners understood they worked with cultural and identity verification by broadening children's understanding of whom they are in the face of new friends and a new culture. Cooperation between home and the day care was understood by practitioners as being characterised by symmetrical relations, establishing equal parties and based on mutual transparency and confidence. In this way, practitioners and the children's home cooperated in making it possible for children to have good development and activity.

5.1.3 Policy on transferring newcomer children from the introductory group to the mainstream group

The introductory groups provided one year of care before the newcomer child would be either internally transferred to one of the mainstream groups or transferred externally to another day care institution. To ensure a good transition, the newcomer child, together with his or her primary contact person, would visit the new day care in the spring, and practitioners would hand over to their colleagues in the new day care the necessary information about the child. Practitioners from the introductory groups were given the opportunity to follow-up with the children after they made their transition in autumn; when required, they would provide guidance to their colleagues. Those preschool-aged newcomer children (4–5 years old) located in the introductory Badger group, who would start compulsory school the following year, partook in the 'Salamander Club', a pseudonym used to describe a common offering aimed at getting all preschool-aged children ready for their entry into school. The Salamander Club was located in the mainstream Fox group (3–5 years old) and was organised once or twice a week depending on the activities. At the time fieldwork commenced and was completed, the Salamander Club was comprised of six girls (4–5 years old) and was nicknamed by the practitioners as 'the Girl Club'.

5.2 Entering the Field and Participants' Profiles

5.2.1 Establishing initial contact and obtaining adults' consent

Kongsvingen day care was chosen based on the criteria of their earlier mentioned long-lasting experience with migrant children and migrant families. Simultaneously, as Kongsvingen had two introductory groups and two mainstream groups located on its premises, the day care institution allowed me to have access to data in regards to the socialising practices occurring in-between minority and majority children. As such, contact

was made with the daily manager of Kongsvingen. In the initial email, the project was briefly described with the proposal attached. The response from the daily manager was positive, and after having addressed the 'risks and hoped-for benefits' (Alderson & Morrow, 2011), I was invited to come to Kongsvingen and present the proposal in person.

After a positive dialogue with the daily manager, a formal meeting between me and the practitioners was arranged and requests for written consent were handed out. During this meeting, similar to the daily manager, the practitioners expressed that this type of research was needed and that they would support this endeavour. After approximately one week, I returned to the day care to gather the practitioners' consent. All had signed it, though some had made reservations in regards to being filmed. This stance changed after some weeks of partaking in the day care, as those who had such reservations had established a relationship with me and trusted my intentions. Subsequently, after receiving written consent from the practitioners, parents were invited. This meeting was conducted in English with two additional translators for those parents who had expressed a desire to receive information in their first language. Overall, the majority of the parents who came to this meeting were migrant parents. Unlike the practitioners, I waited a week before delivering written consents; I wanted the parents to have the feeling that they were not being 'pushed' and that they had time to talk with the practitioners.

A week later, a formal letter of information and a request for written consent was distributed to the parents; all of them were translated into the families' origin languages (see attachments). The majority of the parents (migrant and Norwegian) expressed the research as being important, almost all having signed the request for consent. However, among all the consents, there was a clear majority of the girls' parents who had given their final consent. This shaped, partly, the scope and structure of the research.

5.2.2 Entering the field and negotiating children's consent

Fieldwork was primarily related to two groups and was conducted from September of 2013 to July of 2014. The first group, 'Fox', was one of the mainstream groups with 19 children (3-5 years old). The second group, Badger, was part of the introductory program for children with a refugee background and had 8 members (2-5 years old). The methodological and ontological position within this research was based on children being active agents and decision makers (James, 2009; James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). An overall concern in designing the research was therefore to avoid situations in which children would feel they should say what they thought I wanted to hear (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Following this principle, the children were personally informed and asked, over a prolonged period of time using a host of modalities, if they wanted to participate in

writing a book about their daily lives and activities in Kongsvingen day care. To avoid making presumptions—seeing what I wanted to see—the ethical dilemma of consent in relation to the children’s agency was met through a continuing re-evaluation of their assent. Assent has been understood and practiced as “a parallel process in which the parent or guardian agrees to allow a minor ward to participate in a research project, and the child assents or agrees to be a subject in the research” (Tymchuk, 1992, cited in Morrow & Richards, 1996, p. 94). Especially in relation to the newcomer children, linguistic challenges were anticipated as leading to ambiguous situations; as such, a heightened sensitivity to these children’s body positions, gazes and gestures was taken. Gaining young children’s assent became an active process in which I constantly evaluated and re-evaluated the participants’ and my own positions during the entire research process.

5.2.3 Bahja’s and Aisha’s profiles

In focus stand Bahja (4 years old and from the Middle-East) and Aisha (4 years old and from the Horn of Africa). Both were accompanied by their parents. They started their participation in Kongsvingen’s introductory Badger group (3–5 years old) in the fall of 2013. The Badger group was gender-balanced. Bahja entered day care accompanied by her younger brother Mihran (3 years old at entry). At the time of entry, Bahja could speak fluent Arabic and some Norwegian words; Mihran preferred to articulate himself in Arabic. Both Bahja and Mihran seemed to settle in soon after they started. Bahja soon became close with two peers: James (3½ years old and originating from the Horn of Africa) and Mako (3½ years old and from Asia). Bahja was observed as being an active and energetic girl who enjoyed initiating, especially role play with her friends. Being with James, Mako, and Mihran, Bahja seemed to enjoy day care. Having an assistant who spoke Arabic did seem to make the initial transitional period better for both Bahja and her brother. Nonetheless, Bahja soon made her own linguistic disadvantage become a social advantage by using her Arabic skills to speak to some of the parents when they came for their children if and when the Arabic speaking assistant was not working. Simultaneously, she was eager to learn Norwegian and developed her Norwegian language skills relatively quickly.

Unlike Bahja, Aisha entered Kongsvingen without any siblings. Aisha could superficially be described as the opposite of Bahja. However, through extensive interaction with her, I became familiar with a girl who was resolute to find her place in day care, just as Bahja was. Aisha started her participation some weeks after Bahja did. Upon entry, Aisha was quite shy and primarily kept to herself; though she sought some contact with a select few practitioners. Aisha did not—at least not in the beginning—articulate herself verbally; her absence of verbal utterance is discussed in **Article II**. The practitioners assumed that, as Bahja and Aisha were approximately the

same age and were both female, they would enjoy each other's company. However, this was not the case. They did not argue, but they also did not seek each other out to play.

The practitioners decided, after three months for Bahja and two months for Aisha, that both girls would be transferred. As described previously, general participation within the introduction groups is one year, yet as both Bahja and Aisha would start school the following year both were transferred to the mainstream group (Fox, 3-5 years) in early winter 2013. The transfer of Bahja and Aisha from Badger to Fox was understood by both practitioners and the girls' parents as being beneficial. Socializing with the preschool-aged girls from Fox was predicted to strengthen Bahja and Aisha's overall integration and social inclusion. However, having participated within the same group over the course of several years, the girls from the mainstream Fox group had established their own relatively autonomous peer group with its own peer culture. Over time, the girls in Fox (Meriem, Ingrid, Thea, Nora, Anna and Hannah, all 4 years old) had formed a strong friendship alliance referred to by the practitioners as the Girl Club.

5.2.4 The Girl Club's profile

The Girl Club experienced a higher degree of autonomy than many of the other peer groups located within the Fox group (e.g., the boys). The given reason for their enhanced autonomy in everyday life was that, over time and through their longstanding relationship with the practitioners, the Girl Club had the opportunity to influence not only the social order of the Fox group, but also their own movement, making it possible for them to move autonomously through day care without practitioners giving much attention to the girls' whereabouts, their actions and interactions. The Girl Club's enhanced autonomy additionally ensured that their socially structured and interactional universe became increasingly less scrutinised; this aspect is discussed in depth in **Article IV**. When Bahja and Aisha were transferred to the Fox group, their success of transfer was based on adults' expectancies of an assumed symmetrical social process in which both would become equal additions to the Girl Club, taking little consideration to the Girl Club's social structure and the Girl Club's internal struggles for position, status, identity and power.

5.2.5 The researcher's profile: A reflexive framework

So far, the profiles of the participants have been given attention. In this section, I stop and present my (research) profile, considering this to be the research's reflexive framework. Reflexivity is regarded as being a methodological necessity within childhood social research (Christensen & James, 2008). It refers to the researcher's sense of order, which is a result of his or her conversational history and experiences or social processes. Reflexivity is created in and through talk (Scott & Marshall, 2009). People, young and old, might

appear within a conversation as being respondents, but they are actively interpreting and shaping the interactional process in which they are located within. In an attempt to reveal how this “dual process of reflexivity takes place and makes an important contribution to the understanding and analysis of children’s everyday lives [I will, in this section, pay attention to the] conventions, languages and practices [that made me] conscious to the significance of [my] status as an adult, as foreign and as a man [doing early childhood research with newcomer children in Norway]” (Christensen & James, 2008, p. 7). To do so, I take a retrospective view of my life, illustrating key events that have influenced and shaped my interests as a social researcher.

I am the youngest of three. My parents were migrants themselves. Born in South Africa, I migrated with my family to the Netherlands, my father’s place of birth. My mother is Scottish, as are my two brothers. Throughout my entire childhood, adolescence and adulthood in the Netherlands, I have socialised with people who were migrants themselves. Being introduced to the home cultures of my friends (e.g., Suriname, Turkish, Moroccan, Dutch, English, Indonesian and Indian), I became aware of my own cultural heritage, which is a mixture of Scottish and Dutch. After meeting my Norwegian spouse, I migrated in 2005 to Norway accompanied by her and our newborn son. Settling in Norway I became aware of the migrational experience, many of whom are described and addressed in this thesis. Having received a part-time job working in a local day care institution, in 2007 I began to study early childhood education and care at Queen Maud’s College University in Trondheim, fulfilling this effort with a master’s degree in early childhood pedagogics in 2012.

These key events have, all in their own ways, formed the reflexive framework onto which this study has been built. The events have shaped and formed the manner in which I, as a social researcher, have come to observe, interpret and interact with the participants. Simultaneously, these events and the undescribed experiences and meanings coming from them, have formed—consciously and unconsciously—my perception of the details that have been given attention to in this interpretive sociological approach to newcomer girls’ everyday lives in day care.

5.3 Ethnographic Design

5.3.1 Ethnography

In designing a framework for exploring what facilitates newcomer girls’ integration and inclusion in everyday social reality in day care, an ethnographic and participatory approach has been chosen. Understanding that researching the social processes of integration and inclusion require “not just a set of methods but rather a particular mode of looking, listening, and thinking about [observed] social phenomena” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 230), the distinctive analytical attitude would demand—over a prolonged period of time

(August 2013–June 2014)—a commitment to exploring complex ideas. These ideas would be especially related to, on the one hand, the nature of the social worlds that newcomer girls encounter when entering day care and, on the other hand, the particular expectations they would be required to fulfil if they wanted to be included and partake within these social spheres. Such an ethnographic commitment is described by Hammersley et al. (2007, p. 230) as taking a stance

1. not to jump to quick conclusions, even though this will delay the formation of hypotheses about what is going on, and even though the aim is eventually to reach some sort of conclusion;
2. to pay detailed attention to appearances, while not taking them at face value;
3. to seek to understand other people's views without treating what they say as either obviously true or obviously false;
4. to examine the circumstances in which people act, including much that they may not be aware of themselves, yet without losing sight of what it is to which they *do* attend.

Inspired by Hammersley et al., among others, ethnography was seen as the most suitable approach as it would allow for me to explore, on the one hand, participants' *conscious* behaviour in relation to inclusive or exclusive practices. On the other hand, ethnography allowed for an in-depth exploration of how subconscious behaviours might be ignored or overseen—by both children and practitioners—for practical purposes. As such, ethnographic fieldwork was assumed to sensitise me to the power of the social contexts that shaped newcomer girls' everyday life in day care, bringing to the forefront critical phenomena which, assumingly, would not be detected otherwise (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Fieldwork has been designed from the perspective that it should be “sustained and engaged, microscopic and holistic and flexible and self-corrective” (Corsaro, 2011, p. 53). At first fieldwork would commence in a fairly unstructured manner, without any “fixed and detailed research design specified at the start” (Corsaro, 2011, p. 3). However, as focus would be on relatively few participants, this would still allow for an in-depth study of the participants' social landscape by placing personal and shared interests, priorities and concerns at the centre of attention (Christensen & James, 2008; Clark, 2005c; Corsaro, 2011). Setting a prolonged focus on newcomer children as a part of a social community, it was assumed that this would enable me to discover particular aspects of members' “physical and institutional settings, their daily routines, their beliefs and values, and the linguistic and other semiotic systems that mediate all these contexts and activities” (Corsaro, 2011, p. 53). Adopting a ‘funnel’ structure (becoming progressively focussed over time), the research problem (*What facilitates newcomer migrant girls' integration and inclusion in everyday social reality?*), could be developed and transformed; its scope clarified and delimited, the internal structure explored (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

5.3.2 Making the culturally familiar become culturally strange

Jens Qvortrup (2008, p. 67), notes that “there are many ways of collecting information about children’s lives and their childhood [and] that no one single method alone can produce all knowledge needed”. With this understanding, it was recognised that, in relation to exploring the life worlds of newcomer girls, I would likewise have to take into account the impact of economic or spatial forces, ideologies about children and their families, political and economic ideologies and realities that are not “visible to the ethnographic gaze” (Qvortrup, 2008, p. 68). Making an effort to create ‘thick descriptions’ (Geertz, 2010), participants’ behaviours, views and opinions needed to be put into a more broadly socio-historical context that extended their own awareness. “By interlacing private troubles with public issues [attempts would be made to] try to understand how a society conceptualizes childhood, which requires studying the policies and practices – and their historical bases – that construct or modify how childhood [on-the-ground] is lived” (Alanen et al., 2015, p. 1, 3). Interlacing a micro and macro perspective, it was expected that a more nuanced and dynamic interpretation of why and how could be made in this particular day care, and these particular newcomer girls’ day care childhoods were as they were. Bracketing off aspects of integration and inclusion in everyday social reality, one of the aims of the ethnography would as such become to make the culturally familiar become culturally strange by bringing class, gender, culture and ethnicity into the sphere of analysis through processes of detailed and critical reflection (James & Prout, 1997; O’Kane, 2008). In designing the basic research, I, therefore, considered that a holistic approach would provide the necessary means for paying appropriate attention to the delicate interplay between psychological, social and cultural aspects of the participants and their day care childhoods (Corsaro, 2011).

5.4 Relationship Between Epistemology and the Choice of Approach and Methods

5.4.1 Epistemology

Inspired by the interpretive tradition, I moved from the epistemological understanding that both children and adults, as individuals, can rarely give a full explanation of their actions or intentions; often just giving accounts or stories about what they do and why (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Recognising that in attempting to research what facilitates newcomer migrant girls’ integration and inclusion in everyday social reality; “no single method could grasp the subtle variations in [newcomer migrant girls’] ongoing human experience” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 12) I wished to construct meaning by gradually building a better understanding of how participants experienced social aspects of their immediate lives in day care. Therefore, I sought inspiration from social theory and research that, epistemologically, claims the phenomenon of childhood in the realm of the social (James et al., 1998). Social constructionism, as described, embraces the idea that ‘the sociological child’ is not

“formed by natural and social forces but rather that they inhabit a world of meaning created by themselves and through their interaction with adults” (James et al., p. 28). Simultaneously, children are as much socially structured within society, with childhood being a structural social phenomenon (Qvortrup, 2008); forming a group—a body of social actors within society—having rights and needs (James et al., 1998). Recognising the complex interplay between children as social actors and their childhood as located and influenced by societies’ social structures, I desired to better understand, through an empirical study of everyday life, how this intricate interplay, on the one hand, helps to realise children and, on the other hand, poses a threat to their immediate childhoods.

5.4.2 Participatory research with children: An ethical practice

Two current lenses for listening to and involving young children in research have emerged from the children’s rights discourse and the sociology of childhood (Clark, 2005a). The UN’s Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) promotes children in all ages as rights holders. The sociology of childhood emphasises children as social agents and human beings as opposed to ‘human becoming’s’ (Clark, 2005a; Corsaro, 1985; Einarsdóttir, 2007; James et al., 1998). Childhood sociology has succeeded as portraying children as agents and existing in a structured childhood (Cocks, 2006). According to Alison Cocks (2006), the outcome of these theoretical developments are that, over the years, these emergences have contributed to growth in social research that has involved children directly in the exploration of their social worlds as located on-the-ground, reporting children’s own subjective and shared views and experiences within the structures of their everyday lives. As such, research ethics have received important attention, primarily discussing the ethical implications and considerations within these types of situated research endeavours.

Much debate has been centred on the extent to which research with children differs from the process of conducting research with other groups (Morrow, 2008). Samantha Punch emphasises that, in doing research with children as opposed to other groups, the differences are “mainly because of adult perceptions of children and children’s marginalised position in adult society but least often because children are inherently different” (Punch, 2002, p. 321). Participatory research has been quite successful in illuminating particular aspects of children’s life-worlds. Priscilla Alderson sees that there are no inherent participatory research methods, rather, this depends on how a particular method is used by the researcher (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Benefitting from areas where children are more competent (Thomas & O’Kane, 2000), visual methods and photography have shed light on children’s everyday lives. Located in various social and cultural settings, using adult-centred, mainstream social research techniques (formal questionnaires and in-depth interviews) would otherwise, presuming, not have been

possible (Morrow, 2008). Using participatory, visual methods with young children extends and challenges the possibilities of these mainstream techniques as they can be powerful tools for listening (Clark, 2011a). The motivation for exploring young children's everyday lives through participatory methods has been embedded within "a desire to understand the everyday experiences of children in contexts which are familiar to [them]" (Clark, 2011a, p. 322). Within a social constructionism framework, this means that there has been given, within the entire course of research, recognition that children have the competence and capacity to understand and act upon their immediate world. This perception has enabled me to explore and better understand the dynamic and nuanced interplay occurring between the participants and their social, cultural and physical environment (Gray & Winter, 2012). Gary Alan Fine and Kent L. Sandstrom see that the goal of participatory research should be for the researcher to establish equal status and symmetrical power relations with the participants, yet they recognise that this is not possible with preschoolers (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). On the one hand, the age structure constitutes a significant barrier in the researcher establishing a symmetrical relationship with the child participant (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988) and, on the other, Corsaro (2011) sees the researcher's physical size equally become a challenge. Others have also indicated that gender and ethnicity can play out to be significant factors in children's acceptance of the researcher, either including or excluding him or her from partaking within their social worlds (Holmes, 1998).

However, due to the unique circumstances of participants being newcomer children with a refugee background, I reflected upon how much information was known about the girls in relation to their past experiences with authority figures (i.e., whom were often males within powerful positions such as military or police). Therefore, I considered that me being a tall, white male and a stranger with a powerful position as a researcher, could endanger—if not challenge—my social acceptance by the participants. Kirova and Emme (2007) underscore that, in doing research with migrant and refugee children, researchers are required to consider that children can, for various reasons, be traumatised. In the past, these children might have experienced severe poverty, war, disaster, violence and loss of relation. Simultaneously, in the present, these children can also be experiencing a host of social and cultural challenges within their new country and in their family settings. Such challenges might be identity related or intergenerational (Kirova & Emme, 2007). In day care, challenges could be as much linked to peer rejection, social exclusion, experiences of loneliness and even discrimination (see Connolly, 1998; Devine et al., 2008; Kirova & Emme, 2007).

Taken into consideration the above aspects, my participatory approach demanded not only sensitivity on my part, but also awareness of the cultural lenses through which I would choose to view and interpret children's

everyday experiences (Kirova & Emme, 2007). For me, as an ethnographic researcher, gaining acceptance and becoming accepted within children's social worlds would be dependent on my continuous engagement. This meant not only finding ways of communicating my intentions to the children as the ethnography unfolded, but as much on the manner in which I would communicate a humble and respectful attitude toward the children themselves, their former and past experiences, and their 'cultures of communication'² (Christensen & James, 2008). My becoming socially accepted was anticipated as requiring an ongoing negotiation of various interlacing fieldwork positions, and a continuous reflexivity (Davis, Watson, & Cunningham-Burley, 2008) surrounding how to reject taking children's views as granted and my own as truth (Corsaro, 2011). Doing research with children has, thus, been interpreted as a commitment to being sensitive to participants' multiple voices, the researcher creating ethical spaces for *multiple listening* by acknowledging the importance of prolonged time and the need to make available additional resources that enable children to reflect on their ideas and experiences (Clark, 2005b; Rinaldi, 2006).

5.5 Considerations Made in Shaping the Choice and Development of Methods

One of the most apparent challenges in relation to doing research with newcomer children is the absence of a shared language between researcher and participant (Kirova & Emme, 2007). For that reason, it was decided—within the early stages of design—that particular attention should be paid to children's culture of communication (Christensen & James, 2008), as it would guide the most appropriate methodological practice (Prout, 2008). Embracing a methodological immaturity, I privileged open-ended processes over predefined techniques (Gallacher & Gallacher, 2008). Such a stance required me to become a *bricoleur*, a researcher who makes use of the tools that are available, ensuring that the circumstances shape the methods (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2012). At the same time, when adopting this stance I recognised that participatory research methods are not "'fool-proof' technology" that—when applied carefully and conscientiously—will enable research involving children to achieve ethical and epistemological validity" (Gallacher & Gallacher, 2008, p. 513). Recognising that "participatory methods are no less problematic, or ethically ambiguous, than any other research method" (Gallacher & Gallacher, 2008, p. 513), the particular methods that were chosen and developed sought at being appropriate for those involved, for its social and cultural context and for the type of research questions that have been explored (Christensen & James, 2008). Focussing on "doing research *with*, rather than, *on* [newcomer] children" (Christensen & James, 2008, p.1) I aimed at finding ways that promoted

² The concept of children's cultures of communication is elaborated upon within the following section on participatory approaches.

equality, insight and respect for the participants (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Seeing children as subjects rather than objects of research, I recognised participants as being capable of ‘speaking’ in their own right, thereby respecting the instances in which they reported their own and, at times, others’ views and experiences (Alderson, 2008).

5.5.1 Participatory approaches

Participatory observation in both formal and informal settings was combined with participatory elements. Drawing inspiration from *the Mosaic approach* (Clark, 2005b; Clark & Moss, 2009), I took “an active exploration of images and views [making] a continual jumping-about between different perspectives and between research tools” (Clark, 2010b, p. 6). These participatory methods involved, among others, children’s photography (digital cameras used by the participants to document self-chosen aspects of their daily lives in day care), regular child-led day care tours, arts-based activities (e.g., drawing the day care institution, painting social activities in which the participants had engaged with peers, and making ‘friend’ dolls). The interplay between the methods revealed each in their own terms, knowledge surrounding newcomer girls’ agency and self-determination in their efforts of becoming socially included. As the methods focussed less on the spoken word, over a prolonged period of time they created an enhanced opportunity for the participants to reflect and act upon particular aspects in relation to their *immediate* lives (Hart, 1992). This aspect is well described in relation to **Article II: *It Takes More Than Just Saying Hello***, in which one of the two newcomer girls, Aisha, uses a digital camera to take pictures of the name tags of her peers and then writes them down in my notebook for her peers to find. In doing so, Aisha is described as using the knowledge she had gained from the method to initiate her negotiations of social inclusion.

Combining participatory observation and creating instances in which the sharing of child-adult expertise could take place, I aimed at allowing children to broaden my own understandings of the way they experienced their childhoods. The aim of such an ethical and reflexive stance was to contest the ways in which I perceived participants and their childhoods, as there might be “a disjunction between the actual and the observed” (Harcourt, 2011, p. 332). With the scope on better understanding the participants’ situated lives as occurring within their social worlds, I integrated ‘multiple listening’ within my participatory framework. Engaging in prolonged processes of meaning making, I observed, recorded, partook, talked with and listened to the participants over the course of an entire day care year; *constantly pursuing a better understanding of how they lived and why they viewed and acted as they did within the everyday context of their daily lives in day care.*

5.5.2 Video observation

In addition to participatory methods, extensive open handheld video recordings have been made over the course of nine months, allowing for detailed documentation of the nuances of the participants' social and situated daily interactions (Goodwin, 2006; Haggerty, 2011; Sparman, 2005). The interplay between video observations of self-chosen and child-governed instances and the participatory methods have enabled for both reflection and reflexivity surrounding my own particular understandings on how newcomer children and their childhood in day care could be and were understood. The rationale for focussing on recording the participants' self-chosen and child-governed instances has been based on the idea that these instances would assumingly provide valuable insights into how newcomer children's integration and social inclusion is negotiated within autonomously child-organised, everyday social realities.

Focussing on the everyday peer group interactions of one particular group of preschool-aged girls, video-based data illustrates how they organised and used different interaction strategies in relation to the inclusion or exclusion of the two newcomer girls, creating a source of knowledge in its own right (Sparman, 2005). Ethnographic video data displayed the dynamics and nuances in how girls, within a multi-ethnic peer group, through "embodied language practices construct friendship alliances as well as relationships of power and exclusion" (Goodwin, 2008, p. 72). This is something well described in **Article IV**, when one of the two newcomer migrant girls, Bahja, is continuously excluded from partaking within a 'sharing' activity involving self-made artefacts.

5.5.3 Semi-structured interviews

In addition to the methods described above, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a select few of the practitioners with the aim of better understanding how "institutional and ideological structures shape childhoods and adult-child relations" (Mayall, 2015, p. 13). Following Bery Mayall, the aim of the interviews was to get practitioners' views on how long-established traditions within day care, their policies and particular beliefs structured how children's childhoods were understood and lived in day care. This intergenerational process was recognised as unfolding at both an institutional level and a personal level and these relational processes are interrelated. Within the interviews, attention was given to how intergenerational processes shaped and reshaped children's and adults' experience in day care. Over the course of nine months extensive informal conversations were held with the practitioners to discuss my observations of them in interaction with the children. Based on these conversations and observations, a guide had been prepared to cover the topics to be discussed, such as *daily routines, group structure, relations, daily structure in relation to newcomer children, assessments and belonging*. These topics provided structure for the course of the interviews. The interview was

habitually initiated by the practitioner being asked to give a spontaneous description of their own and children's everyday lives in either the introductory or mainstream groups in day care, depending on where the practitioner worked. As the interview commenced, their narratives were linked to other topics or particular observations made, as well as previous conversations held with me. Whilst conducting the interviews, my judgment and tact determined how closely I would 'stick to the guide'; following up the practitioners' answers as they opened up new pathways (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). Concurrently there was made a more in-depth exploration of the practitioners' conceptual understanding of a topic standing in relation to the matter of interest 'pushing forward' by "clarifying the meanings of the answers with respect to the [emic] categories to be used later" (Kvale et al. 2009, p. 131). Pursuing a positive interaction, ensuring a flow in conversation, I stimulated practitioners to talk about their experiences and feelings by avoiding academic language, formulating the questions in such a fashion that they could be expressed in the everyday language of the practitioners.

5.6 Data Interpretation, Analysis and Write-up

5.6.1 Interpretation and data analysis

Video observations of situated activities have been important, yet the participatory activities combined with the interviews and informal conversations with the practitioners allowed a more nuanced and in-depth insight into particular aspects of Bahja's and Aisha's life world. When combined, the data created powerful 'insider views' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) or accounts that provided a check on my observational data, at times providing critical information or topics which otherwise, perhaps, would have gone unnoticed (Clark, 2010a).

Listening to newcomer children's knowledge within the context of their everyday life, whilst being in the absence of a shared verbal language, demanded a readiness to tune into their multiple modes of communication (Clark, 2011b; Dicks, Soyinka, & Coffey, 2006). Therefore, researching the 'insider' perspective required me to develop a heightened sensitivity that would allow me to be able to listen to children's knowledge, but simultaneously demand a reflexive stance, uncovering and exploring the knowledge patterns that connected me with the participants. Adopting and combining an open-ended approach (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), a framework for listening (Clark & Moss, 2009) was developed that would allow for the identification of children's meaning-making processes (Clark, 2011a; Flewitt, 2005; Hopperstad, 2013; Mavers, 2009). Following Clark et al.'s (2009, p. 7) description of their *listening framework*, the framework that was developed sought to be:

- *multi-method*: recognizing the multiple ‘voices’ of children
- *participatory*: treating children as experts and agents within their own lives
- *reflexive*: including children, practitioners and, when possible, parents
- *focussed on children’s lived experiences*: looking at lives rather than particular knowledge that children have learned or the care they received
- *embedded into practice*: a framework with the potential to be both used as an evaluative tool and to become embedded into early years practice

A critical aspect with the data analysis would be my ability to tune in to children’s socially shaped and culturally given resources used in their meaning-making practices, also referred to as *modes* (Kress, 2009). Within a participatory framework, children’s choice of mode has been seen as “significant for the meanings that can be made because modes have particular affordances—or potentialities and constraints—and this has epistemological significance (Mavers, 2009, p. 263). As such, the listening framework used in the research has aimed at developing the use of tools that allowed for the promotion of critical reflection that, in its own terms, impacted the data (Clark, 2010a).

With no intention to hold the data analysis in secret, efforts were made to find ways in which both children and adults could participate in the analysis process. The observational data was discussed with practitioners in formal interviews and informal conversations. The informal conversations were experienced as most successful since the practitioners could move freely, often walking side by side without the requirement of facing each other. With the children, the extensive time spent with them allowed me to follow up on many of the observations, asking them to recapture what happened within a particular observation. I would then rephrase that what they had said to me, asking if I had correctly understood the exchange.

Therefore, the research analysis consisted of different waves of interpretation (Clark, 2010a): Indirectly discussing the data analysis with participants while working over a prolonged time on everyday life-related themes and participants’ views on topics such as friendship, life in day care and being new in day care. Continuously readdressing central themes, through different activities and by using various modes of expression, we were able to raise ideas and concerns, me being able to integrate and connect these with my own interpretations and, through socialising processes, construct a shared meaning. This, as Clark (2010a) sees, underpins the analysis to be an ongoing feature of the research itself.

5.6.2 Write-up

The write-up has been mainly inspired by the works of Hammersley and Atkinson, who see writing as closely related to analysis, and there is no single best way in which aspects of social reality are best represented (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The theoretical perspectives and the selected literature that were used have

helped me to define the discursive space in which the ethnography has been produced and is read. Hammersley et al. (2007 p. 192) contend that “One of the most important disciplines for the ethnographer developing craft skills is, therefore, to read the works of others”, but nonetheless, at many points I felt left without help and guidance in developing my own “conceptions of what they believed to be the methodology of the social sciences” (Schutz, 2003, p. 135). Continuously interpreting my own writing through the writings of others, I explored the possibility and limitations of the written language to convey the everyday experiences of children in day care, constructing a version of that particular social world.

By reading, interpreting, giving meaning to, and revisiting the works of others, I found this interpretive process to provide plenty of productive themes, parallels and contrasts. Constantly switching back and forth between the data and the writings of others, I became aware of the value of this iterative process and my own work as a writer. Establishing these themes, parallels and contrasts was, however, not an easy undertaking, yet one of the most significant decisions to make (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Some themes were successful at the beginning of writing, yet as I proceeded and made “continual reflections on different possibilities, in light of trying to work with these” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 194), I found alternate ways or paths that guided me to a more meaningful destination.

Through my engagement within the cultures of the children in day care, emic categories were created based on terms, images and ideas derived from the participants’ everyday life world. These emic categories were, among others, the need to be with friends, gaining access into play and the meaning of sharing with friends. Using everyday life categories to organise my texts, they simultaneously reflected my social science ideas identifying major social and structural themes in terms of, for example, ‘developmental perspectives’, ‘needs-discourses’, ‘social positioning’, ‘status’, ‘power’, ‘identity’, ‘home and belonging’ and more. Though addressing major social and structural themes, effort was made to focus on the process of everyday life social and cultural transition for the two newcomer girls entering day care, stressing the process of being a social agent, yet making an effort to become a member within a social and cultural community.

Primarily using cases made from participatory and visual data, there was no intention to create correspondences that were factual in every detail to the observed; rather, they were meant to capture key features of a social phenomenon occurring within social processes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). By providing an idealised version of everyday reality, the cases characterise that which was frequently observed and illustrate the grammar, or basic underlying structure, that was used within everyday social action and interaction. They, each

in their own terms, provided an essential interplay “between the concrete and the abstract” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 196).

5.7 Methodological and Ethical Considerations

In this section, particular attention is given to some previously undiscussed methodological and ethical considerations, including assessments of risks, harms, costs and benefits of the research, dissemination of knowledge and the absence of interpreters during fieldwork.

5.7.1 Assessment of risks, harms, costs and benefits

Studying what facilitates newcomer children’s integration and inclusion in everyday social reality in day care, from children’s and adult’s perspectives, raises some practical and methodological challenges. Within the planning of the research, the risks, harms, costs and benefits of social research have been evaluated and established through a number of institutions. At first, an independent proposal was written and submitted to Redd Barna (Save the Children Norway). Redd Barna made an initial assessment, emphasising that the project proposal was highly relevant to this marginalised group of children. As they indicated, there was insufficient research that highlighted the social reality of newcomer children within day care as the majority of research had focussed on transitions in relation to school. A consequence of this was that those newcomer children, who were still in their early childhoods, were excluded from much of the existing social research or had received merely minor attention.

After extensive cooperation with Redd Barna, a final proposition was submitted to ‘Extrastiftelsen Norway’. Extrastiftelsen is a foundation that grants economic support in relation to research that aims to improve people’s psychosocial and physical well-being. The research proposal was reviewed and its commentary was consistent with Redd Barna’s and funds were granted for this three-year endeavour researching the first year of newcomer children’s everyday lives in day care. After receiving this positive response, a third evaluation of the research proposal was made at NTNU Social Research, department for inclusion and diversity in Trondheim, where I have been working for the last three years. The research proposal was later submitted to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD), approved and filed under the reference number: *34443 IB/LR* (see attachment).

5.7.2 Dissemination

Within every research effort and perhaps even more so with marginalised groups, the aspect of distribution of thought and ideas are central and highly ethical concerns. Alderson et al. (2011) see *dissemination* as going beyond the writing of books, reports and articles. They see that research with and by children offer exciting dissemination possibilities, yet the dissemination of research findings should be assessed through an

ethical lens. Dissemination, Alderson et al. contend, is an intricate process as it relates to 'sowing seeds', and as such has much more widespread and deeper effects than just publicising alone (Alderson & Morrow, 2011).

Childhood researchers are generally concerned with any existing inequalities that are to be found between children and adults. Addressing these inequalities, the researcher makes an argument as to whether he or she finds these reasonable and advantageous. In doing so, the researcher decides, selects, presents and interprets the data. Thus, dissemination, in all the stages of the research, will involve "publicity and public debate about research" (Alderson et al. 2011, p. 125). A thorough awareness of the possibilities and consequences of writing became an indispensable part of the methodological understanding (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The publication channels for the one book chapter and three articles have been deliberate and carefully selected, ensuring that critical readers of the ethnography could be alerted to the quality of the sociological or anthropological arguments that have been assumed in use of evidence for its support (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

5.7.3 *The absence of interpreters*

Alderson et al. (2011) make a strong point emphasising that participants can share their views and opinions with a researcher, "interpreters on the other hand may block, rather than aid, discussion, unless they are well chosen; age, gender, empathy, respect for clients, skill in listening and some knowledge of the research can be vital" (p. 90). This view had been adopted in advance and used as a decisive factor in not using an interpreter. To exemplify, in one particular incident there was an interpreter present in day care. He was hired to interpret for a young newly arrived Afghan boy who was 2½ years old. In conversing with the interpreter, I asked him if he had frequently worked with young children. He roughly replied,

Yes, but I do not know why. This boy for example, his mother speaks a dialect which is almost like a foreign language to me. I understand some, but mostly it is very difficult. In addition, the boy is still learning to speak the language. It is almost impossible for me to translate that what the practitioners are saying to him.

This conversation has contributed to a reflexive stance in which I make a strong appeal for participatory research methods because they can exceed the spoken language, allowing for an ethical relationship and a communicative platform that can be developed within a research process that manifests itself over a prolonged length of time.

On this *listening* platform, the participant and the researcher can construct meaning by allowing the participant to use and explore his or her multiple voices.

6. Summary of Articles

This chapter provides a summary of the four articles that are presented within the second part of the thesis. The articles are not presented in chronological order; rather, they are presented so that they create a coherent impression of the observed transitional process that both girls went through when entering day care.

Article I: Kalkman, Valenta, and Haugen (2016). “‘They Need to ...’ Exploring Practitioners’ Attitudes in Relation to Newcomer Migrant Children’s Participation in the Assessing and Defining of Their Needs in Norwegian Day Care (submitted to the peer-reviewed journal *Childhood*; awaiting reviewer scores). This article focuses on practitioners’ attitudes regarding the inclusion of needs assessments for newcomer migrant children, based on qualitative interviews with two practitioners. Asking how newcomer children’s participation in assessing and defining of their needs relates to practitioners’ attitudes, the article assumes, at first, that needs statements are linked to the types of childhoods that practitioners want to (and are expected to) produce for newcomer migrant children. The article’s purpose is twofold. First, it explores the needs discourse as a developmental way of conveying both policymakers’ and practitioners’ conclusions about the requirements of migrant children’s childhoods. Second, it explores how day care practitioners must, within the context of broad policy structures, exercise relational discretion in their everyday actions and interactions with children. The study’s findings reveal that practitioners’ developmentally influenced understanding of newcomer migrant children not only affect how their discretion is exercised in relation to these children’s needs but also how cultural expectations place restrictions around the children’s participation in decision-making processes. This leads to a questioning of day care as a social site for democratic practice, empowering all children to exercise their right to shape and influence their everyday social realities.

Article II: Kalkman, Hopperstad, and Valenta (2015). “It Takes More Than Just Saying Hello: Recently Arrived Migrant Children’s Multimodal Access Strategies and Social Positioning Work in a Norwegian Kindergarten” (peer-reviewed book chapter in Kibsgaard & Kanstad, 2015). Asking how newcomer migrant girls’ negotiations of inclusion and social positioning work can be understood as multimodal access strategies into peer group activity, this article presents and analyses four narratives constructed from qualitative data (field notes and video observations). The narratives were selected to exemplify how multimodal negotiations of access and social position may unfold in all parts of children’s everyday lives in kindergarten—both formal and informal situations and both indoors and outdoors. The data analysis illustrates how two newcomer migrant girls’ access negotiations and social positioning work was directly aimed at high-status members within a peer group and embedded and realized through the girls’ multimodal means of communication during everyday

situations in day care. The article reveals that group play and group organisation are dynamic and complex and that statuses and group memberships are fluid. Social positions in terms of social status were determined by the children's ability to uphold the group's present interests and to protect its values and concerns. In addition, the article reveals that, regarding the more commonly accepted and recognized modes of communication—such as writing and speaking—personal qualities and abilities can be used as negotiation platforms to indicate migrant children's personal interests and their value to the group.

Article III: Kalkman and Clark (2016). "Here We Like *Playing Princesses*—Exploring Role play as Newcomer Children's Re-making and Re-membering of Home and Belonging" (submitted to the peer-reviewed journal *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*; awaiting reviewer scores). Recognising newcomer children's situated role play performances to be cultural and *laminated* productions consistent with time-space events; this article explores how role play can be understood as a representation of social attachment and well-being within distant and immediate surroundings. Focussing on two role play observations involving one newcomer girl, the concepts of *home*, *belonging* and *suitability* are used to describe how, as a result of a loss of social and cultural reference points to either the past or present peer cultural belonging, the girl entered a liminal space within her new peer-culture surroundings. Framed around the situated and contextualized nature of the girl's daily negotiations and her processes of reconstructing social connection and attachment, the article demonstrates how migrant children's role play reflects their sense of suitability. Recognising how the girl's role play was composed of laminated performances, each performance was identified as being consistent with layered time-space events, each event seen as reflecting particular experiences and understandings of home and belonging.

Article IV: Kalkman, Hopperstad, and Valenta (in press). "Do You Want This?—Exploring Newcomer Migrant Girls' Peer Reception in Norwegian Day Care: Experiences With Social Exclusion Through the Exchange of Self-Made Artefacts" (accepted by the peer-reviewed journal *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*). This article asks what types of social and structural conditions contribute to newcomer migrant girls' social exclusion within everyday child-governed activities in day care. Making use of a single video observation, the article explores social exclusion, field competition and relational aggression. It offers a detailed analysis of the interactional practices that a group of preschool-aged girls make use of as they socially exclude a newcomer migrant girl from participating in a sharing activity involving self-made artefacts. Allowing for the intertwining of structural and social-constructionist perspectives, the article discusses how a day care group is a social field consisting of multiple subfields characterized by agentic struggles over position and power.

Overall, this article addresses other sides to the generally accepted positive view of day care for newcomer children. On the one hand, it reveals how newcomer girls' experiences with relational aggression might go unnoticed as such acts appear to be embedded within seemingly harmless, child-governed everyday social activities. On the other hand, relational aggression appears to be structurally tolerated as practitioners can understand this phenomenon as typical *girl drama*.

7. Presentation of Articles

Article I

«They need to ... »

- *exploring practitioners' attitudes in relation to newcomer migrant children's participation in assessing and defining of their needs in Norwegian day care*

Abstract Taking a critical stance on day care as a social site for democratic practice, this article focusses on practitioners attitudes to include newcomer migrant children in the assessment of their needs. Considering the needs discourse as an economical way of conveying both policy makers' and practitioners' conclusions about the requirements of migrant children's childhoods, we reveal how practitioners' individual agency policy benefits (approves) or sanctions (prohibits) migrant children's participation in decision making processes.

Keywords: *migrant children, day care, needs, participation, agency policy*

This article assumes that needs-statements are linked to the types of childhoods practitioners want to produce for migrant children. Its purpose is twofold. First we explore the needs discourse as an economical way of conveying both policy makers' and practitioners' conclusions about the requirements of migrant children's childhoods. Second, exploring how practitioners' 'agency policies' and relational attitudes affect when and how migrant children can participate in decision-making processes, we take a critical stance on day care as a social site for democratic practice that gives children the right to participate at its foundations.

In view of how *needs-statements* (see; Berg et al., 2015; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010a, 2010b, 2011) are not *per se* based on migrant children's voiced needs, but rather "depend on [adults'] value-judgments, about which patterns of early relationship are considered desirable, what the child should grow up to become, and indeed what makes for the 'good society'" (Woodhead, 1997, p. 73), we consider in this article that practitioners organize and govern in the name of public interests (Lipsky, 2010), yet they do so through a relational attitude, or willingness to include migrant children in decision-making processes (Thomas, 2002; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998).

Drawing upon qualitative data, we use three categories of research and studies for our analysis surrounding the rationale of practitioners' needs-assessment regarding the decision to transfer two newcomer migrant girls halfway through their initial and final year in day care from an introductory group for children with a refugee background to an integrated group. In the first category are studies on idiosyncrasies of the position,

decisions and actions of various practitioners who interact with clients on a daily basis, which are best represented by Lipsky's *Street-level bureaucrats* (Lipsky, 2010). In the second category are studies that discuss the tensions and dilemmas related to children's participation in democratic processes (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). The third category includes studies that focus on challenges embedded in needs-assessments in multicultural contexts (Burr & Montgomery, 2003; Thomas, 2002; Woodhead, 2005).

When newcomer migrant children enter day care, it can become apparent that childhood diverges considerably both across time and space (Christensen & James, 2008; James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). Both adult and child are required to make considerable psychosocial and cultural adjustments involving cognitive, social and emotional dimensions (Vogler, Crivello, & Woodhead, 2008). With the adult-child relation being highly structural and powerful (Alanen, 2001; Mayall, 2015), in this article we are interested in exploring the manners practitioners govern migrant children's lives with rules, regulations and permission seeking (Thomas, 2002). For example; if migrant children do not adjust in accordance to practitioners' expectations due to cultural beliefs, discourses, practices, language, appearance, activity, status, position and relationships, how might this affect their status in day care?

Inspired by Lipsky's (2010) *Street level bureaucrats*, we consider that day care practitioners are expected to uphold day care policies, yet their interpersonal relationships with children create particular *agency policies* which translate into a set of attitudes that influence practitioners' allocation of *approvals* and *prohibitions* to migrant children. To sum up: Drawing from above-mentioned perspectives, these interrelated research questions are explored in the article: a) what does influence practitioners' value-judgments, their interventions and agency policy? Which consequences have these actions on migrant children, inter alia, how practitioners' interventions, agency policy and relational attitudes affect when and how migrant children can participate in decision-making processes?

Literature review and theoretical framework

The Norwegian Ministry of Education is the governmental body that is responsible for enacting day care laws, creating specific day care policies and allocating resources in relation to day care provision. With the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) as a cornerstone, young children's rights are represented through the law and regulations surrounding day care provision (KD, 2005). Practitioners shall meet migrant children with care and respect, providing children with a pedagogical environment that presents them with challenges that are adjusted to their individual needs, age and developmental stage (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010a).

As consequences of mass human displacement, geographic mobility and increasing internationalization, day care practitioners meet children with a range of experiences, abilities and risks which can differ from those of majority children (Suarez-Orozco, Darbes, Dias, & Sutin, 2011). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) emphasizes that Norwegian day care practitioners ought to become more responsive towards uncovering the developmental needs of migrant and other vulnerable children (Angel, Barnett, Anders, & Taguma, 2015).

Even though “[f]ramed in terms of children’s needs” (Woodhead, 1997, p. 68), educational policies can have detrimental consequences as they are not always attuned to migrant children’s immediate and particular needs (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2011). U.S.-based research has revealed how large-scale migration can generate the fear that newcomer migrant children will not learn the dominant language and as such, increased focus is placed on language development (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2011). Suarez-Orozco et al.’s insight might support the rationale of both politicians and practitioners’ focus on how participation will help migrant children to learn the Norwegian language, supposedly increasing their social competencies and improve their overall well-being (CES, 2011; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010a, 2011). Additionally, day care participation is said to counter major social variations that influence children’s overall future academic results (Angel et al., 2015; CES, 2011; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010a).

Practitioners, being *street-level bureaucrats* who, through their decisions and actions, organize and govern in the name of public interests (Lipsky, 2010), have the obligation to meet the demands of the national day care policy. Inspired by Lipsky’s theory, we assume that policy statements may at times describe children’s qualities and their needs that are differently from those experienced at ‘*street level*’. As such, these statements may carry different judgments of what parents and practitioners deem as being best for their children. Furthermore, it will be relevant to explore whether practitioners gradually create their own *agency policy* through direct and immediate contact with children and based on the outcomes of their relationships (Lipsky, 2010). It is assumed that practitioners’ agency policy is not normative, or a set of ‘written customs’. We suggest that practitioners’ agency policies manifest through their relations with children and influence how they allocate to children their daily benefits and sanctions. The conceptualization of day care practitioners as street-level bureaucrats fits well, in our view, within some strands from the sociology of childhood (Alanen, 2001; Mayall, 2015), especially how “institutional and ideological structures shape childhood and child-adult relations” (Mayall, 2015, p. 13).

Although children's right to participate is outlined within Article 12 in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), § 1 (UN, 1989), many children in day care experience exclusion from voicing their needs and concerns within decision-making processes which affect their immediate lives and well-being. Even if participation is described as emphasizing children's living and partaking in a democratic society, and practitioners are expected to respond in a way that will promote respect, acceptance, confidence and trust (UDIR, 2011), practitioners' take on children and childhood will—consciously and/or unconsciously—affect the manner in which they interpret children's participation (UDIR, 2011). Reading § 2 of Article 12, tensions surrounding children's participation become tangible as the value or sincerity of especially young children's views and opinions becomes contrasted by developmentally integrating *age* and *maturity* (Kjørholt, 2010). As a result of formulation, Kjørholt suggests that young children are on the one hand acknowledged as social actors with the right to autonomy and participation, yet on the other hand considered vulnerable and in need of protection (Kjørholt, 2010). Being positioned in between a *participatory* and a *protectionist* discourse, children's rights are thus considered not as something universal—applying for all children—but rather as centred on competencies, abilities (Burr & Montgomery, 2003) and values and dependent on fulfilling a particular expectation of the child-subject as a developmentally appropriate rational and autonomous individual (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). Considering how dominant discourses, such as that of the *rational* and *autonomous* individual child who acts alone and is self-sufficient, contribute to the construction of a specific sociocultural reality (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 2007; Foucault, 1999), we consider that young children who can be evaluated by developmental standards are appreciated in day care.

Children's fulfilment of their right to participate, though structurally determined within day care policies and laws, is considered as tightly entwined with practitioners' *attitudes*. Practitioners' attitudes translate into either having a positive assertiveness (wanting the child to make herself understood, providing the necessary conditions in which she can be included) or a negative assertiveness (understanding the child to have insufficient abilities to be included, not seeing any way to find out what she thinks (Thomas, 2002). In the latter case, negative assertiveness can come from the fear that the child or children have a desire or necessity to control the decisions to be made (Thomas & O'Kane, 1998).

Within *needs-statements*, such as in relation to children's exclusion from participation, as children might have a desire to control the decisions to be made, lies an implicit judgment surrounding what is desired of children (what adults consider desirable behavior of children), and how this can be achieved. Woodhead (1997) sees that habitually embedded within needs-statements lie suggestions of children as being helpless and passive

and requiring appropriate intervention. Consequently, when dominant discourses, such as rational and autonomous, are used as *framing statements* (Woodhead, 1997), they serve a purpose as substitutes to emphasize children's dependencies requiring adult intervention (Woodhead, 2005).

Background and methodology

Kongsvingen is a public day care institution located in central Norway and funded by the municipality. It consists of four groups: two regular groups and two introductory groups. Children participating in the introductory groups have recently arrived to Norway as refugees or asylum-seekers. The overall pedagogical aim of the introductory groups is to support migrant children's overall integration into mainstream society, providing a one-year introduction to the Norwegian culture and its national language. After this year, children are either internally transferred to one of the regular groups, start participating in another day care institution or when old enough enter school.

With a reduced child ratio, the introductory group, called "Badger," had only eight members (2–5 years old) and was gender balanced. In fall 2013, two girls entered the Badger group. The girls are referred to by the pseudonyms of Bahja, a 4-year-old from the Middle East, and Aisha, a 4-year-old from the Horn of Africa. Both had recently arrived to Norway accompanied by their parents. Bahja entered day care with her younger brother Mihran, 3 years old. Bahja and her brother started their participation some weeks before Aisha. When Aisha arrived, it was expected that she and Bahja would establish a relationship; however, even though the two girls were the same age, Bahja preferred to play with her brother and two other peers. Aisha, unlike Bahja, was quite withdrawn and seemed to feel more secure spending her time with the practitioners. Anne Berit, the leader of the Badger group, had been working with the Badger group for more than four years and described the introductory group as a place in which the children were not as bound by rules and regulations compared to the regular groups. Anne Berit sees that it is important to make sure that those newly arrived children feel security and belonging by giving them warmth and affection. However, since Bahja and Aisha would start school the following year, Anne Berit and the pedagogical leader from the Fox group, Mari, initiated a discussion between themselves and the girls' parents surrounding the necessity for Bahja and Aisha to be transferred to the Fox group. Seeing that in the Fox group the girls could establish a social network with majority-language-speaking peers, the practitioners argued that socializing with them would promote Bahja's and Aisha's overall integration and support their Norwegian language learning. Simultaneously, Mari's more structured routine with the Fox group would benefit Bahja and Aisha, as Fox's daily structure created predictability, which Mari understood to

create a sense of security likewise. After approximately three months of participation in the Badger group, Bahja and Aisha were transferred to the Fox group, which separated Bahja from her brother.

Methodology

Over the course of nine months (September 2013 – June 2014), the everyday social reality of two newcomer migrant girls was investigated using multimodal ethnographic methods including participatory observation, interviews and usage of digital cameras, tours and arts-based activities (Clark, 2011; Clark & Moss, 2009; Authors 2015). In relation to this article, the main concern has been to investigate how practitioners, as *street-level bureaucrats* who create their own agency policy, allocate particular benefits and sanctions to migrant children. In an attempt to understand how deliverance of benefits and sanctions structures and delimits migrant children's lives and opportunities, the interactions between the children and the practitioners have been observed and analysed. During the participant observations in the kindergartens the first author got opportunity to interact with the children and practitioners, and several field work interviews, informal focus group interviews and individual, semi-structured interviews have been implemented. Yet, the focal data we present and analyse derive primarily from two individual semi-structured interviews conducted with each of the pedagogical leaders from the Badger group and the Fox group approximately four weeks after Bahja's and Aisha's transfer. The interview guides were outlined by topics (daily routines, group structure, relations, daily reality for newcomer migrant children, belonging). Each interview was set in the practitioners' conference room, audio-recorded, and initiated with the researcher inviting the practitioner to describe her daily routines. The topics introduced were not strictly predetermined and binding, but rather the researcher's judgment and tact determined how to follow up the practitioners' answers to allow for new directions to open up (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). The interviews were transcribed verbatim, and the interpretive process made notes of tone and pause. From the interviews, the researchers have created vignettes (Barter & Renold, 2000), embracing the view that there is "no true, objective transformation from the oral to the written mode" (Kvale et al., 2009, p.186). Though the practitioners' data stand central, ethnography allowed for the discovery of critical phenomena in relation to the migrant children's needs; otherwise, we assume the migrant children's expression of needs would not have been detected (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Though migrant children's expressions are not presented directly, they have framed our interpretation of the data and are understood as integral to our discussion of findings.

Findings and analysis

In this section we present our findings and analysis of the interviews conducted with the two practitioners, Anne Berit, the pedagogical leader of the introductory Badger group, and Mari, the pedagogical leader of the Fox group. Through our data, we reveal how practitioners' needs-assessments seem to focus on cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects, linking these to school-readiness.

Anne Berit's assessments of Bahja's and Aisha's needs

Anne Berit and 'John', the first author, are located within the practitioners' conference room. John asks Anne Berit if she can elaborate on her daily experiences with the migrant children in her group. As she elaborates on both the positive and challenging aspects, she introduces the topic of Bahja's and Aisha's transition from the Badger to the Fox group. John asks if Anne Berit can provide some more information on the rationale surrounding the girls' transition.

Anne Berit: Well, I was [as the pedagogical leader on Badger] one of those who were of the opinion that they [Bahja and Aisha] could be transferred. This for the reason that Bahja's 'mothering' over Mihran [her youngest brother] was so dominant that he didn't develop [short pause] he didn't get to do anything for himself.

The usage of *development*, combined with a particular assessment of Mihran's need for *independence*, can indicate that Anne Berit uses the development discourse in a restrictive and regulative fashion, aiming to construct a specific sociocultural reality in which Mihran's expected and *culturally appropriate* development depends on Bahja's absence.

The opinion that Bahja is obstructing Mihran from reaching 'the ideal of independence from others, with self-sufficiency as a desirable goal' (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p.21) warrants minor reflection upon the meaning and value of the relationship itself. Rather, Anne Berit seems to focus on the assumed benefits of separating the siblings. When asked if she could reflect on the idea that migrant children are said to have a need for *stability* and *predictability*, *trust* and *relation* (Bleka, 2015), Anne Berit replies:

Anne Berit: Bahja was [at the time of her transfer] mature and competent, a little vulnerable, but otherwise very adjusted, both with her language competencies and that she doesn't allow others to place boundaries around her. So that can be problematic, as in Fox there is a more structured routine than in Badger. But this is something she will experience in school, so she will receive some prior learning, and she is a real school kid. [In Fox], Bahja must conform to specific boundaries, and a half year of that, I

think, will be good for her, not being able to decide everything, this has to do with that she needs to be in control, but she is mature enough to take on these challenges.

By indicating Bahja's dismissal of authority, "she doesn't allow others to place boundaries around her", it appears that Anne Berit makes a framing statement (Woodhead, 1997) with the intention of conveying a conclusion about Bahja's requirements; namely a need to "conform to specific boundaries" and consequently, Bahja's interpreted problem with authority seemed to indicate she requires 'normalization' through the employment of techniques of power (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). When she is transferred from one group to another, the expectation is that she will engage in a continuous effort of "training and retraining, skilling and reskilling" (Dahlberg et al. 2005, p. 50); preparing herself and being prepared for the contests that assumedly lie waiting for her when she enters school. From such a vantage point, early childhood education for migrant children is not only expected to train and retrain, skill and reskill "cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects, but [also reshape migrant children's] innermost desires [touching their] spirit, soul, motivation, wishes, desires, dispositions, and attitudes" (Fendler, 2001, as cited in Dahlberg et al., 2005, p. 39).

Assumed as expecting Bahja to learn to control her impulses and be appropriated into becoming an obedient and docile future member of society (Corsaro, 2015), Anne Berit seems to be aware that the transfer is double-edged. On the one hand, she sees the transfer as preventative, as Bahja is anticipated to experience school as a more restrictive environment, yet on the other hand, Bahja has been in a vulnerable situation, experiencing destabilization in an otherwise predictable situation. Although Bahja will lose a trustworthy relation in her brother and friends from the Badger group, Anne Berit still sees that the needs assessment done by herself and her colleagues was just.

Anne Berit: "I realize that she is vulnerable right now, that she has struggled with finding her place, I know this. But, it is wise to do this [transfer] before she starts at school. In school things are even more square, teachers can be, like, [short pause] going into such a system can be a shock [short pause] if she would have stayed in our group an additional six months. Maybe she would be even more robust, but I don't know, I do know that going right into school [short pause] here in day care we see them more."

Being fully aware of challenges in relation to the majority language, Anne Berit indicates that for Bahja to achieve social belonging in her new group, especially away from her brother, she will need to go through some social and cultural struggle. Using school readiness as a justification, Bahja is expected to be shaped so that she can meet the demands of compulsory school in the future (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005).

The social challenges Anne Berit sees are primarily understood as being related to the fact that Bahja “is very resolute and has difficulty in making friends, so for her there is a fair amount of learning needed. In our group [Badger] she arranged and was the leader in all the play, but it shouldn’t be this way, I think.” Within this perception there occurs a question surrounding what is understood as desirable (Woodhead, 1997). Bahja’s *leadership* seems to create a demand that Bahja must learn from her peers in Fox how to establish “proper” or non-controlling relationships. Yet, with no reflection surrounding how Bahja’s leadership in Badger could be understood as a negotiated position with her expertise in particular forms of play at its foundation, Anne Berit implicitly contrasts Bahja’s social and cultural “shortcomings” with the socially accepted competencies of her peers in Fox. Consequently, it seems to be ignored how *resoluteness* might be an expression of the social and cultural landscape in day care and how language and social and cultural background, for example, might influence and become motives for how practitioners and children could interpret Bahja’s expressions. Though Bahja wore the same clothes and attempted to be and act the same as her peers, her behaviours, although “normal” within her familial environment, seemed at times to set her apart as being “peculiar” and “foreign” within the social landscape in day care (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Though Bahja’s resoluteness was interpreted as being a social and cultural shortcoming in need of regulation, it was never discussed as a motive for her continuing desire to prove to her peers that she was “normal” in her competency to play and in her desire to become accepted within the dominant culture by her peers.

In relation to Aisha’s transfer, Anne Berit was somewhat unsure whether or not this was positive. Aisha had only been in Badger for a short period, and as a consequence Anne Berit’s knowledge about the girl was limited. Aisha came some weeks after Bahja, and as opposed to Bahja, Aisha seemed to be less content in the Badger group. Aisha enjoyed spending her time with the adults and was seldom observed playing with the other children. Additionally, there seemed to be minor interest from either Aisha or Bahja in playing with each other, and as such the girls seemed to have no significant relation. Aisha’s transfer was therefore perceived as something that could be positive, as she could be with girls her own age, learn the Norwegian language, and hopefully establish some social belonging.

Mari’s assessment of Bahja’s and Aisha’s needs

As with Anne Berit, Mari and John are located within the practitioners’ conference room. Mari, the pedagogical leader from the Fox group, elaborates on her daily contests – both positive and negative. As she proceeds, the topic of Bahja’s and Aisha’s transition into her group arises. John asks if she can provide more information on her immediate take on the rationale surrounding the girls’ transition.

Mari recognizes the motive for Bahja's and Aisha's transfer rather differently from Anne Berit. "The way I [as the pedagogical leader of Fox] understand it at least, the decision [to transfer Bahja and Aisha] was mostly based on economics. I had too many adults working in my group, so to balance this Bahja and Aisha were transferred here." Mari sees the motive for transfer as being based on a bureaucratic decision, upholding State policy, sustaining the adult-child ratio, and achieving economic factors. However, she also underscores a more practical reason, namely that all the "preschool children are located in my group, and with Aisha [being new in day care, she] would become more familiarized with the rest of the preschool group." Having stated the formal and practical aspects of the girls' transfer, Mari discusses the transfer also in a way that actualizes dilemmas related to Bahja's social competence and needs in particular: "The decision to transfer Bahja was taken because she is who she is and has problems with going in to play situations with other children without standing out as an adult."

Aligning the practitioners' elaborations, we see two central aspects, the first being that their line of reasoning seems to position Bahja as *controlling*, having a need for boundaries. As a result, the scope and function of both Anne Berit's and Mari's deliverance of day care services seem to be founded on equally protecting individual interests and the public interest (Lipsky, 2010). Secondly, although both practitioners were aware of the social struggles Bahja and Aisha experienced with the girls in the Fox group, the practitioners denied them the opportunity to voice their thoughts surrounding the transition; this made evident the practitioners' impact on the lives of the girls. At the same time, the practitioners' attitudes and assertiveness created the necessary conditions for the girls to be excluded from partaking in decision-making processes.

Underscoring that both Bahja and Aisha were still in the early stages of their Norwegian language learning, their exclusion from partaking in assessment and decision-making processes surrounding their transfer can indicate a negative attitude, an understanding that the girls lack the abilities to voice their own needs and inability to see any way to find out what they think (Thomas, 2002). With such an attitude, the practitioners might have further translated Bahja's *resoluteness* into a fear that she desired to *control* the decisions to be made (Thomas & O'Kane, 1998).

Asked about her view on the nature of Bahja's and Aisha's social struggles in Fox, Mari says, "Here [in Fox] Bahja can be with peers who are more like-minded and learn the social rules that she needs to know if she is to make friends and be included in play." Mari's usage of the term *like-minded* could imply that in order to control Bahja's resoluteness, she needs to be placed with peers who are, like herself, assumed to be controlling and dominant. The answer might be found in Mari's next statement: "In her other group [Badger] she didn't have

such friendships, there she arranged and re-arranged, as far as I understand.” The usage of “such friendships” might be Mari’s way of emphasizing that Bahja required not only adult intervention but also peer intervention. Could it be that peers are assumed to provide a form of social regulation and a social fix? As Mari continues she reflects, as Anne Berit did, on how Bahja and her brother Mihran experienced separation. Recognizing how Bahja longed to be with her brother and that the transfer had a destabilizing impact on the girl, Mari indicates that she uses Bahja’s desire to be with her brother in a disciplinary and governmental fashion. She says:

Mari: I tried to make some compromises with her [Bahja] by saying, if she wants to visit her brother you have to play with the other children in Fox and when I see that you have played enough, I will permit you to go to visit him in Badger. [...] So then you have both the positive thing that she manages to play a bit and gets to spend time with her brother, talk Arabic and enjoy herself, because that is probably more comfortable than being in a situation which is new and a little scary.

Through Mari’s governing we gain insight into how she creates a particular agency policy, controlling Bahja by placing boundaries on her autonomy of freedom and sanctioning her visits to her brother. Mari, being aware of Bahja’s desire to be with Mihran and speak her first language, seems to use this knowledge to govern Bahja, not through coercion but through a practice which will steer her towards a desired behaviour (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). It appears that Bahja’s childhood needs are produced as an object in relation to Mari’s power to define. In line with Burr et al. (2003), Mari positions Bahja in between a participatory and a protectionist discourse. Mari, in describing Bahja’s desire to visit her brother, spend time with him, speak Arabic and enjoy herself, appears to see that Bahja and her brother have a need for protection. Their inter-dependency and caring relation is seen as the opposite of learning and developing competencies and abilities in accordance to their new local surroundings. Mari uses a particular understanding of the migrant child-subject’s need of becoming a developmentally appropriate rational and autonomous individual (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). Bahja’s expected requirement of developing independence from her brother appears to be a normative idea, reflecting “normality” (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005).

As Mari describes Bahja’s needs, it seems she—consciously or unconsciously—neglects the fact that judging by Bahja’s negotiated position in the Badger group, she could well have been a highly balanced, clever, rational, sensible, self-governing and self-determining girl within her original surroundings. It appears that as a result of her new social and cultural surroundings, Bahja is evaluated as “needy”, and as she still requires an extended range of modalities for sharing her views and opinions, her right to participate within decision-making processes seems to be forfeited.

As the interview is summed up, however, Mari reveals that she is not free from concern. “As an employee in the day care sector, I am required to do my job and must focus on that which can be good for Bahja. We need to look at the positive aspects and forget about the rest, unfortunately.” Thomas et al. (1998) suggest that the establishment of children’s ‘best interests’, are not without problems, as principal difficulties arise as we cannot know for sure what is indeed ‘best’, or for that sake agree on the values that are important for children (Thomas & O’Kane, 1998) as these are generally social constructions. Being a reflection of a particular sociocultural reality, general agreement about the character of needs could be approached if those who comprise the interaction are not in conflict, or if they are equals (Lipsky, 2010).

Throughout both interviews, there is a sense that Bahja’s self-expression of her needs by visiting her brother and friends in the Badger group was understood as being impulsive or perhaps even destructive behaviour. Although the practitioners focused on language learning through socializing with peers, they conducted only minor reflection as to how transitioning into a new social and cultural surrounding, learning not only the language but multiple forms of communication, understanding the social fabric of the landscape, experiencing unpredictability surrounding when one is to be included or excluded from play, loss of relations and so forth all are central aspects in understanding the depth of migrant children’s daily experience and challenges they experience when entering a new surrounding in day care.

Throughout the data collection, Bahja stood central with Aisha in the background. This has been interpreted as a result of Aisha’s relative newness to both practitioners. Simultaneously, due to her short stay in the Badger group, Aisha assumedly had not established close and meaningful relationships with her peers. Even though language was initially a challenge, overall, it seemed that Aisha was quite satisfied and enjoyed her presence in Fox; unlike Bahja, she rarely disputed the practitioners’ actions and decisions.

Discussion of findings

The purpose of this article was twofold; through our analysis of data, we have explored how the needs discourse was used by practitioners as an economical way of conveying day care policy and practitioners’ conclusions about the requirements of two newcomer migrant girls’ needs if they were to have a proper and successful childhood in twenty-first century Norwegian culture. Second, having revealed how practitioners’ agency policy and relational attitude seemed to affect when and how migrant children could participate in decision-making processes, we initiate our discussion of findings.

Through deliberating on how migrant children’s participation depends on practitioners’ agency policy, we have come to understand the right to participate not as something universal that applies to all children in day

care. Rather, participation in this day care seemed to be intertwined with practitioners' conceptions of migrant children's sociocultural competencies and abilities (Burr & Montgomery, 2003), majority values and how migrant children are assessed as fulfilling all these expectations.

In order to support the girls' psychosocial and cultural adjustments when entering school the following year, the practitioners made an effort to assess the types of relationships they felt the girls were required to establish. The focus on the girls' establishment of relations with majority-language-speaking peers was aimed primarily at integration, language acquisition and increased sociocultural competencies in the hope of elevating the girls' overall well-being (CES, 2011; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2010a, 2011). In consequence, needs-statements made by the practitioners fulfilled the expectancies of the day care policies concerning what the girls should grow up to become, and what was required for the greater 'good of society' (Woodhead 1997). Governing in the name of public interests (Lipsky, 2010), specific value-judgments ensure that migrant children can easily become positioned within a protectionist discourse.

In specific, practitioners' needs-assessments seemed to be standing in contrast with one of the two migrant children's self-expressed desire to be in a relation with someone familiar. The value-judgment surrounding the practitioners' denial of the type of relation the girl was understood to have a need for—being with her brother, spending time with him, speaking Arabic and enjoying herself—raises some highly ethical concerns. The practitioners used controlling techniques—"if she wants to visit her brother you have to play with the other children on Fox and when I see that you have played enough, I will permit you to go to visit him on Badger"—and made framing statements that underlined a particular set of normative needs, viewing the child as incapable of understanding her own desires. Rather, by emphasizing helplessness and passivity, practitioners made decisions highlighting the requirement of appropriate adult intervention.

Even though a relational attitude, or willingness to include migrant children in decision-making processes (Thomas, 2002; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998), should be part of day care policy, our data indicate that a *temporary* dependency, using an extended range of modalities for sharing views and opinions, influences practitioners' value-judgment. Interpreted problems with authority, for example, seemed to frame practitioners' needs-assessment surrounding requirement for '*normalization*' to be done within a more structured routine and governed environment (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005). Normalization, we argue, implies migrant children's requirement for social regulation done through adult and peer intervention with the aim of controlling any signs of resoluteness and resistance to decisions which have been taken without the child having partaken in the decision-making process.

From a deterministic and functionalist view, *needs* thus become powerful means for instrumental assumption, as they require a 'technical fix' and are used for justifying the disregard for 'vulnerable' and 'at-risk' children's right to participate. We argue that migrant children's participation in day care thus becomes not an emphasis on their living and partaking in a democratic society, but rather their obligation to overcome their sociocultural needs by training them towards becoming, over time, competent and contributing members of society (Corsaro, 2015) within contemporary western cultures (James & Prout, 1997).

Conclusions

This article has placed an imperative on understanding how needs-assessments are linked to the types of childhoods that practitioners want to produce for migrant children. Through our analysis we have revealed how practitioners can become located in between day care policy, serving to organize and govern in the name of public interests, and the requirement to make assessments in the best interest of the child. However, given the practitioners' extensive focus on what is best for the public interest and their determination of what is best for the child, we are concerned that particular relational attitudes, which are influenced by developmental expectations, prohibit newcomer migrant children's potential for expressing their wishes and desires. Moreover, agency policy is founded upon a relational attitude, which we have argued plays a central role in whether migrant children's particular wishes and desires are recognized as being representatives for these children's self-understood needs. Being concerned about the praxis where migrant children are taken out of meaningful and inclusive relations and placed in a restrictive and possibly excluding environment, we emphasize that more research is required surrounding how newcomer migrant children's experience their living and partaking in a democratic day care society, and how their needs are defined as standing in relation to becoming competent and contributing members of society within contemporary western cultures.

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Article II

It Takes More than Just Saying Hello

Recently Arrived Migrant Children's Multimodal Access Strategies, and Social Positioning Work in a Norwegian Kindergarten

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Introduction

Entering a heterogeneous kindergarten, and become part of a diverse child group, can be challenging for migrant children. Accessing peer group interaction, whether play or other forms of social interaction, presupposes a competence that exceeds the linguistic ability of saying “hello”. This chapter concerns two 4-year-old girls – Bahja and Aisha, newly arrived in Norway and from a refugee background – who have just started kindergarten. We explore how the girls’ access negotiations and social positioning work aimed at high status members within the peer group, are embedded in and realized through the girls’ multimodal means of communication during everyday situations in the kindergarten. Our approach is to present and analyze four narratives constructed from qualitative data generated during a nine-month ethnographic fieldwork in a Norwegian kindergarten. The narratives have been selected to exemplify how multimodal negotiations of access and social position may unfold in all parts of the children’s everyday life in the kindergarten – in formal as well as informal situations, both indoors and outdoors. Theoretically, we apply and combine Corsaro’s (1979, 2011) concepts of peer culture and children’s access strategies,

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van Langenhove and Harré's (1999) understanding of positioning theory, and multimodal theory and concepts (Jewitt, 2009).

The aim of the study is to contribute to the knowledge and discussion related to recognizing that language is only one of the many challenges that migrant children face when entering a kindergarten. At the same time, language is also only one of the many modes that migrant children possess as they struggle to get access to, and position within, a peer group. We argue that the challenge for kindergarten practitioners working with the inclusion of migrant children, is to find a well-functioning balance in supporting secondary language learning, whilst recognizing the importance and meaning of supporting children's positioning work aimed at high-status children. The general debates surrounding the social inclusion of migrant children in mainstream society are most often centered on problems related to parallel lives, lack of inclusion, ethnic boundaries and social segregation. This being said, and at a more general level, we intend to broaden the discussion on how newly arrived migrant, asylum-seeking and refugee children in their early childhood are to be understood, as they, at times, use highly competent actions and creative strategies to overcome both social and linguistic challenges when entering Norwegian kindergartens.

This chapter is structured in four sections. In the first section, we describe the theoretical perspectives and methodology of the study. In the second section, we present the four narratives to illustrate Bahja and Aisha's multimodal access strategies. In the third section, we reflect upon the narratives and modalities applied by Bahja and Aisha as access strategies. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the strategies' meanings, we relate them to the existing social relationships and play routines within the peer group: the so-called Girl Club. In the final section, we reflect on Bahja and Aisha's multimodal strategies in a wider perspective, drawing attention to our study's pedagogical implications.

Theoretical perspectives

Children's everyday lives are fragmented through discourse (Flewitt, 2005). However, children's communicative skills to participate in discourse are not only based on their individual capacities to produce "words and sentences, but also on their capacities to follow rules that shape the episodes of social life" (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 4). In the context of peer groups, children's negotiation

and access attempts are continuing attempts to create a particular reference or personal “storyline” that will make their moral actions understood by their peers as natural, intelligible and meaningful. However, whether or not children’s moral actions are or will be understood as intelligible and meaningful, is influenced by their social status and position (van Langenhove & Harrè, 1999). In accordance with van Langenhove et al. (1999), there are various forms in which people can position themselves. The basic distinction in positioning theory is between *first-order* and *second-order* positioning. First order-positioning, also known as performative positioning, is natural and unintentional. Here, children are located in a shared moral space and follow specific storylines and categories. Their storylines will most likely follow their historical and social profiles, contributing to their social actions and interactions becoming more predictable, intelligible and meaningful to the peer group. However, if the moral actions are incoherent with the child’s former storylines and his or her actions are interpreted as being intentional, then a child’s motives can be questioned by his or her peers. This is referred to as second-order positioning (van Langenhove et al., 1999).

Accessing a new peer group is difficult for newcomer children in their early childhood, as peer groups protect their interactive spaces and activities from disruption (Corsaro, 1985, 2011). It requires strategic skills, competencies and a fair amount of patience. Corsaro (1979) has identified a number of access strategies that young children use to access peer group interaction. These can be categorized into three main groups: verbal, nonverbal and combined strategies. The purpose of access rituals is primarily related to proving that a newcomer to the group is capable of maintaining the ongoing peer group interaction. The most successful entries are nonverbal strategies that a child initiates by producing a variant, or “copy,” of his or her peer’s ongoing behavior (Corsaro, 1979; Corsaro & Eder, 1990). Wohlwend (2009), in line with Corsaro, observed that young children often use actions rather than talk “to [make attempts to] strategically shape the social, material and cultural environment” (p. 229). With this we underscore the significance of children’s ability to interpret and reproduce, or modify, specific elements from their social, material and cultural surroundings, so that they can serve their own purposes. Corsaro (1979, 2011 and 2012) named this process “interpretive reproduction.” For newcomers, such as Bahja and Aisha, successful entry into peer group activity will therefore mean that they have a) developed an understanding of both the meaning and purpose

of access strategies (ibid.) and b) proven their capacity to follow the rules that the peer group have formed, which shape the episodes of their social life (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999).

Social semiotics, understood as the study of the semiotic landscape comprising objects and social events that together form the phenomenon named culture (O'Halloran, 2009), helps us understand the diversity and complexity of the verbal, nonverbal and combined strategies used by children to access peer interaction. The social studies of children and childhood have contributed to recognizing children's ability to influence and transform their social and cultural surroundings (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998). By joining these perspectives it helped broaden the understanding by making explicit how children create and use a wide range of representational and communicational modes within their meaning-making practices (Jewitt, 2009b). Within these meaning-making practices, modalities – such as image, gesture, gaze, posture, time and distance – are understood to be intentionally combined so children can transmit different meanings with them (Jewitt, 2009a; Mavers, 2009; Maagerø, 2013; Van Leeuwen, 2005). Modalities function as semiotic resources when they are used by people for communicative purposes. As Kress (1997) points out, children may use a range of things that were not initially intended for communicative purposes to communicate with their peers, thus turning them into semiotic resources in order to take care of their communicative interests. Kress's insight is relevant for our study. A doll seemed to have a semiotic function for one of the two girls, as will be shown later in this chapter.

Based on the above, we will further explore Bahja and Aisha's access strategies into peer group activity as forms of multimodal communication designed specifically to help them negotiate their social inclusion with their peers. Such negotiations are, in accordance with Jewitt (2009a), integral parts within the daily management and negotiation of young children's social position and identity formation. Like identity, social position is not fixed, but must rather be negotiated. A child's social position is influenced by his or her features and combined qualities (van Langenhove et al., 1999). These will, to a certain degree, impact that child's possibility of undertaking moral actions within a peer group, and his or her participating ability in the group's social activities. The child's features and combined qualities will either limit or expand her right and obligation to speak within the peer group (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). For newcomers,

negotiating identity and social position thus become part of a daily performance, in which they must ensure their peers that their personal qualities and features are valuable to the peer group.

Ethnographic location and method

The study is based on qualitative empirical data received through ethnographic fieldwork at Kongsvingen kindergarten, located in a municipality in central Norway. The fieldwork was primarily related to two groups and conducted by the first author, hereinafter called Kris, from September 2013 to July 2014. The first group, “Fox,” was a regular group with 19 children (3–5 years old). The second group, “Badger,” was part of an introductory program for children with a refugee background and had 8 members (2–5 years old).

The narratives explored in this chapter were made from notes made during field studies and video observations. The video observations were transcribed using timelines in which the participants’ verbal utterances and bodily actions were transcribed and interpreted separately (Flewitt, 2005; Flewitt, Hampel, Hauck & Lancaster, 2009). All data leading to identity disclosure have been made anonymous. All of the transcriptions have been recognized as being “reduced versions of observed reality, where some details are prioritized and others are left out” (Flewitt et al., 2009, p. 45). By taking a “reflexive stance” (Flewitt, 2005; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), Kris, constantly reminded himself that his orientation to the research was shaped by his own sociocultural location, personal values and interests as an early childhood pedagogue, social researcher, father, European migrant and white male. Combined, they created a lens through which the observations were interpreted and eventually given meaning.

Adults’ written consent

Kongsvingen kindergarten has a long-standing history, experience and competence with migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking families. After a positive dialogue with the daily manager, a formal meeting between Kris and the staff was arranged, in which requests for written consent were handed out to the staff. After that parents were invited. The meeting was conducted in English, with two additional translators for those parents who had expressed a wish to receive information in their first language. The following week a formal letter

of information and request for written consent was distributed to the parents; and all letters were written in the families' first language. Many of the parents agreed that the study was important, and the majority of the girls' parents gave their final consent.

Entering and negotiating children's assent

The methodological position in this study is based on the understanding that children are active agents and decision makers (James, 2009; James, Jenks & Prout, 1998). The children were therefore personally informed by Kris and asked if they wanted to participate in writing a book about their daily activities at Kongsvingen kindergarten. The ethical dilemma of consent regarding the children's participation has been met by a continuous re-evaluation of their assent, understood to be "a parallel process in which the parent or guardian agrees to allow a minor ward to participate in a research project, and the child assents or agrees to be a subject in the research" (Tymchuk, 1992, cited in Morrow & Richards, 1996, p. 94). As linguistic challenges could lead to ambiguous situations, a heightened sensitivity to the participants' body positions, gaze and gestures was developed. Gaining young children's assent was an active process in which the researcher constantly evaluated and re-evaluated the participants' and his own positions during the entire research process.

Presentation of the four narratives

We present four narratives in this part of the chapter. The narratives illustrate how Bahja and Aisha, each in their own particular manner, but with a certain resemblance, created their own particular storyline by combining a host of semiotic resources across modalities, such as image, writing and body movements, which, as we will discuss later, can be found to support their moral actions.

In Narratives 1 and 2, special attention should be paid to how both Bahja and Aisha interpret and reproduce, or "copy", specific signs and symbols using paint, paper, stamps, colored markers, digital images, names and a notebook for representing, communicating and interacting with their peers. In Narratives 3 and 4, special attention should be given to how Bahja and Aisha create storylines through their usage of proximity, gesture, bodily contact and gaze.

Narrative 1: Bahja painting a portrait

Bahja (4 years), Hannah (4 years), Anna (4 years) and two of the younger boys (3 years) are participating in a structured, adult-led activity organized by Lise, a kindergarten trainee teacher. Mari, the leading pedagogue, is assisting. The children are talking with each other and laughing. After some time, Lise asks the children if they want to paint a self-portrait. Hannah starts by painting a large green circle. This is followed by her painting two smaller circles within the large green circle. It seems that Bahja, who is sitting across from her, is eager to be the first to finish. Bahja is painting quickly – almost sketching – with her brush. Her portrait consists of a grey, waterlogged circle, in which she paints two smaller circles. She paints two vertical lines underneath the outer circle. After several minutes, Bahja holds up her painting, showing it to Mari, and says “I’m done!” However, as Bahja shows her painting to Mari, Mari comments on it as “being nice, but it could use some more colors”. Bahja appears to hesitate, but does what Mari says and adds more water to her brush. She applies the brush to her portrait, causing her colors to get even more waterlogged.

When Bahja finishes with her first portrait, she soon begins with her second. Hannah looks up and asks Mari if she likes the self-portrait she has made. Mari says that all of the portraits are nice, but she doesn’t comment on Hannah’s self-portrait directly or give any suggestions for improvement. Then, Bahja says, “I want one like that, but [pauses]”. As Bahja says this, she looks over towards Hannah’s work and back at her own, making a frowning facial gesture with her mouth and eyes drawn together, and lower lip sticking out slightly. Bahja looks at Hannah’s work again and starts painting. She starts off with the largest circle and paints two smaller circles within it. Then, she continues to reproduce every step Hannah made earlier. When Bahja is done, her portrait resembles Hannah’s. When Bahja begins on her third painting, she once more copies every minimal detail of Hannah’s work, from the shape of the head to the flower painted beside Hannah’s portrait. When Bahja is finished, she raises both her arms in joy and smiles. Hannah proceeds to paint and shows no physical reaction to Bahja’s performance. (15/1/2014)

Narrative 2: Aisha writing names

Aisha is sitting on the floor at the middle of the dressing area. She is taking photographs of small pieces of paper with the names of Thea, Anna, Nora, Hannah, Meriem and a boy named Aida written onto them. Every time Aisha takes a picture of a name, she quickly returns it to the name owner’s personal shelf. When Aisha finishes, she gestures to Kris by pointing her finger at a notebook, indicating that she wants it. The book is given to her. Aisha then begins to recall the images and starts to copy the content of the images by writing the names into the notebook. (18/6/2014)

A similar incident was observed 20/6/2014. Aisha is sitting in the main room together with Ingrid and Thea. They are sitting at one of the round tables. Aisha is writing a letter. In her letter, she has written the names of Hannah and Nora. After having finished writing the names, she proceeds to decorate the letter with prints of hearts and stars, as well as with colored markers. When finished with her letter, it seems as if she pauses to think. She then reaches for a digital camera, which was placed on the table in front of her. As she takes the camera, it seems as if she wants to take a picture of Kris, who is filming the episode. However, she hesitates and lowers the camera. Instead of taking a picture herself, she holds up her letter in such a manner that its content is captured on film. As she holds up her letter, she ensures that the content is readable. (20/6/2015)

Narrative 3: Bahja with peers outdoors

Bahja is being observed and recorded while she waits at the front of the kindergarten. She is joined by Hannah. Shortly after, Hannah and Nora's younger sister Else (2.5 years) appears followed by Afran and Aisha. As Else stands together with Hannah and Afran, Bahja observes the three girls whilst standing behind them. Else points to the sky as she sees a plane. Bahja shifts her position, so that she is now standing behind Else. Else reaches out for Hannah's hand. Hannah takes Else's hand and shakes it gently. Bahja walks to the right side of Else, placing her left hand gently on Else's back and making contact with the girl. Bahja removes her hand after positioning herself beside Else. Bahja is now standing between Afran and Aisha on the right, and Else and Hannah on the left. Bahja's repositioning makes Afran hesitate about her own position, and after two seconds she takes three steps away from the group. Bahja follows after Hannah and Else whilst staying ahead of Aisha. As Else and Hannah are walking beside each other, Bahja holds out an arm in front of Aisha, pushing her back and blocking her with her body and backpack. Then Bahja positions herself beside Else. She gently places her hand on Else's shoulder one more time. (12/2/2014)

Narrative 4: Aisha and peers playing with doll

Aisha is in one of the smaller rooms together with Meriem, Ingrid, Thea, Nora, Anna and Hannah. Aisha is standing beside Meriem, who is sitting at the table in the middle of the room. The other girls are moving around, engaged in conversation and preparing a role play. Aisha holds a milk whisk and doll clothing. Meriem is dressing a doll. Aisha taps the milk whisk gently on the table. Meriem looks briefly at Hannah, Nora, Thea and Anna, and then proceeds to dress her doll. Aisha holds up the doll garment in the air close to Meriem. Meriem does not respond. After holding the item up for approximately 10 seconds, Aisha lays the garment on the table. Meriem doesn't

respond. Then Aisha places herself on the other side of Meriem, between Meriem and Ingrid, who, like Meriem, is sitting at the table dressing a doll. Aisha hangs the doll's garment on her milk whisk, waves it gently in the air and changes her position by moving closer to Meriem. After several attempts and receiving little response from Meriem, Aisha utters a deep sigh and then gently but reluctantly throws the garment onto the table. (16/1/2014)

Discussion

In the following sections, we first reflect on the presented narratives and investigate how different storylines were created through the use of different modalities. Secondly, we discuss these storylines in light of how social status and existing social relationships were central in revealing both the interests and aims of Bahja and Aisha's multimodal negotiations. Finally, we reflect on how this knowledge is perceived to be connected with how Bahja and Aisha manage and negotiate their own social position and identity within the peer group.

Reflections on Narratives 1 and 2

In the first narrative (*Bahja painting a portrait*), we can read how Bahja, Hannah and Anna participate in a formal, adult-led activity in which the participants are asked to paint a self-portrait. In the course of the activity, it seems that Bahja is intentionally reproducing Hannah's work, creating an almost identical reproduction of Hannah's self-portrait. That Bahja's "copying" can be understood to be a reflection of some personal concern, is illustrated by Kress, who understands that the features selected to be represented, reflect the individual's present interest (Mavers, 2009). Bahja's present interest, Hannah's portrait, seems to be the "centre of attention" (Semundseth & Hopperstad, 2013). Simultaneously, this present interest reveals Bahja's attempt to create or maintain a storyline. Could it be that Bahja's present interest is in fact an attempt to negotiate with Hanna within a shared moral space? The reproduction of Hannah's portrait is an important aspect for understanding what Bahja wants to communicate. Children's "selections" of "critical features" (Hopperstad, 2013) are not randomly chosen; they are carefully selected with a specific purpose and meaning in mind. It is relevant to suggest that Bahja's selection, interpretation and reproduction of Hannah's work illustrates Corsaro's (2011, 2012) concept of

“interpretive reproduction.” If this is the case, then Hannah’s portrait appears to have been interpreted and reproduced with purpose – to communicate Bahja’s interest in being with Hannah. Painting a portrait similar to Hannah’s, can thus be interpreted as a semiotic resource for Bahja. Bahja’s interest in being with Hannah is also reflected in her words (“I want one like that”), and her way of gazing towards Hannah’s portrait throughout the painting process.

We see a similar pattern when we turn our attention to the second narrative (*Aisha writing names*), in which Aisha is located in two separate but related observations. Here Aisha “copies” the names of several peers. Aisha, in comparison with Bahja, does not and has not used any form of verbal communication with her peers. This absence of verbal utterance is not uncommon amongst newcomer migrant children when learning the language of their new host country, and is known as a “silent period” (Toppelberg, Tabors, Coggins, Lum & Burger, 2005, p. 281). Still, it should be noted that Aisha spoke vividly about her day at the kindergarten in the presence of her mother. Aisha’s “silent period” is thus contextually determined. With her peers, however, she has developed a practice of relying on various crafted signs and symbols – photos, writings, drawings, paper, pens, colored markers, stamps and film – as semiotic resources to support her communication with her peers.

Aisha’s storylines reveal a discrepancy in her present interests. Within the first part of the narrative, she decides to write the names of every member of the Girl Club, plus one non-member considered a high-status member within the boy group. In the follow-up observation Aisha merely decides to write the names of Hannah and Nora in her letter. Cross-comparing both observations, it seems as if Hannah and Nora are the consistent points of interest within Aisha’s storylines.

Reflections on narratives 3 and 4

In the third narrative, *Bahja with peers outdoors*; Bahja is located in an informal, outdoor gathering with Hannah, Afran, Aisha and Meriem. The girls are joined by Else, the younger sister of Hannah and Nora. During this observation, it seems that Bahja is determined to assist Else, who is the younger sister of Hannah and Nora. Through her bodily actions (blocking her peers), proximity to Else (rarely leaving her side) and caring gestures (gently laying her hand on Else’s back, shoulder and head), it seems as if Else is selected by Bahja to represent her

present interest. But could it be that her present interest can be understood to be a symbolical gesture towards Hannah – signaling that Bahja is able to care for and protect something very precious to Hannah?

Following the thought of Wohlwend (2009), Bahja is strategically using Else, not so much to shape her social and cultural environment, but more to negotiate her social position. Else becomes Bahja's means of representing, communicating and interacting to and with her peers (Jewitt, 2009b). Bahja's persistence in caring for and protecting Else reflects in many ways Corsaro's (1979, 2011) "protection of interactive space", which "is the tendency on the part of children in their early childhood to protect their ongoing play from the intrusion of others" (2001, p. 157). Is it possible to understand that Else is Bahja's present interest and needs to be protected? If so, could it likewise be that the intruding others are thought to be Afran and Aisha?

We can explore Bahja's protection of interactive space more by looking closer at the manner in which Bahja makes use of caring gestures and bodily contact. For example, in relation to her Else-specific gestures, Bahja places her own hand gently on Else's back and strokes Else's head. In relation to Afran and Aisha, Bahja uses more defensive bodily actions, such as positioning herself between Else and the other girls, as well as using her backpack to block her peers. Through these actions, it seems as if Bahja is creating a 'storyline' (van Langenhove et al., 2009) in which her moral actions as a defender and caregiver are intended to be perceived as natural, intelligent and meaningful. Recognizing that bodily actions and postures can be used to strategically influence social position, we might understand that by using caring gestures and protective actions, Bahja is actively creating a "multimodal discourse" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009) in which the meanings of her performances are multiple.

In the fourth and final narrative, *Aisha and peers playing with dolls*, Aisha is located in an informal activity together with Meriem. We can understand Aisha's proximity to Meriem and her helpfulness as reflections of Aisha's present interests. Following Jaworski et al. (2009), we may interpret Aisha's body movements and bodily position as a symbolic marking of herself in relation to her social and physical environment. This strategy has become an important characteristic of Aisha's negotiations of status and position, as illustrated by her continuing proximity to Meriem, and the manner in which she positions herself between Ingrid and Meriem.

Aisha creates her storyline with the doll as the center of attention. Aisha's usage of the doll and its garments, as signaled through her non-verbal request to assist Meriem in dressing it, can be understood as her transformation of them into semiotic resources to convey her present interest, namely Meriem. The challenges that Aisha faces in relation to her contextual reduction of speech, can be illustrated by Harrè et al. (1999), who recognize that children's combined qualities and features are decisive for their possibility of undertaking moral action. This is illustrated by Aisha when she, after making several attempts to hand a doll's garment to Meriem, receives little response and eventually gives up. She holds up the doll's garment, takes a deep sigh and then gently but reluctantly throws it onto the table. During the observation, Aisha's sigh was hardly noticeable; however, after repeated views of the video recording, it became apparent that this situation was far from easy for her.

Through the presented narratives, we have gained insight into the discursive practices of two newcomer migrant girls, and we have shown how they use different modes in their attempts to create storylines in which their actions seem intelligible and meaningful to their peers. However, in the following discussion, we will attempt to construct a more in-depth understanding of Bahja and Aisha's multimodal communication, and why Hannah, Nora and Meriem seem to be of central interest to both Bahja and Aisha. To do this, we look to Lock & Strong (2010), who assume that the foundation of meaning lies in people's social conduct. Following this line of thought, we continue our discussion related to the meaning of Bahja and Aisha's multimodal communication in the sections below. Firstly, we examine the existing social relationships within the peer group. Secondly, we investigate the existing relationships between Bahja, Aisha and their peer group members. By doing so, we will illustrate why we assume that Bahja and Aisha used specific semiotic resources to create signs and symbols, which they used to represent and convey specific meanings to their peers.

Bahja and Aisha's multimodal access strategies in relation to the peer group

The peer group, known as the Girl Club, consists of six core members: Meriem, Anna, Thea, Nora, Hannah and Ingrid. These girls have been in the same kindergarten group for several years, during which they have developed

meaningful relationships with each other. During observations it seemed that they strongly preferred to participate in their own self-chosen and self-governed gender-based group. The peer group clearly enjoyed singing, dancing, engaging in imaginative role-play and participating in different types of artistic activities, as emphasized by Nora, who at one point approached Kris and said, “We like to sing. Can you write that down?” (Field notes, 17/1/14). Nora’s use of “we” is interpreted as a sign of the peer group’s preference for aesthetic and performative activities, strengthening our understanding that these activities are value-laden features of the peer group’s culture, and central to their cultural routines.

Keddie (2004) suggests that gender-based preferences are a central part of social dynamics and group organization among young children. The consequences of such gender-based preferences will, according to Keddie, contribute to creating and maintaining particular definitions, regulations and conservations of gender-based roles. However, gender has not been central in our study, and we are aware that this might be seen as a point for critique. More important it has been to study whether ethnic and linguistic lines are contested by migrant children through the usage of multimodal communication. Our general impression is that the ethnic and linguistic lines were not followed, as the peer group consisted of ethnically heterogeneous peer-group members.

However, it did seem that Bahja and Aisha achieved different positions within the group, depending on the usefulness of their abilities and skills within the peer group’s play content. This observation may indicate that specific cultural routines can contribute to creating and maintaining particular definitions, regulations and conservations of gender-based roles, as they instruct migrant children how to, with reference to Keddie, *do* gender according to the peer group’s cultural understandings.

Maybe this can be exemplified by looking at the peer group’s play performances. These often consisted of complex role-play or speech activities, with frequent negotiations and in-depth discussions surrounding the development of play content, which could be related to the negotiation of themes, roles and virtual settings. Evaldsson and Tellgren (2009) explain that within role-play and other such speech, we can observe and gain insight into the existing complexities and ambiguities within peer relationships, often exhibited through children’s power and status within the group.

Observing these negotiations, Hannah and Nora seemed to be most influential with regard to the introduction and development of the role-play content. Themes were introduced by the girls with reference to fairy tales, folklore and other popular literature for children. Based on Bahja and Aisha's narratives, it is possible to assume that both girls were well aware that Hannah and Nora were highly influential in relation to the introduction and development of the peer group's play content. For Bahja and Aisha, participating in role-play can be challenging, as the negotiations require both linguistic skill and cognitive ability in order to participate in these discussions, competence they did not have. They could not participate due to linguistic challenges, nor did they have any historical knowledge of the peer group's role-play content. In short, they did not have the ability to maintain the peer group's interactions (Corsaro, 2011). For Bahja and Aisha, any chance they had of influencing the play content in such a manner that they could be included, would thus be through Hannah and Nora. In these settings, ethnic Norwegian children have a much more dominant position than minority language-speaking children, whether they are asylum-seeking, refugee or other migrant children. Having an ally with control over the role-play content means having a chance to alter the structure of the play itself. This knowledge might explain why Nora and Hannah were given particular interest, but what about Meriem?

In Norwegian culture, the outdoor environment is regarded as an important arena for children's development and as a source for children's play (Nilsen, 2008). In line with Nilsen's perception, much of the peer group's interactions occurred in the outdoor environments of the kindergarten or in local parks. In these settings, the "speech activities" alternate with other nonverbal forms of play. In such contexts children who do not have a chance to gain a dominant position in speech activities, due to their relative deficiency in Norwegian linguistic and cultural skills, may take over the initiative. For example, if the child has the relevant resources for outdoor play, such as physical strength, self-confidence and the courage to engage in challenging physical activities, the child may claim the dominant position within the peer-group, and be the one who decides the development of the game. In the outdoor contexts, it seemed that Meriem had these resources and was therefore a leading figure within the play negotiations. Meriem's physical strength and competence in leading the peer group outdoors were regularly displayed when she is at the front of the group, yelling "Come on, gang!" (Field notes, 13/5/2014).

Sutton-Smith (1997) helps us understand that children self-organize their peer groups through their play and its content into hierarchical structures. If we connect Sutton-Smith with van Langenhove et al.'s (1999) view that social positions are contextual and thus fluid, it is possible to recognize that the statuses of Hannah, Nora and Meriem were related to their abilities to introduce, maintain and further develop the group's play in different contexts.

This is supported by several studies, among others Löfdal's (2006) study, which revealed how children actively use their physical environment and communal artifacts (or props) to maintain or strengthen their social position. Certain props are connected to specific social roles, and each role relates to specific forms of status and power. Having control or mastery over a specific prop deemed important to the peer group's cultural routines, means an increase in social status (Löfdal, 2006). However, it is important to note that not all children have equal access to specific props that can influence their course of action towards achieving their desired position in the peer group. Skånfors's (2010) study reveals how children's personal characteristics, or "tokens," as well as age, status, gender, physical strength, family assets, clothing and physical skills influence children's social position within their peer group. Both Skånfors and Löfdal's studies reveal how various "tokens" and "props" influence children's social position within their peer group. According to Skånfors, the value of a token or prop is based on the child's present social position, and the applicability of the token within the peer group's interactions.

Through a historical understanding of the key features of the peer group's cultural routines, and by uncovering why and how social status is influenced and determined, we will connect Aisha and Bahja's modalities with Hannah, Nora and Meriem, and give a possible explanation as to how these modalities were understood to be used to manage and negotiate social position and identity.

Managing and negotiating social positions and identity

For Bahja and Aisha the peer group's play routines created challenges on different levels, not only linguistic challenges, but also understanding the peer culture they had been placed in. Having access to paint, paper and other forming materials are considered important for children in Norwegian kindergartens; however, this is not the case in many countries, especially those from which many children with a refugee background come from. For these children access to paint, pencils

and paper can be non-existent due to war and conflict. On the other hand, the use of such resources might for migrant children be associated with learning to read and write, and not regarded as semiotic resources used for recreation. To a certain degree, this can also shed light on the alternate discursive practices that Bahja and Aisha used for negotiating social position and identity. This dialectic relationship between language and culture seemed to have influenced the range of discursive practices made available (Davies, 2003) to Bahja and Aisha, as well as their usage. We think that Bahja's continuous attempts to paint a portrait, from being a waterlogged area to an almost exact copy of Hannah's portrait, can be an illustration of Davies's opinion. In this process, Bahja is not only battling with the existing linguistic barriers; she is also making a strong attempt to overcome the cultural challenges caused by her inexperience with the semiotic resources she uses. This could be recognized by Mari's comments, as she says that Bahja needs to add some more colors to her portrait. Such a minor comment could indicate that Bahja did not follow the culturally determined rules of what a portrait should look like and made. In the other narrative, Bahja uses her skills as a caregiver. As an older sister, Bahja has been observed numerous times caring for and protecting her younger brother. Furthermore, it seemed that she enjoyed spending time with the youngest children in the kindergarten. Aisha seemed to have had former skills and competencies in writing and possibly even reading. Reading and writing are learned from a young age in many countries and regions affected by war and disruption. For Aisha, it seemed as if she used her writing skills to her advantage, hereby overcoming the necessity to address her peers verbally. For Bahja and Aisha, the dialectic between language and culture was resolved through their social performances, in which they made continuous attempts to integrate their personal skills and competencies.

Based on the narratives presented and van Langenhove et al.'s (1999) perception that moral orders are continuously shifting patterns of children's mutual and contestable rights, expressed through their obligations of speaking and acting as leaders and followers, it seems that Bahja and Aisha are highly competent in interpreting and reproducing specific elements of their new peer culture, and to use these in their storylines. Their storylines reveal that both were most likely aware of the structures of the local moral orders (Hannah and Nora in indoor contexts; Meriem in outdoor contexts). In order for their actions to be understood as natural, intelligible and meaningful, the girls' discursive

practices need to be in line with previously and historically established storylines. They must rely on specific characteristics: in Aisha's case, her writing skills are used to signal group affiliation and personal interest in being with particular members. In Bahja's case, her characteristics would be the capability to interpret and reproduce ongoing activity, as well as to care for and protect the peer group's interests. These strategies can be understood as multimodal negotiation attempts aimed at increasing each girl's social position, ultimately resulting in social inclusion and participation in the peer group's midst. Simultaneously, these strategies also indicate that both girls were aware that any attempt they made needed to be interpreted by their peers, and seen as natural and fitting for their own historical and social profile; anything else would most certainly reduce the chance of their actions being successful. Their strategies underscore the fact that accessing a peer group is a social matter that is inherently collaborative and dialogical in nature (Cromdal, 2001).

Final reflections

Our study has shown that the inclusion of migrant children cannot be discussed only in light of ethnic boundaries and social segregation. As we have shown through our interpretation of social semiotics and positioning theory, group play and group organization are dynamic and complex, and statuses and group memberships are fluid. Social positions in terms of social status are determined by children's ability to uphold the group's present interests and protect their values and concerns. Our study has shown that, in addition to the more commonly accepted and recognized modes of communication such as writing and language, personal qualities and abilities can be used as negotiation platforms to indicate migrant children's personal interests and their value to the group. Our contribution will hopefully raise awareness amongst those working with newcomer migrant, asylum-seeking or refugee children, and help others recognize that language is not the only challenge these children face when entering a kindergarten.

Through this study and the narratives presented, we hope that early childhood pedagogues, other professionals and interested adults can develop insights into how children negotiate their social position through the use of a multitude of modalities and resources. Adults with a verbocentric mindset may easily

misinterpret and fail to recognize how “copying” a self-portrait, for example, can be much more than just that, and how writing a name can be a highly meaningful undertaking and part of a child’s ongoing attempt to negotiate his or her social position in order to become part of the social environment.

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Article III

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Here We Like *Playing* Princesses—

Newcomer migrant children's transitions into day care: Exploring role-play as an indication of suitability and home and belonging

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Abstract Using the concept of *suitability* to describe newcomer migrant children's connection to multiple fields of social and cultural relations, we explore a newcomer migrant girl's transition from an introductory group for migrant children with a refugee background into a mainstream day-care group. Inspired by sociocultural and transitional research, we assume that newcomer migrant children can fall into a liminal phase due to loss of cultural references. Framed around the situated and contextualised nature of the girl's remembering and reconstructing of *home* and *belonging* through role-play, we explore how role-play discourses might be understood as cultural scripts, or laminated productions reflecting particular representations of social and cultural attachment.

Key words: *day care, transition, newcomer migrant children, role-plays, laminate, liminal, suitability, home, belonging,*

Introduction

Based on an ethnographic study of newcomer migrant children's initial year in daycare, this article places particular attention on the meaning of role-play during the transition from an introductory group for refugee children into a mainstream day-care group, through the experiences of one girl. Drawing upon relevant social theory, there is argued that transitions cause breach with social, historical, and cultural reference points leading to young migrant children to enter various phases of *liminality* (Turner, 1996). Framed around the situated and contextualised nature of social negotiations and processes of reconstructing *home* and *belonging* (Ní Laoire, Carepena-Méndez, Tyrell, & White, 2010) through role-play, the article demonstrates how role-play reflects a sense of *suitability* (Woodhead & Brooker, 2008). Assuming role-play to be a culturally determined activity (Brooker, 2010; Fleeer, 2013; Kirova, 2010), its script is composed of *laminated*, or layered time-space events (Clark, 2010a; Wohlwend, 2007). Focussing on how migrant children's sense of suitability within present and former places of childhood is reflected through their role-play, the aim of the article is to contribute to a broadening of knowledge surrounding how migrant children's 'suitability' and 'home and belonging' are intertwined with their distant and immediate social connections and attachments. This knowledge, we hope, will help day-care practitioners to gain insights surrounding newcomer migrant children's sociocultural transitions and support them through their various phases of liminality.

Theoretical and conceptual framework

Transitions and Liminality

Childhood socialisation is described as a highly interpretive and reproductive process with children creating their own local *peer cultures* consisting of a relatively 'stable set of activities and routines, artifacts, values, and concerns' (Corsaro, 2015, p. 19). However, young migrants' identities are shaped 'on the move', their lives characterised by mobility (Ní Laoire et al., 2010). Along their migrational journeys, children encounter multiple spheres of everyday life. Engaging with peers they try to establish cultural identification.

Inspired by ecological and sociocultural theories on transition, migration is understood as a major transition causing shifts in otherwise relatively stable and recurrent socially and culturally recognised conditions within the family (Vogler, Crivello & Woodhead, 2008). Marked by three phases of liminality (Garpelin, 2014; Turner, 1996), the preliminal phase is characterized by children's awareness of separation from prior social and cultural places of childhood. The second, 'liminal' phase, is a period of margin in which a child senses to be a 'sociocultural passenger', remaining at the threshold of multiple intersecting sociocultural worlds with few, or no sociocultural reference points to either their 'past or coming state of being' (Turner, 1996). The postliminal phase marks the child's new status and reincorporation within their new sociocultural surroundings.

Role-play: a reflection of suitability, home and belonging

Transitions cause awareness in social and cultural belonging (Woodhead & Brooker, 2008). Migrant children can as such use role-play for exploring complex 'ideas, rules, norms, events and various other phenomena' (Löfdal & Hägglund, 2006, p. 181). In the second phase of liminality, role-play is considered key in children's meaning-making processes. Migrant children's *in situ* role-play performances are laminated productions (Clark, 2010a; Wohlwend, 2007) made of layered time-space events. Layering distant talk and action onto present events, both in its fantasy and more rooted forms, role-play allows children to explore particular cultural knowledge (Corsaro, 2009; Kirova, 2010). With distant talk and action laminated onto immediate role-play contexts, role-play displays 'connections to multiple social fields of attachment and belonging [within] various spheres of life' (Ní Laoire et al., 2010, p. 157). Role-play instances are as such powerful narratives displaying children's conceptualisations of *who* to be and *how* to be in a particular time and culture. As cultural extensions of the self, role-play becomes an autobiographical performance of relation and identification with others (Nsamenang, 2008). Recognizing role-play as a form of *border crossing* (Mullholland & Wallace, 2003; Sirriyeh, 2010), migrant children's performances within their new surroundings are cross-cultural meaning making instances without the requirement of abandoning their existing cultures (Mullholland &

Wallace, 2003). Central within migrant children's reception of cultural identities will be whether or not they are considered *suitable*, assessed as looking suitable, dressing suitably, speaking suitably, behaving suitably, and can play suitably (Woodhead & Brooker, 2008). If assessed as *un-suitable*, itineracy and disconnectedness in appearance and behaviour can follow (Vogler et al., 2008).

Methodology

This ethnographic study has investigated from September 2013-June 2014, newcomer migrant girls' sociocultural transition into a Norwegian day-care institution, the year prior to starting compulsory school.

Bahja (4 years old) the migrant girl who is the focus of this article, joined the day-care institution in September 2013 starting her participation in the introductory-Badger group. This introductory group's aim was to give children with a refugee background an introduction with the Norwegian language and culture over the course of one day care year. Accompanied by her younger brother, Mihran (3 years old), both spoke fluent Arabic; Bahja already having learned some Norwegian. After approximately three months, Bahja enjoyed her days in the Badger group yet was transferred away from her brother and friends onto the mainstream Fox-group. In line with governmental day-care policies, socializing with majority language speaking peers was argued as being best for her as she would be starting school the following year.

On the Fox group, the girls enjoyed, like Bahja, to engage themselves in role-play activities. However, Bahja experienced some inclusive challenges. Regularly observed as located in social struggle, Bahja requested daily to play on the Badger group. Observing role-play to be an important aspect of Bahja's opportunity to perform her cultural identities, questions formed surrounding how her role-play might reflect something about her multiple social and cultural attachments.

Drawing inspiration from *the Mosaic approach* (Clark, 2011; Clark & Moss, 2009), participatory observation in both formal and informal settings was combined with participatory methods creating enhanced environments for participants to reflect and act upon particular aspects in relation to their *immediate* lives (Hart, 1992). However, in this article there has been chosen to focus on the observational material, giving sensitivity to Bahja's self-chosen and child-led role-play instances. Understanding these as powerful narratives reflecting various aspects of her life, focus is placed on two of Bahja's *in situ* role-play observations, located in both her former and present day-care groups. This small sample size of data, presented in the following pages, are analyzed, and discussed as two excerpts of role-play. The first was from the introductory group, a rooted performance inspired by domestic activities—*preparing a family meal*—the other from her new group, and

fantasy inspired—*princesses and dragons*. Both observations paid special attention to Bahja's suitability and how she presumably attempted to create a layered or 'laminated' role-play, performing particular cultural identities by relying on specific competencies and particular cultural knowledge.

Observation one: Preparing a family meal

In the introductory group, James (3.5 years old and originating from Africa's Horn) and Bahja's brother Mihran (3 years old) accompany Bahja. James and Mihran are seated at a low table onto which Bahja is placing cups and plates. A discussion arises between Bahja and James about the dinner she is preparing for the boys. James; 'I want spaghetti!' Bahja looks at James and says 'No. I am making macaroni!' One of the practitioners sitting on the sofa overhears the ongoing discussion and intervenes by saying 'Stop arguing and play'. Bahja stops, looks at James, and says 'OK', agreeing to make spaghetti. Bahja turns around to fetch the 'ingredients' needed for making spaghetti. As she rifles through a case containing empty boxes and cartons, Bahja returns to the table. Holding a miniature wok-pan, Bahja blends her ingredients, quickly stirring the spaghetti sauce with a spoon. After a minute or so, she checks the consistency of the sauce, holding her spoon up high and letting the 'mixture' fall down into the pan. When Bahja is finished checking the sauce, she offers James a sample of it, holding the spoon to James's mouth. Tasting the sauce, James approves, nodding his head and making a confirming sound 'hmm'. Then Bahja redirects her attention to her brother and offers Mihran a taste sample. Mihran, like James, agrees that it tastes good. Bahja smiles and seems pleased, turning around to fetch some more plates and bowls. As Bahja does this, Mihran touches the wok pan standing on the table and yells out 'ouch', pretending he has burned himself. Bahja is quick to respond and comforts Mihran, stroking him over his chin and face. Suddenly Mihran says 'I don't want this plate' and once more, Bahja quickly reacts by serving Mihran's food onto another plate. James, having left the table, re-enters the scene carrying a large spoon in his hand stating; 'this [spoon] is for the macaroni'. Bahja looks somewhat annoyed at James and says; 'I don't want that spoon!' The practitioner comments; 'Bahja, you should use the spoon for the macaroni.' Bahja then glances at her, flutters her eyes, and says, obviously annoyed, 'I am not making macaroni!' Then Bahja looks at James and says 'OK, it is macaroni' and takes the spoon James offers her. Continuing to make macaroni, Bahja finishes her dish, calling out, 'everybody come and eat'.

Interpretation observation one: reflections of suitability

Tradition and transformation

Within this observation—*preparing a family meal*—it seems Bahja, and the others, reflected 'suitability' in their role-play reflected through their individual and collective actions. Bahja, "*Holding a miniature wok-pan*,

[...] blends her ingredients, quickly stirring the spaghetti sauce with a spoon. After a minute or so, she checks the consistency of the sauce, holding her spoon up high and letting the 'mixture' fall down into the pan" seems to experience she is the right persons in the right place. Her fulfilment of a particular 'cultural expectation' (Woodhead & Brooker, 2008) is echoed through the other participants reactions to her skills; *"When Bahja is finished checking the sauce, she offers James a sample of it, holding the spoon to James's mouth. Tasting the sauce, James approves, nodding his head and making a confirming sound 'hmm'. Then Bahja redirects her attention to her brother and offers Mihran a taste sample. Mihran, like James, agrees that it tastes good."*

Understood as a cultural script (Kirova, 2010), this laminated production reflects aspects of children's immediate and distant settings. Seeing the role-play as referring to Bahja's sociocultural belonging, her highly skilled and rooted performance seems to fit with some having indicating that girls within the Global South frequently frame their role-play around domestic activities, reflecting local tradition (Corsaro, 2009; Edwards, 2000). Assuming to be influenced by historical contexts and transformation of participation in cultural activities (Brooker, 2010), Bahja's performance of the 'mother identity' is then shaped through her social interaction and participation within distant and immediate sociocultural relations.

Another point of interest is that there is amongst the participants a collective capability of accessing the activity and the roles distributed. As a collective production, the success of this *lamination* is considered as due to participants' individual capability to revisit original events, the family meal in their homes. Following Wohlwend (2007), we might identify how the layering of individual and distant experiences onto the present enables the participants to reconstruct a family setting and perform socially negotiated and accepted cultural identities. This is interpreted as being illustrated by Mihran when he *"touches the wok pan standing on the table and yells out 'ouch', pretending he has burned himself. Bahja is quick to respond and comforts Mihran, stroking him over his chin and face. Suddenly Mihran says 'I don't want this plate' and once more, Bahja quickly reacts by serving Mihran's food onto another plate.* Mihran's refusal and Bahja's patience might reveal something surrounding both the boy's and the girl's cultural identities within the family setting, with Bahja as a girl having more responsibility for the taking care of the younger in their family. Inspired by Nsamenang, it is possible to see how children's performances of particular adult identities reflect the ways how "parental and community 'nurture' has channeled and nudged [children's] biological characteristics to fit a specific cultural niche" (Nsamenang in Brooker and Woodhead, 2008, p. 18). In this context, it is considered possible to identify how Bahja's 'cultural niche' is reflected through her embodied knowledge surrounding how to *be* a mother and how to *do* as a mother. Within this situation and context, Bahja's role-play reflects a strong suitability which is

reflected through a shared and meaningful engagement activity in which she was enabled to re-make and re-member home and belonging (Ní Laoire et al., 2010).

In this observation we have discussed how Bahja reflected her *suitability* through role-play. In the following, however, we discuss how Bahja after her transition to the mainstream group seemed to be sensing of being *unsuitable* to partake in a role-play with her peers.

Observation two: Princesses and dragons

It is 9:30 in the morning. Most children have arrived to the Fox group. The atmosphere is good. Some of the children are playing; others are still finishing up their breakfast. Standing in-front of the door leading to one of the side-rooms are the girls. Laughing and talking loud, they are clearly engaged in the preparation of one of their routine-based fantasy role-plays of princesses and dragons. As the girls put onto themselves their pointy princess hats and silky gowns they negotiate their roles, discussing and explaining to each other what they will do and how they will do this. When done, they instantly begin their play; some running around as princesses yelling that the dragons are coming, others pretending to be the dragons, ready to capture the princesses and take them to their prison towers. As the girls play, it seems that none of them has noticed Bahja has arrived to the Fox group this morning. Somewhat hesitant Bahja remains standing in the door opening, leaning onto the door post with one foot in the group. Here she remains, observing from a distance observing the girls play. Some of the girls run past Bahja into the cloakroom, ignoring her as they pass her by standing in the door opening. One of the princesses has been caught by the dragon and is taken to the dragon's lair. She screams for help. Bahja produces a faint smile. While the play develops, Bahja remains standing in the door opening for several minutes. Then, having received no invitation to join the girls, she walks into the group and with a somewhat sad expression on her face; she passes the girls by; unnoticed. Walking into the group, she spots Kris, the first author observing her. Bahja begins to smile and walks over to him. Passing him by, she stands behind him and opens a large wooden chest. From this crate she takes up a silky gown frequently used by the other girls in their role-plays. Holding it in front of her she examined it closely. Then she puts the gown on herself and when finished she smiles at Kris, asking him, 'Do you want to play with me?' 'Certainly, Bahja,' Kris replies, and instantaneously Bahja starts narrating and takes more content from the chest. Even though enthusiastically narrating, Kris notices how Bahja struggles with finding Norwegian words and as such supplements with Arabic and body language to communicate her intention whenever she notices that Kris doesn't understand her. But, without any doubt, Bahja is narrating her own version of the princess and dragons role-play, as routinely performed by her peers. The girls continue their play. Bahja seems happy.

Interpretation observation two: reflections of un-suitability

Even though Bahja had visited the Fox group regularly before her transfer; Bahja's relation to the girls on Fox was not as strong as those she had with her peers in the Badger group. Comparing the first observation with the second, Bahja's reluctance to join the other girls from Fox – *standing in the door opening observing the girls play* – might reflect a sense of un-suitability. Observing her peers initiate their role-play, it appears that Bahja wants to join them yet her hesitation can indicate a weakened sense of belonging, her experiencing itinerancy and disconnectedness from her social surroundings (Vogler et al., 2008). Bahja's hesitation might on the one hand be seen as a reflection of her position and status within the group, and on the other hand, an indication of her sense of *un-suitability* informed by the intersection between her own and her peers' social and cultural practices. Assuming because of her limited knowledge surrounding the cultural and historical contexts of her peers' role-play that day, entering Fox, it appeared as if Bahja felt she looked un-suitable, dressed un-suitable, spoke un-suitable, behaved un-suitable, and played un-suitable (Woodhead et al., 2008), her reluctance indicating in the situation and context a preliminal phase (Turner, 1996). Separated from her former places of childhood, the intertwinement between status and position and cultural and historical knowledge made Bahja remaining standing on the outside looking in; *“leaning onto the door post with one foot in the group. Here she remains, observing from a distance observing the girls play. Some of the girls run past Bahja into the cloakroom, ignoring her as they pass her by standing in the door opening.”*

Moving on, why did Bahja approach Kris? Over the course of the nine months, Kris had spent considerable time with Bahja. Exploring Bahja's take on social reality in day care, they had grown a relationship based on mutual trust. Within the many hours spent together, Kris always placed great emphasis on creating a safe environment with enhanced opportunities for Bahja to communicate her thoughts and opinions. Listening to Bahja became foremost an ethical concern (Kjørholt, Moss, & Clark, 2005), aiming at ensuring she felt recognised and met, experienced to be safe and cared for, respected and included (Woodhead & Brooker, 2008), over time, this reciprocal relationship created a particular belonging, informed by the research situation and context. This relational dimension is interpreted as emphasized by her upon spotting Kris, begins to smile and walks over to him. After finishing putting a princess gown onto herself she smiles at Kris, asking him, *'Do you want to play with me?'* Contra the above, Bahja's invitation to Kris to join her in her role-play can be seen as a reflection of a social process in which they had established a *suitable* relation, having come to understand herself as speaking suitably, behaving suitably and perhaps due to the establishment of cultural references, plays

suitably.

With belonging being ‘the relational dimension of personal identity, the fundamental psycho-social “glue” that ... connects people to each other’ (Woodhead and Brooker, 2008, p. 3), we feel this reflexive stance is important as it can help to understand how newcomer migrant children’s suitability within various liminal phases relies on their relational experiences set within multiple social and cultural spheres of daily life. Bahja’s sense of empowerment, exploring with Kris particular ideas, rules, norms, and events (Löfdal & Hägglund, 2006) indicates a strong suitability. Informed through relational acceptance, Bahja is located in a postliminal phase; her negotiated status and position empowering her to express personal agency and creativity. As such, the relation allowed Bahja to sense she was contributing, took on her responsibilities, and fulfilled particular roles (Woodhead & Brooker 2008). At the same time, being confident enough to integrate her own historical and cultural references into her play, she was able to freely laminate talk and action from distant time-space events onto the present event (Clark, 2010a; Wohlwend, 2007): without the fear for negative perception. This, illustrated through when Bahja—*“takes up a silky gown [...] puts the gown on herself and when finished she smiles at Kris, asking him, ‘Do you want to play with me?’ ‘Certainly, Bahja,’ Kris replies, and almost immediately Bahja starts narrating, taking more content from the chest. [...]Kris notices how she is struggling with finding words to explain some detail and blends Norwegian with Arabic. As she commences, she relies heavily on the usage of body language to communicate her intention whenever she notices that Kris doesn’t understand her.”*

Concluding and looking onward

This article has revealed some of the distinctions of newcomer migrant children’s role-play by exploring a small sample size of *in situ* role-play observations. Through our analysis we have revealed how migrant children’s cultural scripts in role-play reflect particular representations or concepts of home and belonging, indicating their sense of suitability within both their present and former places of childhood. Our aim has been to consider how migrant children’s remaking and remembering of home and belonging through role-play can serve day-care practitioners to support migrant children in their transition. We have come to understand that migrant children’s homes and their belongings are constructed around mobile and multiple fields of social connection and attachments (Ní Laoire et al. 2010). With comparatively little knowledge of the nature and complexity of Global South migrant children’s conceptualisations of home and belonging through role-play and their participation in their early childhood peer cultures (Corsaro, 2009), much of the research informing day-

care practice is still based on limited understanding of these children's social, cultural and historical contexts (Kirova, 2010).

A direct result of such limited understanding can be that migrant children's social and cultural 'knowledge [performed through their role-play] is not only disqualified, but its existence denied' (Cannella, 1997 cited in Kirova, 2010, p. 75). Through active participation, using an extended range of modalities for creating meaning, the researcher's role became an important aspect within the interpretation of the newcomer migrant girl's social world. The role of the researcher became "an 'architect': a creator of spaces and opportunities where multiple listening can take place and at other times more of an intermediary relaying different perspective between different groups and individuals" (Clark, 2005 p.39). The researcher as a listener and observer may suggest further ways for practitioners to support newcomer migrant children in and through their various liminal phases.

However, understanding that negotiations of identity and belonging within new surroundings will involve intersecting relations and identifications on different scales' (Ní Laoire et al., 2010, p. 157), we feel that practitioners should likewise develop awareness of how various migrant children's ways of being can evoke receptions from peers. Realising that migrant children use particular events and roles in their role-play not to cross cultural borders but rather explore these, we have come to understand the transitional process as not linear from preliminal to liminal and finally postliminal, but full of everyday transitions in day care causing migrant children to experience various phases of liminality to be interlinked. With migrant children moving in and out of various contexts and situations, each context and situation will demand from the migrant child particular social and cultural knowledge. Therefore, we assume, it would be incorrect to speak of a transitional process, rather, assuming that depending on how the migrant child experiences her belonging within a particular context and situation, she might, over the course of one day, move into various liminal phases due to the influences of her immediate and new social and cultural surroundings.

Acknowledgments

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Article IV

«Do You Want This? »

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“Do You Want This?” – Exploring Newcomer Migrant Girls’ Peer Reception in Norwegian Day care: Experiences with social exclusion through the exchange of self-made artefacts

Abstract

The present article approaches newcomer migrant girls’ experiences with social competition and relational aggression. This we do through a detailed analysis of the interactional practices that a group of preschool aged girls make use of as they socially exclude one of two newcomer migrant girls from participating in a sharing activity involving self-made artefacts. The data are drawn from ethnography combined with video-recordings of natural and situated activities of the girls’ interactions in a Norwegian day care institution over the course of nine months. Combining structural and social constructivist perspectives we discuss how a day care group is a social field compiled of multiple sub-fields, characterized by agents struggling over position and power. Overall, this article addresses another side to the generally accepted positive view of day care for migrant children, revealing how relational aggression might be embedded within seemingly harmless activities and set in everyday child-governed activities. Finally, we reflect on implications for pedagogical practices and make suggestions for future research.

Keywords: *field-struggle, newcomer migrant girls, relational aggression, position, self-made artefacts, social competition, social exclusion*

“Do you want this?”

This article is based on an ethnographic study in a Norwegian daycare setting and explores newcomer migrant girls’ social exclusion. The vignette presented below serves as an introductory glimpse of the context of the lives of two newly arrived migrant girls - Aisha and Bahja.

It is 10.00 a.m. one autumn morning at Kongsvingen daycare center. In the play area of the Fox group, the children are engaged in self-chosen and child-governed activities. Among them are the two newcomer migrant four year old girls Aisha and Bahja. At the moment, five of the early arrived boys are playing “cops and robbers” while six of the girls, including Aisha, are engaged in what appears to be their routinely based princess role play. Some of the other children are drawing while some are building with Lego. Then Bahja walks into the play area. Seemingly unmoved by the turmoil and excitement of the ongoing activities around her, she walks toward a small round table where one of the researchers, Kris, is seated by himself. Sitting down at the table Bahja looks toward the girls playing princesses, then withdraws her eyes away from them, reaches out for a sheet of white paper and starts scribbling what appears to be Arabic styled calligraphy. After a few moments Kris asks Bahja if she is interested in joining the girls. Bahja gives no noticeable response. Being unsure

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whether or not Bahja has understood the question Kris repeats it. Bahja stops writing, looks up at him and says: "I want to play with Fox, but Fox doesn't want to play with me!"

Even though day care is generally acknowledged for its significance and positive benefits for children, minor attention has been given to how migrant children experience day care. There is a lack of research about the social struggles of newcomer migrant, asylum seeking- and refugee children's¹ reception in daycare. In Norway, the general discourse on day care for migrant children is centered on two main concerns, namely majority language acquisition and overall integration into mainstream society (Justisdepartementet, 2011; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2009, 2010, 2011; Liden, Seeberg, & Engebriksen, 2011; Seeberg, 2009). A significant body of research exists, generally conducted within disciplines of clinical psychology and psychiatrics (Archambault, 2011), focusing on children's trauma, stress related symptoms, and diagnosis (Crowley, 2009; Lustig et al., 2004; Thomas & Lau, 2002). "Trauma research" underlines "the traditional vision of a vulnerable child, lacking competence and in constant need of adult support" (Archambault 2011, p16). Focusing on common symptoms of trauma, such research tends to concentrate on children's past, giving little recognition to the social dimensions of their situated lives in their new host countries early childhood settings.

Even though there are few studies about migrant children's experiences in day care, research surrounding migrant children's daily experiences in school are characterized by daily face-to-face sociocultural contest. These contests can be both positive and negative, manifested through verbal and non-verbal communication. However, it has been estimated that as many as 40% of the migrant children experience forms of bullying, discrimination, and/or social exclusion from peers within their educational surroundings (Almqvist & Broberg, 1999). Negative contests can impair children's feelings of self-worth (Almqvist & Broberg, 1999; Chinga-Ramirez, 2015; Fazel, Reed, Pantert-Brick, & Stein, 2012; Helmen Borge, 2010). Overall there seems to be a general acceptance of migrant children, yet there are signs of hostility and prejudice to be found underneath the surface (Connolly, 1998; Devine, Kenny, & Macneela, 2008).

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, we aim to make a more nuanced discussion surrounding migrant children's everyday experiences with social exclusion in day care. More specifically, our approach is to use amongst others concepts which are normally associated with Bourdieu, exploring how a day care group is a social field compiled of multiple sub-fields (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1991). Each sub-field, even though influenced by the main field, will have its *doxa*, or rules and expectancies defined by children's conduct and functioning. Having their own hierarchy and power relations, the social structure of a field is determined by the agents' negotiated positions within the field (Alanen, Brooker, & Mayall, 2015). Social competition is a universal characteristic of a field (Bourdieu, 1993). Through social competition agents engage across the varied fields for the acquirement, control, and contestation of power (Wacquant, 2013). An expression of such power struggle is relational aggression, a non-physical yet equally hostile form of violence, causing impairment of self-worth by damaging relation (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Crick, Ostrov, Appleyard, Jansen, & Casas, 2004; Svahn & Ewaldsson, 2011).

¹ In this article the term migrant refers to children who have experienced various forms of international human displacement (Archambault, 2011) yet the issues discussed are not solely related to this particular group and can, assumingly, relate to other groups of newcomer children.

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Second, understanding that self-made artefacts play a significant role in early childhood education, adult guided as well as child-led crafts take place regularly, resulting in a wide variety of artefacts being made, such as drawings, paintings or perler beads. Some of these artefacts are taken home; others are used to document the children's activities. Some also end up in the children's own drawer in the daycare center. Our purpose is to show a different side to the use of self-made artifacts. More specifically, using a positioning theoretical lens (Davies & Harré, 1999; R. Harré & L. van Langenhove, 1999) we investigate how children's negotiations of position unfold through the exchange of such artefacts, their contextual value and meaning depended on children's status as 'insider' or 'outsider' to the field.

Drawing on a small sample size of qualitative data gathered from a nine-month-long ethnographic field study conducted by the first author in a day care institution in central Norway referred to as "Kongsvingen", we combine the above mentioned concepts to discuss the nuances and dynamics of how migrant children's experiences with *social exclusion*, *competition*, and *relational aggression* in day care are a result of "the contributions made by both children and adults and by childhood and adulthood" (Mayall, 2015, p. 13), exploring intersections between *agency-structure* topics.

Returning to the opening vignette, like the majority of children entering a new day care group, the migrant girls Bahja and Aisha, seemed to enter day care with blended feelings of concern, optimism and expectation. Based on a narrative made from a single video-observation we analyze an episode involving Aisha, Bahja, Thea and Anna. The episode took place later the same day as the opening vignette in the cloakroom and during the period of child governed activity. We used such a small data sample for explanatory purposes. It allows for an in-depth analysis of social competition and of how social exclusion was manifested through acts of relational aggression. The significance of self-made artefacts became apparent as Thea brought her drawer containing a range of artefacts into the cloakroom. In depth-analysis are conducted to understand the symbolic value of the artefacts, their acceptance and rejection and the responses to children who are migrants negotiating their position in a social field.

The article is structured as follows. The background section presents the ethnographic location and the participants. In the literature review we present a brief overview of related research surrounding relational aggression and related themes. The theoretical framework gives a presentation of structural views combined with social constructivist perspectives used for exploring how relational aggression aimed at migrant children in day care might be propelled by aspects occurring on an individual and institutional level. Next, the article's methodology is presented. In the findings and analysis section we first present the focal narrative and then move to its analysis and interpretation. This is followed by a discussion of the findings and implications for pedagogical practices.

Background

In this section we present Kongsvingen day care institution and some of its main purposes. Kongsvingen is a public day care institution which is driven by the municipality. It consists of four groups. Two groups are so called regular groups while the other two are introductory groups. Children who come to the introduction groups are part of families who have recently arrived to Norway as refugees or asylum-seekers. The overall pedagogical aim of the introductory groups is to support children with refugee experiences in their overall integration into mainstream society, providing a one-year introduction to the Norwegian culture and its national language. After

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this year, children are either internally transferred to one of the regular groups, start participating in another day care institution, or enter school. Even though the introductory groups in Kongsvingen are located within a local day care institution, the segregated nature of introductory groups has been debated. The critique has been that socializing with majority peers would be beneficial for migrant children's establishment of a social network and majority language development to promote their overall and long-term integration (Lauritsen, 2012, 2015; Liden et al., 2011; Seeberg, 2009).

Returning to the migrant girls from the opening vignette, Bahja, accompanied by her parents and siblings, arrived to Norway after having fled the Middle East. Aisha, also accompanied by her parents, had fled Africa's Horn. Both girls initially entered Kongsvingen day care in fall of 2013. Their first meeting with the day care center was the introductory group "Badger". With a reduced child ratio and an extended practitioner ratio (4 practitioners), the Badger group had only 8 members (2–5 years old) and was gender balanced. Since the girls would start school the following year and practitioners' acknowledgment that establishing a social network with majority language speaking peers would promote their overall integration, Aisha and Bahja were transferred to the Fox group after only three months participation in the Badger group. The majority of the girls here were the same age as Aisha and Bahja.

Having participated in the Fox group over the course of several years, the girls on Fox, commonly referred to by practitioners as the Girl club, understood their relationships as close and meaningful, sharing an interest in singing, dancing and role play. Even though practitioners and parents assumed that Bahja and Aisha would become included, the reality proved more challenging. Language was an issue, but not the main one. Entering the Fox group Bahja and Aisha encountered multiple social fields, they soon became entangled in competition and had to struggle for position. In particular, we explore the significance that self-made artefacts seemed to play in the social mechanisms taking place between Aisha and Bahja and the girl peer group, providing case example of socio-cultural struggles in Norway expressed in this particular day care center.

Literature Review

In this section we give an overview of related research investigating various forms of aggression and related themes.

Twelve percent of children participating in Norwegian day care may experience bullying and social exclusion (Bratterud, Sandseter, & Seland, 2012). Children as young as 2½ years of age, the majority being girls, are assumed to be involved in relational aggressive acts, yet few have recognized such hostile behavior as aggression (Crick et al., 2004). Aggression, harassment, and bullying among girls in day care seem primarily to be done through the subtle division of themes, structures, and roles and positions in play (Löfdal & Häggglund, 2006). Others have revealed how girls draw upon the cultural resources provided by the organization of their play to build and strengthen existing social hierarchies (Kalkman, Hopperstad, & Valenta, 2015; Skånfors, 2010); using their cultural resources to push "outsiders" into subordinate positions or exclude them completely (Evaldsson & Tellgren, 2009). Combining direct and non-confrontational girls can be highly successful in conflict management, accomplishing power negotiations and achieving social exclusion by signaling rejection, without great risk of being caught (Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011). Having their own discursive rules and beliefs, these are based not only on internal language and ideas, but on social processes and practices. When excluding discourses define the group's knowledge and belief system, such as who is included and who should be

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excluded, then it is inevitable that excluding discourses will not reach into the very hearts of the agents that shape the group and make up its identity (Connolly, 1998).

Theoretical Framework

In this section we present our theoretical framework combining structural with social constructivist perspectives.

Aiming to develop knowledge surrounding migrant children's commonplace experiences with social inclusion/exclusion entering day care and exploring how day care is compiled of multiple social fields, each characterized by competition, struggle for position and relational aggression, we bring together two theoretical frameworks. Our intention is to combine structural views inspired by Bourdieu and elements from positioning theory. This is assumed as providing a fruitful basis for discussing the *agency-structure* topic in relation to how newcomer migrant children as social agents enter a dynamic social structure, and how they must *negotiate* their own and others position, sometimes *taking* position or *being* positioned.

Ritzer sees the agency-structure topic to be a concern about habitus and field (Ritzer, 2011) with Bourdieu (1993) perceiving agents' social actions and interactions as a result determined by their *habitus*. Habitus describes agents' social background and dispositions for praxis as it generates adjusted perceptions and practices to particular contexts and situations. *Field*, on the other hand, refers to all the social arenas agents occupy (Wilken, 2008), where their social struggles and negotiations take place (Mayall, 2015). The *field of power* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1991) is understood as a meta-field, a political framework standing autonomously, yet highly influential for the sustainment of the other fields. The field of power has been defined for the purposes of this article as the political conditions provided by the practitioners determining children's experienced autonomy in day care. The structure of the field itself is determined by the positions which the agents connected to that field occupy. *Social competition* among agents, Bourdieu sees, is a universal characteristic of a field. Though influenced by the political conditions that the field of power creates, fields have their own evolving and particular logic, struggles and capitals (Bourdieu, 1993; James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). As social universes, a field will contain their own hierarchy and relations of power having their own respective sets of moral rules and expectancies surrounding conduct and functioning, or *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1993; Knight, 2015; Wilken, 2008). Children's *symbolic capital* is based on their accumulated recognition from others and is founded upon "a dialectic of knowledge" (Bourdieu 1993, p. 7), being able to differentiate "correct" and "incorrect" behavior, and to respond in an expected manner.

Bourdieu sees that *habitus* is a person's unconscious orientation to social practice, based on cultural reproduction, creating dispositions that shape and determines their strategy on how to act and interact in a field (Bourdieu 1993). However, while recognizing agency, Bourdieu's perception of habitus would see children as *positioned* by the outcomes of cultural reproduction, failing to recognize what children choose to do in their interactions with peers (James et al., 1998). This is our rationale for combining the structural approach with positioning theory.

Positioning theory is based on the principle that not all the agents involved in a social episode have equal access to particular rights and duties, making them unable to perform particular kinds of meaningful actions with other agents (Harré, 2012). Agents' rights and duties determine who can use a certain discursive action. Based on their position, agents have access to a cluster of short-term and disputable rights accompanied with obligations and duties. Positioning theory gives thus credit to the processes in which agents

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are not positioned, but negotiate position through discursive actions (Davies & Harré, 1999; R Harré & L. van Langenhove, 1999; van Langenhove & Harré, 1999).

In order to understand how children engage in their positing work we need to recognize how they can create *storylines* in their negotiations for position and power by drawing upon particular knowledge of social structures and the positions that children occupy within these. Storylines are any intentional discursive practices in which positions are negotiated by actively producing and maintaining one or several social and psychological realities (Davies & Harré, 1999). Through storylining, children co-create a number of subject positions which, under normal circumstances, are usually taken up, positioning themselves and being positioned by others (Davies & Harré, 1999). The moral implications of such positioning work are however that single agents can become positioned as *insiders* or *outsiders* leading to their recognition as being valuable or invaluable for a particular field.

Redirecting attention to Bourdieu's analysis of the field of cultural production (art and literature), he recognized how *large-scale productions* and *restricted productions* had their value determined by demand from agents in or outside the field. The former have little value to those in the field of cultural production, but the latter is seen as exclusive productions aimed at producers (Bourdieu 1993). In our case, restricted productions are represented by the self-made artefacts. The storylines which accompany restricted productions can be understood as symbolic production aimed at preserving field members' interests. Hence, restricted productions create a distinct form of communication that segregates one field from another, creating hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1996).

Struggles between competing visions and positions within fields are found on a dynamic of change (Bourdieu, 1993). Generally, agentic-struggles will follow the field's doxa which implicitly defines agents' moral conduct and accepted behavior within their struggles. However, if and when the struggles involve other fields, and the agents are required to defend their subjective or collective interests from 'outsiders', then it is assumed that the field's doxa might be broken. This might be an indication to ethnic majority peers' usage of brief and subtle forms of non-physical aggression, subjugating migrant children not through physical harm but through impairment of self-worth (Almqvist & Broberg, 1999; Fazel, et. al, 2012). Those brief, commonplace, verbal and behavioral, intentional or unintentional, acts of hostility have been described as *microaggressions* (Wing Sue et al., 2007). *Relational aggression*, a form of microaggression, has been said to be salient to girls and aims at inflicting damage to relation through "small drops" and over a sustained period (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Crick et al., 2004; Eriksen & Lyng, 2015). Relational aggression has a highly symbolic aspect to it, and as any symbolic production, its struggle is centered on agents' interests and capital (Bourdieu, 1996). However, when relational aggression becomes a symbolic system, and its political function is used to legitimize subjugation, it runs the danger of becoming accepted as something *salient* to or among particular groups or individuals, being natural or inevitable. This is assumed as being *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2002; Bourdieu 1996).

This bricolage of concepts are expected to allow for a more nuanced discussion surrounding migrant children's daily experiences with social inclusion/exclusion entering day care as it exceeds the general debate on migrants social segregation and ethnic boundaries in educational environments.

Methodology

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This article is based on qualitative empirical data received through ethnographic fieldwork at Kongsvingen day care located in a municipality in central Norway. Kongsvingen was chosen because this particular day care institution has a long-standing history, experience and competence with migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking families. Fieldwork has primarily concerned two groups (the Badger and Fox group) from September 2013 to July 2014. Extensive fieldwork over the course of the year enabled the first author to gain an inside view of how the children's daily lives in day care unfolded.

Recognizing any possible experiences surrounding loss of identity, social exclusion, sense of loneliness, and perhaps even discrimination, we developed a framework for listening to be sensitive especially to migrant children's possible past and present experiences with loneliness and exclusion. Inspired by the Mosaic approach (Clark, 2005; Clark & Moss, 2009), the ethnography consisted of participatory observation as well as participatory methods including the use of digital cameras and audio equipment, tours, and arts-based activities. Listening to children's views and opinions, expressed verbally and non-verbally (using image, artistic expressions, gestures, gazes, talk, and posture) became an ethical issue of openness to alternate forms of communication (Kjørholt, Moss, & Clark, 2005). In addition, participatory methods have been supplemented with open handheld video recordings allowing for detailed documentation of the nuances of the participants' social and situated daily interactions (Goodwin, 2006). Field notes have been written throughout the whole ethnographic period and informal conversations have been conducted with practitioners.

In this article a single video observation of a self-chosen and child-governed instance stand central. However, the combination of methods, or more precisely the data constructed, have enabled for both reflection and reflexivity surrounding the authors' particular understandings on how migrant children and their childhood in day care can be, and were understood. The rationale for focusing on self-chosen and child-governed instances is based on that such instances can provide valuable insights into how migrant children's integration and social inclusion is negotiated within autonomously child organized everyday social realities.

The particular video observation has been selected for analytical purposes, illustrating how social competition can develop into a site for social exclusion, using aggressive conduct to signal rejection to those considered outside the field and trying to negotiate their way in. The observation has been transcribed using timelines, interpreting participants' verbal utterances and bodily actions separately (Flewitt, Hampel, Hauck, & Lancaster, 2009). Based on our transcription a narrative was created, understood as being a subjective interpretation of the most important and interconnecting central characters and events (Tobin, 2012).

Findings and analysis

In the following we first present the narrative from the cloakroom, showing how the exchange of self-made artefacts unfolds among the girls. We then move on to analyze and interpret the narrative.

In the cloakroom of the Fox group are Aisha (4 years old), Anna (4 years old) and Thea (4 years old). No adults apart from Kris, observing, are present. Having fetched it from the main play room, Thea has placed her drawer containing all her drawings and other self-made artefacts on a low bench. Sitting on a chair, Aisha (4 years old) observes Thea. Browsing through its contents, Thea takes from her drawer a yellow booklet. Inspecting it, she readdresses her attention, asking: "Aisha, do you want this? Holding out the booklet so Aisha can take it, Anna

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moves in and positions herself in front of Thea. In her left hand, Anna holds an artefact made of plastic perler beads. In her right she holds a drawing of pink hearts. “Which one do you want, Aisha?” Rolling slightly backwards on her chair, Aisha observes Anna for a few seconds then points at the drawing with hearts. Handing the drawing over to Aisha, Anna slightly tilts her head and says, “You can take it with you.” Inspecting the drawing, Aisha gives no further verbal response. Turning around, Thea walks back to the bench.

Walking into the cloakroom, carrying a drawer in her arms, is Bahja (4 years old). Displaying a broad smile she shouts out loud “Look what I got!” The other girls look in her direction. Placing the drawer beside Thea’s, Anna comes nearer. Anna glances at the content of Bahja’s drawer, but immediately turns around without uttering a word and walks away with Thea following her. Observing their withdrawal, Bahja paces after shouting “Anna, Anna!” In her pursuit of Anna, she pushes aside Thea and Aisha. Standing in front of Anna, Bahja puts out her arm, opens her hand and reveals what seems to be a small artefact. “Here, [Anna,] you can take this!” Inspecting the artefact, Anna makes an upper bodily alignment leaning backwards while simultaneously raising her left hand so it slightly touches her left shoulder. Then, tilting her head somewhat to the right and squinting her eyes, she says, “No, sorry, I cannot take this with me.” Turning her back to Bahja, she slowly walks away, casually swaying her upper body, left hand under her chin, and both eyes staring upwards to the ceiling. Observing Anna, Bahja remains where she stands. Thea and Aisha follow after Anna and, standing in front of Anna’s spot in the cloakroom, they ignore Bahja’s repeating her actions [the actions of offering various self-made artefacts to Anna]—exactly thirteen times over the course of 4.41 minutes.

Two processes in which self-made artifacts are involved can be identified in the narrative. First, a process involving Aisha, Thea and Anna, here the self-made artefacts are a booklet and a plastic perler bead. Second, a process involving Bahja and Anna and a small artefact that Bahja had made and kept in her drawer. While the two processes are related, we find it relevant to make a distinction between them in order to fully understand their significance in how children’s negotiations of position and their social struggles can unfold through the exchange of such artefacts. While the exchange of self-made artefacts work as a site for social struggle, the struggles differ for the two girls due to their position and status in the girl peer group at the time of observation.

Exchange of artefacts involving Aisha, Thea and Anna

In the narrative, we read how initially Aisha, Anna, and Thea (4 years old) are located alone, apart from Kris observing, in the cloakroom of the Fox group. Through the negotiations practices that follow, it becomes apparent that cloakroom is a social arena in which field negotiations take place (Mayall, 2015; Wilken, 2008). Having placed her drawer containing self-made artefacts in the cloakroom, Thea takes up a yellow booklet. “Inspecting it [the booklet] she readresses her attention, asking: “Aisha, do you want this?” Thea’s actions, carefully choosing what to give away and to whom, making it apparent that she opens her negotiation by creating a storyline, using the gesture of giving a self-made artefact to signal to Aisha *I am a friend*, while making available to Aisha the position *you are a friend* to take up. However, as Thea creates this position in her storyline for Aisha to take up, Anna suddenly moves in, positioning herself in front of Thea. “*In her left hand Anna holds an artefact made of plastic perler beads. In her right hand she holds a drawing with pink hearts, asking, ‘Which one do you want, Aisha?’*” Anna’s action seems to reflect an attempt to create a counter-storyline, using her symbolic capital in her advantage to strengthen her own position within the existing social hierarchy (Evaldsson

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& Tellgren, 2009). Anna, like Thea, is signaling to Aisha that she sees Aisha as being a friend. Aisha in her turn appears to have become the subject of social competition. Löfdal and Hägglund (2006) can illustrate the dilemma she faces. They revealed how power relations stand central in children's negotiations. Influencing conditions of daily life, making effort to create a predictable social order, power relations decide who will be included and who has the power to do so.

Anna, having negotiated a powerful position within the girl club, had much influence over the organization of their daily activities and routines. Generally, Anna was left unchallenged and the members seemed, at least at the surface, to be satisfied with this arrangement. Anna's power was strengthened by her friendship with another central and leading figure within the girl club, Meriem (4 years old). Their relation ensured that Anna enjoyed status, as someone with a high symbolic capital based on a strong accumulated recognition by her peers (Bourdieu, 1993). Thea had a considerably weaker position and symbolic capital, causing her generally to join the other girls in their activities. Aisha, being new to the group, was still making great effort to find her place in it. However, although challenged with the majority language, Aisha was quite popular among the other girls. Her popularity could be ascribed to her willingness to adapt to their interests, making her a peer who understood the value of "relational closeness and [one who avoided] relationship-threatening types of criticism" (Goodwin, 2002, p. 716).

Anna's obstruction could likewise indicate that Thea, a lower positioned agent within the field, had breached the field's *doxa* surrounding expected conduct and functioning. Standing in front of Aisha, Anna asked "Which one do you want, Aisha?" forcing Aisha to make a choice between the two. Observing both Thea and Anna, "Aisha rolls slightly backwards on her chair [...] then points at the drawing with hearts. Overhanding the drawing to Aisha, Anna slightly tilts her head and says; 'You can take it with you.' Inspecting the drawing, Aisha gives no further verbal response. Turning around, Thea walks back to the bench." Selecting Anna's drawing over Thea's booklet, Aisha's choice is interpreted as being a rejection of Thea's storyline; declining to take up the part as friend within it. Davies et al. (1999, p. 38) underscore however that "by giving people [or making available] parts in a story, whether explicit or implicit, a speaker makes available a subject position which the other speaker in the *normal course of events would take up*" (italics author). Aisha's situation was however, in resemblance to the other girls, far from normal. Anna may have used her power to influence, if not pressure, Aisha to make her choice. The agentic struggle seem to be concluded with Thea withdrawing without any further protest, indicating that she—willingly or unwillingly—accepts her loss. However, as Thea withdraws, Bahja enters the scene.

Exchange of artefacts involving Bahja and Anna

Walking into the cloakroom, carrying a drawer in her arms, is Bahja (4 years old). Displaying a broad smile she shouts out loud "Look what I got!" The other girls look in her direction. As Bahja places her drawer beside Thea's, Anna comes nearer. Glancing at the content of Bahja's drawer Anna almost immediately turns around without uttering a word and walks away with Thea following her.

Bahja's entry, and her calling out for the attention of her peers seems to indicate that she is attempting to negotiate her access into the field. As she places her drawer beside Thea's, however, the situation develops quite unlike before. Anna, redirecting her attention to Bahja seems rather ambiguous about both Bahja and the contents of her drawer, glancing at its contents and walking away. Thea follows her, despite having lost a similar struggle only seconds before. Following Davies et al. (1999), Thea's action could indicate that she understood

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that, having lost the negotiation, she had to conform to Anna's story if she desired to continue as a participant within the conversation, or field. Thea's compliance with Anna seems to illustrate a desire to continue as an active participant and thus to avoid any relationship-threatening type of criticism (Goodwin, 2002) against Anna.

“*Observing their withdrawal, Bahja paces after shouting ‘Anna, Anna!’ In her pursuit of Anna, she pushes aside Thea and Aisha.*” Through her actions Bahja makes noticeable her center of attention (Kalkman et al., 2015), this being Anna. Making public her interests, “*Standing in front of Anna, Bahja puts out her arm, opens her hand and reveals what seems to be a small artefact. ‘Here [Anna], you can take this!’ Inspecting the artefact, Anna makes an upper bodily alignment leaning backwards while simultaneously raising her left hand so it slightly touches her left shoulder. Then, tilting her head somewhat to the right and squinting her eyes she says, ‘No, sorry, I cannot take this with me.’ Turning her back to Bahja, she slowly walks away, casually swaying her upper body, left hand under her chin, and both eyes staring upwards to the ceiling.*” “Politely” rejecting Bahja's offering of a self-made artefact, Anna makes apparent that she declines the part in Bahja's storyline. However, Anna's combination of verbal and non-verbal communication raises considerable doubt about its meaning and intentions. It seems to indicate that she has the authoritative knowledge (Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011) to decide what field-specific capital is, and who will be allowed to partake in the field itself.

Anna's intentions seem to rotate around damaging any possible perceptions of friendship or feelings of inclusion (Crick & Groper, 1995) that Bahja might have, resorting to relational aggression to impair the girl's self-worth (Almqvist & Broberg, 1999; Fazel et al., 2012). Backing up this thought, Davies et al. (1999) sees that habitually when a subject position within a storyline is made available, then the other speaker, under normal circumstances, would take this up. Is Anna's decline of the self-made artefact a symbolic gesture, indicating Bahja's status as *outsider* holding little or no recognized symbolic or any other form of capital?

Using the cultural resources from day care, Bahja attempts to negotiate her position, yet Anna's decline of her artefacts seems to push her into a subordinate position, if not to exclude her completely. Using the concepts of *restricted* and *large-scale productions* (Bourdieu, 1993) we can illustrate the subtleness in Anna's effort. Coming from agents in the field, Thea and Anna's self-made artefacts can be understood as being *restricted productions*, productions aimed at producers (Bourdieu, 1993). As cultural productions' symbolic value depends on the negotiated and occupied positions of the agents within a specific field, Anna's rejection of Bahja's self-made artefact could indicate that the other girls see Bahja as an outsider. Her self-made artefact could thus be understood as a *large-scale production*, having little symbolic value within the field of *restricted productions*.

Combining direct and non-confrontational strategies—a *polite decline reinforced by bodily alignment, tilting her head, squinting her eyes, slowly walking away*—it seems that Anna is highly successful in her situated and contextual conflict management. Accomplishing her power negotiations she seems to achieve, as Svahn et al. (2011) indicated, social exclusion by signaling rejection without her running great risk of being caught. “*Observing Anna, Bahja remains where she stands. Thea and Aisha follow after Anna, and standing in front of Anna's spot in the cloakroom, they ignore Bahja repeating her actions—exactly thirteen times over the course of 4.41 minutes.*” The continuous rejection which Bahja experienced over the course of several minutes was not a single event. Eventually, Bahja seemed to accept Anna's efforts to manipulate perceptions of reality,

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understanding these to be truth, as illustrated by the opening narrative with her stating “*I want to play with Fox, but Fox doesn’t want to play with me!*”

Discussion of Findings

Recapturing, the purpose of this article is to develop knowledge surrounding particular social mechanisms that might influence migrant children’s everyday experiences with social exclusion in day care. This has been done by exploring how day care is compiled of multiple social fields, each characterized by competition, struggle for position and relational aggression. Analyzing the exchange of self-made artefacts, we revealed how this was a field, or site for social struggle and how power relations stand central in children’s negotiations. In the following sections we discuss the findings in light of relevant research and provide some reflections on the implications for pedagogical practice.

Through our analysis we revealed how, at first, the exchange of artefacts was a site for agentic-struggle and social competition surrounding power and capital. Through a positioning lens we identified how storylines were created, making particular subject positions for participants to take up (R Harré & L. van Langenhove, 1999). Thea and Anna created each for their own purposes a storyline. Within their storylines they seemed to follow the doxa, or the field’s unwritten rules and expectancies defined by children’s conduct and functioning. By offering Aisha self-made artefacts, Thea and Anna made available a particular subject position for Aisha to take up. Nevertheless, Anna, unlike Thea, was observed as having a high symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Her accumulated recognition indicated that she could differentiate between “appropriate” and “inappropriate” behavior and conduct, but as much was able to influence how others would differentiate between these. Being in such a powerful position, Anna’s symbolic capital ensured she was able to manipulate reality so it appeared to be truthfully. Being able to wield authoritative knowledge (Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011); Anna decided who *could* be included within the field, and who *should* be excluded from the field. Such thought indicates that Anna used her power to influence, if not pressure, Aisha to make her choice, simultaneously Aisha could have chosen Anna’s drawing to signal that she was, like the other girl’s, willing to adapt herself to Anna’s interests. Harré et al. (1999) underscore that when a person, such as Anna, is positioned as powerful, and this is acknowledged by others, than she can use her power to order and demand obedience. Making no relationship-threatening types of criticism (Goodwin, 2002), it seemed that Thea and Aisha obeyed, accepting the outcome of the negotiation.

From the girls’ interactions we have identified that struggle surrounding hierarchy, power and position was characterized by social competition. The subtleness indicated nonetheless that some perceptions of friendship and feelings of inclusion were involved, respecting the field’s doxa (Bourdieu, 1993). However, when Bahja entered the field the character of the girls’ talk and interaction seemed to shift from competition to aggression.

Entering the cloakroom, Bahja called out for attention from her peers. Placing her drawer besides Thea’s, Bahja makes noticeable she wants “to play the game” (Bourdieu 1993 p. 8). Her repeatedly offering Anna a self-made artefact and ignoring the other girls, it appears that she too seems to be aware of Anna’s power to define. In her storyline, Bahja offers Anna a subject position. However, as the episode unfolds, issues arise indicating that Anna, making an authoritative stance (Evaldsson & Tellgren, 2009), does not recognize Bahja as having the right type of habitus or symbolic capital to partake within the field. Denying the part in Bahja’s

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storyline, she relies to relational aggressive conduct, using indirect and non-physical violence to communicate rejection (Crick & Groper, 1995).

The subtleness of relational aggression is illustrated by Anna's manipulation of the cultural resources provided by their play (Evaldsson & Tellgren, 2009; Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011). By denying Bahja's gesture, Anna manipulates the symbolic capital of Bahja's self-made artefact; she uses this against her and thereby confirms her position as 'outsider'. Simultaneously, by denying the artefact, Anna confirms her own position within the social hierarchy, strengthens the alignment of power, and claims once more her authoritative knowledge with the power to exclude. Though Bahja repeats her actions, it seems that she, on some level, accepts her subject position made available by Anna. Standing on the outside looking in, Bahja does not counter her subordination; rather it seems she is making great effort not to make, in resemblance with Thea, any relationship-threatening type of criticism (Goodwin, 2002).

Implications for practice

In this section we present some thoughts and reflections surrounding pedagogical implications for practice with migrant children in day care.

Arguing that practitioners are those who represent and occupy the *field of power* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), they have the political power to outline and govern children's experienced autonomy in day care. As a consequence, questions need to be addressed surrounding how some children have an extended possibility to resort to relational aggression, manipulating perceptions of both peers and adults, and making their take on reality become understood as true and objective. Having established that day care has other sides than being beneficial for newcomer migrant children, promoting their language acquisition and overall integration into mainstream society (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2011; Lauritsen, 2012; Lidén, Seeberg, & Engebretsen, 2011; Seeberg, 2009) we set focus on how migrant children's struggles can be related to social competition. This we have done by revealing how migrant children's contextual and situated status as an *insider* or *outsider* to a field can lead to their subjugation, experiencing this through act of relational aggression. Emphasizing that exclusion and power stand central in children's concerns when negotiating position (Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011) we identified that – intentional or unintentional – micro aggressive behavioral/verbal remarks or comments that indicate position as outsider, can easily push children into feeling stigmatized (Wing Sue et al., 2007). If and when migrant children are confronted with such aggressive assault over a longer period of time, it will be most likely inevitable for them not to experience the impairment of self-worth (Almqvist & Broberg, 1999; Fazel, Reed, Pantert-Brick, & Stein, 2012; Helmen Borge, 2010).

Having established that migrant children's experiences differ as a result of their position and status within a peer group, questions need to be addressed surrounding the role of the practitioners in sustaining relational aggressive behavior, as this was a known challenge. Over the course of nine months the great number of informal conversations with practitioners has given insight into how, even though being aware of girl's aggressive conduct, practitioners generally felt they were powerless to do something with this. Why did they feel so? Could it be that they, unconsciously, were contributing to the establishment of a symbolic system that used its political function to legitimize subjugation? Generally, relational aggression is said to be *salient* to girls (Crick & Groper, 1995; Eriksen & Lyng, 2015; Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011). Could it be that practitioners – explicitly or implicitly – accept relational aggression as something natural or inevitable for girls in day care?

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Using a Bourdieusian lens, we have come to understand that such an, assumed, unconscious recognition, or tolerance of relational aggression among girls, could lead to practitioners, at some level, justifying relational aggressive conduct. When children experience that they are “allowed” to use relational aggression, could this then, become understood by both adults and children as inevitable within girls’ social organizing? If relational aggression then becomes accepted at an institutional level, this could become an indication of *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2002; Bourdieu 1996).

It seems that those children, often the oldest in day care, are more privileged by practitioners. As a result of their high symbolic capital, they enjoyed an extended autonomy, being able to move relatively free in day care. Such autonomy ensures that negotiations for power and position can be done in cherished “adult free-zones”, such as cloakrooms, bathrooms, side-rooms, particular areas of the playgrounds. Without the risk of getting caught, privileged children can enjoy a high degree of power. Within these positions, children can become highly influential, de-constructing, manipulating and re-constructing social reality as they have the means to influence children’s and adults’ perceptions of relation and self-worth.

Practitioners should become more sensitive to recognizing how relational aggression is manifested in the subtleness of children’s social existence in day care. If practitioners choose to focus on assumed symptoms of trauma, concentrating on migrant children’s past, they are in danger of explaining all observed “a-normal” behavior and conduct as related to trauma, giving little or no recognition to the social dimensions of struggle, competition and relational aggression that can occur within their situated lives in day care. Being challenged with the language, migrant children can experience difficulties in explaining the social conditions they face. On the other hand, if they can explain using the majority language, “telling adults” can lead to a further developing of their social exclusion. More research is therefore needed surrounding the dynamics and nuances occurring when migrant children enter well-established majority language speaking peer groups. This research is suggested to set focus on the contextual and situated social challenges that prohibit social inclusion into local peer communities. Finally, pedagogical implications are that practitioners should become more reflexive surrounding how a look, comment, or gesture from them might be interpreted as justifying relational aggressive conduct towards migrant children. Practitioners should thus make a reciprocal stance, investigating their individual and collective attitude, their assessments of migrant children’s needs, and the social conditions they create for *listening* to migrant children’s daily experiences.

Conclusions

This article was based on an ethnographic study in a Norwegian daycare setting and explored newcomer migrant children’s social exclusion. Using a small sample size we have presented and analyzed a glimpse of some of the daily context and situations migrant children can experience entering day care. Acknowledging that language is indeed important for migrant children’s inclusion, our analytical framework has enabled us to identify some of the social dynamics and nuances surrounding young children’s socialization within contemporary globalization by revealing some of the social struggles that migrant children can experience as a result of both children and childhood and adults and adulthood.

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8. Conclusions

This chapter presents the contributions of this research by interpreting how the overarching research question (*What facilitates newcomer migrant girls' integration/inclusion in everyday social reality in day care?*) is answered in relation to the four articles written; it then considers the findings in light of the thesis's overarching aim of contributing to the early childhood migration discourse, strengthening the care environment for newcomer migrant children and increasing respect for diversity. Following this, reflections on the study's strengths and limitations, thoughts on the lessons learned from the study, and suggestions for future research are presented.

8.1 Contributions of the Thesis

The study presented in **Article I** explores how newcomer children's participation in assessing and defining of their needs relates to practitioners' attitudes. This question relates to the facilitation of integration and inclusion by addressing newcomer children's inclusion in decision-making processes. The article illuminates central ideas in relation to day care policies and to practitioners' conceptions of newcomer children's inclusion and integration in day care. The study reveals, on the one hand, how practitioners use the needs discourse as a way of conveying both day care policy and the practitioners' own developmental conclusions about the newcomer children's needs, assessed in light of twenty-first century Global North childhood culture. On the other hand, the analysis reveals that practitioners' everyday discretion within the context of a broad day care policy structure, is highly influenced by the idea that, regardless of newcomer children's desires, they are to be placed within majority-language environments. Overall, **Article I's** contribution to the early childhood migration discourse is its illustration of a more nuanced description of how practitioners can become located in between day care policy, serving to organize and govern in the name of public interests, and the requirement to make assessments in the best interest of the child. However, given the practitioners' extensive focus on what is *best for the public interest* and their determination of what is *best for the child*, the article expresses a concern surrounding practitioners' relational attitudes, which are influenced by developmental expectations, and how these frame and prohibit newcomer children's potential for expressing their wishes and desires. In terms of facilitating the integration and inclusion of newcomer children, this article reveals how newcomer children's needs are assessed and framed in terms of children's future integration into a Global North society.

The study presented in **Article II** asks how newcomer migrant girls' negotiations of inclusion and social positioning work can be understood as multimodal access strategies into peer group activity. This question relates to the facilitation of integration and inclusion by addressing newcomer children's negotiation of position

and inclusion with peers. The article considers how the concept of positioning is central in framing and understanding newcomer children's deliberate actions and interactions when negotiating their social inclusion. By understanding newcomer migrant girls' social positioning work as multimodal of nature, the article reveals that group play and group organisation are dynamic and complex instances. **Article II's** contribution to understanding what facilitates newcomer migrant girls' integration and inclusion in everyday social reality in day care is that it describes how social statuses and group memberships are fluid. Depending on the context, situation and activity content, social positions are determined by the children's abilities to uphold the group's present interests and protect its values and concerns. The article reveals that, in addition to the more commonly accepted and recognized modes of communication (such as writing and speaking the majority language); newcomer children can use their personal qualities and abilities as negotiation platforms to indicate their personal interests and their value to the group. Drawing attention to newcomer children's culture of communication, the article proposes that early childhood practitioners and other professionals and interested adults should develop insights into how children negotiate their social position through the use of a multitude of modalities and resources.

The study presented in **Article III** asks how role play can be understood as a representation of social attachment and well-being within distant and immediate surroundings. This question relates to the integrational and inclusive process by emphasizing how particular roles and events integrated by newcomer children into their role play reflect distant and immediate social connections and attachments. The article reveals how migration and transitioning into a day care community can lead to three various phases of liminality or sociocultural ambiguity ranging from preliminal to liminal and finally postliminal. Newcomer children's role playing is discussed as consisting of cultural scripts based on social connections and attachments. The contribution of the article in relation to the facilitation of migrant children's integration and inclusion in day care is that it coins the idea that observing role play, interpreting these as cultural performances; it is possible to attain an indication of newcomer children's process of integration and inclusion. With the performance of the activity content revealing children's sense of sociocultural suitability, both within their present and former places of childhood, the article argues that newcomer children use particular events and roles in their role-play not to cross cultural borders but rather explore these. Furthermore, newcomer children's transitional process is not linear from preliminal to liminal and finally postliminal, but full of everyday transitions in day care causing migrant children to experience various phases of liminality to be interlinked. With migrant children moving in and out of various contexts and situations, each context and situation will demand from the migrant child particular social and

cultural knowledge. Therefore, we assume, it would be incorrect to speak of a transitional process, rather, assuming that depending on how the migrant child experiences her social and cultural belonging within a particular context and situation, she might, over the course of one day, move into various liminal phases due to the influences of her immediate and new social and cultural surroundings.

The study presented in **Article IV** relates to the facilitation of integration and inclusion by exploring the types of social and structural conditions that contribute to newcomer migrant girls' social exclusion within everyday child-governed activities in day care. The article contributes by setting focus on relational aggression within the contingencies of everyday life in day care. On the one hand, the article makes a nuanced and dynamic description of high status girls' alignments of power, their claims to authoritative knowledge and their power to exclude newcomer girls. On the other hand, its findings raise critical awareness in relation to some children's, often the oldest in day care, privileging by practitioners. As a result of their high symbolic capital, privileged children enjoy an extended autonomy, being able to move relatively free in day care. Within these positions, they can become highly influential, de-constructing, manipulating and re-constructing social reality as they have the means to influence children's and adults' perceptions of relation and self-worth. Moreover, the article emphasizes how newcomer children are generally challenged with the language; as such they can experience difficulties in explaining the social hardships they might be facing. Alternatively, if they can explain using the majority language, "telling adults" can lead to a further developing of their social exclusion. Taking into account that relational aggression is habitually said to be salient to girls, the article expresses a concern surrounding whether or not practitioners—explicitly or implicitly—accept relational aggression among girls as natural or inevitable. If so, this form of psychosocial aggression becomes accepted on an institutional or structural level. Consequently, the study makes a plea for practitioners to become more reflexive surrounding how a look, comment, or gesture from high status peers and adults can be interpreted as justifying relational aggressive conduct towards newcomer migrant children. Practitioners should thus make a reciprocal stance, investigating their individual and collective attitude, their assessments of migrant children's needs, and the social conditions they create for *listening* to migrant children's daily experiences.

8.2 Reflections on the Strengths and Limitations of the Research

The overarching goal of the thesis is to contribute to the early childhood migration discourse to strengthen the care environment for newcomer migrant children. Implicitly embedded within this goal is the idea that, even though the integration of newcomer children is a public issue, children's experiences with social exclusion is very much a personal problem. Thus, the thesis has included at its core an exploration of day care as

an integrational and inclusive environment through the everyday experiences of two newcomer migrant girls' sociocultural transitions and their negotiations of identity, home and belonging.

The thesis examines questions established through themes, parallels and contrasts which arose from a version of the particular social world observed. Ethical reflections on whether these themes, parallels, and contrasts are truly related to newcomer children's own ideas and concerns have always been at the centre of the development of the research and methodological design. A considerable strength of the research methodology is that extensive fieldwork and participation within situated day care activities allowed me to establish a relationship built upon trust with a small group of newcomer children whose situations at times rendered them invisible and less powerful than their peers. The ethnographic approach is thus a valuable means for negotiating ethical symmetry between the researcher and the participants.

Through participatory activities and video observations, I became more sensitive to the participants' multimodal expressions. Combining these methods allowed me not only to listen to the participants' takes on life, but also to notice particular circumstances that required additional consideration. Through my engagement with the two newcomer girls and their peers, the existing language barrier faded. Using the participants' competencies to create a meaning platform, I drew attention to the children's current, often overlooked, experiences in day care. These methods at times provided a much-welcomed relief from stressful circumstances, as they provided both a fun activity and a means to communicate with peers.

Theoretically, an important strength of this thesis is that it brings to the forefront some critical ideas surrounding how newcomer children's identities, and their views of home and belonging are relational aspects and how, in the children's attempts to construct and re-construct, these identities must be negotiated within a community that is inhabited by both peers and adults. Through the concept of positioning, the thesis contests or—perhaps more aptly—modifies the widely recognized perception that learning the main language is the most important aspect for migrant children; this draws important attention to how newcomer children enter a complex social and cultural transition. Thus, the thesis contributes to theories in the early childhood migration discourse, and its findings are a powerful means to strengthen the care environment for newcomer migrant children by revealing how agentic problems and structural issues are interrelated in these children's everyday lives in day care. Overall, while early childhood newcomers represent a group which has been largely overlooked within research, this thesis brings much-needed attention to the ways in which newcomer children, and perhaps especially girls, engage within multimodal, complex, dynamic and nuanced transitioning and positioning processes upon entering a day care community.

Generally, this thesis was inspired by literature from various domains, so it contributed to the sociology of childhood and childhood studies by combining theories, methods and approaches from the interpretivist or constructionism paradigm. However, although the research reads as being trustworthy and as addressing central themes, parallels and contrasts which were related to the two newcomer girls' everyday lives in day care, it does have some limitations. The selected studies, for example, can be seen as framing the thesis and thus as providing a limited scope that is represented through the selected works. As such, I have taken into consideration that a complete and holistic view is absent because some available topics have not been discussed. The choice of literature thus reflects my exploratory process, in which I am developing my research and my position as a researcher. An example is the choice of literature in the early stages of the research process. As the research commenced and my experiences grew, I read these works in different ways, and my interpretations changed as my perception of everyday reality changed.

Another limitation is that, although I attempted to create ethical symmetry between researcher and participant, this attempt can be questioned. While I explained my role as a researcher—to enable participation in various stages of the research and create multiple instances for listening—there are some indications that participants found it difficult to distinguish the researcher's identity from the practitioner's identity. This insight could be used to create a more nuanced discussion surrounding children's ability to consent to partake in research—or rather their consent to partake with *whom* in research, a researcher or a practitioner. Another weakness is in relation to the interpretation of the data. Although I recognised children as being able to shape and influence their social worlds through their decisions, this did not make me—as an adult—competent in interpreting and understanding these worlds and decisions. Clark (2011) emphasized the importance of newcomer parents' views when analysing data involving their children. However, none of the parents were directly involved in this study apart from the occasional conversation. Even though I tried to involve parents, many expressed that they were busy and had little time to partake. With this opportunity lacking, I discussed my interpretations with the practitioners and the co-authors of the articles written for this thesis. These reflective dialogues stimulated my own reflexivity surrounding how I understood the situations, the children and their childhoods.

To summarize, this thesis views newcomer children as active agents within their transitions into day care, understanding day care to be a social sphere consisting of multiple fields which are characterized by social struggle. This thesis promotes newcomer children's competency in negotiating their inclusion through actively positioning themselves (and others) in such way that they can achieve status. They then can negotiate, construct

and re-construct cultural identity, thus re-establishing the relational dimensions of home and belonging. In terms of literature, the thesis provides a broad view on existing theories which position (newcomer) children as competent social actors. Methodologically, the research employs methods from the interpretivist and constructionist paradigms, which are coherent with the sociology of childhood. Finally, with respect to practice, the research can inspire practitioners, researchers and policymakers to establish more conscious views on the complexity of newcomer children's transitional processes when entering day care. Moreover, this research is interdisciplinary and is expected to be relevant to a broad audience of practitioners, researchers and policymakers working in early childhood and migration. As such, this thesis is understood as being a valuable contribution to awareness and the debate surrounding early childhood migration and newcomer children's on-the-ground childhoods.

8.3 Lessons Learned

On a methodological level, conducting research with newcomer children in day care has been both challenging and exciting. First, through this effort, I have received an orientation in the field of social research; I have become aware of the many issues that arise in such a research endeavour. This has not always been easy. Social research by itself is a political undertaking, as the researcher informs the public about the everyday lives of a particular group. With migration and related issues being controversial, both nationally and internationally, I became increasingly aware of the ethics of doing research with newcomer children.

My commitment to listening to (as opposed to extracting, or perhaps more apt, assuming) knowledge about newcomer children was, however, not instantaneously developed; rather, it developed over time, with experience, critical reflection and reflexivity. A central aspect of this transformation is that, during the design, planning and initial stages of the research, I was (subconsciously) still more focussed on the thought of developing special techniques rather than developing a "rigorous application of a general methodological requirement, applicable whether studying adults or children" (Prout, 2008, p. vi); I sought techniques that reflected the concrete particularities of the children partaking in the study. My reason for doing so can be traced back to the traumatized image created around children with refugee backgrounds. Some children have indeed experienced atrocities that no human being should witness. However, many of these children's parents have shielded them well from trauma. Thus, these children will, like any other children, undergo a major transition in life and have particular psychosocial, cultural and emotional wishes. As a consequence of hearing so often that these newcomer children might reveal aspects of traumatic experiences, I became overly cautious.

In the beginning, I knew fairly little about the children's backgrounds or their experiences with migration. The practitioners similarly knew relatively little about the families' backgrounds. Simultaneously, the practitioners were also prohibited from sharing any sensitive information with me. As a result, upon my entry into the day care, I lacked any knowledge of the children. Initiating my fieldwork in the introduction group, I therefore entered the Badger group with anticipation that many of the children would be traumatized, afraid and reluctant to be in my presence. This proved, however, not to be the case. I remember how, almost immediately, a two-year-old girl came running to me with her arms held up in the air, inviting me to pick her up. As I did this, the other children joined us, running around me and laughing.

This first encounter was a major reflexive experience, as I questioned why I thought these children would all be traumatized, afraid and reluctant to be in my presence. As the weeks passed, I became familiar with the children and found them to be caring and nurturing. Of course, they argued and occasionally fought, but they formed a socially cohesive group. Although most of them spoke dissimilar languages, they were able to engage in shared meaning-making processes, regularly inviting me to join them. During these moments, I observed the children's cultures of communication, watching them develop their own methods of transferring thoughts and opinions. Realising these children's determinacy in creating a shared social world in which all had a part, I became humble, and I realized there was no need for special techniques—just a willingness to avoid preconceptions and learn from others.

These experiences caused me to take a continuous, reflexive stance and to work with my preconceptions of asylum-seeking and refugee children. Realising how migration and related issues are intertwined within a national and international discourse—and how these issues influenced my perceptions of newcomer children—I understood that the aim of my social research was to inform the public about controversial subjects, not only discussing them in light of national and international politics but also bringing into the light the micro-politics that shape and organise newcomer children's everyday experiences in day care.

To conclude, one of my motivations for pursuing a PhD was that I felt that, as a student and a day care practitioner, the lives of children were somewhat taken for granted. In the three years that I have been engaged in this highly iterative process, moving back and forth between my recollections of the participants, the data, theory and my writing, I have come to greatly appreciate the complexity and sincerity of early childhood. I see how newcomer children's private troubles are related to their public concerns. These public concerns are politically framed within the discourse and the principle of 'the best interest of the child', yet, as I am concluding this

research, I am rather critical. I ask if these interests are always perceived and experienced, especially by newcomer children, as being in the children's best interests.

8.4 Further Research

Regarding my personal continuation of the research, the data from the ethnographic study offers abundant opportunities for potential social research. The extensive field study has provided much data, exceeding the boundaries of both the scope and time available for this thesis. This data, however, has set in motion the process of reflection, as it will be valuable to elaborate further on it. Moreover, interpreting data in light of other theoretical perspectives—for example, the newcomer girls' experiences with loneliness and their transition from day care to school—would be interesting, and I plan to do so within my future research.

This thesis has contributed to research on the facilitation of newcomer migrant girls' integration and inclusion into the everyday social reality of day care. However, more research is needed to better understand the nuances and dynamics of newcomer children's participation within these major transitions in everyday life in day care. Future ethnographic research in this area should include participatory methods which allow these children's multimodal voices to be heard, if and when they are the subject of research. However, this will require prolonged time, a willingness to learn from the participants and collaboration founded upon a responsive and reciprocal relationship.

The focus on early childhood newcomers as a group challenges past interpretations of these children's everyday lives. This research has attempted to contest some taken-for-granted views by interpreting the verbal and non-verbal expressions within the social landscape of a peer community made up of girls, including two newcomer girls. Inspired by the multimodal communication children used in their social struggles and their negotiations for position, identity, home and belonging, I have acknowledged that children are competent actors and that newcomer children make great efforts to overcome linguistic barriers in their negotiations of inclusion. However, further emphasis on this perspective is required given the dogmatic view of newcomer children as being exclusively at risk, needy and vulnerable.

Furthermore, recognising that any research should be directly beneficial for the group under study, I have drawn attention to how the themes addressed within this research can be made accessible for the group discussed herein. This has led to the idea of creating an illustrated children's book inspired on themes addressed throughout the thesis. The aim of this book project will be to create enhanced opportunity for practitioners to engage in dialogue and listen to children surrounding matters of integration and inclusion.

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Attachments

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS

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Vår ref: 34443 IB/LR

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

BEKREFTELSE PÅ ENDRINGSMELDING: NY DATAINNSAMLING

Vi viser til endringsmelding mottatt 20.08.13, samt påfølgende korrespondanse vedrørende prosjektet:

34443

Unge Asylbarns Helhet og Sammenheng

Endringsmeldingen omhandler ny datainnsamling i fase 2 av prosjektet. Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektets fase 2 og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Prosjektvurdering

Utvalget vil være det samme som tidligere: asylbarn i førskolealder (4-5 år), samt ansatte i deres barnehage. Data innhentes ved hjelp av deltagende observasjon i barnehagen, inkludert intervju/samtaler med barn og ansatte.

Formålet er å undersøke hvordan ansatte i barnehagen gir støtte til unge barn med flyktningebakgrunn, sett i lys av barnas juridiske rettigheter. Samtidig vil man finne ut hvordan denne støtten står i forhold til identifisering og anerkjennelse av barnas personlige behov og interesser. Fokus for observasjonen er hvordan det asylsøkende barnet opplever sin hverdag i barnehagen (barnets her-og-nå-opplevelser), og om barnehagens rammer beskytter og ivaretar dem. Forsker vil kartlegge aktiviteter, rutiner og samspill, med temaer som barnehagens funksjon, barnets trivsel og vennskap, voksenes rolle, omsorg, barnas følelse av tilhørighet og personlige utfordringer i hverdagen, samt positive og negative aspekter ved barnehagen. Det vises til epost 06.09.13.

Observasjonsdata innhentes ved mosaikk-tilnærming, som innebærer bruk av flere metoder for å få frem barnas meninger om sin hverdag i barnehagen: omvisning, karttegning, historiefortelling, rollespill, kunstaktiviteter som utgangspunkt for samtale osv. Aktivitetene filmes. Barna vil også få utdelt hvert sitt foto/videokamera og ta bilder/filme barnehagehverdagen sin. Videre vil ansatte få utdelt loggbøker og lydopptaker for å fange opp hverdagssituasjoner med asylbarna. Samtaler med ansatte kan omhandle enkeltbarn når det er nødvendig for formålet. Det tas lydopptak av samtale med ansatte og barn. Observasjonene vil foregå en dag i uken (korte økter) over en periode på ca. et år.

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

OSLO: NSD, Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo, Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no

TRONDHEIM: NSD, Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim, Tel: +47-73 59 19 07. kyrre.svarva@svt.ntnu.no

TROMSØ: NSD, HSL, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø, Tel: +47-77 64 61 53. solvi.anderssen@uit.no

Det registreres personopplysninger om asylsøkende barn og ansatte. Det vil også bli registrert opplysninger om barn som ikke er i fokus for studien (tredjeperson), i form av video-/lydopptak under lek. Det skal innhentes samtykke fra den enkeltes foreldre til dette. Barnehagedagen, med innendørs og utendørs aktiviteter, skal organiseres slik at det ikke registreres personopplysninger/gjøres opptak av barn som ikke har foreldrenes samtykke til å delta.

Ansatte, foreldre til asylsøkende barn (hovedinformanter) og foreldre til andre barn (tredjeperson) får skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet og behandlingen av personopplysninger. Foreldre som tillater at sitt barn deltar, samtykker skriftlig. Samtykke fra ansatte innhentes muntlig, og forsker må da legge til rette for at samtykke innhentes i en kontekst der den ansatte opplever det reelt frivillig å delta (f.eks. på tomannshånd med forsker, ikke på møte med alle ansatte/styrer til stede).

Personvernombudet har vurdert informasjonsskrivene iht. kravene i personopplysningsloven, og forutsetter følgende:

- I skrивene til foreldre (til hovedinformanter og tredjeperson) må det tilføyes at forsker også vil innhente informasjon om barnets barnehagehverdag i samtaler med ansatte, og ved at ansatte tar lydopptak og skriftlig logg fra situasjoner der barnet er involvert. Reviderte skriv sendes personvernombudet.
- Det skal utformes et informasjonsskriv tilpasset ansatte (med tilsvarende informasjon som øvrige skriv), jf. telefon 26.09.13. Vi forutsetter at skrevet sendes personvernombudet for godkjenning før det distribueres til utvalget.

Personvernombudet understreker at slik informasjonsskrivene nå er utformet, vil samtykke kun dekke innhenting av opplysninger i tråd med formålet som er beskrevet over. Vi legger til grunn at forsker styrer opplegget for datainnsamling slik at det ikke innhentes opplysninger om barnets bakgrunn, hjemmeforhold, eventuelle traumer og omsorgssvikt fra andre, eller annen sensitiv/følsom informasjon om barnet eller foreldre/verge. Taushetsplikten vil også være til hinder for at ansatte lar forsker få tilgang til slike opplysninger uten samtykke fra foresatte. Forsker bekrefter at det ikke skal behandles sensitive opplysninger (iht. personopplysningsloven § 2 nr. 8) i prosjektet, jf. telefon 26.09.13.

Når ansatte gir opplysninger om enkeltbarn til forsker (i samtaler og ved lyd-/skriftlig logg), skal det kun gis opplysninger som er relevante for formålet, og kun om barn som har samtykke fra foreldre. Vi anbefaler at forsker presiserer dette overfor de ansatte som deltar i studien.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn de ansattes lydopptak/logger av barna ikke benyttes av barnehagen til andre formål, men at eventuelle kopier hos barnehagen slettes så snart data er overlevert forsker. Forsker bør inngå skriftlig avtale om dette med barnehagen.

Datamaterialet lagres (iht. tidligere melding) på pc tilhørende virksomheten (NTNU Samfunnsforskning). Iht. informasjonsskriv til deltagerne er datalagringsenheten kryptert. Kun forsker og veileder Marko Valenta vil ha tilgang til personidentifiserbare data. Vi anbefaler at navn i det skriftlige datamaterialet erstattes med koder som viser til navneliste/koblingsnøkkel, og at denne lagres fysisk adskilt fra øvrige opplysninger.

Datamaterialet anonymiseres når doktorgradsprosjektet er avsluttet, senest innen 31.12.2016 (jf. informasjonsskriv til utvalget). Anonymisering innebærer å slette video/lyd-opptak, samt bearbeide det skriftlige materialet slik at enkeltpersoner ikke på noen måte kan identifiseres. Det gjøres ved å slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn, koblingsnøkkel etc.), og slette eller omskrive/grovkategorisere indirekte personopplysninger (som alder, kjønn, landbakgrunn, navn på barnehage etc.) tilstrekkelig.

Avslutning

Personvernombudets vurdering 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, 01.07.2016, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Ta gjerne kontakt dersom noe er uklart.

Vennlig hilsen


Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim


Inga Brautaset

Kontaktperson: Inga Brautaset tlf: 55 58 26 35

**Samtykke til deltakelse fra ansatte i barnehagen angående
forskningsprosjekt «Unge Asylsøkeres Følelse av Tilhørighet»
(2013–2016)**

Jeg har mottatt skriftlig og muntlig informasjon om prosjektet, og er villig til å delta i studien. Jeg bekrefter dermed også at der kan bli gjort lyd og videopptak av meg i hverdagslige sammenhenger og aktiviteter relatert til barnehagen.

Dato:

Signatur.....

Information and request for participation in research project on everyday experiences for children with refugee background in the kindergarten

Hello. My name is Kris Kalkman and I am doing a Doctoral study at NTNU (university in Trondheim). Intention of my study is to find out how children with a refugee background experience their daily lives in their kindergarten. To do this I will be studying children's daily interactions and talking with the children and the staff about their experiences in the kindergarten. Through observing and listening to your child's thoughts on their experiences in the kindergarten it might help to uncover important areas for further development. Methods for collecting data will be through making and discussing children's art, which they make themselves.

Through this information letter and its attached request for participation I ask permission of you as parents/guardians that I can make video/audio recordings of the daily interactions and have formal conversations (through art projects) with your child whilst s/he attends the kindergarten about their daily life in the kindergarten. In addition the staff will be asked to make observations, notes and audio/video recordings of the activities your children will be participating in during the times I am not present. These observations, notes and audio/video recordings will then at a later date be discussed with me. No identity revealing documentation (audio/video) will be done of your child until you agree for your child to participate in this study by returning the attached consent form.

It is important to emphasize that all participation in this project is voluntary and that you, at any time can withdraw your child from participation and request that your child's data (audio/video) will not be used within this study. Besides myself and my mentor Professor Marko Valenta there is no one else who will have access to personally identifiable information. All personally identifiable information is subject to legal confidentiality and information will be kept strictly confidential. This PhD study is expected to be completed in July 2016. All person identifiable data will be destroyed six months after the project's completion. If you consent you will give me permission to make video/audio recordings of your child while s/he is in the kindergarten. Whether you consent or not this will not influence the way that your child will be cared for in the kindergarten. Participation in this study has furthermore no influence on your family's application for asylum in Norway.

As this project asks for the participation of your child it is important for me that you as parent(s) inform your child about the projects aim and goal and ask your child his or hers consent for participating within this project. If you have given permission for your child's participation within this study I ask you to sign the attached consent form and return it in the postage-paid envelope, or give your answer directly to the principal of the kindergarten as soon as possible.

The project has been endorsed by the Privacy Ombudsman for Research,
Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

Do you have any questions regarding this request, or want to be informed about
the projects results, please feel free to contact me, or my mentor at: NTNU
Samfunnsforskning. Tlf. nr. + 47 735 96210. Email: kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no or
Professor Marko Valenta på tlf.nr. + 47 735 91542. Email: marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no .

With kind regards,

Kris Kalkman

Consent form for participation in research study- Young Asylum Seekers Sense of Belonging (2013 – 2016)

I have received written information and am willing to participate in the study
Young Asylum Seekers Sense of Belonging and give permission for audio and video
recordings of my child in the kindergarten.

Date Signature Telephone
.....

Informasjon og forespørsel om deltakelse i et forskningsprosjekt om hvordan barn med flyktningbakgrunn opplever hverdagen i barnehage

Hei! Mitt navn er Kris Kalkman og jeg jobber for tiden med en doktoravhandling ved Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet (NTNU) i Trondheim. Formålet med avhandlingen er å se nærmere på hvordan barn med flyktningbakgrunn opplever hverdagen i barnehage. Jeg skal gjøre dette ved å studere hvordan barna oppfører seg i samhandling med andre, og ved å snakke med barna og de ansatte om deres opplevelser i barnehagen. Gjennom å observere og lytte til tankene ditt barn gjør seg om sine egne opplevelser i barnehagen, kan jeg avdekke viktige områder for videre utvikling. Måten jeg innhenter data på, er ved å be barna lage kunstneriske verker på egenhånd, og så invitere til diskusjon av disse.

Gjennom dette informasjonsskrivet og den vedlagte forespørselen om deltakelse ber jeg om tillatelse fra dere, barnets foreldre eller foresatte, til at jeg kan spille inn lyd- eller videoopptak av barnet mens det er til stede i barnehagen. Jeg ønsker å gjøre opptak av barnets daglige interaksjoner og gjennomføre formelle samtaler med barnet deres (i forbindelse med kunstprosjekter) om barnets opplevelse av hverdagen i barnehagen. I tillegg vil jeg be de ansatte om å gjøre observasjoner, ta notater og spille inn lyd- eller videoopptak av aktivitetene barnet deres er involvert i på tidspunkter da jeg selv ikke er til stede. Disse observasjonene, notatene og lyd- og videoopptakene blir så gått gjennom og diskutert med meg i ettertid. Det vil ikke bli spilt inn personidentifiserbare opptak (verken lyd eller video) av barnet ditt før du gir tillatelse til at barnet kan delta i denne studien, og tillatelsen gir du ved å returnere samtykkeskjemaet som er vedlagt.

Det er viktig å understreke at all deltakelse i dette prosjektet skjer på frivillig basis og at du på et hvilket som helst tidspunkt kan trekke barnet fra deltakelse og kreve at data om barnet (lyd og video) utelates fra studien. Foruten meg selv og min mentor, professor Marko Valenta, er det ingen som har tilgang til personidentifiserbare opplysninger. All personidentifiserbar informasjon er underlagt juridisk konfidensialitet, og informasjonen behandles konfidensielt. Det er forventet at denne doktorgradsavhandlingen skal slutføres i juli 2016, og all personidentifiserbar informasjon blir tilintetgjort seks måneder etter at prosjektet er avsluttet. Med ditt samtykke gir du meg tillatelse til å spille inn lyd- og videoopptak av barnet mens det er til stede i barnehagen. Om du gir ditt samtykke eller ikke, har ingen påvirkning på hvordan barnet blir tatt hånd om i barnehagen, og det påvirker heller ikke utfallet av asylsøknaden familien din har inne til behandling hos norske myndigheter.

I dette prosjektet bes det om at barnet ditt deltar, og det er derfor viktig for meg at dere, som foreldre eller foresatte, informerer barnet om hensikten med prosjektet, og at dere avklarer med barnet om det faktisk er villig til å delta i prosjektet. Hvis dere gir tillatelse til at barnet kan delta i denne studien, ber jeg dere skrive under på samtykkeskjemaet som er vedlagt. Skjemaet skal så returneres i den forhåndsfrankerte konvolutt eller gis direkte til barnehagebestyreren så fort som mulig.

Denne studien er godkjent av personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (NSD).

Hvis du har spørsmål angående denne forespørselen eller ønsker å bli informert om prosjektresultatene, må du gjerne ta kontakt med meg, eller min mentor, ved NTNU Samfunnsforskning. Kontakt meg på telefon +47 735 96 210 eller på e-postadressen kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no, eller professor Marko Valenta på telefon +47 735 91 542 eller på e-postadressen marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no

Med vennlig hilsen
Kris Kalkman

Samtykkeskjema for deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet:
Unge asylsøkeres følelse av tilhørighet (2013–2016)

Jeg bekrefter å ha mottatt den skriftlige informasjonen, at jeg er villig til å delta i forskningsstudiet «Unge asylsøkeres følelse av tilhørighet», og at jeg gir tillatelse til at det gjøres lyd- og videoopptak av barnet mitt når det er til stede i barnehagen.

Dato: Underskrift: Telefonnummer:
.....

معلومات وطلب للمشاركة في مشروع بحثي حول التجارب و المعاشات اليومية للأطفال الذين لديهم خلفية اللاجئين في حضانات الأطفال

Informasjon og forespørsel om deltakelse i et forskningsprosjekt om hvordan barn med flyktningbakgrunn opplever hverdagen i barnehage

مرحباً! اسمي كريس كالمان (Kris Kalkman) و أنا أعمل في الوقت الحالي على تحضير رسالة الدكتوراه في جامعة النرويج للعلوم والتكنولوجيا (NTNU) في تروندهايم. إن الهدف من رسالة الدكتوراه هو الإطلاع عن كثب على التجارب و المعاشات اليومية للأطفال الذين لديهم خلفية اللاجئين في حضانات الأطفال. أنني سأقوم بذلك من خلال دراسة كيف يتصرف هؤلاء الأطفال أثناء عملية تفاعلهم مع الآخرين ومن خلال الحديث معهم و مع الموظفين حول معاشاتهم و تجاربهم في الحضانة. فمن خلال المراقبة و الإستماع الى أفكار طفلك حول تجاربه في الحضانة، يمكنني أن أكشف النقاب عن مجالات هامة لتحقيق المزيد من التطور. الطريقة التي سأجمع بواسطتها البيانات/ المعلومات هي من خلال مناقشة الأعمال الفنية التي سأطلب من طفلك ان ينفذها.

من خلال المعلومات التي تحتوي عليها هذه الرسالة و طلب المشاركة المرفق طيه، إنني أطلب الحصول على موافقتكم أنتم آباء أو أولياء أمر الطفل، لأتمكن من إجراء تسجيلات صوتية أو تصوير أفلام فيديو أثناء تواجد طفلكم في الحضانة. إنني أريد أن أسجل تفاعلات طفلكم اليومية مع الآخرين و أجري محادثات رسمية معه (بخصوص المشاريع الفنية) حول تجاربه اليومية في الحضانة. إضافة الى ذلك سأطلب من موظفي الحضانة أن يراقبوا و يدونوا مذكراتهم/ملاحظاتهم ويجروا تسجيلات صوتية أو يصوروا أفلام فيديو للنشاطات التي يمارسها و يشارك فيها طفلكم في الأوقات التي لا أكون موجودا فيها في الحضانة. هذه الملاحظات و المذكرات و التسجيلات الصوتية و أفلام الفيديو سوف أدرسها و أناقشها في وقت لاحق. لن يتم إجراء أي تسجيلات من شأنها أن تكشف هوية طفلك (لا تسجيلات صوتية أو مصورة) قبل أن توافق أنت على مشاركته في هذه الدراسة، وهذه الموافقة يمكنك أن تعطيتها من خلال تعبئة و تسليم إستمارة الإجابة المرفقة طيه.

من المهم التأكيد على أن المشاركة في هذا المشروع هي إختيارية و أنه بإمكانك وقتما تشاء أن تسحب مشاركة طفلك و أن تطالب بعدم إستعمال المعلومات و المعطيات (التسجيلات الصوتية / أفلام الفيديو) المتعلقة بطفلك في هذه الدراسة. لن يكون بإمكان أي شخص آخر غيري أنا و مرشدي الأستاذ ماركو فالينتا (Marko Valenta)، الحصول على أي معلومات شخصية تكشف هوية المشارك. إن كل هذه المعلومات الشخصية خاضعة للسرية القانونية، و ستتم معالجتها بشكل سري.

يُفترض أن يتم الإنتهاء من رسالة الدكتوراه هذه في شهر تموز (يوليو) 2016 ، و ان جميع المعلومات الشخصية سوف يتم إتلافها بعد مرور سنة أشهر على إنتهاء العمل بهذا المشروع. فيموافقتك هذه تكون قد سمحت لي أن أجري تسجيلات صوتية و أصور أفلام فيديو لطفلك أثناء تواجده في الحضانة. إن موافقتك أو عدمها لن يكون لها أي تأثير على كيفية معاملة طفلك في الحضانة، كما ان هذا الأمر لن يؤثر على نتيجة طلب اللجوء الذي قدمته عائلتك الى السلطات النرويجية.

و بما أن هذا المشروع يطلب مشاركة طفلكم فإنه مهم بالنسبة لي أن تقوموا أنتم، كآباء أو أولياء أمر، بإخبار طفلكم عن الغاية من هذا المشروع و أن تتوضخوا منه إذا كان يرغب فعلاً أن يشارك فيه أم لا. إذا وافقتكم على أن يشارك طفلكم في هذه الدراسة فأنني أطلب منكم أن توقعوا على إستمارة الموافقة المرفقة. يجب أن تعاد الإستمارة في الظرف البريدي المدفوع سلفاً أو أن تسلم مباشرة الى مدير الحضانة في أسرع وقت ممكن.

هذه الدراسة مرخصة من أمين مظالم خصوصية البحوث و خدمات بيانات العلوم الإجتماعية النرويجية، Norsk NSD، samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste.

إذا كانت لديك أي أسئلة بخصوص هذا الطلب أو أنك ترغب في الحصول على معلومات عن نتائج هذه المشروع، فلا يسعك سوى الإتصال بي أو بمرشدي في جامعة التكنولوجيا و العلوم النرويجية NTNU، قسم البحوث الإجتماعية Samfunnsforskning. يمكنك الإتصال بي على رقم الهاتف +47 735 96 210 أو البريد الإلكتروني kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no، أو بالأستاذ ماركو فالينتا على رقم الهاتف +47 735 91 542 أو البريد الإلكتروني marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no.

مع تحياتي الصادقة

كريس كالكمان

إستمارة موافقة على المشاركة في مشروع بحثي بعنوان:
(Samtykkeskjema for deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet)

الشعور بالإنتماء لدى طالبي اللجوء اليافعين (2013 – 2016)
Unge asylsøkeres følelse av tilhørighet (2013–2016)

أنا اشهد بأنني قد حصلت على المعلومات كتابياً و بأنني مستعد للمشاركة في الدراسة البحثية بعنوان "الشعور بالإنتماء لدى طالبي اللجوء اليافعين (2013 – 2016)" كما أنني أوافق على أن تؤخذ تسجيلات صوتية و أفلام فيديو لطفلي عندما يكون موجوداً في الحضانة.

التاريخ/Dato: التوقيع/Underskrift: رقم الهاتف:

معلومات و درخواست اشتراک در یک پروژه تحقیق تحقیقاتی در مورد این که چطور اطفال با سابقه مهاجرت (اطفال مهاجرین) روز های خود را در کودستان تجربه می نمایند

سلام! اسم من کریس کالکمان (Kris Kalkman) است و در حال حاضر با رساله دکوتورا (یک رتبه علمی است) در پوهنتون تخنیک و ساینسی ناروی (NTNU) در تروندهایم کار می نمایم. هدف رساله دکوتورا این است که چطور اطفال با سابقه مهاجرت (اطفال مهاجرین) روز های خود را در کودستان تجربه می نمایند. این را توسط مطالعه رفتار اطفال در عمل متقابل با دیگران، توسط صحبت با اطفال و کارمندان در مورد تجارب آنها در کودستان، اجرا می نمایم. توسط مشاهده و شنیدن افکار را که اطفال شما ظاهر می نماید من می توانم یکتعداد ساحات مهم را برای رشد بیشتر شناسایی نمایم. طریقه که من معلومات را جمع آوری می نمایم طوری است که از اطفال خواهش می گردد که آنها کارهای نقاشی را خود آنها آماده نمایند و بعداً آنها به گفتگو در مورد این نقاشی ها دعوت گردند.

توسط این نامه معلوماتی و درخواست اشتراک ضمیمه شده من از شما، والدین و یا ولی الامر، خواهش می نمایم که اجازه ثبت ویدیو و یا آواز اطفال را هنگام که آنها در کودستان حاضر استند، را بدهید. من می خواهم که عمل متقابل همه روزه اطفال تان را ثبت نمود و مصاحبه های رسمی با اطفال شما (در رابطه با پروژه نقاشی) در مورد تجارب روزمره اطفال در کودستان، عملی نمایم. در ضمن من از کارمندان کودستان خواهش خواهم کرد که آنها، وقتی که من در کودستان نمی باشم، هم مشاهدات انجام داده و یادداشت و ویدیو و آواز فعالیت های را که اطفال شما شامل اند، ثبت نمایند. این یادداشت ها، آواز ها و ویدیو های ثبت شده را بعداً مرور و در مورد آن همراه من در آینده (بعداً) بحث خواهد شد. ثبت آواز یا ویدیو شناسایی- دهنده (که در آن یک شخص شناسایی گردد) اطفال تان قبل از اینکه شما اجازه اشتراک اطفال تان در این مطالعه نداده باشید، و اجازه را توسط فورمه اجازه نامه ضمیمه شده دوباره ارسال ننمایید، گرفته نمی شود.

این مهم است که تأکید کرد که اشتراک در این پروژه داوطلبانه می باشد و هر زمانی که خواسته باشید می توانید طفل خود را از اشتراک بکشید و در خواست عدم استفاده تمام معلومات جمع آوری شده (آواز و ویدیو) در مورد طفل تان در این مطالعه را نماید. به استثناء من و رهنما من پروفیسور مارکو والناتا (Marko Valenta) دیگر هیچ کسی به این معلومات شناسایی- دهنده (که در آن یک شخص شناسایی گردد) دسترسی ندارد. تمام معلومات شناسایی- دهنده (که در آن یک شخص شناسایی گردد) مشمول قانون محرمانه بوده و این معلومات به طور محرمانه بررسی می گردد.

به انتظار می رود که این رساله دکوتورا در ماه جولای سال ۲۰۱۶ خاتمه یابد، و تمام معلومات شناسایی- دهنده شش ماه بعد از خاتمه پروژ محوه خواهد گردید. با رضایت نامه شما برای من اجازه می دهید که ویدیو و آواز اطفال را هنگام که آنها در کودستان حاضر استند، ثبت نمایم. اگر شما اجازه بدهید و یا ندهید، بالای نگهداری و مراقبت طفل در کودستان تأثیر نخواهد گذاشت، و همچنان این بالای نتیجه درخواست پناهنده گی شما، نزد مقامات ناروی برای بررسی قرار دارد، تأثیر نخواهد گذاشت.

خواهش است که طفل شما در این پروژه اشتراک نموده و بدین لحاظ مهم است که شما به صفت والدین یا ولی الامر برای طفل تان در مورد هدف پروژه معلومات داده، و این که شما همراه طفل تان آشکار بسازید که طفل واقعاً از اشتراک در این پروژه راضی است. در صورت که شما اجازه اشتراک طفل تان را در این مطالعه (پروژه) میدهد، من از شما خواهش می نمایم که فورمه رضایت نامه که ضمیمه گردیده است، را امضاء نماید. فورمه را باید در پاکت خط پیش پرداخت (پول ارسال نمودن پوستی آن پرداخته شده است) برای ما ارسال نماید و یا مستقیماً برای آمر کودستان هر چه زودتر تسلیم نماید.

این مطالعه توسط افسر محافظت حقوق حمایت از شخصیت برای تحقیق، اداره خدمات کمپیوتری علوم اجتماعی ناروی (NSD) (Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste)، تصویب گردیده است.

Dari version

اگر شما در مورد این پیشنهاد سؤال داشته باشید یا می خواهید از نتایج این پروژه اطلاع حاصل کنید، می توانید با من و یا رهنمای من در بخش تحقیقات علوم اجتماعی در NTNU ، تماس حاصل نماید. توسط شماره +47 735 96 210 یا آدرس الکترونیکی (ایمیل) من kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no یا پروفیسور مارکو والناتا (Marko Valenta) به شماره +47 735 91 542 یا آدرس الکترونیکی (ایمیل) marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no تماس حاصل نماید.

با احترام

کریس کالکمان (Kris Kalkman)

فورمه رضایت نامه در اشتراک پروژه تحقیقی:

احساسات وابستگی پناهنده گان جوان (2013–2016)

من تأیید می نمایم که معلومات تحریری برایم رسید و این که من راضی هستم که در تحقیق علمی «احساسات وابستگی پناهنده گان جوان» اشتراک نمایم، و من اجازه می دهم که آواز و ویدیو طفل من هنگام که طفل من در کودستان حاضر باشد، ثبت گردد.

تاریخ امضاء شماره تلفون

.....

[Skriv inn tekst]

Informations sur un projet de recherche et demande de participation à celui-ci.

Thème : le quotidien des enfants de réfugiés au jardin d'enfants

Bonjour ! Je m'appelle Kris Kalkman et je réalise actuellement une thèse de doctorat à l'Université norvégienne de sciences et de technologie (NTNU) de Trondheim.

L'objectif de la thèse est d'examiner en détail comment les enfants de réfugiés vivent leur quotidien au jardin d'enfants. Je vais étudier la manière avec laquelle les enfants se comportent avec les autres enfants, notamment en parlant avec les enfants eux-mêmes de leurs sentiments par rapport au jardin d'enfants, ainsi qu'avec les employés.

L'observation et l'écoute/l'analyse des pensées de votre enfant par rapport au jardin d'enfants me permettra de trouver d'importants domaines de développement futur. Ma méthode de prélèvement de données consiste à demander aux enfants de réaliser des créations artistiques à l'avance, puis à les inviter à en parler.

Que vous soyez parent(s) ou responsable(s) de l'enfant, je vous prie, par le biais de cette lettre d'informations et de la demande jointe de participation, de m'accorder l'autorisation de réaliser des enregistrements sonores ou vidéo de l'enfant quand il est au jardin d'enfant. Je souhaite en effet enregistrer les interactions quotidiennes de l'enfant et effectuer des conversations formelles avec votre enfant (en relation avec les projets artistiques) sur la façon dont celui-ci ressent son quotidien au jardin d'enfants. De plus, je vais demander aux employés du jardin d'enfants de réaliser des observations, de prendre des notes et d'effectuer des enregistrements sonores et vidéo des activités dans lesquelles votre enfant est impliqué à des moments où je ne pourrai pas être présent moi-même. Ces observations, notes et enregistrements sonores/vidéos seront ensuite passés en revue et discutés avec moi. Aucun enregistrement de votre enfant où une identification de données à caractère personnel/privé serait possible, ne sera effectué (qu'il soit sonore ou vidéo) avant que vous ayez donné votre autorisation formelle à la participation de l'enfant à cette étude. Vous m'accordez votre autorisation en me retournant le formulaire de consentement qui est joint.

Il est important de souligner que toute participation à ce projet est facultative et que vous pouvez ensuite, à tout moment, retirer l'enfant de l'étude et exiger par la même occasion que les données sur l'enfant (sonores et vidéos) soient supprimées de l'étude. En dehors de moi-même et de mon mentor, le professeur Marko Valenta, personne n'aura accès à des renseignements à caractère personnel. Toute information à caractère personnel est soumise à une confidentialité juridique obligatoire, et le traitement des informations est donc toujours strictement confidentiel. Il est prévu que cette thèse de doctorat s'achève en juillet 2016, et que toutes les informations à caractère personnel soient détruites six mois après la fin du projet. Par votre consentement, vous m'autorisez à effectuer des enregistrements sonores et vidéo de l'enfant pendant sa présence au jardin d'enfants. Votre choix de donner votre consentement ou non n'aura d'incidence, ni

French version

sur la manière avec laquelle l'enfant sera traité au jardin d'enfants, ni sur le résultat de la demande d'asile de votre famille auprès des autorités norvégiennes.

Dans ce projet, nous demandons à votre enfant de participer et, par conséquent, il est important pour moi que vous, en tant que parent ou responsable de l'enfant, informiez l'enfant sur l'objectif du projet, et que vous déterminiez directement avec l'enfant si celui-ci est d'accord pour participer au projet. Si vous autorisez l'enfant à participer à cette étude, je vous prie par conséquent de signer le formulaire de consentement joint. Le formulaire doit ensuite être renvoyé dans l'enveloppe pré-affranchie ou donné directement au gestionnaire du jardin d'enfants, ceci au plus vite.

Cette étude a été approuvée par le médiateur de protection des données à caractère personnel dans le monde de la recherche (*Personvernombudet for forskning*), service norvégien des données en sciences sociales (*Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste - NSD*).

Si vous avez des questions relatives à cette demande ou si vous souhaitez être informés sur les résultats du projet, vous êtes invités à me contacter, ou à contacter mon mentor, au département de recherche sur la société de NTNU (Samfunnsforskning). Contactez-moi par téléphone au +47 73 59 62 10 ou sur mon adresse e-mail kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no, ou bien contactez le professeur Marko Valenta par téléphone au +47 735 91 542 ou par e-mail marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no

Cordialement
Kris Kalkman

Formulaire de consentement à la participation au projet de recherche :
Sentiment d'appartenance de jeunes demandeurs d'asile (2013–2016)

Je confirme avoir reçu les informations écrites, donner mon accord à la participation à l'étude de recherche « Sentiment d'appartenance de jeunes demandeurs d'asile » et autoriser à ce que des enregistrements sonores et vidéos de mon enfant soient effectués lorsque celui-ci est au jardin d'enfants.

Date : Signature : Numéro de téléphone

اطلاعات و درخواست در زمینه شرکت در پروژه تحقیقی در رابطه با چگونگی وضعیت روزمره کودکان گروه های پناهنده در کودکان

سلام. نام من کریس کالکمان است و در حال حاضر در زمینه پایان نامه دکترا در دانشگاه علوم طبیعی و فنی نروژ

(Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet NTNU) در شهر تروندهایم فعالیت می کنم. هدف از انجام این پایان نامه به دست آوردن اطلاعات بیشتر و مشاهده نزدیک تر در مورد چگونگی تجربه روزمره کودکانی که از خانواده های پناهنده آمده اند در کودکان می باشد. این امر را من توسط مشاهده و بررسی چگونگی رفتار کودکان در تعامل با دیگران و توسط صحبت کردن با کودکان و کارمندان کودکان در مورد وضعیت و تجربه آنان از کودکان انجام می دهم. توسط مشاهدات و گوش دادن به افکاری که کودک شما در کودکان تجربه کرده است؛ من قادر خواهم بود که حوزه های مهم برای پرورش بیشتر را کشف نمایم. روش من برای به دست آوردن اطلاعات به این صورت است که از کودک می خواهم که کارهای هنری بدون گرفتن کمک از دیگران انجام دهد و سپس از او دعوت می کنم که در این باره بحث کند.

توسط ارائه این نوشته اطلاعاتی و درخواست شرکت در این پروژه که ضمیمه است من از شما؛ والدین یا قیم کودک اجازه می خواهم که صدا و تصویر ویدئویی کودک را در زمانی که در کودکان حضور دارد ضبط کنم. من علاقمند هستم که صدا و فیلم در مورد روابط ما بین کودکان را ضبط کرده و گفتگوهای رسمی با کودکان شما (در رابطه با پروژه های هنری) در مورد چگونگی تجربه روزمره آنان در کودکان به عمل آورم. به علاوه من از کارمندان کودکان خواهم خواست که مشاهدات از کودکان را صورت داده و از مشاهدات خود رونوشت برداشته و صدا و تصویر فعالیت هایی که کودکان شما در آن شرکت دارند را در زمان هایی که من شخصا در کودکان حضور ندارم ضبط نمایند. این مشاهدات، رونوشت ها و صدا / تصویر ضبط شده بعدا مرور و بررسی خواهند شد و با من مورد بحث قرار می گیرند. (نه صدا و نه تصویر) از کودک که توسط آن کودک شما قابل شناسایی باشد قبل از دریافت اجازه شما در شرکت در این پژوهش ضبط نمی گردد. اجازه این کار را می توانید توسط تحویل فرم موافقت که ضمیمه است اعلام کنید.

این موضوع تاکید می شود که شرکت در این پژوهش داوطلبانه است و شما می توانید در هر مقطع زمانی اجازه داده شده را پس گرفته و بخواهید که هرگونه اطلاعاتی در مورد کودک (صدا و تصویر) از پروژه تحقیقی حذف گردد. به جز من و استاد راهنمای من که پرفسور مارکو والناتا است هیچ شخص دیگری به اطلاعاتی که توسط آن کودک قابل شناسایی باشد دسترسی ندارد. هرگونه اطلاعاتی که منجر به شناسایی شود از نظر حقوقی محرمانه محسوب شده و اطلاعات به دست آمده محرمانه خواهد بود. انتظار می رود که این پایان نامه دکترا در ماه یولی سال 2016 به اتمام رسد و تمامی اطلاعاتی که منجر به شناسایی شخص می شود، شش ماه بعد از اتمام پروژه از بین برده می شود. توسط دادن رضایت خود؛ شما این اجازه را به من خواهید داد که صدا/ فیلم کودک شما در زمانی که در کودکان حضور دارد ضبط شود. اینکه شما موافقت خود را برای انجام این کار اعلام کنید و یا نکنید هیچگونه تاثیری در عملکرد کودکان در قبال کودکان نخواهد داشت و در ضمن هیچگونه اثری نیز در جواب تقاضای پناهندگی تان که در نزد مقامات نروژی تحت بررسی است نخواهد داشت.

در این پروژه ای که ما می خواهیم کودک شما در آن شرکت نماید این موضوع برای من مهم است که شما به عنوان والدین / قیم، کودک را در مورد هدف این پروژه آگاه کنید و این موضوع را با کودک روشن نمایید که آیا دوست دارد در این پروژه شرکت کند یا نه. از شما خواهش می کنم در صورتی که اجازه شرکت کودک خود در این پروژه را می دهید، فرم موافقت که ضمیمه این نامه است را امضاء نمائید. این فرم سپس باید در پاکت نامه ای که از قبل تمپر خورده است به ما برگردانده شود و یا هر چه سریعتر مستقیما به دفتر کودکان تحویل داده شود.

این پژوهش توسط اداره محافظت از اطلاعات در امور تحقیقات؛ خدمات اطلاعاتی علوم جامعه شناسی نروژ (Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste NSD) مورد تایید قرار گرفته است.

در صورتی که سؤالی در مورد این درخواست دارید و یا علاقمندید از نتایج این پروژه آگاه شوید، خوشحال که با من یا استاد راهنمای من در دانشگاه NTNU، قسمت تحقیقات جامعه شناسی تماس بگیرید. خواهش می

Persian version

با من با شماره 0047 735 96 210 به آدرس پست الکترونیکی kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no و

تلفن

و یا پروفیسور مارکو والنثا، شماره تلفن 004773591542 یا پست Marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no
الکترونیکی
تماس بگیرید.

با احترامات
کریس کالکمان

فرم موافقت جهت شرکت در پروژه تحقیقی

احساس تعلق کودکان پناهجویان (2013-2016)

من بدینوسیله تأیید می‌کنم که اطلاعات کتبی را دریافت کرده‌ام و علاقمند هستم که در پروژه تحقیقی “احساس تعلق کودکان پناهجویان” شرکت نمایم و اجازه می‌دهم که صدا و فیلم کودک من در زمان اقامت او در کودکانستان ضبط گردد.

تاریخ..... امضاء شماره تلفن

Информация и запрос об участии в исследовательском проекте о том, как дети с опытом беженцев воспринимают будни в детском саду

Здравствуйте! Меня зовут Крис Калкман и я работаю на данный момент над кандидатской диссертацией при Норвежском университете естественных и технических наук (НТНУ) в Тронхейме. Целью моей работы является рассмотреть подробнее, как дети с опытом беженцев воспринимают будни в детском саду. Это я буду делать, изучая, как дети ведут себя в общении с другими, и разговаривая с детьми и сотрудниками о событиях в детском саду. Наблюдая и слушая мысли, которые появляются у Вашего ребёнка о своих собственных впечатлениях в детском саду, я мог бы раскрыть важные области для дальнейшего развития. Сбор информации будет проходить таким образом, я попрошу детей сделать своими руками художественные работы и попрошу их обсудить.

Через этот информационный проспект и приложение с запросом об участии я прошу Вашего разрешения, родителей ребёнка или опекунов, на то, чтобы я мог делать звуко- и видеозапись ребёнка в детском саду. Я хотел бы делать запись повседневного общения ребёнка и проводить формальные беседы с вашим ребёнком (в связи с художественными проектами) о восприятии ребёнком будней в детском саду. К тому же я попрошу сотрудников дет. сада делать наблюдения, заметки и делать звуко- и видеозаписи занятий, в которые вовлечён Ваш ребёнок в те моменты, когда меня самого там не будет. Эти наблюдения, заметки и звуко- и видеозаписи далее будут просмотрены/прослушаны и обсуждены со мной в ретроспективе. Пока Вы не дадите своего согласия на то, что Ваш ребёнок может принимать участие в этом исследовании, записи (ни звуковые, ни видео), где можно распознать ребёнка, делаться не будут, и разрешение Вы даёте, возвратив приложенный бланк с согласием.

Важно подчеркнуть, что всё участие в этом проекте происходит на добровольной основе, и, что Вы в любой момент можете отказаться от участия Вашего ребёнка и потребовать, чтобы информация о ребёнке (звуко- и видеозаписи) была исключена из исследования. Кроме меня самого и моего научного руководителя, профессора Марко Валента, никто не имеет доступ к информации, где можно распознать человека. Вся информация, где можно распознать человека, подлежит юридической конфиденциальности, и информация используется конфиденциально. Ожидается, что эта кандидатская диссертация будет готова в июле 2016 г., и вся информация, где можно распознать человека, будет уничтожена, через шесть месяцев после окончания проекта. Через Ваше согласие Вы даёте мне разрешение делать звуко- и видеозаписи ребёнка, когда он находится в детском саду. Дадите ли Вы согласие или нет, никак не влияет на то, как заботятся о ребёнке в детском саду, также это никак не влияет на результат

заявления о предоставлении убежища, касаемое Вашей семьи, которое находится на рассмотрении у норвежских властей.

В этом проекте просим, чтобы Ваш ребёнок принял участие, поэтому для меня важно, чтобы Вы, как родители или опекуны, проинформировали ребёнка о цели проекта, и чтобы Вы уточнили у ребёнка, хотел бы он действительно принять участие в проекте. Если Вы даёте разрешение на то, чтобы ребёнок мог участвовать в этом исследовании, прошу Вас подписать приложенный бланк с согласием. Бланк нужно вернуть как можно скорее по почте в приложенном конверте с маркой или прямо отдать директору детского сада.

Это исследование одобрено органом по защите персональных данных для научных исследований, Норвежской службой данных в области обществоведения (НСД).

Если у Вас есть вопросы, касающиеся этого запроса, или Вы желаете получить информацию о результатах проекта, пожалуйста, обращайтесь ко мне или к моему научному руководителю при НТНУ Исследования общества. Обращайтесь ко мне по телефону +47 735 96 210 или по эл. почте kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no, или к профессору Марко Валента по телефону +47 735 91 542 или по эл. почте marco.valenta@svt.ntnu.no

С уважением

Крис Калкман

Бланк с согласием на участие в исследовательском проекте:

Чувство принадлежности детей и подростков, ищущих убежища (2013-2016)

Я подтверждаю, что принял информацию в письменном виде, и хотел бы принять участие в научном исследовании "Чувство принадлежности детей и подростков, ищущих убежища", и что я даю разрешение на то, что делается аудио- и видеозапись моего ребёнка, когда он находится в детском саду.

Дата: _____ Подпись: _____ Номер
телефона: _____

Warbixin ku saabsan codsi ka qaybqaadashada mashruuc cilmibaaris ah oo ku saabsan sida ay carruurta qaxootiga ah u arkaan nololmaalmeedka xannaanada carruurta

Ahlan! Magacayagu waa Kris Kalkman waxaanan wadaa diyaarinta teesaha darajada ugu sarraysa ee jaamacadaha laga qaato (doktoravhandling) oo aan ka qaadanyo Jaamacadda Norway ee sancada- iyo cilmiga barashada sayniska (NTNU) ee Trondheim. Ujeeddada teesuhu waa in la eego sida carruurta qaxootiga ay u arkaan nololmaalmeedka xannaanada carruurta. Taas ayaan wax ka ogaanayaa aniga oo eegaya sida ay carruurta ula dhaqmaan dadka kale, iyo in aan carruurta iyo shaqaalaha ka wareysto waxyaalaha ay xannaanada carruurta kala kulmaan. Marka aan arko oo dhegeysto fikirka ay carruurtaadu ka qabaan waxyaalaha ay kala kulmaan xannaanada carruurta, ayaan ogaan karaa meelo muhiim ah oo horummar laga sii samayn karo. Habka aan macluumaadka u soo aruurinayo waa in aan carruurta ka codsado in ay waxyaalo farshaxan ah sameeyaan, kaddibna aan kala sheekeysto waxaas ay sameeyeen.

Qoraalkan warbixinta ah iyo codsiga ka qaybqaadashada ee halkan ku lifaaqan ayaan idinkaga codsanayaa oggolaasho, adinga oo ah waalidka ama mas'uuliyiinta carruurta, in aad ii oggolaataan, in aan cajalad ama fiidiyow ka duubi karo carruurtiinna inta ay joogaan xannaanada carruurta. Waxaan doonayaa in aan duubo qaabka ay carruurta isu saameeyaan oo aan carruurtiinna wadahal rasmii ah (marka ay sameeyaan mashruuca farshaxanka) kala yeesho nololmaalmeedka xannaanada carruurta. Waxaan kale oo aan shaqaalaha ka codsan doonaa in ay la socdaan, qoraal ka sameeyaan oo maqal iyo muuqaal ka duubaan firfircoonida ay carruurtiinna ka qaybqaataan mararka aanan anigu goobjoogga ahayn. Waxyaalaha ay arkaan, qoraalka ay qoraan iyo maqalka iyo muuqaalka ay duubaan ayay u tusayaan aniga iyo ayaga ayaana ka wadahal doonna. Ilmahaaga lagama duubi doono wax lagu garanayo (maqal iyo muuqaal midna) ka hor inta aadan oggolaannin in uu ilmuhu ka qaybqaadan karo cilmibaaristan, oggolaashadana waxaad bixinaysaa haddii aad soo celiso foomka oggolaashada ee halkan ku lifaaqan.

Waxaa muhiim ah in la caddeeyo in dhammaan ka qaybqaadashada mashruucan ay tahay mid ikhtiyaar loo dooranayo oo aad ilmahaaga ka qaybqaadashada ka reebi kartid marki aad doonto islamarkaana dalban kartid in macluumaadka ilmaha (maqal iyo muuqaal) in laga reebo cilmibaarista. Marka laga reebo aniga iyo la-taliyahayga, barafasoor Marko Valenta, ma jiraan dad kale oo arki kara warbixinno qofka lagu garan karo. Dhammaanba warbixinnada qofka lagu garan karo waxaa saaran waajib xogqarin oo qaanuuni ah, waxaana warbixinta looga baaraandegayaa si aanay cid kale arki doonin (konfidensielt). Waxaa la filayaa in teesaha darajada ugu sarraysa ee jaamacadaha laga qaato la soo gabagabeeyo bisha luuliyo ee sanadka 2016-ka, dhammaanba warbixinnada qofka lagu garanayana waa la baabbi'inayaa lix bilood marka mashruucu dhammaado kaddib. Oggolaashadaada waxaad iigu oggolaanaysaa in aan maqal iyo muuqaal ka duubo ilmahaaga inta uu joogo xannaanada carruurta. In aad

Somalic

oggolaasho bixiso iyo in aadan bixin saameyn kuma yeelanayso sida ilmaha loogu xannaaneeyo xannaanada carruurta, sidoo kale tani saameyn kuma yeelanayso codsiga magangelyada qoyska ee ay mas' uuliyiinta norwiiijigu ka baaraandegayaan.

Waxaa mashruucan lagaaga codsanayaa in uu ilmahaagu ka qaybqaato, waxaana sidaas darteed aniga muhiim ii ah in aad adinka oo ah waalidka ama mas' uuliyiinta ilmaha ah aad ilmaha u sharraxdaan ujeeddada mashruuca, aadna ilmaha ka xaqiijisaan in ilmuhu dhab ahaanti doonayo in uu mashruuca ka qaybqaato. Haddii aad oggolaataan in ilmuhu ka qaybqaato cilmibaarista, waxaan idinka codsanayaa in aad saxiixdaan foomka oggolaashada ee halkan ku lifaaqan. Foomka waxaa sida ugu dhakhsaha badan loogu soo celinayaa bokhshadda farankaboolladu saaran tahay ama waxaa toos loogu dhiibayaa maammulaha xannaanada carruurta.

Cilmibaaristan waxaa aqoonsaday maadinta arrimaha shakhsiga ee cilmibaarista, Adeegga macluumaadka ee cilmiga bulshada ee norwiiijiga (NSD).

Haddii aad wax su'aal ah ka qabto dalabkaan ama aad dooneyso in lagula socodsiiyo maxsuulka mashruuca, aniga ama la-taliyahayga, ayaad kala soo xiriiri kartaa NTNU Cilmibaarista bulshada. Igala soo xiriir telefoonka +47 735 96 210 ama ii-mayl kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no, ama barafasoor Marko Valenta telefoonka +47 735 91 542 ama ii-maylka marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no

Mahadsanidiin
Kris Kalkman

Foomka oggolaashada ee ka qaybqaadashada mashruuca cilmibaarista:
Dareenka magangelyadoonayaasha da'da yar ee la xiriira ka tirsanaantooda bulshada (2013–2016)

Waxaan caddeynayaa in aan helay warbixin qoraal ah, oo aan diyaar u ahay in aan ka qaybqaato cilmibaarista «Dareenka magangelyadoonayaasha da'da yar ee la xiriira ka tirsanaantooda bulshada», oo aan oggolaanayo in ilmahayga cajalad maqal iyo muuqaal ah laga duubo inta uu joogo xannaanada carruurta.

Taariikh: Saxiix: Lambar telefoon:

زانباری و داواکاری دهر باره‌ی به‌شداری کردن له پروژ میه‌کی توژی‌ینه‌ه دا سهاره‌ت به‌وه‌ی که به‌چ شیوه‌یه‌ک منداآلانی په‌نابهران ژبانی روژانه‌یان له باخچه‌ی منداآلان به‌سهر ده‌بن.

سآو! من ناوم کریس کالکمانه و له کاتی ئیستادا سهرقآلی خویندنی دکتورام له زانکوی ته‌کنیکی - زانسته سروس‌تیبیه‌کان (NTNU) له ترۆنده‌هایم. نامانجی بابته‌ی دکتوراکهم تایبته‌ه به‌چوئیتی به‌سهر بردن و مو‌عایه‌شهرکردنی منداآلانی په‌نابهره له باخچه‌ی منداآلانا. کار هکهم به‌و جوره نه‌جام ده‌دم که لیکوآلینه‌وه و دیراسه‌ی نه‌وه ده‌کهم که نایا منداآلان به‌چ شیوه‌یه‌ک له‌گه‌ل که‌سانی دیکه‌دا هه‌لسوکوت ده‌کهن، وه به‌شیوه‌ی قسه‌کردن له‌گه‌ل منداآلان و فهرمانبهراندا دهر باره‌ی ته‌جروبه و نه‌زمونیان له باخچه‌ی منداآلانا. له رپی بینین و تیبینی و گوئیگرتن له بیروبوچوونه‌کانی منداآل دهر باره‌ی ئیجساساته‌کانی له باخچه‌ی منداآلان، ده‌توانم چهند بواریکی گرنه‌ک که‌شف به‌کم بو گه‌شهرکردنیان له داهاتو‌دا. نه‌و شیوه‌یه‌ی که من زانباری پی په‌یدا ده‌کهم، نه‌وه‌یه که داوا له منداآله‌که ده‌کهم که خوی شتی هونه‌ری دروست بکات، و پاشان پی‌که‌وه دهر باره‌ی به‌ر هه‌سه‌کان گه‌توگۆ ده‌کهن.

له‌ری نه‌م نووسینی زانباریانه و نه‌و پاشکویه‌ی که پرسباری به‌شداری کردنتان لی ده‌کات، روخسه‌ت له نه‌وه‌ی دایک و باوک یان لیپرسراوی منداآله‌که ده‌خو‌ازم، که وا ده‌نگی تو‌مارکراو – یان هی فیدیوی نه‌و کاته‌ی که منداآله‌که له ناو باخچه‌ی منداآلانه‌ بگرم. من خو‌از یارم که په‌رچه‌کردار و ته‌فاعولاتی منداآله‌که تو‌مار به‌کم و له پاشاندا گه‌توگۆی ره‌سمی له‌گه‌ل منداآله‌که‌تاندا نه‌جام بدم (که په‌یوسته به‌و پروژ هونه‌ری‌بانه‌ی که ده‌یان کات) پرسبارمه‌کان وابه‌سته‌ن به‌و بابته‌ی که پیشتر ناماژم پی داوه و اتا نه‌زمون و بارودۆخی روژانه‌ی منداآل له باخچه‌ی منداآلانه‌کیاندا. هه‌روه‌ها داوا له فهرمانبهره‌کانی باخچه‌که ده‌کهم، که چاو‌دیری منداآله‌که بکهن، تیبینی تو‌مار بکهن و ده‌نگی تو‌مارکراو – یان فیدیوی تایبته‌ت به‌و چالاکیان به‌گرن که منداآله‌که به‌شداریان تیدا ده‌کات و من له‌وئ نیم. نه‌م چاو‌دیری کردن، تیبینی نووسین و ده‌نگ و فیدیو تو‌مارکراو‌انه به‌باشی پیا‌بانا دمجم و له پاشاندا گه‌توگۆی له‌سهر ده‌کهن. هیچ شتیکی منداآله‌که‌ت تو‌مار ناکریت که پنی بناسرینه‌وه (نه‌ه ده‌نگی و نه‌ه هی فیدیوی) هه‌تا نه‌و کاته‌ی که تو مؤلته‌مان ده‌ده‌یتی به‌به‌شداری کردنی منداآله‌که له‌م لیکوآلینه‌وه‌ی، وه مؤلته‌ت پیدانه‌که له رپی قیوول کردن و گه‌راندنه‌وه‌ی نه‌و فورمه‌وه ده‌بیت که وک پاشکو هاو پیچی نه‌م نووسینه‌ه کراوه.

زور گرنه‌که که جهخت له‌وه بکرینه‌وه که سهرجه‌م به‌شداری کردنه‌کان له‌م پروژ په‌یدا له‌سهر بناغه‌ی خو‌به‌خشی نه‌جام ده‌دریت و تو ده‌توانیت هه‌ر کاتیک بخو‌ازیت منداآله‌که‌ت له به‌شداری کردن بکشینیتنه‌وه و داوا بکه‌یت که داوا و زانباری تایبته‌ت به‌ منداآله‌که (ده‌نگی و فیدیوی) له خویندن و لیکوآلینه‌وه‌مه‌ماندا لابیرین. به‌و بونه‌یه‌وه ده‌مه‌ویت بلیم که جگه له‌من و ماموستای سهرپه‌رشتیکاری خویندنه‌کهم، پرۆفیسور مارکو فالینتا هیچ که‌سه‌یکی تر ناتوانیت زانباریه‌ه که‌سییه‌کان ببینیت. سهرجه‌م زانباریه‌ه که‌سییه‌کان له ژیر تایبته‌مه‌ندیتی و به‌پنی یاسا به‌نه‌ینی ده‌پاریزین، و زانباریه‌ه‌کان به‌ شیوه‌یه‌کی نه‌ینی مامه‌لیان له‌گه‌ل ده‌کریت و تاووتوئ ده‌کرین. وا چاو‌ه‌روان ده‌کریت که ده‌بیت نه‌م بابته‌ی دکتورایه له مانگی حه‌وتی ۲۰۱۶ دابه‌ کو‌تا بگات، و هه‌موو زانباریه‌ه که‌سییه‌کان پاشی شه‌ش مانگ له‌ته‌واو بوونی پروژ که ده‌سردرینه‌وه و له‌ناو ده‌بیرین. به‌ره‌زامه‌ند بوونی تو مؤلته‌م ده‌ده‌یتی که تو‌ماری ده‌نگی و فیدیوی له منداآله‌که‌ت بگرم له‌و کاتانه‌ی که له باخچه‌ی منداآلانه. ره‌زامه‌ند بوونت یان نه‌بوونت، هیچ کار یگه‌ریه‌کی نابیت له‌سهر نه‌وه‌ی که چو‌ن مامه‌له‌گه‌ل منداآله‌که‌تدا ده‌کریت له باخچه‌، و هیچ په‌یوه‌ندیه‌کیشی نییه به‌ داخو‌ازی مافی په‌نابهریتان گه‌ر لای ده‌سه‌لاتدارانی حکوومی هه‌تانبیت.

لەم پرۆژە مێدا داخواری لە تۆ دەرکەوت کە مەندالەکە بەشدارێ بکات، وە لەبەر ئەوە بەلامووە گرنگە کە ئێوە وەک دایک و باوک یان لێرسراوی مەندالەکە، زانیاری بەدەن بە مەندالەکە سەبارەت بە مەبەستی پرۆژەکە، و وە بۆی روون بکەنمەوە کە ئێوە خواریان کە ئەو بەشدارێ لە پرۆژەکەدا بکات. ئەگەر ئێوە مۆلتەمان بەدەنی بە بەشدارێ کردنی مەندالەکەتان لەم لیکۆلینە مێدا، ئەوا داواکارم لێتان کە ئیمزای ئەو فۆرمی رەزامەندییە بکەن، کە وەک پاشکۆیەک هاوێچی ئەم نووسراوە کراوە. فۆرمەکە دەبێت بخەنە ناو ئەو زەرفەو کە پیش و مەخت پارە پوولی نامە ناردنەکە دەتوانن راستەوخۆ بە زووترین کات بێدەن بە بەرێوەبەرانی باخچە مەندالەکە.

ئەم خوێندن و لیکۆلینە مێدا لە لایەن دەزگای کەس پارێزان بۆ لیکۆلینە مێدا و خزمەتگوزاری زانیاری و زانستی کۆمەڵایەتی نەروێجییە (NSD) رەزامەندی لەسەر کراوە.

ئەگەر پرسبەسەر هەبێت دەربارە ئەم داوا و پرس بپێکەنە پێتان یان گەر دەتوانیت لە ئەنجامەکانی پرۆژەکە ئاگادارین، ئەوا دەتوانن پەیوەندی بە منەوە، یان مامۆستای سەرپەرشتیکار مەو بەکەن لە NTNU بەشی لیکۆلینە مێدا. دەتوانن بە ژمارە تەلەفۆنی +47 735 96 210 یاخوود لە رێی ئیمیل نەدریسەکە مەو kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no پەیوەندی پێوە بکەن یان ئەوا دەتوانن پەیوەندی بە سەرپەرشتیکار مەو پەرسۆر مارکو فالینتاو بەکەن لە رێی ژمارە تەلەفۆنی +47 735 91 542 یان لە رێی ئیمیل نەدریسەکە مەو marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no

لەگەڵ ریز و سلاوی

کرێس کالکمان

Kris Kalkman

Samtykkeskjema for deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet:

رەزامەندی دەربەرین لەسەر بەشدارێ کردن لە پرۆژە مێدا لیکۆلینە مێدا:

مەندالانی داواکەری پەنابەری هەست بە وابەستەگی (نێنتیما) دەکەن (2013–2016)

من پشتر استی دەکەمەو کەوا زانیاری نووسراوم پێگەیشتوو دەربارە بابەتەکە، و ئامادەم لە پرۆژە مێدا خوێندنەکەدا "هەستی وابەستەگی لە لای مەندالانی داواکەری پەنابەری" دا بەشدارێ بکەم، و مۆلت دەدم بەوە کە تۆماری دەنگی – و فیدۆیی لە مەندالەکەم هەلبگیریت لەم کاتاندا کە لە باخچە مەندالانە.

بەراری:..... ئیمزا (واژۆ)..... ژمارە
تەلەفۆن.....

ሓበሬታን ሕቶን ብዛዕባ ተሳታፊነት ኣብ ዝተኻየደ መጽናዕታዊ ፕሮጀክት ንስደተኛዊ ድሕረባይታ ዘለዎም ቁልዑ ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ዘለዎም መዓልታዊ ተሞክሮ ዝምልከት

ሰላም፡ ስመይ ክሪስ ካልከማን እብሃል፡ ኣብዚ እዋን እዚ ድማ ኣብ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ባህርያዊ ሳይንስን ቴክኖሎጂን ትሮንድሃይም ኖርወይ [NTNU] ንዶክተርነት ዘብቅዓኒ ስራሕ ኣካይድ ኣለኹ። ዕላማ ናይዚ መጽናዕቲ ስደተኛዊ ድሕረባይታ ዘለዎም ቁልዑ ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ዘለዎም መዓልታዊ ተሞክሮ ብቐረባ ንምርእይ እዩ። ነዚ ድማ ቁልዑ ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ምስ ካልኣት እንታይ ዓይነት ጠባይን መልሰ ተግባርን ከም ዘርእዩ ብምጽናዕን፡ ምስቶም ቁልዑን ምስ ስራሕተኛታትን ብዛዕባ ተሞክሮኦም ብምዝራብን ክፍጽሞ እዩ። ቁልዑ ብትዕዝብትን ንኣሳባትካ ብምስማዕን ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ናይ ገዛእ ርእሶም ተሞክሮ ክፈጥሩ ይኽእሉ። ብኸምዚ ድማ ኣነ ኣገዳሲ ዝኾነ ተወሳኺ ናይ ምዕባለ መዳይ ክለለ እኽእል። ብወገነይ ዝጥቀሙ ጭብጥታት/ሓበሬታ ናይ ምእካብ ኣገባብ፡ እቶም ቁልዑ ብኢድም ስነጥበባዊ ስራሓት ክገብሩን ድሕሪኡ ብዛዕባኡ ክንዘራረብ ምዕዳዎምን እዩ።

ብመንገዱ እዚ ደብዳቤ እዝን ምስኡ ተተሓሓዙ ዘሎ ሕቶን፡ ካባኻትኩም ወለዲ ወይ ሞግዚታት ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ንዘለዉ ደቅኹም ክሳተፉ ኣብ ድምጺ ወይ ቪድዮ ክቐርጹም ፍቓድ እሓትት ኣለኹ። ኣነ ናይቶም ቁልዑ መዓልታዊ መልሰ ተግባር ክቐርጹን ብዛዕባ ናይቶም ቁልዑ መዓልታዊ ተሞክሮ ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት (ምስ ናይ ስነጥበብ ፕሮጀክት ብዝተኣሳሰር) ምስ ደቅኹም ወግዓዊ ዝርርብ ክካይድን እደለ። ብተወሳኺ፡ ንሰራሕተኛታት ወላ ኣነ ኣብ ዘየለኹሉ ግዜ እቶም ቁልዑ ብዛዕባ ዝገብሩዎ ምንቅስቓሳት ትዕዝብትታ ክገብሩ፡ መዘከርታ ክጽሕፉ፡ ድምጺ ወይ ቪድዮ ክቐርጹን ክሓቱም እዩ። ብድሕርዚ፡ ነቲ ትዕዝብትታት ይኹን ዝተጻሕፈ መዘከርታ ከምኡውን እቲ ዝተቐርጸ ድምጽን ቪድዮን ምሳይ ብሓባር ክንመያየጠሉ ኢና። ነዚ ተተሓሓዙ ዘሎ ናይ ስምምዕ ቅጺ/ፎርም መለእኩም ደቅኹም ኣብዚ ፕሮጀክት እዚ ክሳተፉ ፍቓድኛታት ምጵንኩም ኣፍልጡ። ፍቓድ ቅድሚ ምሃብኩም ብኣካል ዝልለ ናይ ውላድኩም (ድምጺ ይኹን ቪድዮ) ኣይክዘርጋሕን እዩ።

ኣብዚ ፕሮጀክት እዚ ምስታፍ ኣብ ወለንታ ዝተመሰረተ ከም ዝኾነን፡ ኣብ ዝኾነ እዋን ድማ ንውላድኩም ካብ ተሳታፊነት ክትሰሕቡዎን፡ እቲ ብዛዕባ ቁልዎኹም ዝተኣከበ ጭብጢ (ድምጺ ይኹን ቪድዮ) ካብቲ መጽናዕቲ ክወጽእ/ክእለ ክትሓቱ ከም ትኽእሉን ምፍላጥ ኣገዳሲ እዩ። ብዘይካይን ብዘይካ መምህራይ ፕሮፈሰር ማርኮ ቫለንታን፡ ዝኾነ ካልእ ሰብ ነቲ ውልቃዊ ሓበሬታ ክረኽቦ ዝከኣል ኣይኮነን። ኮሎ ክልለ ዝኽእል ሓበሬታ ብሕገ ስቱር ኮይኑ ኮሎ ሓበሬታ ድማ ብስቱር እዩ ዝተሓዘ። እዚ ናይ ዶክተርነት መጽናዕቲ እዚ ኣብ ሓምሌ 2016 ክውዳእ ትጽቢት ዝግበረሉ ኮይኑ፡ ንውልቃዊ ሓበሬታ ዝምልከት ድማ እቲ ፕሮጀክት ምስ ተፈጸመ ድሕሪ ሽዱሽተ ኣዋርሕ ከም ዝድምሰሰ/ዝጠፍእ ይግበር። ብስምምዕ ናትኩም ደቅኹም ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ክለዉ ብድምጽን ብቪድዮን ክቐርጹ ፍቓድ ሂብኩምኒ ኣለኹም ማለት እዩ። ፍቓድ ምሃብኩም ይኹን ዘይምሃብኩም ግን ውላድኩም ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ንዝግበረሉ ኣተኣላልዩ ዘምጽኡ ሳዕቤን/ለውጢ የሎን ጥራይ ዘይኮነ፡ ናብ ሰበሰልጣን ኖርወይ ናይ ዕቕዓን ምልክታ ናይ ዘቐረቡ ስድራቤት ጉዳይ ኣተሓሕዞ ጉዳይን ውጽኢትን ወን ዘስዕቦ ለውጢ የሎን።

ኣብዚ ፕሮጀክት እዚ ደቅኹም ክካፈሉ እሓትት፡ ስለዚ ንስኻትኩምውን ከም ወለዲ ወይ ሞግዚታት መጠን ንደቅኹምም ዕላማ ናይዚ ፕሮጀክት ክተብርሁሎምን ደቅኹም ኣብዚ ፕሮጀክት ብርግጽ ክካፈሉ ዝደልዩ ምጵናምን ክተረጋግጹ ኣለኩም። ደቅኹም ኣብዚ መጽናዕቲ እዚ ክካፈሉ እንተ ኣፍቂድኩም ኣብዚ ተተሓሓዙ ዘሎ ናይ ስምምዕ ቅጺ ክትፍርሙ እሓትኩም ኣለኹ። ድሕሪኡ እቲ ቅጺ ኣቐዲሙ ቴምብር ኣብ ዝተኸፍለሉ ጳሎጥ ዓሺግኩም ብዝቐልጠፈ ግዜ ትሰዱዎ ወይ ድማ ብቐጥታ ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ንዘላ ሓላፊት ትህቡዎ።

እዚ መጽናዕቲ እዚ ብናይ ብሕትና ስትረት ተሓላቓይ ንመጽናዕቲ፡ ኣገልግሎት ሓበሬታ ኖርወጃዊ ማሕበራዊ ስነፍልጠት (NSD) ዝጸደቐ እዩ።

ብዛዕባ እዚ ቅጺ እዚ ሕቶታት ምስ ዝህልወኩም ወይ ድማ ብዛዕባ ውጽኢት ናይቲ ፕሮጀክት ሓበሬታ ምስ እትደልዩ፡ ናጻ ቪዥኩም ንዓይ ወይ ድማ ንመምህራይ ናብ NTNU ማሕበራዊ መጽናዕቲ፡ ኣብ ቊጽሪ ቴሌፎን +47 73596210 ወይ ኣድራሻ ኢሜይል፡ kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no ወይ ፕሮፈሰር ማርኮ ቫለንታ ኢልኩም ኣብ ቊጽሪ ቴሌፎን +47 73591542 ወይ ኣድራሻ ኢሜይል፡ marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no ክትረኽቡኒ ትኽእሉ ኢኹም።

Tigrinia

ምስ ዕዘ-ዘ ሰላምታ
ክሪስ ካልክማን

ናይ ፍቓድ ቅጹ ንተካፈልቲ መጽናዕታዊ ፕሮጀክት:

ስምዒት ተቐባልነት ናይ መንእሰያት ሓተትቲ ዕቕዓን (2013-2016)

እነ “ስምዒት ተቐባልነት ናይ መንእሰያት ሓተትቲ ዕቕዓን” ኣብ ዝተገብረ መጽናዕታዊ ፕሮጀክት ክሳተፍ ናይ ጽሑፍ ሓበሬታ ከም ዝተቐበልኩን ክሳተፍ ከም ዝደልን፡ ደቀይ ኣብ መዋእለ ሕጻናት ከለዉ ብድምጹ ይኹን ቪድዮ ክቐርጹ ፍቓድ ሂበ ከም ዘለኹ ኣረጋግጽ ኣለኹ።

ዕለት: ክታም: ቀንጽ ጽሑፍ:

Mülteci kökenli çocukların anaokullarındaki günlük tecrübeleri ile ilgili tez çalışması hakkında bilgilendirme ve katılım talebi

Merhaba! Benim adım Kris Kalkman ve ben bu aralar Trondheim'deki Norveç Teknik ve Fen Bilimleri Üniversitesi'nde (NTNU) bir doktora tezi üzerinde çalışıyorum. Tezin amacı mülteci kökenli çocukların anaokullarındaki günlük tecrübelerine daha yakından bakmaktır. Bu araştırmayı çocukların diğer çocuklarla olan etkileşimini inceleyerek ve anaokulundaki tecrübeleri konusunda çocuklarla ve çalışanlarla görüşme yaparak gerçekleştireceğim. Çocuğunuzun anaokulunda yaşadıkları ile ilgili düşüncelerini dinleyerek ve gözlem yaparak gelişme sağlanabilececek önemli hususları ortaya çıkartabilirim. Veri toplama yöntemim şu şekildedir: çocuklardan kendi başlarına sanat eserleri yapmalarını rica ederim ve daha sonra onları bu eserler hakkında konuşmaya davet ederim.

Bu bilgi metni ve ekteki katılım davetiyesi aracılığı ile çocuğunuz anaokulundayken ses ve görüntüsünü kaydedebilmem için sizlerin, çocuğun ebeveynlerinin veya velilerinin, onayını istihdam ediyorum. Çocuğun günlük etkileşimini kaydetmek ve çocuğunuzla (sanat eseri projesi kapsamında) çocuğunuzun anaokulundaki günlük yaşamı üzerine resmi bir görüşme yapmak istiyorum. Ayrıca anaokulu çalışanlarından da izlenim edinmelerini, not almalarını ve benim bizzat bulunamadığım zamanlarda yapılan ve çocuğunuz katıldığı etkinliklerin ses ve görüntü kayıtlarını almalarını isteyeceğim. Bu izlenimler, notlar ve ses ve görüntü kayıtları daha sonra benimle paylaşılıp değerlendirilecektir. Bu araştırmaya çocuğunuzun katılmasına onay vermediğiniz müddetçe çocuğunuzun kimliğini deşifre ettiren her hangi bir ses veya görüntü kaydı yapılmayacaktır. Onay vermek için ekteki onay formunu doldurup geri iade etmeniz gerekir.

Bu projeye katılımın tamamen isteğe bağlı olduğunun altının çizilmesi gerekir. İsteddiğiniz zaman çocuğunuzun katılımını geri çekebilir ve çocuğunuz ile ilgili edinilen verilerin (ses ve görüntü kayıtlarının) çalışmanın dışında tutulmasını talep edebilirsiniz. Bendeniz ve akıl hocam olan profesör Marko Valenta dışında hiç kimsenin kimliksaptayıcı bilgilere ulaşma yetkisi yoktur. Kimlik saptayıcı bilgilerin tamamı hukuki koruma altındadır ve gizlilik içerisinde kullanılacaktır. Bu doktora tezinin Temmuz 2016'da sonlandırılması öngörülmektedir ve kimlik saptayıcı bilgilerin tamamı projenin tamamlanmasından altı ay sonra imha edilecektir. Onay vermekle çocuğunuzun anaokulundayken ses ve görüntü kaydını yapmama izin vermiş olacaksınız. Onay verip vermemeniz ne çocuğunuzun anaokulunda gördüğü muameleyi ne de ailenin Norveçli yetkililerce değerlendirilmekte olan iltica başvurusunun neticesini etkileyecektir.

Bu projeye çocuğunuzun katılması rica olunur. Bundan dolayı sizlerin ebeveyn veya veli olarak projenin amacı konusunda çocuğunuzun bilgilendirmeniz ve çocuğunuzun da katılmayı isteyip istemediğini açıklığa kavuşturmanız benim için önemlidir. Çocuğunuzun bu çalışmaya katılımını onaylıyorsanız aşağıdaki onay formunu imzalamanızı istihdam ederim. Daha sonra bu formu mümkün olduğunca hızlı bir şekilde

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posta ücreti önceden ödenmiş olan zarfa koyarak veya doğrudan anaokulu müdürüne vererek geri iade etmeniz gerekir.

Bu tez çalışması, araştırmalardaki kişisel bilgileri koruma denetçisi olan Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (NSD) tarafından onaylanmıştır.

Bu onay talebi ile ilgili sorularınız varsa veya proje sonuçları hakkında bilgilendirilmek isterseniz NTNU Samfunnsforskning'de benimle veya benim akıl hocamla irtibata geçebilirsiniz. Benimle +47 735 96 210 nolu hattın veya kris.kalkman@samfunn.ntnu.no e-posta adresinden veyahut professor Marko Valenta ile + 47 735 91 245 nolu hattın veya marko.valenta@svt.ntnu.no e-posta adresinden irtibata geçebilirsiniz.

Saygılarımla
Kris Kalkman

Tez çalışması projesine katılım için onay forumu:
Genç mültecilerin aidiyet duygusu (2013-2016)

Yazılı bilgilendirmenin elime geçtiğini ve "Genç mültecilerin aidiyet duygusu" isimli tez çalışmasına katılmaya ve anaokulundayken çocuğumun ses ve görüntü kayıtlarının alınmasına onay verdiğimi bildiririm.

Tarih: İmza: Telefon: