Master's thesis

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Social and Educational Sciences
Department of Education and Lifelong Learning

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Latinoness on display: Latino children and families doing culture and family in the transnational space

Master's thesis in Childhood Studies
Supervisor: Ida Marie Lysså
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Abstract

This research study explores the everyday life navigation of children and families with *Latino* background in Trondheim, Norway. Underpinned by the application of child-centered, participatory and human rights-based approaches, children and their families are included as participants in this research. Based on the recognition of childhood as a context-dependent social category within the research field of Childhood studies, the definition of *childhood* within *Latino* culture is brought into the analysis of children's experiences of the context. Thus, taking into consideration the existent relations of interdependence informed by *Latino* cultural values, such as *familism* and *respeto*, children's and families' individual and collective experiences are addressed through the application of an actor-oriented approach. The role that Latino families play in their children's lives provides a backdrop for understanding their experiences of the context through adaptation and resistance, influencing the re-definition of their cultural identities and the development of sense of *place* and belonging. Latino children's everyday navigation is informed by the performance of their cultural identity for reading, interpreting and understanding the new socio-cultural setting. As a result, the participants re-define their cultural identity by setting up differentiation criteria in relation to *Norwegians.* Based on these cultural differences, this study proposes two terms for gathering those features that determine individuals' membership to one group or another: *Latinoness* and *Norwegianness,* two relational but not opposite categories. Thus, *Latinoness* becomes a unifier criterion of the widely in-group diversity among Latinos, emphasizing the role of culture for creating *imagined communities*. As fluid and contingent, *culture* becomes a tool for facing the multiple challenges that transnational migration brings about. Through its use in daily life, children and families shape the meaning that their culture takes, while finding their place in a different setting.

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List of Abbreviations (or Symbols)

NSD	Norsk Senter for forskningsdata
NTNU	The Norwegian University of Science and Technology
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on The Rights of The Child
USA	United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction

In a globalized world, the opportunity and need to move to a new country has become more and more prevalent. Moved by different reasons and needs, individuals and families from around the world migrate in search of a better life and future in a new country. During the last decades, many European countries have become appealing destinations for immigrants from different parts of the world (Pellegrino, 2004). Thus, Norway, a small country on a global scale with a relatively strong welfare state, became an attractive destination for migrants, transforming and diversifying its ethnic composition (Andreassen, 2013; Brochmann, 2011). Because of a migration process that started in the 1950s, triggered by a wide variety of reasons, today about 18.5 % of the total population of Norway consists of immigrants (persons born abroad of two foreign-born parents and grandparents) and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents (born in Norway of two parents born abroad and with four grandparents born abroad) (SSB, 2021b). The gradual opening of the Scandinavian countries' borders and, later, within the European Union, in addition to national policies on labor migration, refugees and family reunification from non-European countries, enabled the entrance of these migratory flows (Pettersen, 2013).

In Norway, after a liberal set of regulations on immigration ("Fremmedloven"), temporary measures were progressively introduced, finishing with the enaction of the "immigration halt" introduced in 1975 for stopping migration (Cappelen, 2011). However, immigration continued mainly driven by humanitarian grounds. Thus, different groups of asylum seekers from Iran, Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Latino countries like Chile entered the country (Nadim, 2019). As part of these migratory flows, Chileans became one of the first Latino immigrants in Norway due to the political, economic and democratic instability that Chile experienced during Augusto Pinochet dictatorship. After the military coup d'état of 1973 and the massive persecution followed by human rights violations, several Chileans fled into exile, creating the first wave of Chilean immigrants in Europe, many of whom came to Norway (Knudsen, 2001). Between 2000 and 2010, Norway's membership in the European Economic Area (EEA) (from 1994) and the Schengen agreement (2001) resulted in higher labor immigration and, later, family related immigration (Cappelen, 2011).

Nowadays, about half of all immigrants in Norway are from countries in Asia, Africa or Latin America, like in other Scandinavian countries (Pettersen, 2013). With around 28 695 (SSB, 2022) inhabitants, the Latin American community is relatively small in comparison to other foreign communities, which has placed it as a minority group, making the visibility of its members' experiences, challenges and contributions to the Norwegian society difficult. It is within this diverse Norwegian society that this study is placed, motivated by the particular interest in the Latino community. For this reason, this study aims to explore how children and families with Latino background experience everyday life in Trondheim, one of the largest cities in Norway and one of the 11 counties with the highest number of persons with an immigrant background (Kommunal-og-distriktsdepartementet, 2019; Østby, 2015; World-Population-Review, 2021). By focusing on children and Latino families' perspectives and experiences grounded on their ethnic and cultural background, and their belonging to different generations, the main concern of this study is to address how children individually and collectively deal with issues of adaptation and socialization and the role of family in such processes.

1.1. Research statement

This research study explores Latino children's and families' individual and collective experiences of everyday life as transnational migrants in Trondheim, Norway. Underpinned by the theoretical framework of the research field of Childhood Studies, this research is informed by its definition of *childhood* as a socially and culturally constructed category and the recognition of children as competent social actors and right-holders, enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (Cuevas-Parra, 2019; Lange, 2009). Based on these considerations, both participatory, rights-based and child-centered approaches are used when including children as participants and examining their day-to-day experiences. Under the participatory and rights-based approaches, children's treatment and inclusion in research as subjects and participants is grounded on the recognition of their capacities as social actors, reliable informants and experts in their own lives, demanding the respect of their rights (Abebe, 2009; Ennew, 2009).

By recognizing children's capacities and entitlements as individuals and research participants, their voices and experiences must be valued and given due weight. For that purpose, the application of the child-centered approach can be useful for putting children and their voices in the spotlight without disregarding those adults who are part of their social world (Ennew, 2009). Hence, taking into consideration the twofold definition of *child,* as individuals and members, within Latino culture (Bruheim, 2020; Umaña-Taylor, 2013), the inclusion of their families as participants can provide a backdrop for contextualizing children's experiences. In this way, children's participation (McNamee, 2012) goes hand in hand with the definition of childhood as a socio-cultural category (Lange, 2009), informing the methodological and ethical considerations, as well as the selection and application of tools. Thus, through the individual and collective use of participatory tools across three stages, the participants partook in different activities according to their level of comfort and engagement with the research questions, enabling the process of cross checking the findings. In this way, accessing children's opinions in harmony with the underlying cultural values that inform their relations at family level was ethically possible.

1.2. Personal motivation

The personal migratory experience, settlement and beginning of a new life in Norway gave rise to multiple cultural clashes and adaptation challenges that led the researcher to question the power of socio-cultural boundaries. Thus, driven by a feeling of detachment of her taken-for-granted worldview and the increasing uncertainty about the future, exploring the Norwegian socio-cultural context became a strategy for making Norway her *place*. In such a process, re-thinking and re-defining her own identity(-ies) and position within the new setting was necessary. In addition to these experiences and encounters with a different culture and society, her experience as student in the MPhil Childhood Studies program at NTNU represented an opportunity for questioning and enhancing her previous academic knowledge and background. As a lawyer, the researcher's prior considerations of childhood were imbued by an overarching need of protecting children of an "adult world" in which they were mostly placed as vulnerable and passive subjects. For this reason, the MPhil Childhood Studies program provided a set of tools for re-thinking previous ideas, growing her interest in listening to children's voices and firsthand experiences not only as a means for protecting them, but also as an end itself. Moreover, the scarce visibility and knowledge about the *Latino* community in Norway and its position as a minority group contributed to increase the

researcher's interest in *Latino* children's and families' experiences and challenges. Driven by these academic motivations and empathy, the main goal of this thesis project was to create a respectful and safe space for accessing the participants' voices, to make their experiences, feelings, hopes and worldviews visible in a widely diverse setting like Trondheim, Norway.

1.3. Purpose of the study

The present study seeks to explore how children and families with *Latino* background navigate together everyday life in Trondheim by actively dealing with difference and the socio-cultural challenges and pressures that arise when socializing in a different arena. With around 26 713 inhabitants in Norway and 1729 in Trondheim, the Latino community is relatively small in comparison to other migrant communities and ethnic groups (SSB, 2021b, 2022). For that reason, Latino values, insights and culture are under-represented, impeding the visibility of the challenges, adaptation efforts and contributions of its members to the Norwegian society. In daily life, children and families, individually and collectively, face different barriers such as the language, climate conditions, racial differences, cultural values and traditions and so forth, responding to those challenges through the application of different strategies. Based on the need of including the Latino community in a more effective and ethical fashion, this project focuses on children's and Latino families' perspectives by taking into consideration their belonging to different generations and culture with respect to the host society. Furthermore, due to the scarce visibility of the Latino community in Norway, this study intends to set up the basis for an increasing interest in this minority group through the dissemination of basic knowledge about their members' experiences.

Unlike other ethnic groups, the information available about the history of Latino migration to Europe is limited, being only quantifiable in countries with higher Latino population (Pellegrino, 2004). In the case of Norway and most Scandinavian countries, where the Latino community is smaller than in other European countries, there is limited information and research on Latino migration history and patterns, as well as on Latino culture. Some research studies that include Latinos have focused on mental health issues, in which ethnicity, social factors and living conditions play an important role (Sundquist, 1995a, 1995b). Moreover, the academic knowledge and child research with or about Latino children is scarce. Following this field of interest, studies about attention deficit hyperactivity disorders that include children with Latino background have been conducted in countries like Sweden (Osooli, 2021). In Norway, the existent information, published in English language, about Latino immigration is limited to statistics and demographic analysis provided by Statistics Norway. In the same way, research on Latino culture and understanding of childhood and family has focused on the effects of family reunification policies on Latino-Norwegian families (Bedoya, 2016). Due to the rare information on the topic, there is a need for participatory research aimed to access Latino children's opinions and experiences for generating knowledge under Latino cultural parameters to which this research study seeks to contribute with.

1.4. Research Aims and questions

This research aims to explore Latino children's and their families' experiences of everyday life in Trondheim, Norway. For this purpose, this study seeks to investigate:

- How are children's identity, sense of place and belonging created through daily life experiences in Norway?
- In which ways children's ideas and cultural values can challenge their family and peer relations?
- What are the main differences between generations based on children's experiences in Trondheim?
- How do families perform their collective identity in everyday life?

1.5. Thesis outline

This study is made up of seven chapters:

Chapter 1 introduces the research topic and explains the personal motivation, purpose of the study, aims and objectives and the research questions.

Chapter 2 provides the background of the study, which outlines the political-economic context of Norway in which the study is carried out and addresses potential socio-cultural differences and commonalities between the Norwegian and Latino identities and constructions of childhood.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodological approaches that underpin this study, mainly focused on children´s inclusion in research as subjects and participants, alongside the dualistic definition of children under the Latino culture and the important role of their families. In doing so, the arising methodological and ethnical challenges are discussed in relation to both generations of participants from Latino cultural lenses. In addition, it discusses the use, potentials and limitations in the application of participatory tools.

Chapter 4 explores the underlying theoretical basis of the study to address the participants' experiences from an interdisciplinarian perspective and the research tradition of childhood studies through the lenses of an actor-oriented perspective. Moreover, issues of identity, place and belonging are presented in relation to the process of transnational migration, providing a background for addressing the re-configuration of family and culture as mobile entities.

Chapter 5 presents the empirical results and findings through a tripartite analysis: (1) the construction of *Norwegianness* and *Latinoness* from participants' perspectives, (2) the importance of belonging in doing *Latinoness*, (3) the role of race and ethnicity in setting up difference and (4) a final discussion about the intergenerational co-construction of Latino identity and culture as fluid.

Chapter 6 continues with the presentation and discussion of the findings through an analysis made up of four parts: (1) children and parents doing *Latino* families in Trondheim, (2) *Latino* children doing childhood and its impact on parenting, (3) children's roles in doing family after migration and (4) the re-conceptualization of transnational *togetherness* and *Latino* family.

Chapter 7 concludes the research project and presents its potential further implications.

Chapter 2: Background of the study

This study focuses on children's and Latino families' experiences of everyday life in Trondheim, Norway, as individuals and family members with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. It has been argued that children are structurally differentiated within societies and thus their needs, rights and experiences of childhood are ascribed and restricted along dominant ideologies (Bruheim, 2020). Thus, to understand children's views and everyday experiences in a certain context, it is pivotal to pay attention to the scenario in which childhood(s) and the discourses behind are performed. In the Norwegian case, after a long migratory process started decades ago, Norway has become an increasingly multi-ethnic and cultural society (Kyllingstad, 2017) in which different discourses about children and childhood coexist and are performed, shaping and being shaped by structural factors. For this reason, this chapter focuses on the political-economic context of Norway where the study is carried out, as well as on potential socio-cultural differences and commonalities between the Norwegian and Latino identities and constructions of childhood. In doing so, migration-related issues, such as Norwegian migratory policies and the history and conditions of Latino immigration, are presented to provide a backdrop that could be relevant for the analysis developed in the following chapters.

2.1. Country Profile of Norway

The study is conducted in Trondheim, one of the largest cities in Norway with the highest number of inhabitants with immigrant background (Østby, 2015; World-Population-Review, 2021). Norway is a Scandinavian country whose independence from Sweden dates back to 1905, after the dissolution of the union between both nations (Tysdal, 2007). The Nordic model of welfare state has become known for its ability to combine equality and efficiency mirrored in egalitarian income distributions, little poverty, political stability and high levels of redistribution (Brochmann, 2011). With a welfare state grounded on the principle of universal social rights, a public system of solidarity and refugee policies, Norway has become an attractive destination for migrants seeking a better life (Slettebak, 2020; West, 2017). During the last 35 years, the so considered ethnically homogeneous Norwegian society has been transformed by the growth in the immigrant population into an increasingly plural society (Oppedal, 2007). According to Statistics Norway (2021b), about 18.5 % (997 942 inhabitants) of the total population in Norway are immigrants (persons born abroad of two foreign-born parents and grandparents) and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents (born in Norway of two parents with four grandparents born abroad). The current demographic diversity in Norway can be identified by looking at the wide variety of immigrants' ethnic and cultural backgrounds from around 220 different countries and autonomous regions distributed across the country (Andreassen, 2013; Martiny, 2020). This ethno-cultural diversity was facilitated by the opening of state borders and the enactment of national policies on labor migration, refugees and family reunification from countries outside the European Union that took place the last decades (Pettersen, 2013). This migratory process which started in the 1950s has also impacted on the demographic composition in an ageing society as Norway (Thorud, 2020). Nowadays, Norway's youth population under 20 years of age is higher and so does the immigrant population within this group with about 25% (SSB, 2021b). In this context of diversity, this study aims to explore how Latino children and families experience everyday life.

2.2. Migration, integration policies and families dynamics

As part of the Nordic region, in 1954 Norway passed to share a common labor market with other Nordic countries and later became part of the European labor market, favoring the entrance of migratory flows from different European countries. Until the start of the 1970s, these migrant populations from all the European and non-European countries, who entered and settled down in the country, triggered a process of ethnic and cultural diversification of the formerly «homogeneous» Norwegian society (Andreassen, 2013). After the oil crisis in 1973, in a context of war and persecution in many parts of the world (Chile, Vietnam, Iran, among others), these migratory flows of workers from countries outside the Nordic region stopped and a long period of family reunification started. Since 2004, after the expansion of the European Union, Norway started experiencing an increase in immigration mainly composed of work migrants again (Ahedo, 2017; Pettersen, 2013). This process of ethno-cultural diversification, produced by migration, has given rise to a controversy mainly with respect to immigrants' economic integration, grounded on different political discourses. As in other European countries, since the 1970s and 80s, the Nordic countries started adopting a wide array of migration and integration policies, passing from assimilationist practices to more liberal regulations aimed to protect its citizenry economic and political rights (Ahedo, 2017). In doing so, these countries re-oriented their migration and integration policies towards a *civic turn* so as to achieve migrants' *civic integration*. This new cluster of policies aimed to control immigrants' entrance and settlement by strengthening prior requirements for obtaining citizenship and nationality (Bech, 2017).

This shift towards stricter policies was triggered by the increasing concern of the governments and civil society on the growing migratory flows and potential economic dependence of the newcomers, a *threat* for the welfare state and its *economic sustainability* (Ahedo, 2017; Bech, 2017; Buch, 2018). As in other Nordic countries, the Norwegian welfare state was the product of *consensus,* built up based on ethno-cultural homogeneity (Ahedo, 2017; Martiny, 2020). To Freeman (1986), the welfare states are by nature closed systems, requiring the existence of boundaries in the access to their benefits. By sharing a common membership, such as the belonging to a same society, citizens are entitled to access those benefits in case of need and thanks to the other members' solidarity. Following the need of limiting the generous welfare distribution and avoiding migrants' dependence of the system to guarantee *economic sustainability* and avoid its overburden, the new policies aimed to restrict and select those migrants worthy of becoming new members (Brochmann, 2011). To Grødem (2016), the success and subsistence of the Nordic welfare states, as providers of public support, have always depended on their interplay with high employment rates in the labor market where most immigrants struggle to participate. The Nordic welfare states, then, have conditioned immigrants' participation to the fulfilment of certain requirements contained in migration-related policies aimed at their *civic integration* (Bech, 2017). These *civic integration* policies and welfare regimes interact through a number of mechanisms containing a sense of *civicness* that goes beyond the economic domain (Koopmans, 2009).

The sense of *civicness* entails the acquisition of country knowledge, language and liberal-democratic values, as well as the fulfilment of some economic requirements such as certain employment record, income level, education and self-sufficiency (Bech, 2017). The fulfilment of such conditions determines the acquisition and exercise of certain fundamental rights for immigrants, such as their right to family life through the possibility of bringing over a spouse from their country of origin or obtaining a residence permit (Bech, 2017; Koopmans, 2009). Through

these stricter immigration policies, the Norwegian government could exert more control over immigration, affecting immigrants' possibilities of family reunification by restricting their access and conditioning their permanence and settlement in the country (Borevi, 2017). Notwithstanding the issues above, *diversity* brought by immigration is also deemed a threat in ethno-cultural terms. To Hagelund (2003), these emergent restrictive immigration policies also seek to avoid possible ethnic conflicts and cultural issues brought by migrants and their families. This discourse was brought to the political arena where *culture* was considered *a difference criterion* embodied in the immigrants, a moral category that may be either good or bad and, thus, a potential threat for peace and harmony. Thereby, to restrict the movement and entrance of undesired migrants through strong immigration policies was deemed necessary (Bedoya, 2016).

In this respect, Koopmans (2009) argues that culture may be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, linguistic and cultural assimilation improve migrants' chances on the labor market but put aside their culture. On the other hand, multicultural policies may be detrimental for development and engagement in the labor market. Therefore, due to the need of guaranteeing the economic sustainability of the welfare state, Norway's integration and inclusion policy seeks to make immigrants able to participate in the labor market and society as soon as possible. Based on the need of their *civic integration*, immigrants first and later their families and children have the right/duty to learn the Norwegian language, through different programs and modalities in order to qualify for permanent residence (Staver, 2015). These integration policies and the discourses behind may affect immigrant children and families not only in entering the country and settling down, but also in establishing new social relations and acquiring the necessary skills to ensure their participation in all society's arenas (Hagelund, 2002). Many migrant children grow up in a different culture with respect to their peers in the host society, whilst others grow up in a culture that is different from their family's (Martiny, 2020). Such exposure to different and multiple cultural backgrounds may influence the construction of children's identity in a more complex fashion (Anderson, 2015), as well as their interaction in different social settings. To Olwig (2011), in this scenario of challenges and differences family relations play a central role in the establishment of a new life in the receiving societies.

2.3. Latinos in Norway: collectivism and childhood

Unlike other European countries, in Norway the Latin American community is relatively small in comparison to other foreign communities. A few decades ago, European countries, such as Spain, Portugal or Italy, received massive migratory flows during 1970s and 1980s due to the political, social and economic crisis that most Latin American countries were going through. Thus, refugees and exiles arrived in Europe seeking for a new beginning. In the case of the Nordic countries, which received lower levels of immigration from Latin America, Sweden was the country with higher levels of immigrants in such period, followed by Norway (Pellegrino, 2004). Despite their efforts for stopping migration, these countries continue receiving immigrants because of humanitarian grounds, opening their borders to different groups of asylum seekers fleeing the violence of their countries. Within these groups, immigrants from Latino countries like Chile arrived in Norway, becoming one of the first groups of Latino immigrants (Knudsen, 2001; Nadim, 2019). Nowadays, around 26 713 inhabitants in Norway are Latino immigrants (including immigrant children) or have a Latino background, including those children born to immigrants' parents. Within this population, around 7 993 and 6 346

inhabitants come from Chile and Brazil respectively, being the two majoritarian groups in comparison to other Latin American countries (SSB, 2022).

Latino is an umbrella term mostly used to refer to people who have their origins in Mexico, Central or South America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean (Harwood, 2002; Nicoletti, 2010). The *Latino* community is an ethnic group that shares common roots, a common language and religion or religious influence, history and family structure (Nicoletti, 2010). Although this label represents a group of people who share a history of colonization by Spain with the subsequent Spanish speaking heritage, *Latinos* are not a single and homogeneous group, but a diverse one made up of nationals from more than 20 countries with different values, traditions and, even, languages (Harwood, 2002; Nicoletti, 2010). As a heterogeneous group, *Latinos* differ among themselves in terms of their country of origin, historical and personal reasons of migration, socioeconomic status and even in terms of race, since this group includes Native American, European and African descendants (Harwood, 2002; Kim, 2009). Many Latinos are not Spanish speakers due to their belonging to indigenous peoples or countries that have been under the influence of countries like the United States of America and France during the last years, after the independence periods of some of these former colonies (Nicoletti, 2010).

Notwithstanding the existent diversity within this ethnic group, a common cluster of values, traditions and ideas are usually associated to this population and to the core of their social relations at different levels. *Latino,* as a global construct, is related to family and collectivistic values associated to *Latinos* who are usually deemed very family- and group-oriented (Kim, 2009). According to Ho (2004), the set of common cultural values that inform the Latino-American relationships includes *familism*, *marianismo*, personalism, dignity, *respeto* (proper demeanor), machismo, hierarchy (terms further discussed below), among others. These unifying cultural values distinguish Latinos from other groups and serve as the foundation for Latin American family and relationships, placed in the core of *Latino* culture because of its *collectivistic* and *sociocentric* character (Bermúdez, 2010; Gudykunst, 1991). Under the *Latino* culture, individuals are defined on the basis of a *sociocentric* model in which their experiences of the self are explained in relation to their roles in a group, community and family (Kusserow, 1999). This interdependence among individuals based on their membership is the basis of ingroup cooperation in collectivistic cultures like the Latino (Falicov, 2014). In opposition to an individualistic system of values, *collectivism* is founded on the idea of *interdependence* which entails connectedness among human beings as part of a wider group. Such connectedness influences each other's behavior based on the thoughts, feelings and actions of others in the relationship (Greenfield, 2013; Harwood, 2002).

The *Latino* culture is usually seen as *sociocentric* and *collectivistic*, as their internal relationships and dynamics among its members are built up on the idea of collectivism, harmony, cooperation, shared responsibility and accountability, emphasizing the group over the individual (Gudykunst, 1998). Under these *sociocentric* values, *Latino* families' structures, organization, dynamics and parenting practices emphasize and encourage *interdependence* among family members (Umaña-Taylor, 2013). Therefore, children socialize under such scheme, placing a greater emphasis on family-members obligations to the family and larger group rather than on individual needs or desires (Harwood, 2002; Umaña-Taylor, 2013). Among other *collectivistic* or *sociocentric* values, *respeto* and *familismo* are two concepts often used to explain family dynamics and relations within households that share *Latino* ethnic heritage (Harwood, 2002). Unlike *individualism*, which prioritizes personal goals over the in-group goals, *collectivism*, the basis of *familismo* or *familism*,

is a system of values that gives priority to in-group goals over personal ones. Two key components are relevant when talking about *familism*: the members' feeling of belonging to the group, different from other persons who are outsiders, and the integration of individual activities for the achievement of family objectives (Greenfield, 2013). *Familism*, as the core value of *Latino* culture, emphasizes obligation, loyalty, reciprocity, solidarity, support and obedience, as well as the belief that the *family* is central in individual's life as an extension of self (Bermúdez, 2010; Harwood, 2002; Kim, 2009).

In this context, the term *family,* the main single social unit in *Latinos'* lives, goes beyond the traditional nuclear family (parents and children) and includes extended family members who interact with each other through relations of mutual support. These close ties between family members give rise to larger and more cohesive social networks with a subsequent sense of moral responsibility to aid and protect each other in case of difficulties (Clutter, 2009; Harwood, 2002). In doing so, the sense of solidarity and support among family members is also translated to child-rearing and protective and authoritative parenting practices, as well as in Latino children's socialization (Ayon, 2015; Bruheim, 2020; Harwood, 2002). The earlier interaction with different family members plays a role in children's social world, reinforcing their sense of family membership and the importance of family cooperation and interdependence. Family ties and interdependence relationships under the Latino cultural values may provide a sense of support, community, comfort and sense of place and belonging, facilitating the elaboration of coping strategies to deal with hardships and the development of resilience (Kim, 2009). Within Latino culture, children are seen as part of a larger context, included and inserted into the family group, a community, an environment and not only as single individuals and all their features are seen and explained in relation to those settings (Bruheim, 2020).

Following these considerations, children socialization within these arenas demands families to instill in their children other values, such as the importance of respect and honor, necessary to guarantee children's proper social interaction. *Respeto* is one of the main values placed in the Latino culture and family, as well as core personality trait aimed to ensure interdependence and harmony. *Respeto* or *proper demeanor* is by definition knowing the level of courtesy and decorum required to interact with other people in a given situation (Harwood, 2002). Depending on the age, gender and authority of the subjects involved, *respeto* will manifest differently, governing all positive, reciprocal, interpersonal relationships (Bermúdez, 2010; Harwood, 2002). The term *respeto* possesses a wider meaning than the English *respect*, including the respect for the role of each member in the family and the subsequent rules of behavior and manners that children are taught to be respected by the other members (Halgunseth, 2006). Tightly connected to the notion of *respeto*, *hierarchy* is another concept frequently used to describe Latino families (Bermudez, 2010). Within Latino families, it is a cultural norm that all children must be respectful toward all adults grounded on the existence of a generational hierarchy, in terms of authority and age, within the family (Bermúdez, 2010; Clutter, 2009). Hence, children are expected to obey their parents, and younger siblings to the older ones, who are their role models. Such *respeto* entails rules of behavior, manners and etiquette (use of formal language and greetings), applicable not only to children's interaction within families, but also to other social settings (Clutter, 2009; Harwood, 2002).

Under these cultural considerations (*respeto* and *familism*), in many cases, a higher degree of control over children's behavior within and outside the family are exerted by emphasizing the importance of parental and adult authority over children's autonomy (Harwood, 2002). Rule setting

and decision making reflect this hierarchical structure within family relations in which parents have ultimate authority to place limits on the child and the power to exert punitive control (Halgunseth, 2006). Yet, children's *obedience*, understood as an expression of respect, is not expected from all children in the same manner. *Latino* families' dynamics are usually ruled by gender-based differences that determine its members' interactions and child-rearing practices, as well as the internal family structure (Umaña-Taylor, 2013). These gender-based divisions are a product of the patriarchal ideology embedded in the inherited Catholicism, the majoritarian religion in Latin America, which provides the foundation for a common set of values, beliefs and practices (Contreras, 2002). The influence of the Hispanic Catholic church in Latin America dates to the continent's history of colonization but continues over time through religious symbols, rituals and meanings, which have been influenced by indigenous cultural roots. Underpinned by collectivistic values that inform family dynamics, structures and relationships, Catholicism continues taking place within families' everyday life and parenting practices (Campesino, 2006).

Following these considerations, values, such as *familism*, *marianismo* and machismo, play an important role within families, shaping their internal relationships. *Marianismo* is based on the Catholic ideal of the Virgin Mary that emphasizes her role as woman and mother, celebrating her self-sacrifice and suffering for her child, as well as her purity and chastity (Contreras, 2002; Gil, 1996). This role model of woman informs women socialization from early childhood by guiding their behavior towards femininity, submission, weakness, reservation and virginity (Mendez-Luck, 2016). On the other hand, *machismo* is defined as exaggerated masculinity, physical prowess and male chauvinism (Baca Zinn, 1994, as cited in Contreras, 2002:14; Harwood, 2002). Based on such expectations, most Latino families place the father as the head of the family, exercising a role of superior authority, and the mother as responsible for the home and a follower of father's authority (Bermúdez, 2010; Clutter, 2009). These traditional gender roles are translated in the division of household responsibilities between children and parents, decision making, parenting roles (mothers vs. fathers) and the request of control and obedience from children (daughters vs. sons) (Umaña-Taylor, 2013). This common set of values within the Latino culture are placed in the core of family structures and internal dynamics, being used as the basis for describing and understanding family relations within this so heterogenous group. Yet, the mobility and fluidity of Latino culture and family can shed light on nuances based on their members' personal and collective experiences, requiring bringing the conditions of the context into analysis.

2.4. Norwegianness: collective-individualism and childhood

Ethnically speaking, Norway has been considered a homogeneous society just transformed by the migratory process started in the 1950's (Oppedal, 2007). After its full independence from Denmark (1814) and Sweden (1905), the search for a genuine *Norwegianness* was at the core of nation-building political discourses aimed to fuel patriotism and national cohesion, driven by the need of distancing from the past (Vassenden, 2010). The concept of *Norwegianness* referred to a process of constructing a collective self-understanding about what meant to be *Norwegian* driven by the need of finding some national features and setting up differentiation with respect to *Scandinavianism* (Scandinavia regarded as a single cultural area). *Norwegianness* arises in an attempt to set up a new Norwegian identity hand in hand with its history as an independent nation-state and built up over the so-called *authentic* peasant culture, brought from the countryside to the city by the elites as "evidence" of Norwegians' distinctiveness, and the need of having their

own state (Eriksen, 1993). In consequence, some reified aspects of *peasant culture* were re-interpreted, becoming national symbols. *Norwegianness* was, then, built up over the idea of ethnic boundaries with respect to culturally similar neighboring countries like Sweden and Denmark (Eriksen, 1993). For that reason, the Norwegian elites deemed minority groups, such as Sami people, a threat to accomplish the nationalistic goals of integration and common identity, enacting policies aimed to eradicate any sense of cultural and linguistic distinctiveness (Bucken-Knapp, 2003). To Kyllingstad (2017), such nationalistic ideology and the construction of *Norwegianness* was thought not only in ethnic terms, but also in subtle racial terms.

Although the racial aspect of nationhood was not a decisive criterion for *Norwegianness*, it had significant implications for ethnic minorities. Thus, the Sami, the largest minority, were construed as members of a non-Nordic and Non-European race and, hence, racially inferior and different, becoming objects of cultural assimilation policies and interventions called *fornorskning* or *Norwegianization*, above all, during the Second World War period (Kyllingstad, 2017). After the Second World War, a process of cultural recognition and integration of Sami population in the Norwegian society, based on the new human rights discourse, started (Bucken-Knapp, 2003; Eriksen, 2010). Hence, when defining and understanding the concept of *Norwegianness*, it is necessary to stress the changes it has experienced over time according to the dominant ideological and political discourses, as well as the evolving definitions of nationhood in the international arena. Norway's membership to the League of Nations, as well as the arising of new legal instruments related to the recognition of minority groups' rights, grounded on the idea of equal rights for all citizens (such as the ILO Indigenous and tribal peoples Convention), prompted the shift towards a more plural construction of *Norwegianness.* Yet, this shift did not step away from the notion of Samis' ethnic distinctiveness (Bucken-Knapp, 2003; Kyllingstad, 2017). Thus, the term *citizenship* passed to play a pivotal role in defining membership and belonging to the Norwegian nation state.

The prior definition of *Norwegianness* was built up over an ethnic criterion rather than on the idea of *nationality* and *citizenship*. Such definition has gone through a process of adaptation to the prevailing political discourses and demographic conditions. Around 1970, Norway was an ethnically rather homogeneous society, but with ethnic minorities like the Sami and Romani, and around two per cent of population was born abroad or from two foreign-born parents (Vassenden, 2010). However, the increasing migratory flows, alongside the Norwegian authorities' attempts to implement several measures to regulate them, gave rise to a process of demographic diversification, becoming a multi-ethnic and cultural society (Andreassen, 2013; Cappelen, 2011; Hermansen, 2013). In consequence, as in other Western countries, the question of who belongs to the national community has been evoked in public debates and so does the need for non-ethnic definitions of the nation and Norwegian national identity (Friberg, 2021). Thus, going beyond the idea of common ancestry mainly on the basis of an ethnic criterion, the notions of nation and national identity underwent a process of public re-construction (Bertelsmann, 2012). In this respect, it is pivotal to stress the role of *cultural hybridity*, as a product of globalization, in the dissolution of over-arching schemes of identity (like social class and nation), producing singular integrated identities. In Norway, because of migration, the shift in the demographic conditions has claimed the need of re-thinking *Norwegianness* in a more inclusive fashion, passing from being exclusively defined in terms of *ethnicity* towards being made up of two dimensions: the *civic* (demos) and the *ethnic* (ethos), with the subsequent combination of both (Vassenden, 2010).

Nowadays, the Norwegian national identity is a mixture of both, enabling not only the existence of different notions of membership, but also the emergence of other differentiation criteria (Friberg, 2021; Vassenden, 2010). *Norwegianness* re-conceptualization has led to a contradictory dichotomization between Norwegian and non-Norwegian identities, still grounded on ethnicity-based and subtle racial arguments (Kyllingstad, 2017). Even though Norway is a society where the term *race* is never used neither in the public nor in the private arena, the updated notion of *Norwegianness* is still grounded on a subtle racial criterion, since the notion of whiteness, ethnicity, culture and citizenship (the civic) are blend with everyday discourses (Vassenden, 2010). The concept of *ethnic Norwegian* within the public discourse is commonly referred to as something distinct from *citizenship* that still contains a controversial racial connotation (Friberg, 2021). To Wade (2007), while skin color and country of origin are certainly important elements in classifying people, it is the *cultural stuff* that primarily determines a foreigner standing in the Norwegian society. Hence, even in the face of immense cultural change ethnic boundaries are more resilient than culture which is influenced by hybridization (Barth, 1969). Recognizing these differences can facilitate the process of understanding the overlapping elements embedded in the concept of *Norwegianness*, as well as the important role of the cultural element in the process of identity and membership construction in the Norwegian society. As other western societies, Norway has been labelled as *egalitarian* and *individualist*, but with some particularities. *Equality* and *integrity* of individuals are highly valued as components of Norwegians' identity (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017).

This *egalitarian individualism* ideology is expressed in the strong suspicion and rejection of social hierarchies based on gender, class or another differentiation criterion (Eriksen, 1993). The central value concept is *likhet* which means "likeness", "similarity", or "sameness", implying that social actors must consider themselves as the same to others and with the same value by emphasizing commonalities and playing down differences (Gullestad, 2002). Based on the *Law of Jante (Janteloven)*, the idea of *likhet* has been translated into the political arena, guiding the post-war period of Norwegian politics and setting up the basis of the concept of welfare state (Eriksen, 1993). Yet, within the Norwegian society, the principle of equality is not only a political concept, but also the major cultural premise due to its ethnic nature (Chinga-Ramirez, 2017). *Egalitarianism* and equality within the Norwegian culture are coupled with shared responsibility for maintaining the system that ensures individual opportunities: the welfare state. For that reason, the term *collective individualism* has been coined to explain the existent interdependence between the individuals and the state in the Norwegian political economy (Bakke, 2021). In the Norwegian society, *independence*, instead of communal values, is highly valued as the main definer of individuality (Gullestad, 1986).

Yet, individuality does not place individuals out of the community or exclude them from participation in society, which is carried out through conformity to norms, an expression of what could be called *collective individualism* (Bakke, 2021). Added to the egalitarian aspects and individuality of the Norwegian culture, *work-centrality* plays a fundamental role in the fulfilment of individuals' potential and collective participation in society through a valued contribution. These cultural values of *collective individualism* mitigate the idea of measuring individuals against each other based on their status or position in society, rejecting the statement that Norwegian culture is mainly individualistic (Bakke, 2021). Another characteristic of Norwegian culture, derived from the *collective individualism* that characterizes it, is the important role that individualism plays in defining Norwegians' identity by emphasizing *independence* and *self-sufficiency*. Characteristics

like the need of privacy, isolation, withdrawal, emotional detachment, power distance, as well as the avoidance of competition, conflict prestige and success, among others, are tightly interwoven to the Norwegian concept of *individualism* (Gullestad, 1986; Gurholt, 2008; Warner-Søderholm, 2012). Added to the notion of *egalitarianism,* being independent and the setting up of personal boundaries play a fundamental role as premises for social contact and cooperation within the Norwegian society, informing Norwegians' interactions within the different arenas of socialization (Eriksen, 1993; Gullestad, 1986).

A second feature that emerges when talking about Norwegian culture is the fundamental role that the rural connection and *friluftsliv* (outdoor life) plays in defining Norwegians' identity (Eriksen, 1993). This sentiment of nostalgia associated with an idyllic lifestyle and home of ancestors is often identified as a simple way of life grounded on green life-philosophy and environmental practices. In the Norwegian context, *friluftsliv* is widely recognized as a vital part of everyday life and a key symbol of Norwegian culture and identity. This interest on the social use of nature and outdoor life by enjoying holidays on *hytter* (cottages) or going skiing, among other activities, are emblematic practices and main topics within social interactions (Eriksen, 1993; Gurholt, 2008). It is at the heart of this traditional conceptualization of the Norwegian identity where children and childhood are placed as the core of national symbolism, aimed to maintain the idea of national community and set up ethnic and cultural boundaries. Following the ideas of love for nature and simple and honest ways of life interwoven with the ideal of life in the countryside, children's and childhood have become national symbols, assuming those natural qualities (Gullestad, 1997). Hence, children are seen as important assets for the nation, as well as core agents who play an important role in the process of cultural (re)production by performing the traditional ways of seeing life in Norway in different social settings. Consequently, the need of children's protection has emerged, setting up the state co-responsibility for their needs and interests, being underpinned by their consideration as subjects with individual rights (Nilsen, 2008; Cunningham as cited in Hollekim, 2016).

As argued by Bruheim (2020), children and childhood are socially and culturally constructed and determined rather than universally or biologically, and so do their needs and rights which are ascribed and restricted to the dominant ideology at the moment which ultimately affect how children are perceived and treated. Within the modern Norwegian society, the current definitions of children and childhood are the product of its evolution during industrialization and urbanization, passing from putting emphasis on work to an emphasis on free play among children, *friluftsliv*, independence and self-management (Gullestad, 1997). Intertwined with the above-mentioned common elements of the Norwegian cultural identity, this definition of childhood is translated into different social settings in which children interact, such as families, day-care centers and schools (Nilsen, 2008). Based on the interest in children's role in socialization, childrearing practices have followed the principles enshrined in the Norwegian national identity and welfare state, a product of the social consensus of a *collective individualistic* society like Norway. Parents have played a pivotal role setting up and marking the boundaries of personal space for children through their interaction with nature, outside play, *selvstendighet* (independence) and the self-manage of conflicts (Gullestad, 1997). Such ideals of a proper childhood are also put into practice in schools and day-care centers in which the *robust child* is placed as a symbol of Norwegian identity and cultural values (Nilsen, 2008).

Thus, children's upbringings and childrearing practices have followed the key notions of independence or *selvstendighet* which entails children's autonomy and their consideration as capable of doing tasks by themselves in and out of the home, as well as by the sense of *trygghet* or safety embedded in political rhetoric in Norway (Gullestad, 1997). Based on these prevailing ideas, childhood as an outdoor practice rooted in Norwegian culture is carried out by allowing school children, for example, to spend some time with their friend in nature and on streets without adult supervision (Frønes as cited in Solberg, 2015:115). Through these practices, children can develop and show their capacities by performing a fundamental role as core agents in the social (re)production of important Norwegian values, such as the love of nature and friluftsliv, as well as by stimulating and promoting families' participation in outdoor activities and life (Nilsen, 2008). Yet, it is important to emphasize the role that the welfare state has played in the re-configuration and practice of the current notion of childhood within the Norwegian society as a reflection of its main cultural values. The emergence of the Norwegian welfare state has facilitated the continuity of cultural practices and values, as well as the re-configuration of the current definition of childhood in Norway, influencing family dynamics and parenting and child-rearing practices. In Norway, the current dominant cultural understanding of the ideal family is characterized by its dual-breadwinner/state-care model in which both men and women are expected to work, since the welfare state share the responsibility for caring children through the provision of child-care services (Nadim, 2014).

Hence, although changes in women roles and family life have been restructured by negotiations in the division of households' tasks brought into home by egalitarian individualism, grounded on discourses of equality as *sameness*, it was the welfare state which facilitated such shift (Gullestad, 1997). Through the introduction of state incentives and regulations for balancing gender roles, fathers have been helped to achieve work-life balance and invest greater time with children, enabling women to pursue non-traditional careers and facilitating their entrance and continuity in the labor market (Warner-Søderholm, 2012). Because of this re-configuration of family dynamics, children have been exposed to non-traditional parent roles and the possibility of assuming a more active role not only as independent and equal individuals, but also as family members who can perform a role in the division of household tasks and negotiate their level of participation (Gullestad, 1997; Solberg, 2015). In this way, the so-called *sameness* and relative equality, important values within the Norwegian culture, are performed within Norwegian families, and so does children's autonomy, going beyond traditional gender dynamics still present in other cultures in which hierarchies between men and women inform social relations at different levels (Prieur, 2002). Yet, among other things, the welfare state role has also been determining in terms of family ties, underpinning the *collective individualistic* character of the Norwegian culture. To Gullestad (1997), the Norwegian welfare state has to some extent replaced family ties when it comes to economic provision.

Unlike other cultures and societies, in the Norwegian tradition because of the collective contribution to the welfare state through taxation, it is expected that the State will perform that role rather than the family (Warner-Søderholm, 2012). This defamiliarized welfare regime, grounded on a shared responsibility between the state and families on family-policy issues and the broad array of tax-funded social services, has shifted from the family unit to the promotion of more individualistic values. In doing so, the welfare state has enabled the subsistence of individualism, self-sufficiency and independence that characterize the Norwegian culture

(Bruheim, 2020). Thus, child rearing goals such as happiness, independence, self-maximization, self-confidence and creativity, are usually stressed over more collective values like obedience, among others, and are embedded in state institutions and welfare services (Hollekim, 2016). In the current multi-ethnic and cultural Norwegian society, multiple competing perspectives of children and childhood and the discourses behind those categories coexist (Graham as cited in Bruheim, 2020). For this reason, Norwegian considerations of parenting and child-rearing practices not only affect how Norwegian families and children are perceived and treated, but also immigrant families and their children (Hollekim, 2016). This dominant ideology behind parenting and child-rearing practices within the Norwegian society may collide with other cultural understandings, challenging immigrant families' dynamics.

This chapter provides a background for the study by presenting the political-economic and socio-cultural context of Norway wherein the research participants experience everyday life, as well as the existent differences and commonalities between *Latino* and Norwegian culture-based definitions of *childhood*. In doing so, migration-related issues, such as Norwegian migratory policies and the history and conditions of *Latino* immigration to the country, are presented to illustrate the position of the *Latino* community as a minority group. After a long migratory process started decades ago, Norway has become a multi-ethnic and cultural society (Kyllingstad, 2017) wherein different discourses about *childhood* coexist and are performed along dominant ideologies (Bruheim, 2020). The traditional definition of *childhood* within *Latino* culture is influenced by its sociocentric and collectivistic character, which places children within the family unity based on *respeto* (proper demeanor) and *familism* performed through relations of interdependence. On the other hand, the *egalitarian* and *individualist* character of Norwegian culture and identity, expressed through values like *likhet (*"likeness", "similarity", or "sameness"), *friluftsliv* and *selvstendighet* (independence) (Gullestad, 1997, 2002), informs the Norwegian mainstream definition of *childhood*. This definition is translated into different social arenas wherein children interact, informing children's socialization and parenting practices, making cultural differences emerge. For that reason, understanding the scenario wherein the participants' childhood takes place, as well as the discourses behind its performance, is necessary when exploring their individual and collective experiences of childhood in Norway.

Chapter 3: Methodology and ethics

Within the field of Childhood Studies, children's consideration as right-holders and active social subjects provides a framework to reconsider their participation in research. Translated into the legal domain, such recognition was enshrined in the main legal instrument in matters of children's rights: the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) adopted in 1989. Hence, a set of rights, parameters and principles to protect and encourage children's active participation in the issues that concern them was set up, requiring their application in the research arena (James, 2001). In consequence, children's inclusion in research has experienced a shift from researching *on* them to researching *with* them (McNamee, 2012), with the subsequent importance of considering its ethical and methodological implications. Under these considerations, this project was elaborated in accordance with the ethical parameters of the Ethics Committee of the Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata (NSD), obtaining its approval. By acknowledging the existence of a broad diversity of childhoods, which are context-dependent and socially and culturally constructed (Lange, 2009), children's inclusion in research as subjects and participants demands a critical analysis of the context in which childhood(s) is/are constructed and performed. In doing so, the process of planning and applying the most suitable methodology must be informed by the applicable definition of childhood among the participants, as well as by the identification of potential ethical issues which are addressed in this chapter. Likewise, the methodological challenges that arose during the research process, mostly during data-collection, are presented and discussed.

3.1. Methodological framework

In the field of Childhood studies, the recognition of children as worthy of study in their own right and *childhood* as a social construction has brought about the re-conceptualization of children's participation in research, constituting a new paradigm in the 1980s and 1990s, challenging the one developed by developmental psychologists (Hammersley, 2016). Alongside this re-conceptualization of *childhood* as contingent, the recognition of children as competent social actors and right-holders has been enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (Cuevas-Parra, 2019; Hanson, 2012). The consideration of children's social and individual value has influenced their consideration within the research arena, passing from being treated as objects of study to subjects and participants with the entitlement to have their rights respected (Abebe, 2009; Ennew, 2009). Yet, *childhood* is differently constructed and experienced by children through the socialization process, which is not universal, but culture specific and variable (James, 1997). Therefore, their participation in research requires understanding the specific context wherein certain definition and performance of childhood takes place. Based on this recognition of *childhood* as variable and children's role as individuals and social actors, this research project seeks to tackle children's and *Latino* families' experiences on everyday life in Trondheim, Norway from a culture-specific approach. For that purpose, the definition of *children* and *childhood* within the Latino culture and its collectivistic values is applied for accessing, contextualizing and understanding children's voices and agency.

Latino children are constructed as individuals in relation to their membership to the family group, in which they actively participate by assuming obligations to other members' wellbeing (Ingoldsby as cited in Flake, 2006), influencing their understanding and experience of the social world (Harwood, 2002; Umaña-Taylor, 2013). Based on the acknowledgment of children's ideas and experiences' uniqueness, and their consideration as active agents, experts and reliable sources of first-hand knowledge, this project aims to include children as participants in research (Beazley, 2006; Brinkmann, 2014). For that purpose, the application of human rights-based and child-centered approaches are pivotal to fulfil such an aim in an ethical and respectful fashion. Under the human rights-based approach, children's right to be properly researched is grounded on their recognition as individuals and human beings, giving rise to ethical considerations (Ennew, 2009), addressed in the last section of this chapter. Yet, this approach also entails making other stakeholders take part in research since children's participation cannot be understood as detached from the wider context wherein they are located (Moss as cited in Wyness, 2013). In researching with children, the child-centered approach entails focusing on children's perspectives and experiences without overlooking adults (Ennew, 2009). The recognition of *childhood* as socially and culturally constructed, and *relational* (Lange, 2009), entails considering the existent power asymmetries embedded in inter-generational relations when including children as participants.

By considering the socio-cultural conditions that influence Latino children's duality as individuals and members and the aim of this project, the interdependence-based relations and the role of family in Latino children's lives is taken into consideration when including them as participants. Therefore, children's participation is addressed alongside their families to contextualize their experiences and views on everyday life. Through the individual and collective use of participatory tools, this study seeks to access children's opinions in harmony with cultural considerations that inform their interpersonal relations in daily life despite being in a different socio-cultural context. In a highly hierarchical culture as the *Latino*, in which cultural values like *familism* and *respeto* (see chapter 2) prevail, the inclusion of children and family as participants can give rise to potential tensions in terms of power. Yet, in the same way, potential inter-generational conflicts at family level and harms for children and their family relations can be diminished, prevented, or avoided through recognizing the importance and mutual influence of both generations' interactions in daily life. In this way, reaching a balance between culture-based asymmetries, that inform inter-generational relationships, can be facilitated in a more ethical fashion for accessing, contextualizing, understanding and representing children's voices.

3.1.1. Latino Children and families as participants

Under the new paradigm of Childhood studies, *childhood* is understood as historically contingent and socially constructed, a central element of social structure and a social context of children's lives. In consequence, different definitions of *childhood* can coexist differently informing children's lives as individuals and social actors (Lange, 2009). Therefore, children's participation in research must be informed by how children and childhood, as the stage that children perform, are constructed and understood in a certain time and space in which different factors influence its/their performativity (Hendrik, 2009). By recognizing this existent diversity of childhoods, the research field must be deemed a scenario wherein certain definition of childhood is performed and so do the different power asymmetries involved. As Punch (2002) points out, what makes researching with children different to doing so with adults is their position in society, adult attitudes towards them

and children themselves, determining how knowledge is constructed. When talking about *children's lower position* other variables such as gender, culture or ethnicity can play a paramount role in defining the overall research process. Neither childhood nor researching with children is universal. Childhood, understood as a social construction, is grounded on different cultural values, providing a frame to contextualize that life stage (James, 1997). Thus, recognizing the existence of multiple childhood(s) can shed light on the entire research process through the understanding of the participants' identity as individuals positioned in a certain socio-cultural context.

In societies whose mainstream culture is based on family-centered relationships, children and childhood are constructed in a wider and complex fashion. Hence, children's individuality is situated not only within social structures, but also within social institutions such as the family, where they develop and acquire cultural and moral values and start developing their identity (Fitz as cited in Alanen, 2009; Mayall, 2002). Thus, the *family* becomes the primary context of socialization wherein children acquire relational competences and cultural values by actively interacting with other members (Barni, 2017), whereas parents are deemed society's first representatives in such transmission of values (Smith as cited in Barni, 2017). Latino children are constructed as individuals in relation to their membership to a family group which plays a pivotal role in defining their individual identity(ies), opinions, experiences and ideas (Harwood, 2002; Umaña-Taylor, 2013). Recognizing this duality of children's identity within the Latino culture, can facilitate individually and collectively accessing their voices and contextualizing their experiences, entailing different methodological and ethical considerations. Due to *familism* and *respeto,* the most representative *Latino* values placed at the core of family relations, families become a source of support for all members when facing individual or collective hardships. As a system of interdependency, the *Latino* family can play a fundamental role in the process of families' and children's adaptation to a new society and navigate a new culture, among other circumstances (Bermudez, 2013).

Following these considerations, this project seeks to explore children's experiences on everyday life in Trondheim alongside their families because of the dualistic definition of children and the existent interdependence among family members within the mainstream Latino culture. Thus, children's and families' participation are thought in relation to the foremost cultural values embedded in most Latino families' dynamics. Hence, even though this research mainly focuses on children's experiences on everyday life their families' role in their socialization process is also taken into consideration. For that purpose, the importance of family and its influence in children's identity construction and socialization process are taken into consideration to understand how children individually and collectively cope with the arising social challenges of living in Trondheim, Norway, a city and country in which they are part of a minority group. In consequence, both generations' experiences and perspectives are given due weight and value along this project. In doing so, children's experiences and standpoints are framed within their dualistic character as individuals and members of a family group in which they interact, shaping their identity, relations, interpretations of and interactions with the social world.

3.1.2. Conducting research in a *Latino* family setting

Families are recognized as a highly influential context for socialization in which children start developing their prominence as socialization agents (Manuel, 1972). Yet, family environment shapes and constraints children's socialization practices differently, depending on the cultural and

ethnic diversity in which families, as social systems based on interdependence among all members' roles and functions, are configured (Parke, 2008). Within the Latino culture, *family* plays a fundamental role in children's socialization process, being considered the most important institution, primary social form or group of interaction that exerts greater influence on individuals than does any other group (Edelman as cited in Manuel, 1972; Dowse, 1971). In a family household, children learn social norms, values and rules of behavior, determining their role within the family in the present and as citizens in the future (Mayall, 2002). Yet, the *Latino* family's role as institution of socialization goes beyond the social utility of preparing future upstanding citizens, also placing emphasis on its role as "makers" of good individuals (Contreras, 2002). Based on such important role that *Latino* families play in shaping children's individuality and membership at the same time, children's social experiences must be understood in relation to other family members' roles, values and behaviors. By recognizing the definition of childhood within the Latino culture and its consequences in conducting research, this project seeks to include both children and families to provide a context in which place and understand children's experiences.

Grasping children's experiences backdrop through the inclusion of their families may involve different challenges for individually accessing children's voices. Thus, it is important to consider *Latino* family dynamics, structures and their potential influence on children's participation in research. Taking into consideration the so-called *typical Latino* values and their role in informing family relations can be useful to reach out children's voices in a more efficient and culturally respectful fashion. *Latino* family relations are *par excellence* built up over different hierarchical structures and power asymmetries which are performed differently within households. Thus, despite some potential nuances, *Latino* culture is, in general, hierarchical. Linked to the notion of *respeto* as *proper demeanor,* the core of *familism*, *Latino* family structures are mostly dominated by generational hierarchies which inform children's behavior and childrearing practices, mainly in terms of age and authority (Bermúdez, 2010; Clutter, 2009). In this setting, children's obedience is an expression of respect for adult authority highly influenced by children's gender and the different gender-based roles that parents perform in decision making. Parents are figures of authority who can place limits on the child, exert punitive control over them, demanding *respeto* with respect to them and other adults (Halgunseth, 2006; Umaña-Taylor, 2013).

Thus, the inclusion of both children and families as participants may give rise to different challenges based on the potential existence of generational-based hierarchies and the primacy of *respeto* as the core of family relations. In general, in family settings children usually do not occupy a power position, thus, their voices are usually omitted because parents are seen as key actors who act on children's behalf even to express their perspectives and experiences (James, 2007; Lange, 2009). Under the mainstream cultural basis of *Latino* family relations, in households' children may be subjected to a deeper unequal position in which directly accessing their voices and firsthand experiences can be difficult because of their dependence on parental permission to freely speak out and act. In this micro-cultural context, children voices are shaped by family dynamics and internal structures of power, as well as by their attempts to not challenge parental authority that can influence children's behavior from the very beginning of the research process. However, at the same time, such position within family hierarchies could also provide a "comfortable" space for conducting research. Furthermore, being familiar with Latino families' dynamics, prevailing values, child rearing practices and expectations of proper behavior can be a handful for the researcher. In this respect, the need of accessing children's experiences alongside their families to contextualize

them may clash with the duty of allowing them to express their thoughts freely, without feeling the pressure of being under adult surveillance. Hence, accessing genuine children's consent or assent, getting close to, building rapport and independently interacting with them without parental intervention, can be challenging, but solvable due to the researcher's understanding and closeness to those Latino cultural parameters and values.

3.2. Sampling

Due to the importance of *Latino* family's role in children's socialization process as active social subjects, as well as in the construction of their individual identity, this project includes both children and families as participants through the application of the snowball sampling method, which consists of selecting and contacting participants from suggestions and recommendations (Ennew, 2009). Thus, even though the *Latino* community in Trondheim (1729) is smaller than in other regions (SSB, 2021b), finding potential participants within this group was facilitated by the first participants' good will and support in sharing their social networks. Hence, six families and children from four Latin American countries, Mexico (2), Venezuela (2), Chile (1) and Brazil (1), were initially contacted and included as participants. However, due to the Chilean family's busy schedule and other difficulties for taking part in the activities because of Covid19 pandemic, a third Venezuelan family was included, taking its place in the research project. Finally, six families (both parents with Latino background) with 7 children from 5 to 18 years, who were born in Latin America (2 from Mexico, 3 from Venezuela, 1 from Brazil) and came to Norway for reasons of asylum, work-immigration and family re-unification, became part of the project. Regarding the child participants, the age scope from 5 to 18 years was set up not only because of the need of enhancing the possibility of including more participants, but also of representing a wider variety of experiences. Thus, although under the UNCRC (1989) all individuals up to 18 years old are deemed children, a set of two age groups, that includes children from 5 to 10 and from 11 to 17 years old, was set up for the information sheets' and consent forms' (see appendix 1 and 2) elaboration and methods' selection, grounded on children's different skills, interests and preferences.

3.3. The participants: *Latino* encounters in the research field

By understanding the *Latino* community as a group of people who share common roots, values, language and religion (Nicoletti, 2010), the risk of ignoring internal differences and cultural nuances is higher not only for outsiders, but also for insiders like the researcher. In a culturally different country like Norway, the need of finding a sense of community may play a crucial role in taking down the thin boundaries of cultural differentiation among Latin American countries, so as to create a common ethnic identity, maintaining and reinforcing emotional connectivity and sense of belonging (Barbieri, 2015). For that reason, identifying, recognizing and keeping in mind the differences and cultural nuances within the Latino community is important to properly access, grasp and represent the participants' voices and opinions. In doing so, the aim of including both families and children as participants and meaning makers for co-constructing knowledge can be fulfilled. When talking about participation in research, the participants' identity should inform the methodological considerations by thoroughly addressing their personality and positionality to avoid a tokenistic use of the participants. Thus, by being reflexive about the researcher's own identity and positionality within the Latin American culture, wherein the relationships with the participants take place is paramount for epistemological and ethical reasons. Following these considerations,

this section seeks to showcase the participants' background to provide a backdrop for contextualizing their lives, voices and personal experiences. In doing so, the identification of potential weaknesses and strengths could be possible, shedding light on the context and possible situations in which the process of knowledge construction takes place.

3.3.1. Children and families: Latinos in Norway

As mentioned, despite the set of values, traditions and ideas often associated to *Latinos* and the use of Spanish language as a common bond among the *Latino* population, there is a high degree of within-group variations since each country has its own history, customs and traditions (Kim, 2009). In this project, the participants' countries of origin are Venezuela, Mexico and Brazil, three of the thirty three countries that compose the Latin American continent (UNSD, 2021). In this section, the participants' background, country of origin and reasons for migration are presented to provide a backdrop for contextualizing their experiences addressed in the next chapters.

From South America and the Caribbean: Venezuelans in Trondheim

Venezuela with its capital Caracas, is located at the northernmost end of South America (Hudson, 1992). Due to its mostly tropical weather, a wide variety of natural resources and a broadly diverse demographic composition (Country-Reports, 2021), Venezuela was for many years a wealthy country. Alongside this ethno-cultural and biological diversity, this country's economic richness was founded on the petroleum industry, one of its several natural resources (Country-Reports, 2021; Hakkert, 1985). In the mid-1970s the country's economy experienced a sudden economic growth as result of high oil prices and the emphasis on the oil industry to the detriment of the agricultural sector (Hakkert, 1985). With the election of the president and dictator Hugo Chavez in 1998, the economic and political crisis deepened due to the socialist policies adopted by the government (Duarte, 2006). Added to the economic crisis, a process of increasing deterioration of democratic institutions started and consolidated years later during Maduro's regime (Bahar, 2018; Sullivan, 2008). The humanitarian situation, marked by growing scarcity of food and medicine, social control and repression, resulted in the largest migration and refugee crisis that the Western Hemisphere has seen in modern history, rivaled in recent years by the Syrian refugee crisis (Bahar, 2018).

By mid-July 2018, about 2.3 million Venezuelans had left the country and years later, the emigration rates continue growing, mainly towards neighboring countries, seeking a more stable and safer place to live and leaving behind their loved ones (Feline, 2019). Nowadays, there are 5.4 million refugees and migrants from Venezuela worldwide (UNHCR, 2021). In Norway, around 1494 immigrants are Venezuelan or have Venezuelan background, and at least 10% of them live in Trondheim, Trøndelag. Within this small population, three Venezuelan family participants and their children came to the country 2 and 3 years ago driven by distinct reasons but pursuing the same dream of a better future and life. The first family, the Vasquez (*Latino* last name chosen by the researcher as pseudonym like in the case of the other family participants), made up of four children and their two parents, arrived few years ago due to the humanitarian crisis experienced by the Caribbean country which had previously forced their relatives to flee. During the asylum process the family passed through different cities throughout the country and finally settled down in Trondheim, facing together some adaptation challenges. After just some months, Vania (16) and Pantalon (13), the two child participants in the project, became good speakers of the Norwegian language and, so,

a source of support for their parents' learning process. Alongside their mother Teresa and, occasionally, their father, who has a tighter schedule, Vania and Pantalon partook in this research, becoming a source of support for the researcher in arranging meetings.

The Milani is the second family participating, made of two parents and their two children who came to Norway few years ago due to a job opportunity and the possibility of professional development for one of its members. After obtaining the opportunity of participating in a research project in the field of Renewable Energy, the father entered the country as migrant worker and so do his family through the modality of family reunification. Once in Norway, the family settled down in Trondheim to keep together looking for job opportunities for the mother, who despite the fact of having a professional diploma in engineering, found very few possibilities of engaging in a professional job. Far from being an obstacle, such work difficulty did not stop her of pursuing their family safety and wellbeing. One year later, she became part in a multidisciplinary project, obtaining an income and contributing to the family economy. Due to their more flexible schedule, both parents took part of the research activities alongside Salvador (10), their oldest child, a very smart and talkative boy who is not overwhelmed when it comes to talking with adults. Unlike other child participants, Salvador has previous experience of participation in research because of his willingness to help. Meeting him the first time was an interesting experience since the researcher's initial considerations about how to reach out to him were focused on avoiding making him feel afraid, but his personality and ability to talk with adults ended up producing the opposite result: an adult overwhelmed because of not being used to deal with so extroverted children.

The third family participating is the Saavedra who came to Norway few months before the beginning of the Covid19 pandemic. Driven by the conditions of their home country and a job opportunity for the father, this family made up of two parents and their children started their migratory trajectory some years ago. Thus, before coming to Trondheim, Norway, the family settled down in Spain for few years which in their opinion was a relatively simple process in comparison to their current adaptation experiences and challenges. In the case of this family, because of their more flexible schedule both parents could engage and take part in this research, alongside Mariana (12), their oldest child, who was open and interested in the research topic from the very beginning. Mariana is an outgoing girl who enjoys socializing and talking with all people regardless of their age. Therefore, sharing their experiences about making friends, socializing and facing some language related issues in Norway was facilitated by her personality traits, enhancing the researcher's comfort and confidence to speak with her, enjoying even more their interactions.

Mexicans: North Americans with *Latino* heart

Regarding the second country of origin, Mexico, this is strategically situated between the Americas (Oxford-Business-Group, 2019). The country shares a common border throughout its northern extent with the United States, which has facilitated the development of an important manufacturing and export powerhouse due to its extensive oil, gas and mineral reserves, becoming the second largest economy in Latin America and the fifteenth in the world (Bamford, 2022; The-World-Bank, 2021). Yet, prosperity continues being a dream for many Mexicans due to a wide socio-economic gap and constant atmosphere of drugs-related gangs' violence that experiences the country since the past decade (BBC, 2018). Despite such difficulties and the COVID-19 pandemic impact, which have sharpened the national economy, employment and households, Mexico is a culturally,

ethnically and economically rich and diverse country (The-World-Bank, 2021). Mexico's richness is also present in its culture and religious manifestations highly influenced by its colonial heritage and pre-Columbian traditions, as well as in its widely diverse demographic composition. Its population is composed of different ethnic groups, including indigenous or Amerindians, who are the minority population, mestizos, the largest segment of the population today, and in a lesser extent those called "whites", who are Mexicans of European heritage (Bamford, 2022).

Mexico is also a mostly catholic country with devoted people who actively practice the divine commandments of Catholicism and whose religious faith is crowned by the so-called Queen of America: The Virgin of Guadalupe. This unusual virgin Mary that ceases to be a European white figure, is a religious and a cultural symbol, representing God's qualities of a loving, comforting and maternal presence, as well as the survival of a people and resistance to oppression by the dominant society. The Virgin of Guadalupe symbolizes the birth of a new racial/ethnic identity: the *mestizo*, the majority population in the country (Campesino, 2006; M. De La Torre, 2008). The religious and cultural influence of the Virgin of Guadalupe informs the most representative Mexican values. Thus, despite legally being a secular country, Mexico is mostly dominated by the Catholic church whose conservative values are translated into the public domain to regulate individuals' morality on daily life through institutions like school and family (R. De la Torre, 2008). Such religious fervor is part of Mexicans' identity even abroad as consequence of migration. Driven by several reasons, about 11,913,989 Mexicans have emigrated, most of them living in the United States and in Europe (97,79 %), as one of the majority Hispanic populations (Secretaria-De-Relaciones-Exteriores, 2015). By 2022 about 1700 immigrants in Norway are Mexican or have Mexican background, and from those approximately 150 live in Trondheim (SSB, 2022). Among this population, two immigrant families who came to the country alongside their children partake in this study.

The first family, the Perez, is made up of four members: the two parents and their two sons. The oldest son, Rayo (8), was born in Mexico, while the second in Norway. Rayo and his parents came to the country few years ago and settled down in Trondheim because of the father's job. As part of an international company, the father used to be sent to different countries with the family. Therefore, before coming to Norway, the family had already lived for short periods in at least 3 countries. The mother, Carolina, is a woman in her 30s completely dedicated to her children and home despite having a bachelor's degree diploma in business administration. As part of the family organization, she plays the main role at home since the father has a tight schedule which did not allow him to actively participate in the research activities. Therefore, alongside Rayo, Carolina took part of the research study speaking on behalf of the family, kindly facilitating the meetings with her child. As the family's spokesperson, she expresses her feelings of being in Norway which, in her words, is a beautiful country, but with a difficult language, extremely cold weather and more liberal culture in comparison to the family values. The image of the *morenita* (one of the Virgen of Guadalupe's names) surrounded by candles on a colorful altar, placed in the entrance of the dining room, showcases the family's strong catholic faith, a connection with their country, childhood and other family members left in Mexico. Carolina highlights how much she has needed her relatives to go through some important family events, such as her second pregnancy, whereas Rayo emphasizes the importance of continuing with religious traditions and rituals.

The Chavez is the second Mexican family participant which is made up of 4 members: the two parents and their two sons, Elias and Daniel, who are 8 and 2 years old respectively. They came to Norway just after the beginning of the COVID19 restrictions, because of a job opportunity for

the father. However, due to the pandemic, they ended up moving to and settling down in Trondheim. The mother, Adela, a young woman in her 30s, mainly performs the role as housewife and caretaker of her two children, but she would like to study a master's degree in marketing. The oldest boy, Elias, is a very enthusiastic and smart child with some motor special needs, as well as a fast learner who speaks fluently Spanish and English with a very high proficiency and now he is learning Norwegian which makes his parents proud. The family has gone through the process of helping Elias to improve his motor impairment which is now slightly visible and usually overshadowed by his talkative and friendly personality. After going through such a process together, Elias' parents feel proud of his improvement and recognize the challenges that the family faces in adapting themselves to their new life in Trondheim considering Elias' impairment. However, they feel thankful because of the support given by the school staff and health system. Despite this progress, Elias' condition sometimes seems to affect his parents' confidence about his skills without discouraging themselves and Elias to harness his potential.

Brazilians in Trondheim

Finally, the third country of origin, Brazil, located in the eastern part of South America, is the largest country in Latin America and the fifth in the world (Hudson, 1997). With a wide variety of climates, regions and natural resources, Brazil is the most biologically diverse country in the world, not only in terms of environmental resources, but also of culture. Represented by more than 200 indigenous peoples and 170 languages, Brazil is also culturally and ethnically megadiverse (CBD, n.d.). From colonial times under the Portuguese rule, Portuguese became the first language, after going through different adaptations and modifications brought by immigration. Ethnically speaking, Brazil has a very diverse demographic composition made up of nearly one-half of European descent, a large segment of *mulatos* (people of mixed African and European ancestry) and *mestizos* (people of mixed European and Indian ancestry), a small proportion of entirely African or Afro-Indian ancestry, a smaller part of Asian descent and an even smaller group of indigenes (Bradford, 2022). Yet, despite this richness, in 1980, Brazil was one of the poorest countries in terms of education and health in Latin America, with a large but closed economy, since its primary exports were mostly raw materials and its political institutions were extremely fragile after a lengthy period of military rule (Bradford, 2022; Vidal, 2006). Nowadays, Brazil is one of the world's most important agricultural producers and the most advanced industrial base in Latin America. However, the country still faces several challenges in terms of inequality and wealth distribution, as well as in terms of accessing essential services (OXFAM, n.d.). Thus, the migratory flow of Brazilians, which started as a sporadic movement in the 1970s, intensified in the 1980s and by the end of the twentieth century (Pellegrino, 2004; Schrooten, 2021).

Today, the estimated number of international Brazilian migrants is approximately 3.1 million according to the last demographic census driven by reasons of job, education and economic opportunities (IBGE, 2011). At least 250 000 Brazilians live in European countries like England, Germany, Italy and Portugal, among others (Margolis, 2005). In Norway, about 6 112 inhabitants are Brazilians or have Brazilian background and approximately 477 live in Trondheim, Trøndelag region (SSB, 2021a).Within this group of people, the Barbosa family, initially made up of two parents, came to and settled down in Norway a couple of years ago driven by a job opportunity for the father. After some years of living in Trondheim and working in different trades, Melissa, the mother, finally started her master studies in order to obtain more possibilities of finding a

professional job. Sergio, their 6-year-old child, was born in Norway, but his close interaction with Brazilian traditions at home has strengthened his connection to his ethnic roots. After some years of living together as a family, the couple got divorced. Currently, Sergio's parents do not live together, but keep a friendly and peaceful relationship in which both share time with Sergio, a hyperactive, talkative and smiley child who speaks Portuguese (mother tongue), English and Norwegian fluently, and loves dancing. Despite both parents were informed about the research project and its details, accepting to participate and authorizing Sergio's participation, the meetings were just carried out with Sergio and his mother due to the scarce available time of his father.

3.3.2. The researcher: a family friend

Qualitative research is defined as an inter-subjective process of co-construction of knowledge in which two people are mutually involved (James, 2001; Lange, 2009). Yet, building a relationship of trust depends on participants' position within social structures. Notwithstanding the participants are, at first sight, part of a same group, the Latino community in Norway, variables such as nationality, gender and ethnicity can play a decisive role in the research process. Therefore, exploring and examining the researcher's position in the complex relations of power, is necessary for addressing its impact on the process of co-construction of knowledge (Haraway as cited in Rose, 1997; Barker, 2001). At this point, keeping in mind that researchers are not onlookers observing from afar, but subjects to the wider socio-spatial processes that constitute the field is important (Barker, 2001; Katz, 1994). Based on these considerations, taking decisions about the researcher role and her need of engaging with the other participants, as well as addressing her positionality is pivotal to identify the benefits and weaknesses of constructing knowledge from an *insider* perspective. *Insider research* involves social interaction between researchers and participants who, for example, share similarities in terms of culture, language, ethnicity and nationality. By sharing cultural knowledge, identifying differences and nuances ("diversity in proximity") can be easier, shortening the distance between the private and public sphere of the subjects' life (Ganga, 2006, p.2). In this respect, this project could be included in such category because of the cultural similarities shared by the Latino community in Norway as an *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006) which includes immigrants from different Latin American countries.

Yet, sharing cultural similarities and connections may be also a doble-edged sword not only in accessing the field, but also in interpreting the participants' behavior, expressions, interactions and responses. For that reason, first, as a cultural insider within the *Latino* culture, keeping in mind the blurry and perhaps subtle ethno-cultural differences that could impact the co-production of knowledge, is paramount to avoid the use of participants as mere tokens that express the researcher's prejudices, expectations or experiences. In this respect, the identification of the researcher's positionality within overlapping social structures and multiple identities are necessary for reflecting and questioning how knowledge is produced and represented. Thus, by questioning her own identity and positionality the researcher can foresee potential scenarios and responses to the challenges that could arise when conducting research. Alongside the researcher's positionality, personality within the context of cultural differences (and similarities) can be helpful for building rapport with the participants in an ethical fashion. In Trondheim, the researcher identifies herself as a *Latina*, but such identity must be contextualized and de-constructed according to the circumstances of that position. The fluid character of her cultural identity has been dependent on

her everyday life navigation through different social arenas. In doing so, three overlapping cultural identities arise while the researcher moves from one to another.

First, she identifies herself as Peruvian, a still-young *mestizo* woman in her thirties (but not a teenager or child) with a complex ethno-cultural identity within the socio-cultural space in which her childhood took place. In Peru, she grew up as a "white" mestizo in a family self-identified as "white" Peruvian, navigating between the pride of being or identifying itself as mostly Hispanic and the connection and love for the knowledge and cultural traditions of its indigenous roots. As a member of a second generation of a migrant family, coming from the highlands of Peru to Lima, the capital city, with a particular accent in terms of language, values and customs, being a "white" mestizo born in Lima and performing such identity was challenging for the contradictions that it represented and still represents. Outside the Peruvian context, translating such an identity, for example in Norway, may imply to de-construct some formerly assumed aspects. In Norway, the researcher identifies herself differently depending on the settings in which she moves. First, she recognizes herself as Peruvian to differentiate herself from other *Latinos*, putting aside other variables such as gender or ethnic origin. However, despite her long-distance relationship with her family, in front of them her identity is mostly built up and performed in relation to its place of origin and its customs and traditions, often motivated by the nostalgic feelings of belonging. Finally, her identity as *Latina* is built up around the cultural commonalities and experiences as immigrant shared with other Latinos when interacting in daily life, putting aside other categories of differentiation which can be problematic when interacting with people from a similar community.

Despite recognizing those internal differences within the *Latino* community, the power of certain discourses associated with social categories of differentiation, such as gender and race, inform and shape social interactions. Even though Latinos are ethnically diverse, a strong racist ideology permeates Latino culture in which race or skin color are usually used in defining individuals' racial and ethnic identity. As a lasting product of colonialism, skin color prejudices and within-group racial discrimination continue being present in Latin American societies on the basis of a so-assumed better whiteness (Alvarez, 2019; Ostfeld, 2021). Under the Latin American idiosyncrasy, lighter skin entails more privileges in terms of economic opportunities, higher incomes and social status (Chavez-Dueñas N., 2014; Espino, 2002), which may give rise to prejudices or stereotypes that can be problematic when reaching out to people and setting up a relationship. For that reason, based on previous experiences and the brief time for interacting and building rapport with the participants, to think about the possibility of being classified as a privileged person is necessary for setting up a strategy to reach out to the families and be accepted. Moreover, considering the refugee status of some participants and its influence in their self-image and identity, as well as their different current economic conditions, assumptions regarding the researcher's status and positionality could make it difficult to establish a close relationship.

As human beings subjected to different overlapping discourses that shape our identities and ideas about others, our positionality is something that we cannot completely change but conceal by putting into practice the individual's personality traits (Moser, 2008). Those power asymmetries, derived from the impossibility of eliminating potential prejudices between the research subjects, can be softened by personal skills. Focusing on commonalities rather than on differences can be useful in a context in which all participants are immigrants driven by different reasons, but immigrants after all, sharing similar concerns. At different levels, *Latinos* in Trondheim deal every day with adapting themselves to their new life, taking decisions about their futures, learning a

new language, integrating themselves and helping their loved ones in their integration processes. These common experiences come to light from the first meetings with the participants, facilitating the construction of bridges between ethno-cultural, socio-economic and even generational differences. Yet, finding those commonalities and placing them as the basis of inter-personal relations may be challenging without putting into practice personality traits like empathy, respect and reciprocity in also sharing one's feelings. Notwithstanding these potential benefits, personality can also be a double-edged sword when personal feelings and experiences prevail. Being an empathetic person, open and willing to share freely firsthand experiences may allow the participants to open their minds and hearts to speak out, facilitating the access to their voices.

These features and the research position as cultural insider could also jeopardize the process of interpretation, analysis and representation of the participants' views, putting one's own views as theirs. By letting personal feelings, prejudices, assumptions and stereotypes talk, the research aim could be delegitimized, contradicted, and so does the core of qualitative research that aims to co-construct knowledge on the basis of intersubjectivity (Brinkmann, 2014; Lange, 2009). Under these considerations, producing social interactions in which different levels of power are embedded in, requires choosing a researcher role that can diminish potential prejudices and hierarchies. The inclusion of participants from different generations and the researcher's position between them could be an advantage for reaching a balance among participants. In this respect, to assume a *friendly* role (Abebe, 2009), grounded on the value given to friendship in the Latino culture and the current common situation among the participants, may be useful for interacting with parents and children. This role could facilitate the participants' openness in sharing their personal experiences, provide an initial sense of trust and safety to their children with respect to the researcher, as well as offer an opportunity for awakening their interest in the project and further interaction. As a small community in Trondheim, setting up interpersonal relationships with other members may be a mechanism for expanding one's social network (Garcia, 2016) which can be mutually productive not only in cultural and emotional terms, but also practically speaking, for example, in relation to the participants' activities and undertakings. Thus, all participants could benefit from their participation in the research project one way or another.

3.4. Power in the field: challenges in accessing children's voices

"Friendliness" and "straight-forwardness" are cultural traits commonly associated to Latin Americans, based on the high degree of collectivism and orality of the Latin American culture (Turchick, 2010). Collectivistic cultures are tightly connected to the importance of setting up and maintaining support networks at different levels. In living in a different socio-cultural context, immigrants from minority groups, like the *Latino* community in Trondheim, may experience a bigger need of setting up new relationships and enhancing their social networks. *Friendship* plays an important role for accessing to any kind of support through social contacts and so does the importance of "giving a hand" in case of need. Thereby, being open to meet new people and maintain social relationships is an important investment in a context of socio-cultural differences wherein adaptation and integration may entail some common challenges, as well as the need of emotional support based on individuals' commonalities. Yet, these highly valued traits may also imply potential challenges in the social domain and interpersonal relationships which are translated into the research arena. Thereby, researching with children and families, as members of two different generational groups, may involve diverse methodological and ethical challenges.

The above-mentioned characteristics can improve the possibilities of contacting new people and enhancing one's social network through intermediaries, accessing family homes and lives without major trouble and getting consent for participating in a more open fashion. However, these features may also give rise to potential challenges in terms of accessing children's voices and setting up more equal relationships with them. As mentioned in the previous sections, at least half of the participants were contacted through the application of the snowball sampling method, counting on the help of a common contact, while the others were directly reached out by the researcher. These two different ways of contacting participants influenced the process of accessing the family setting and their children. Despite the inexistence of a previous relationship of friendship with the researcher, the first set of adult participants (contacted through snowball method) were as friendly and willing to participate as those directly contacted. Being invited to or visiting the participants' homes, a widespread practice among *Latino*s, was easier due to their familiarity with such practice and the assumption of the researcher's "reliability" after being recommended by a common contact. Hence, accessing families' homes was easy despite some difficulties, creating a comfortable scenario for personally meeting one each other and sharing private information.

In such context, the process of getting familiar with both families and children and explaining the research details were more straightforward and, in many cases, despite some initial difficulties because of the families and children time availability, greater independence for initially talking with children was allowed. Even though such advantages in the initial stage, setting up or keeping the boundaries between children and parents' individuality and collectivity was often difficult. Due to the lack of spaces in the family home, interacting with children without excluding parents or trespassing their privacy was challenging. Thus, the living room became the main scenario for interaction which entailed, many times, adult intervention, or supervision for exerting authority and controlling children's behavior, their lack of attention or giving them instructions of proper behavior with an "adult", usually forgot, or ignored by them. Hence, accessibility was constricted by intergenerational power asymmetries, challenging the process of diminishing the researcher's power as adult and her attempts for engaging with children and gaining their trust. Despite these issues, accessing children's voices in that setting was mostly easier than in the case of those who had already previous relationships with the researcher.

During the first meetings with previously known families, friendship was placed in the spotlight through initial catch-up meetings and chit-chat, making it difficult for the parents and the researcher to put aside their personal relationship and focus on children. Setting up clear-cut boundaries for interacting with both generations was, thus, difficult and confusing for children with respect to the researcher's identity as an *adult* or another kind of person. The researcher close interaction and familiarity with their parents, aside from her ambiguous appearance as someone usually younger than their parents, who pays them attention when they ask or talk without putting rules, turned out being confusing in some moments. Yet, such complexity of her status was at the same time beneficial in reaching out to them since they assumed that their parents' acceptance of the researcher's presence meant they could trust her. However, the process of interacting with children freely of adult presence was in some situations difficult. In most of the first meetings with these families the researcher could not talk to children directly and engage with them, making it difficult to give them more details or reply to any doubt. Thus, a second meeting was necessary just for directly explaining to them the project details and asking them for assent. Yet, having more meetings with families was in such cases productive for getting more familiar with children.

In some cases, initially shy children started feeling more and more comfortable after seeing the researcher in their homes talking and laughing with their parents, progressively showing more interest in approaching the researcher by partaking in conversations and offering her some candies or food, watching TV and playing ping pong or Pokémon cards. Through such offerings, the researcher was allowed to get closer to them and gain their trust, softening the power asymmetries between them. Thus, children felt more comfortable to say when they wanted to take pauses, gaining higher control over the meetings and the research agenda. In consequence, meetings turned out lasting more than it was expected, but children could have more control over their participation. In these situations, the level of familiarity with the parents, the difficulties in terms of free areas and the families' busy schedules influenced the interaction with children from the very beginning and so did the rigidity or flexibility of family dynamics. For example, when meeting the Vasquez, the first family, talking alone with the sixteen- and twelve-year-old girls, Diane and Pantalon, was a little complicated. Yet, due to the lack of extreme rigidity within the family dynamics, the children started feeling comfortable in participating in the conversation, talking about usually deemed *tabu* topics in Latino families in front of their parents without any potential reprisal.

In this respect, it is important to highlight that parents are usually satisfied when their children feel free of participating in "adult" conversations by telling a story or giving an opinion, despite their "interruption" when "adults" talk. Such a positive parental response was mostly influenced by the researcher's interest in listening to children's interventions. In those situations, that closeness with parents and friendly atmosphere allowed children to subtly challenge their parents' authority, for example, interrupting them for telling their version or providing details of a family story, or, even, in some cases to eat more cake than they are usually allowed to. In other cases, children complained about their longing for having more time to spend with the researcher after the research activities, asking their parents if they could "stop drawing all the researcher's attention". The researcher's presence in the family setting was in these cases a source of support for children when challenging their parents' authority. Parents were in most cases willing to listen the researcher's opinions, softening their need of control their children's behavior and feeling less overwhelmed of being judged as neglectful parents with rude or spoiled children. Being a family friend can contribute to soften potential power asymmetries between parents, children and the researcher, creating an atmosphere of trust, respect, empathy and safety.

3.5. Participatory methods: pitfalls and potentials

In a society dominated by unequal relations of power on the basis of individuals' belonging to different overlapping social structures, *Latino* parenting and child-rearing practices, as well as family dynamics, are also subjected to them (Umaña-Taylor, 2013). In family relations, children's position and power varies, depending not only on their personal characteristics, such as gender or birth order, but also on the roles they play as individuals or members of a group while navigating the different arenas of socialization. Yet, children's roles, power and levels of freedom can be negotiated in *Latino* family relations (Harwood, 2002). In this context, to listen children's opinions and experiences seems logical from parents' point of view, like a natural consequence of recognizing the importance of their children's role and support in the collective and individual adaptation of all family members. Despite recognizing these particularities, considering potential intergenerational and intragenerational power asymmetries within families, grounded on values like *familism* and *respeto*, is necessary to facilitate accessing children's voices without threatening

their family world. Therefore, this research includes parents and children as participants because of the mutual influence they exert on each other. For that purpose, different participatory methods are applied on the basis of children's dualistic character in the Latino culture and the need of balancing power and contextualize children's experiences so as to avoid potential harms. In this way, the process of triangulation of data and its later analysis were facilitated.

To Beazley (2006), no method is inherently participatory, and it depends on how it is used. Participatory methods are a diverse set of techniques bound together so as to involve research subjects in collaborative data production, sharing the ownership of the findings and producing data through practical activities (Gallagher, 2008). By following a procedure for data collection in which the researcher allows the participants to take decisions in the election of research techniques (tools) or questions, as well as in data analysis, the methods can be deemed *participatory* (Beazley, 2006). Such consideration goes hand in hand with an ethical perspective of participation as a human right, requiring an ethical procedure in conducting research to guarantee the respect of children's rights. This study seeks to generate knowledge from the participants' perspectives by softening the existent inter-generational power asymmetries that prevail in Latino families' dynamics within the research arena. Therefore, both children's and their families' experiences will be included in the later analysis (consult appendix 3 for Spanish translation). Using participatory tools, the child participants could exert a level of power in decision making and in the choice of methods during the first stage. In this way, setting up an initial interaction and building rapport with them could be facilitated by the positive feeling that being asked and respected can produce in all individuals regardless of their age.

3.5.1. Three stages and multiple methods

In researching with children, the order of methods can be useful for collecting and analyzing data in a more thorough and ethical fashion (Beazley, 2006). Therefore, in this research the order in the use of methods for data collection was set up through three different stages with respect to the child participants and two in the case of parents. From an ethical perspective, setting up a well-thought order of methods can be helpful for ameliorate power asymmetries, building rapport and avoiding damage. Following these considerations, in the beginning of the research, all families received a box or an envelope (it basically depended on the weather since the carton boxes got easily damaged because of snow in wintertime) with the necessary materials for doing the activities alongside the step-by-step written instructions, facilitating the task and make it easier and more enjoyable for them. Regarding children, in the first stage the participants were provided three different tools, drawing, life-history (oral) and essay elaboration (written), to freely choose one according to their preferences and competences, working also as icebreakers. This initial stage aimed to set up first contact with children to make them feel comfortable with a stranger, facilitating the process of gaining their trust. Through the proposed tools children were asked to reply to the questions of "who are the most important persons in their lives?" and "how do they see themselves in the future?". These questions were built up around the importance of *familism* as a core value within *Latino* family and its role in children's lives as individuals and family members.

The second stage was a collective one, aimed to grasp children's opinions within their families' by using two methods: ranking elaboration and family interview. Through the application of a ranking tool, as a mechanism to make both generations participate together, children and their families were asked to discuss what are the most representative characteristics of *Norwegians* and *Latinos*

to elaborate a ranking. Due to the families' busy schedules and the scarce available spaces at family home, this activity was conducted during the time shared by the family members after their school or work activities. In this way, the participants could feel more comfortable when doing the activity. However, the researcher could not be present to observe the participants' level of participation and the potential power asymmetries among the participants. Notwithstanding these pitfalls, the data produced, just like the one obtained from the first individual activity, was thought to provide the backdrop in which children experiences obtained with other methods could be contextualized and addressed. Following the need of progressively accessing children's personal experiences and opinions, within this second stage, a semi-structured family interview aimed to discuss the data obtained through the ranking tool and cross-check information was applied.

Counting on the researcher guidance, this tool sought to allow children and their families to discuss their collective identity and its performance in different social settings, as well as to identify the subjects behind the prevailing voices and opinions represented on the ranking activity. To keep a sequence of questions without constraining the participants' interventions, this activity would be supported by a previously elaborated guide interview so as to lead the questions to the study's purpose and objectives, but avoiding concentrating control in the researcher's hands (Baumbusch, 2010). In this way, the participants' interventions could be facilitated in harmony with the research aim and children's comfort while expressing their views and experiences. In a context of strong power asymmetries like the family home, wherein this study was conducted, the use of semi-structured interviews was suitable for accessing children's opinions, contrasting them with their parents' and engaging them with the research (James, 2001). Furthermore, it would allow the researcher to observe how discussions take place and how power is exerted within the family by paying attention not only to the voices, but also to the silences, body language and gestures of all family members. Thus, the consent/assent previously obtained from children, their interest in the topic and their willingness to continue participating could be confirmed.

The final stage, aimed to confirm the information obtained in the previous stages, consisted of individual semi-structured interviews with children and parents separately. After talking alone with parents, the application of the same tool with children could be understood and facilitated without their intervention. Thereby, children could feel more comfortable talking alone with the researcher at that final stage, opening the possibility of obtaining more detailed or extra information to cross-check it with the formerly obtained. From the first meetings with the families, conducting individual interviews with children seemed challenging for two reasons: the family setting and the lack of a clear boundary between the subjects' individuality and collectivity when interacting with a third person. Based on this empirical knowledge, the use of multiple methods to produce and contrast data could be efficient to counteract the factual and cultural circumstances of the families without challenging their internal relationships or offending their way of living, customs and habits.

3.5.2. Participatory methods in the field

When researching with children, like with other human beings, the uncertainty about the applicability of the research plan must be considered from the beginning of the process. For that reason, research plans should be flexible and build on such uncertainty and indeterminacy, characteristic of human life itself (Gieryn, 1999). In this context of uncertainty, following the initial research plan in an ethical fashion can be challenging. For instance, in the case of Sergio (6) and

his family due to its busy schedule and some circumstances they were going through, following the research plan in the application of tools was difficult. The researcher could visit the family several times for interacting with the child since he was the youngest participant and the most hyperactive and energetic. During those meetings, the researcher just could play and talk with him, getting to know about his expectations, likes and habits since he was usually doing other activities at the same time. Despite those interactions and the level of closeness achieved, visiting the family and continuing with the activities was difficult due to the family schedule. However, Sergio and his family helped the researcher through his drawings (made in a tablet), permitting her to participate as observer in their home and sharing their thoughts and experiences with her, allowing her to access and represent their voices. Yet, uncertainty can also influence the kind of knowledge produced which may be sharpened by the difficulties that the researcher face during data collection, for example, to make the chosen tools work without overlooking or disrespecting children's decisions.

According to the initial research plan, the data collection process consisted of three stages with different tools aimed to progressively make children open to share their experiences. In the first stage, children could choose between three different options: drawing, essay and life-history, based on the need of making them feel comfortable since all have distinct preferences and capacities. However, these ethical considerations were not enough when applying that first set of tools. For instance, in the case of the first family, the Vasquez, Vania and Pantalon had chosen life history tool. This option entailed the researcher's presence for using the dictaphone and the arrangement of a meeting that fits both sides which was difficult since the family lives far away from the city center and has a busy schedule. Even though these initial pitfalls were solved, the application of the tool itself was difficult and, at some point, a little frustrating not only for the researcher, but also for one of the girls. In certain situations, children's decisions in deciding to participate or choosing methods may seem contradictory to their behavior when doing the activities since sometimes children may refuse participatory research, appropriate or redirect it (Gallagher, 2008). In the case of Vania and Pantalon, for instance, both girls had chosen life-history as the first tool, but conducting the same activity produced different outcomes. Vania, the oldest, is an extrovert teenager that knows how to talk with older people, getting comfortable easily. Thus, she replied to the question with a story and elaborated more about her answers, and after turning off the recorder she continued providing details which facilitated the interaction. It was not the case of Pantalon, who is shyer and more distant due to some adaptation problems that she is currently facing.

During the activity Pantalon looked very timid and apathetic for some instants, providing short and dubitative answers despite the researcher's attempts to lead her towards further elaboration. Despite this initial frustration, the researcher decided to not insist and respect her concision. Lately, such experience made her question Pantalon's initial consent and if she still wanted to be part, since before starting the activity, she seemed curious and livelier to see the researcher again. Pantalon's willingness to partake in the activities made the researcher felt thankful because she was going through a difficult moment because of bullying which made her to avoid contact with people, but she still wanted to help her. In this 1st research stage other unexpected situations arose in the selection of tools, showcasing some power asymmetries among parents and children. From the 5 children who chose the drawing tool, Elias was the only one whose parents subtly tried to discourage him from his decision since they were concerned about his drawing and writing skills. However, Elias decided to do the drawing anyway because he loves drawing. As mentioned, Elias is a 9-year-old boy with a slightly visible impairment, which mostly affects his motor abilities. Elias'

parents have gone through the process of helping him to improve his condition and it seems natural their fear of being judged for exposing Elias to additional distress. For that reason, to make his parents feel more comfortable and confident about Elias' decision, the researcher explained to them that the quality of the drawing was secondary, but the meaning was the most important.

In the case of Mariana, her parents' intervention in the process of elaborating the drawings was strong. Mariana told the researcher that she was unsure about how she sees herself in the future, so, she was told to not do the second drawing. However, her parents insisted in the need of "drawing something". Mariana's mother told the researcher that she was sorry because Mariana did not want to do the second drawing and she seemed relieved when the researcher explained that it was ok. For some participants, doing or not doing activities may produce them a fear of being judged or being failing to the researcher. In such context, parents tended to influence their children's decisions of taking part in the activities even when it is not necessary. Yet, children also may experience the same feeling about doing the task in the best possible way. After doing her drawing, Mariana, for instance, expressed that she just learnt at school how to properly draw mouths and noses which, in her opinion, would have been great to know before. In this case, the researcher just told her that the meaning was the most important. Based on a previous experience with Elias in which the researcher made a comment about a drawing she saw, realizing later that it was not Elias' drawing but a gift from one of his girlfriends, the researcher learnt the importance of making children feel confident about their skills and the real value of their drawings.

Regarding the second stage, the elaboration of the ranking tool was differently carried out by the participants. For some families with busier schedules, doing the activity was difficult and, some of them, lost the materials they were given to do it. Therefore, the researcher decided not insisting to avoid making the participants feel uncomfortable, forced to do it, or embarrassed because of a supposed "lack of engagement". In general, the topics that were going to be discussed through this tool came up during the family and individual interviews. These tools were supposed to be applied during the second and third stage respectively. However, most participants' busy schedule made it difficult for the researcher to follow that planned order for the activities, having to re-arrange each stage's tools. Thus, individual and family interviews were differently applied according to the families' schedule and their children's openness and level of comfort with the researcher and the questions. In most cases, children who took part in family interviews provided slightly different responses during individual interviews, contradicting their previous versions, or giving more details. To older children, like Pantalon and Vania, contradicting or challenging their parents' opinions in front of them was easier, producing some tensions during family interviews. However, the researcher's position between both generations allowed her to soften such atmosphere of distress by providing examples of her personal and family experiences. Hence, both parents and children felt less overwhelmed by the possibility of being exposed and judged.

As mentioned above, conducting individual interviews in a family home can be complicated since the participants mostly live in small apartments or houses, lacking common areas to share with visitors, without breaching the boundaries of their private life. During most meetings, the living rooms became the main area shared by all family members in day-to-day life and when interacting with guests. The participants were mostly willing to provide support since they understood the uniqueness and importance of their personal and collective views. Yet, the circumstances in which they currently live, lacking areas for leisure and relaxation inside the family home, made individual interactions difficult. For that reason, to avoid third persons' disruption mostly during the individual

meetings with children, a previous explanation upon the need of privacy and extra parental permission, as well as the arrangement of meetings with children in hours that don't clash with other members' free time was useful. In doing so, the research agenda and stages of data collection were adjusted to the participants' schedules, needs and family dynamics.

3.6. Ethical considerations and reflexivity

Within the new paradigm, children's consideration as social actors and cultural agents in their own right has made their inclusion as participants in research necessary (Moskal, 2010), demanding not only the development of appropriate methods, but also of ethical strategies to avoid potential harm. Children's participation in research is grounded on their recognition as social actors and human beings entitled to have their rights and interests respected throughout the research process (Abebe, 2009; Ennew, 2009), helping them to express their views and experiences and ensuring their meaningful participation. This right to be properly researched is underpinned by children's human rights enshrined in the UNCRC and draws explicitly on four articles (art. 3.3, art. 12.1, art. 13.1 and art. 36), exclusively applicable to all children involved in research. In research, the article 3.3 refers to children's right to be heard and the need of conforming research to the highest possible scientific standards. The art. 12.1 and 13.1 recognize children's right to freely express their opinions in all issues that concern them, as well as the importance of giving them due weight. Finally, the art. 36 aims to protect children of exploitation and harm (Ennew, 2009). This set of principles must inform researchers' ways of thinking and their engagement with children during the research process (Ennew, 2009; Abebe & Bessel, 2014) in an ethical fashion.

In researching with children, their powerless position in society and its potential translation into the research arena have *ethics* become the focus, mostly with respect to issues of informed consent, privacy and confidentiality (Punch, 2002). However, these ethical considerations must be thought not only in relation to children's consideration as individuals, but also as part of a bigger group, above all, in socio-cultural contexts in which children's dualistic identity is shaped and shapes family relations like in the Latino culture. In this scenario, understanding potential ethical issues in relation to their individual and collective consequences is pivotal for maintaining harmony in family relations and respecting their socio-cultural foundations. Following this ethical and cultural considerations, this section discusses the ethical issues that could emerge during the first stages of the research process. In doing so, issues of consent/assent, privacy and confidentiality and their materialization are addressed in relation to the role of cultural values, such as familism, reciprocity and *respeto* (proper demeanor) in shaping children's roles and family dynamics. These ethical considerations are also tackled in relation to the researcher position as cultural insider through the application of reflexivity, which can make it possible to counteract potential power asymmetries.

3.6.1. Issues of consent and assent

Family home is a context wherein adult authority prevails, giving rise to different challenges derived from the existent power asymmetries between generations and eroding the basis of participation: freedom and willingness. Gatekeepers are those who give access to a research field, allowing the researcher into a given physical space and granting permission for conducting research in a particular way (Homan, 2001). In family settings, parents play that role, allowing researchers access to the family home and giving consent on children's behalf. The principle of informed consent

is a standard feature of ethical procedure in social research that requires that human subjects must be informed of the nature and implications of research and the voluntary character of their participation. This principle is inextricably connected to the moral obligation to respect others and their interests (Homan, 2001). Yet, it is also connected to the legal capacity for giving consent, subjecting children's participation in research to their parents and guardians' decisions. In the Norwegian legislation, children are not considered competent to consent to research until 18 years and, so, their guardian must do it on their behalf, mostly when minors are up to the age of 15 which date back to the Nuremberg Code (Backe-Hansen, 2016; NESH, 2019).

Under the new paradigm, children's right to participate in research is grounded on the need of having a say and freely expressing their opinions in all matters affecting them (art. 12.1 UNCRC), as well as to ensure that their participation is voluntary in all stages (art. 36 UNCRC) (Ennew, 2009). *Informed consent* is an interactive process between subject and researcher that involves disclosure, discussion and the complete understanding of a proposed research activity, followed by the individual's free decision of taking part. *Assent* is a term used concerning *consent* from minors, not legally permitted to give it, but morally required to acquire the closest approximation of *consent* one can achieve within the child's capacity or competence to understand the nature and purpose of what is intended, its possible outcomes and consequences (Helseth, 2004). In this way, the child should give the ultimate consent to participate in research, while parents give consent for the researcher to invite his or her child to participate in the study (Backe-Hansen, 2016). Grounded on the need of fulfilling these criteria and following the NSD ethical parameters, child participants in this project were previously informed about the research implications using two different information sheets: one for children from 5 to 10 years old and the other from 11 to 18 years old (see appendix 1 and 2). Both information sheets were elaborated on the basis of potential children's capacities and preferences. The first one included a simplified and sum-up version of the content provided through the second one. Yet, in both cases children were asked about their preferences in terms of language since despite being native Spanish speakers many of them are bilingual, preferring reading and writing in English.

Notwithstanding the importance of recognizing children's consent for participating in research based on their needs and capacities, their position within family relations and the consequences of their lower status must also be considered so as to conduct research in a more ethical fashion. Within the Latino culture, power asymmetries within generations are performed in family settings. In such context, parents are usually the main gatekeepers, who exert authority and different levels of hierarchy, affecting the process of gaining children's free consent/assent. In this respect, there was possible to identify two potential ethical issues: the contradictions between children's assent and parents' consent, as well as the possible imposition or influence of parental authority in children's assent. Based on those challenges that could jeopardize family relations and harmony between generations on the basis of *respeto* and obedience, parents were asked to give informed consent prior to obtain their children's assent. Thus, avoiding situations in which children have agreed to participate and their parents refuse later was possible (NESH, 2019) and so was the potential damage to their self-esteem after feeling that their will and decisions are not respected. In this way, parents' and their children's participation were explained through an information sheet which contained the main issues related to the research, contact information, the explanation of their rights and the implications of their participation (see appendix 1 and 2). This information sheet was translated to Spanish (see appendix 2) since most of them preferred using their mother

tongue because of the sense of comfort and trust that it provides them. Thus, parents could read the information sheets before giving oral consent and after solving their doubts.

In most cases, the mothers seemed to be in charge of taking decisions about children's participation, having the last word instead of the fathers, who mostly assumed a most passive role. In this respect, it is important to mention that the process of formally obtaining free given consent was difficult because of the impossibility of planning meetings with all the family members for explaining the main research details, even though most of the participants accepted to be part of the project in the very beginning. In the same way, the recorder device was also shown, and their features were clearly explained to ensure that their information would be protected. As in many other cultures, within the Latino culture reliability and trust in social relationships are based on the importance given to one's word for fulfilling the acquired agreements or promises. For that reason, the use of recording devices seemed initially confusing for some parents who mostly stated their trust the researcher's "word" for ensuring the protection of their privacy. However, after explaining the reasons for its use, recording their voice was understood not only as a formality, but also as an extra guarantee. For other parents, who have prior experience in research participation or academic expertise in the field, the use of the dictaphone was clearly understood and justified, as well as the use of the information sheets. In this respect, it is important to mention that the researcher's reliability was mostly assumed by both groups.

A second challenge was the impossibility of preventing parental intervention or influence in children's decision of taking part, challenging the requirement of free given consent. Parents' role as gatekeepers and authorities at family level with a position of control over children's will and the research field, opened the possibility of questioning children's initial freedom for giving consent. Under such circumstances, an effective and ethical manner for counteracting potential adult interferences or influences in shaping children's free participation was to understand and assessed their consent/assent as an ongoing process, being renewed and confirmed along the different stages of the research (Morrow, 2013). In relation to parents, *consent* was also understood in the same way since in certain situations its withdrawal may also represent a challenge for them. *Latinos* are usually driven by solidarity, willing to provide help when it is required. Solidarity within the Latino culture is a mechanism for building up relationships of trust and strengthen familial or friendship bonds, a highly appreciated value within social relationships. Thereby, obtaining consent for participating in research, even from those formerly unacknowledged families, can be easier because of giving a hand is sometimes deemed a duty, making it difficult to identify freely given consent. Even though most of the adult participants are in a higher position with respect to the researcher in terms of age, their relationship as adults experiencing similar challenges and concerns may influence their willingness to help her and their refusal to express their desire of dropping the research. For that reason, confirming their consent was even more challenging due to their insistence in participating just driven by having given their "word".

For instance, during the second visit to the Vasquez family and after listening the life-histories of Vania and Pantalon, the researcher realized that the flipchart given for the ranking activity was blank, assuming that they could not do it or they did not want. The mother noticed it and seemed embarrassed because they had forgotten to do it. The researcher just told them that there was not any problem and they could continue with the next activity. Yet, Vania, the oldest girl, had noticed the researcher's refusal to insist on that, despite preferring to get the activity done, giving her a concession by inquiring her mom about doing the task. In this way, Vania allowed the researcher

to continue with the chosen tool, making her own decision prevail over her mom's. This subtle manner of gaining power was relatively easy for Vania, a usually talkative girl, whose consent seemed mainly founded on her curiosity of continuing talking with the researcher and her appreciation of how important her help was for the project. As mentioned above, talking about initial free given consent is not the only challenge that research may stand for. While it is conducted, subtle issues of power and its negotiation between generations, prevailing cultural values, such as solidarity and support, and personal feelings unfold, shaping the ongoing process of *consent.* In consequence, obtaining free-given consent from both children and adults, whose social relationships are dominated by collective values, may be difficult when a sense of duty to help one each other is strong. In this context, an ethical manner for showing respect for the participants may be focused on providing effective responses to their body language or gestures and then, giving the possibility of dropping the research before signs of distress, shortening the amount or time of use of tools and explaining that it would not jeopardize the project, adapting the researcher's schedule to their needs and time as an expression of reciprocity.

3.6.2. Privacy and confidentiality: importance of anonymity

Privacy and confidentiality have become the focus of discussions about researching with children (Punch, 2002). Yet, these are not only exclusive rights which children are entitled to, but universal human rights (Bell, 2008). However, due to children's more vulnerable position, less power and higher exposition to adult control, children's rights to privacy and confidentiality involves additional considerations to guarantee their exercise in research and other realms. Children's right to privacy (art. 16) entails respect of and not interference with his or her privacy, family, home, or correspondence, as well as their honor and reputation (United-Nations-General-Assembly, 1989). Despite this legal disposition, children's right to privacy may entail some difficulties due to children's position in family settings, wherein this research is conducted. Social hierarchies and cultural mores may hinder working with children away from their parents' influence, since in many cultures children and adults do not necessarily inhabit separate spaces (Beazley as cited in Alderson, 2011). Within Latino families, children's and parents' interactions are grounded on the interdependence of its members and the collective character of the matters that affect them. Notwithstanding these cultural considerations, the participants' interaction within households are also shaped and strengthened by the limited layout of the space they inhabit, making it even more difficult to set up a clear boundary between the individual/private and the family/collective sphere. For that reason, obtaining the opportunity for sharing time with children without their parents' presence may depend not only on their willingness, but also of the lack of spaces for interaction with guests that do not collide with their daily activities and parental responsibilities.

The families understand the importance of listening to their children in private, as well as the underlying reasons for such requirement. Yet, in some circumstances their quotidian activities performed parallelly to their children's interaction with the researcher indirectly force them to listen to or intervene, jeopardizing the possibility of keep their children's privacy. Parents' "intervention" in children's affairs, usually seen by them as their own, may unintentionally reveal children's private information, feelings and experiences that they had not planned to mention to the researcher. Within Latino families there is an absence between private or personal problems and familial or collective ones. As in other cultures, parents are often interested in their children's issues and concerns, but unlike others they feel entitled to share them due to their collective character. For

instance, during the first meeting with one family the younger daughter looked depressive and shy, making the researcher to realize that asking her about was not appropriate for a stranger. Later, when the conversation got friendly and even funny after sharing common experiences and thoughts, one of the parents muttering revealed that the child was experiencing bullying at school, which was affecting her self-esteem. At first, such "indiscretion" could seem problematic for the child's privacy, but beneficial in preventing potential harm for the child when doing the activities, interpreting body language, silence and gestures, as well as understanding brief answers. Revealing such an important experience that the whole family was facing alongside their child was produced by trust in the researcher's word of respecting their privacy.

Yet, parents are not the only one who can reveal third persons' information since children can also unexpectedly do it, revealing their parents' opinions and so do the own researcher by insisting on getting more detailed responses to some questions. Private information may be accessed through diverse ways and from diverse sources within family settings since demarcating the boundaries between private family life and guests can be difficult. For that reason, reflecting about potential ethical risks in researching with children in terms of privacy should go beyond their individual aspect, also reaching the family realm and how that privacy is protected from third persons. In this respect, *confidentiality* comes up as the other side of a same coin, demanding the protection of all private information obtained from the participants and the access restriction for those who are unauthorized for knowing or using it. Such restrictions depend on the information's degree of sensitivity and participants' vulnerability (NESH, 2015a). In researching with children, their right to confidentiality demands important methodological considerations regarding data concerns, for instance, through *anonymization* to avoid their identification and secure their protection against perceived damage (NESH, 2015b). Children's right to confidentiality entails concealing their identity and other details that could make them identifiable when reporting the information provided by them and their families. To prevent potential violations or risks to children's confidentiality, changing children's names, excluding them or not collecting them may be useful (Ennew, 2009).

Based on this ethical consideration, during the first meetings both children and family participants were thoroughly informed about the importance of excluding their names during the activities and the possibility of choosing another name to guarantee the confidentiality of their information. This measure for ensuring the participants' anonymity was also included in the information sheets through a reminder of not including real names but choosing a nickname or being given one by the researcher, as well as in the written instructions for each activity. The participants were also informed the need of excluding their names in oral activities despite the security that using a dictaphone may provide in terms of data storage and protection. Through the information sheets children and families were also invited to get familiar with their rights in case of any disagreement or distress that could arise during the research process, the presentation of the findings, the later use of their information and its confidentiality. Taking into considerations the different topics revealed by the participants, the researcher verbally promised them that they would be asked before including sensitive information that they could prefer to keep it private. This duty of confidentiality was extended to the families' identity and potential identification. For that reason, some of their personal details were concealed, whilst others, such as their last names, were changed by the researcher. Thus, the participants could be less recognizable by third persons and, although most participants did not feel that it could be problematic, the above-mentioned measures were maintained during the research process.

Chapter 4: Theoretical approaches

In this chapter the underlying theoretical basis upon which this study is based on is addressed. In order to tackle Latino children's and families' experiences of everyday life, the main theoretical concepts and categories are discussed from an interdisciplinarian perspective and the research tradition of Childhood studies. In the first section, children participation in research is contextualized within the Childhood studies' framework. Through the lenses of an actor-oriented perspective, children are approached as active social subjects, alongside their families that play a fundamental role in their socialization process and identity construction. In doing so, interrelated categories like power, agency, structure and generational order are addressed to provide a backdrop for understanding children´s social experiences. Second, the concepts of migration and diaspora are presented for explaining its impact on modern constructs like the nation-state and formerly static definitions of identity. In the third section, theoretical concepts such as identity, place and belonging, are introduced in relation to the process of transnational migration. For that purpose, theoretical differences between usually interchangeably used concepts, like ethnicity, race and culture, are explained. Finally, the concept of *transnational family* is discussed in relation to *transnationalism* and its impact on the re-configuration of family emotional bonds.

4.1. Theorizing childhood: actor oriented perspective

Within the research field of Childhood studies, the re-conceptualization of *children* and *childhood* have emerged to interrogate mainstream definitions that claim the universality of childhood and children's passive position in society and social relations. Based on the assumption of biologically determined incompetence and immaturity, children were deemed incomplete human beings in a process of becoming (Hammersley, 2016), being placed in a subordinated position in society and having their voices muted (James, 1997). Thus, *children* and *childhood* are re-configurated, passing from seeing children as passive to see them as active social subjects, doers and meaning makers, contributors to their own socialization process in a unique fashion (James, 2007; Robson, 2007). These definitions emerged hand in hand with the re-conceptualization of childhood as a social structure, in which children, as social subjects, actively participate through intergenerational relations in a context of power imbalance, negotiation and agency (James, 1997; Valentine, 2011). As a social structure, childhood is deemed fluid and contingent, dependent on time and space and subjected to be shaped by both adults and children through a permanent process of social reproduction of culture (Lange, 2009). This re-definition and valorization of children's capacities and important role in society demands the study of children in their own right and value in the present and not only as *becomings* (James, 1997). In this respect, the *actor-oriented* approach mainly focuses on children's role as active social subjects by exploring children's participation and agency in inter- and intra-generational relations, as well as on children's everyday life experiences of *childhood.* In this way, it is possible to grasp the world from children's perspectives and give them a voice as experts on their own life (Clark, 2005).

To James (1997), the actor-oriented approach is translated in children's ability to construct and determine both their own social lives, the lives of those around them and the society in which they live. Understanding children as *social subjects* entails placing them in the field of their social relations and interactions with other social subjects of different age-groups. Children's dynamic participation in social life shapes and is shaped by their intra- and inter-generational relationships. Yet, children's contributions to social dynamics are often overlooked because of their position in society, giving primacy to adult's voices for speaking on their behalf (Lange, 2009). Power asymmetries, mainly based on generational differences between children and adults, influence children's consideration and treatment, as well as their role and place within the social spaces, ignoring the importance of their contributions (Prout & James, 2015). Through the actor-oriented approach children's voices have been brought to the forefront which has allowed researchers to understand children and childhood in a more fruitful fashion, appreciating children's role and contributions, according to their evolving capacities and under specific cultural parameters (Stoecklin, 2012). Focusing on children as competent individuals and social actors makes it possible to learn more about how society and social structure shape and are shaped by social experiences (James, 1997). In this framework, concepts like *agency* are used to explain how children negotiate and resist *power* despite their unfavored position in society and inter-generational relations, shedding light on the importance of giving them voice to speak out by themselves as experts in their own lives.

4.1.1. Agency, power and structure

*A*gency has been developed within the new paradigm in connection to children's consideration as active social subjects, facilitating the understanding and appreciation of their role in society through the production and re-production of culture. Under the actor-oriented approach, *agency* is built up as a social practice exercised by children through negotiation and resistance to adult authority and expectations (Nilsen, 2005). Thus, *agency* emerged as a response to *socialization and development theories* that claimed children's passivity and incompetence based on the so-claimed relation between age-stage and capacity. Alongside the developmental approach that considered children incomplete human beings or becomings, Durkheim's and Parsons's socialization theories were used to justify children's subordination in intergenerational relations and their passive role in the socialization process (James, 1997). Under these theories, *socialization* was conceived as an individual process of internalization in which children were mere receptacles of social values and norms, instead of a dialectical one in which they participate (James, 1997). To Mackay (1991) within these socialization theories, *socialization* is studied from an adult-centric perspective based on the taken-for-granted assumption that unlike adults, children are incomplete, incompetent and lack knowledge. Under this definition of *socialization*, children's capacities are not given due weight for understanding the socialization process, overlooking the richness of adult-child interactions in everyday life. Because of these weaknesses, Nilsen (2005) proposes a different understanding of *socialization* as a dynamic process with two dialectic aspects: adaptation and resistance. S*ocialization* involves the consideration of childhood as a social construction and children's action as social subjects. In consequence, *socialization* is a collective process, rather than an individual one, requiring to re-think *agency* in relation to childhood as a culturally shaped social structure in which children live their lives (Hendrik, 2009).

This consideration brings to the forefront the interrelation between adulthood and childhood, shedding light on the power asymmetries embedded in inter-generational relations wherein *agency* must be addressed (Valentine, 2011). To Robson (2007), *agency* is defined as an individual's own capacities, competencies and activities used to navigate the contexts and positions of their lifeworld's and fulfilling many economic, social and cultural expectations, whereas tracing individual and collective choices and possibilities for the future. Yet, this capacity of children to influence and participate in social dynamics is non-linear, but context-specific (Stoecklin, 2012), inevitably influenced by the social and, in consequence, reflects the hierarchies in which children live (Valentine, 2011). Under this definition, *agency* is not an individual process and cannot be understood as the exercise of authentic choice or self-directed action. Indeed, *agency* is *situated* and informed by social and cultural parameters, shaping and being shaped by them. Therefore, different levels of agency can be exercised by children according to the overlapping variables in which they are placed (Robson, 2007; Valentine, 2011). Since children and childhood vary cross-culturally, unpacking the social and cultural meanings of childhood is vital to understand children's role and position in society and *agency.* Children's recognition as social actors must reveal the social, cultural, material and political contexts and relational processes within their *agency* unfolds in everyday life (Abebe, 2019). Depending on the socio-cultural context, children exert different degrees of *agency* in the relationships that are informed by specific cultural practices, making their own contributions to social and cultural reproduction (Hendrik, 2009).

Children's definition in relation to family and community members, as well as their position with respect to them are mirrored in their social interactions embedded in a certain context and shaped by its conditions. In consequence, child agency can be understood from relational and generational perspectives (Abebe, 2019). Children's rights and competencies are relational and developed through participation in social practices, cultural contexts and social interactions. Hence, *agency* cannot be seen as the individualism-based exercise of free will against the constraints of social structures (Hammersley, 2016; Kjørholt, 2005) since child-adult relationships are interdependent, negotiated and renegotiated in relation to the socio-cultural context. These interdependent relations are dynamic and fluid, evolving with time (Abebe, 2019). For that reason, re-conceptualizing childhood as *relational* (Alanen, 2009) and *situated* is necessary for contextualizing *agency* according to children's position in a specific society to avoid overlooking their contributions. Just like children and childhood, power asymmetries between generations vary according to time and space and such diversity can give rise to children's different levels of agency. As a response to power imbalances which inform inter-generational relations, agency needs to be understood as relational to provide a backdrop for properly understanding and contextualizing children's experiences, ideas and identity formation in the context of transnational migration.

4.1.2. Generational order and intergenerational relations

To James (2001), researching with children is not only about making their voices heard in that literal sense by presenting their perspectives, but also exploring the nature of those voices and how it shapes and reflects the ways in which childhood is understood. Children re-produce cultural values by socializing in different arenas, mirroring the definition of childhood in a certain context. Through *intra-generational relations*, children perform their understanding of what childhood is and how children are or must be, since children's socialization process entails putting into practice their cultural background which is primarily built through family relations. Consequently, their

social relations outside home may reflect cultural values acquired at family level that influence their social skills and strategies to navigate everyday life. Yet, understanding childhood depends on how their relationships are understood. Since childhood is not a function of age but a social category, the child is constituted in relation and opposition to the adult (Fitz, 1982). In the present stage in the sociological study of childhood, the concept of *generation* is the key to a new, relational understanding of childhood and its evolving character (Alanen, 2009). This *relationality* between social categories can be constituted through internal or external relations. Childhood is internally constituted because of its relation to adulthood since the one necessarily presupposes the other (Alanen, 2011). This internal relationality characterizes the *generational order* and individuals' involvement in a material social relation (Alanen, 2011; Sayer, 1992). *Generational order* is defined as a structured network of relations between generational categories, such as adulthood and childhood, which are interdependent. *Interdependency* means that both generations construct, interact and mutually influence each other through intergenerational practices embedded in a specific socio-cultural scenario (Alanen, 2009; Lange, 2009).

In this respect, *generational order* is placed as the basis of the definition of childhood as a social structure and permanent stage in which children take part as temporary members. Childhood definition is developed in relation to adulthood and the influence of the existent power asymmetries between both generations which have impact on children's participation (Alanen, 2009; James, 1997; Valentine, 2011). *Generational order* entails considering that children's lives, experiences and relations are influenced by their place as members of the generation called *childhood*. Therefore, their interaction in *intergenerational relations* through negotiation and resistance relies on the social and material conditions, opportunities and constraints of the context wherein they are embedded (Punch, 2007). Intergenerational processes take place at both institutional and personal levels, being essentially interrelated through interaction, shaping children's and adults' experiences and affecting how they reassert the ascribed characteristics of their social group. In such context, *agency* is exercised by children through *negotiation* and *resistance* (Mayall, 2015). Yet, to be able of properly grasping children's participation and contribution in those intergenerational processes, *power* and *agency* must be understood in relation to their position within different overlapping social structures that influence their social relations. The emergence of *childhood* as a social category has been useful to identify how socialization and children active participation are understood by questioning power differences within social institutions like family and school (Mayall, 2009). Following these considerations, child participants' voices and experiences of childhood and socialization navigating the Norwegian social space can be thoroughly addressed in relation to the role of family within Latino culture.

4.2. Migration: diasporic identities and hybridity

Since the earliest times of human history migration has been occurring driven by multiple factors and it is today a recurring phenomenon in society (Wagner, 2016). Migration is a space-time phenomenon, a spatial-temporal process, driven by migrants' need of finding a place to stop and settle down, at least for a while (King, 2012; Skeldon, 2011). In the case of cross-border migration, understood as a movement across the borders of nation-states, people settle in a place or environment which differs from their place of origin (Madsen, 2003). In consequence, their process of identity formation and sense of place and belonging are

affected by the structural conditions of the receiving society (Anderson, 2006). Notwithstanding these difficulties, migrants form grounded attachments, geographies of belonging and practices of citizenship in the receiving country, looking for making a new home and identity and affecting local identities (King, 2012; Madsen, 2003). In this way, the artificial and abstract borders delineated by the states on the basis of "imagined communities" are taken down (Anderson, 2006). As a social *phenomenon* triggered by globalization, migration has produced different consequences for individuals whose lives have been re-shaped, affecting formerly deemed static concepts, such as *nation-state*, identity, place and belonging, important for understanding contemporary societies. In this section, concepts, such as diaspora, identity and hybridity, are presented and discussed in relation to migration, providing a backdrop for understanding the participants' experiences in re-creating their individual and collective identities as migrants in Trondheim, Norway.

4.2.1. Diaspora and hybridity: new identity forms

The emergence of *diasporas*, one of the most remarkable consequences of migration (Karim, 2018), has contributed to re-think the process(es) of identity(ies) construction after migration. According to Dufoix (2012), the term *diaspora* derived from the ancient Greek verb *diaspeiro* which means "dispersion of people". Unlike *migration,* usually associated to movement to a destination where migrants stay and eventually become citizens, *diaspora* is defined as a migrant community that both maintains material or sentimental linkages with its country of origin and adapts to the conditions of the host society (King, 2012; Middlemas, 2015; Skeldon, 2008). As other terms within social sciences, *diaspora* is associated with the term *transnational community*, defined as a group of migrants that maintain close links with their origins and may live and work in two or more states (Skeldon, 2008). Notwithstanding the similarities between both terms, *diaspora* and *transnational communities* are two different terms that can be defined through certain elements. To King (2012) a *diaspora* can be identified through the following criteria: stability over time, a greater emphasis on a historical identity and a type of identity or consciousness. Yet, Brubaker (2005) proposed a different criteria: dispersion from a territory of origin, homeland orientation (that not entail desire or feasibility of returning) and the maintenance of boundaries. Thus, *diaspora* defines itself against others, particularly dominant groups in host societies by setting up its own boundaries and shaping its members' identities.

Diaspora entails heterogeneity because it includes subjects with multiple identities (Skeldon, 2008). First, the members of a *diaspora* have not necessarily followed a linear route. On the contrary, their life-histories have included back-tracking and returning to specific locations. Second, diversity within *diaspora* is shaped by the complex historical, social and cultural dynamics within specific groups and in their relationships with others in the lands of settlement (Karim, 2018). Such diversity produces multiple linkages between the homeland and the *diaspora*, developing intricate networks among its members who can have different cultural identities and belong to different generations (Karim, 2018; Skeldon, 2008). Despite this internal diversity within *diasporas*, a common identity may be constructed upon the basis of heterogeneity. Indeed, *diasporas* entail two seemingly contradictory behaviors: the need of moving away from their homeland, due to economic, political and life or death reasons, and, at the same time, the desire of keeping in touch with the country of origin (Karim, 2018). Thus, *diasporas* are made of and

driven by migrants' need of remaining in touch with those left behind and be comforted by the culture in which they grew up, putting aside the differences among members. D*iaspora* also may generate more complex identities, for instance, in the case of persons who are in a third space, neither here nor there, but in between, as well as the emergence of new or hybrid forms of identity (Anthias, 2001; Hall, 1990; Karim, 2018). Thereby, *diaspora* is defined not by purity, but by an identity based on *hybridity* (Dufoix, 2012).

Like diasporas, which are usually seen as anomalous in the modern world due to the static notion of *nation* (Karim, 2018), *hybridity* also contradicts the mainstream definition of cultural identity, challenging ethnic essentialism. Defining *hybridity* is important to understand its transgressive character in the process of identity construction. In Wagner (2016) words, *hybridity* is a term that defines identity construction processes based on multiple cultural reference systems, like in the case of migrants. Therefore, *hybridity* is linked to the idea of combination or interpenetration of elements in the coalition of cultures, rather than to cultural difference. *Hybrid identities* involve part of a cultural heritage merged with other cultures' aspects to form an organic whole, as well as the existence of *belongingness* which take different forms depending on generations (Anthias, 2001; Bolaffi, 2003; Wagner, 2016). These hybrid identities have some typical elements: multiple cultural backgrounds, the lack of a background, exchange of experiences between self and external influences and the ongoing process of negotiation of their own identities and belongings (Wagner, 2016). In the modern state, the understanding of these multiple belongings has been facilitated by the de-construction of the notion of *identity* and *cultural identity* as unitary. *Hybrid cultures* are defined as overlapping and shifting identities (Christensen, 2011). In consequence, hybrid identities are seen as transgressive cultural formations, contestations against the fixed location that struggle over cultural hegemony, a consequence of migration (Anthias, 2001). Understanding the relation between migration, diaspora and hybridity, three interconnected concepts, can be useful for addressing how participants' cultural identity is being shaped by the socio-cultural conditions of the Norwegian society experienced in daily life navigation.

4.2.2. *Imagined communities*: re-thinking the *nation-state*

As one of the consequences of migration, *multiculturalism,* understood as the acknowledgement of ethnocultural diversity within national borders, has challenged the traditional concept of *nation-state* (Anthias, 2001). In the seventeenth-century, this concept emerged grounded in the idea of ethnocultural homogeneity of the population of a territory, whose kinship ties were reflected in a common language and culture (Karim, 2018). To Anderson (2006) *nations* are *imagined communities* whose borders are delineated grounded in the idea of being containers of pure ethnicities. In this way, nations set up borders to define their collective identity, influencing their members' individual identity through differentiation and exclusion (Karim, 2018). To Plöger and Kubiak (2018), identification with a specific group always implies *othering*, which can be defined as the action of transforming a difference into *otherness,* a characteristic of the *other*, a member of an out-group, whose identity does not fit in the in-group. *Otherness* is the result of a discursive process used by a dominant in-group to construct itself in terms of "us" and "them" through the stigmatization of a real or imagined difference (Staszak, 2008). Following Andersons' term, these groups are *imagined communities* produced by individuals through exploration and interaction, identifying themselves and their fellows as "belonging" to a same group by setting up *otherness.*

Belongingness is the basis of membership which is symbolically constructed upon the idea of an imagined similarity. Thus, communities or groups are symbols, but, at the same time, these communities resort to symbols for representing and expressing meanings (Jenkins, 2014). Symbols are used for representation and differentiation of a community with respect to "the others". In the case of *nations*, as other imagined communities, the use of symbols is necessary to demarcate citizenry, differentiation and belongingness (Karim, 2018). Yet, in a context of rapid international movement of people most societies have become societies without extending the defined borders of the nation-state, questioning its validity (Castles, 2000; Heater, 1999). Due to migration, the national territories have become geographic areas where different imagined communities coexist. As mentioned earlier, the definition of imagined community involves a sense of collective identity, membership and belonging to a group which is internally diverse but externally similar. Because of those similarities, this in-group heterogeneity is concealed, producing a set of features used to set up *otherness*. Migration brings about cultural diversity and, so, the emergence of multiple identities seeking to create a sense of place and belonging in a different socio-cultural setting. In this research study, the participants are members of the Latino community, a highly diverse group that set up the basis of its membership in a great array of similarities. For that reason, this concept can shed light on how the participants build up their identification with a group, the criteria used to set up *otherness* and its practical consequences.

4.3. Place, belonging and identity construction

A classical image of an immigrant is a person who makes a home in a foreign place through adaptation to the new environment and assimilation to the culture of the receiving country, gradually putting aside cultural ties with their home country while keeping the dream of returning (Madsen, 2003). In the context of transnational migration, this image may be simplistic, being far from properly depicting the reality of migrants' process of identity construction. International migration involves a range of transitions and physical, economic, political, social and cultural changes which affect individuals' occupations, sense of place and identity (Madsen, 2003) initially tied to their place of origin and later exposed to the conditions of the receiving society. To Madsen (2003), cultural traits have proven to be strong, resisting the process of cross-border migration and the contact with other cultures, societal conditions and people in direct and indirect ways. However, international migration might in fact be conductive to forming ties with a place (Anthias, 2009), giving rise to the possibility of developing shifting and overlapping identities.

Based on these theoretical considerations, this section focuses on the relationship between migration, place and sense of belonging, and their role in the process of identity construction by considering the different factors and actors that influence such process. For that purpose, concepts such as *belonging* and *place* are discussed in relation to the specific situation of international migrants' process of identity formation. In doing so, concepts like *identity, culture* and *ethnicity* are tackled to provide a frame for understanding how the process of identity construction and re-construction is carried out, alongside migrants' experiences of differentiation and *otherness.* For that reason, concepts like *race* and *ethnicity* are presented and illustrated in relation to its cultural meaning and definition within the *Latino* culture. These concepts can shed light on how the research participants interact with and experience the social space in Trondheim by means of their cultural understandings.

4.3.1. Sense of place and belonging

A basic assumption holds that immigrants initially have little or no belonging to the receiving country, but their sense of belonging gradually appears passing from their home country to the host one through the process of *assimilation* or *integration*. Yet, such process of identity construction and development of sense of place and belonging is not straightforward and fixed, but complex and variable, opening up the possibility of developing belonging to both sending and receiving countries (Gustafson, 2009). In consequence, it seems pertinent to examine people's sense of place and belonging in relation to human mobility. Thus, understanding *place* and its complexity and differentiation with respect to *territory*, as well as the collective and individual importance of its influence on people's *sense of belonging*, is important. The term *place* is a broad concept used for meaning not only geographical locations, but also the subjective feelings attached to them, which give them a unique character (Hay, 1998; Shmuel, 1991; Wilson, 1997). This latter definition entails a subjective dimension and constitutes what is called *sense of place,* a repository of meaning where one has attained a degree of *dwelling* and *rootedness* (Wilson, 1997) regarding a geographic area. Both dimensions of *place* are not exclusive, but relational and intertwined in the term *sense of place.* In a geographical sense, a *place* can be the area that a person inhabits or transits in daily life, being physically bonded to such locale. Yet, this physical space becomes *place* when affective bonds are attached to them, for example, through daily or periodic physical contact (Hay, 1998). In the field of social geography, such complexity in defining *place* in its two dimensions is simplified using two different terms: *space* and *place*.

With respect to its geographic meaning, *space* is used to refer to an empty abstraction, deprived of meaning, whereas *place or social space* refers to the result of human action and interaction with the cultural landscape. Through such interactions individuals create and invest places with meanings, determining their feeling of being in or out of *place* (Del Casino, 2009). *Places* are more than the backdrop of human activity, social relations and cultures, but saturated with cultural meanings since there cultures, communities and people root and define themselves, being crucial for understanding and defining their identity and belonging. Hence, *places* are defined as meaningful, politicized and cultured, in contrast to *space,* deemed an empty realm, open and detached of meanings (Anderson, 2015). Kaltenborn (1997:176) states that "geographical space becomes place when human beings imbue it with meaning". These affective bonds are studied in two different but intertwined senses. In a more general sense, within the social context these "meanings" are deemed a center of "felt value", "field of care" or "social field" containing shared meanings (Hay, 1998:6). In a more individual sense, these bonds are experienced by a person due to the qualities of certain space that contribute to create them. Feelings of being at home or belonging to a *place* can be produced by factors such as opportunities for seclusion and change, for immersion or immediate encounters with the natural world and for the experience of magic and memorable moments, anchoring them to individuals' identity (Hay, 1998; Wilson, 1997). This emotional attachment to a space makes *place* "a piece of the whole environment which has been claimed by feelings" (Lewis, 1979 as cited in Shmuel, 1991:347), commonly called *sense of place.*

Yet, *sense of place* is a vague concept whose definition depends on personal and subjective experiences and assessments. It entails a long and close experience of involvement in the *place* strengthened by rituals, myths and symbols, and a complex bunch of meanings and qualities individually or collectively associated with a particular locality or region (Dingemans as cited in

Shmuel, 1991). For that reason, the notion of *place* and the individual and collective development of *sense of place* varies (Gustafson, 2009). *Sense of place* is part of wider human developmental processes, subjected to the socio-cultural influences of society (Hay, 1998). Thus, *sense of place* is a psychological and physical concept with an emotional and descriptive dimension of how people individually or collectively experience the environment, describing a collection of symbolic meanings, attachment and satisfaction with a spatial setting (Hashemnezhad, 2013). On the one hand, this concept is rooted in subjective experience of people based on their memories, traditions, history and culture. On the other hand, it is affected from objective and external influences of the environment (physical) (Hashemnezhad, 2013). Such subjectivity in the definition of *sense of place* is important to understand the differences in the assessment of the individual and collective experiences embodied in places. To Hummon (1992), *sense of place* includes different levels of community sentiment like rootedness, alienation and *placelessness*, produced by people's satisfaction, identification and attachment to them. This complexity in delimiting its content has implications in related concepts such as *belonging* and *identity*.

In a modern society, the high levels of mobility experienced by individuals during their lifetime has produced multiple challenges for understanding how *sense of place* is developed and its implications in the process of belonging and identity construction. Mobility does not necessarily entail opposition with respect to *place* but, as a dynamic process of detachment and re-attachment that changes people-place linkages, connects a stable sense of *belongingness* to the fluid experiences of transit (Ropert, 2020). *Belonging*, in Shmuel words (1991), implies a feeling of *togetherness* or being part of a *place* in their physical and emotional dimensions. In this spatial sense, *sense of belonging* depends on recognizing a *place* to belong to and a pre-existent *sense of place* through which individuals experiencing place want to belong (Marques, 2020). As a form of mobility, international migration can affect the affective bonds created with a place. *Belonging* is commonly tied to territoriality, lifestyle and culture, which is reinforced in the context of migration by the need of becoming part of the *place*, as well as strengthening *place* and the ability to subsist through *place* (Marques, 2020). *Belonging* frames our personal understanding and interpretation of our interaction and habitation with a place through a social framework, opening the possibility of translating values and ideology into such space (Marques, 2020; Ropert, 2020). Hence, *places* are built up over and shaped by the social and cultural parameters that determine individuals' acceptance as members by setting up boundaries for identifying oneself and other members (Anthias, 2015), placing us as insiders or outsiders.

When these affective bonds are shared by all or most members of a group, it may determine their collective identity built upon that feeling of *belonging*, based on the attachment between them and the territory wherein they live (Escalera-Reyes, 2020). *Belonging* is then a dynamic process that operates on multiple scales, being constructed and negotiated along multiple axes of difference, such as class, race, stage in life cycle and gender, going beyond the ties to ancestry, authenticity and places of origin (Ullah, 2021; Youkhana, 2015). Considering *place* as a social, material and affective achievement, a complex web of social and affective relations and attachments, is important to understand the development of *belonging* in the context of transnational migration, as well as the role of *culture* in making *place* (Castles, 2002; Raffaeta, 2013). Following these considerations, the participants' sense of place and belonging in relation to their individual and collective experiences navigating daily life, alongside the role of Latino culture in shaping their worldviews can be addressed in a more fruitful fashion.

4.3.2. Identity: setting up boundaries and creating *otherness*

Nowadays international migration has become one of the most significant realities as result of globalization and the opening and accessibility of national borders and cultures for many people (Ullah, 2021). Such migratory processes have given rise to shifting and overlapping identities, demanding the need of re-thinking issues of belonging, identity and ethnicity with respect to transnational migrants that go beyond national boundaries of their home to settle down in another country (Anthias, 2009). Just like *place* and *belonging*, because of mobility, *identity* has passed from being deemed stable, homogeneous, unified and dependent on society to be unstable, fragmented, heterogenous and displaced, incorporating feelings of ambiguity, difference and exclusion (Roman-Velasquez, 2021). In contemporary definitions, *identities* are grounded in how individuals understand their position in relation to historical and cultural discourses, which produce and regulates them (Roman-Velasquez, 2021). Through these positions, made available by means of language and cultural codes, identities are enacted. In this way, identity(ies) are subjected to a constant process of transformation across different and often intersecting and contradictory discourses, practices and positions (Hall, 1996; Roman-Velasquez, 2021). To Hall (1996), *identity* entails setting up boundaries through differences and similarities among individuals. These boundaries emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, determining their inclusion or exclusion of a group or groups. *Identity,* hence, is made up of two criteria of comparison: *sameness* and *differentiation* (Jenkins, 2014). Identities' ongoing process of transformation and construction entails constant *othering* at the individual and collective level.

Through their participation in groups with diverse and varying degrees of hierarchy and equality, individuals play a paramount role as agents for identity construction (Madsen, 2003). Thus, when national borders are blurred as a result of transnational migration, both the movers and the receiving community identities are re-negotiated, making new communities emerged on the basis of socio-cultural relations and *othering* (Marshall, 2002). In this way, traditional ideas of nation-state and the definition of identity as primarily based on attachment to a specific territory are challenged, for example, in the case of transnational communities (Castles, 2002). To Marshall (2002), *identity* negotiation depends on how the relationship between *social structure* and *human agency* evolves depending on the arena of encounter. By exercising *agency*, individuals are capable of actively creating and negotiating how they see themselves and how they are seen by others, shaping their identity possibilities (Marshall, 2002). Despite this re-consideration of *identity's* malleable character*, understood as a meeting point* of in which different discourses coexist, this concept is frequently reduced to a label or representations through visible and usually static signifiers (culture, gender, religions, class) (Roman-Velasquez, 2021). Physical traits of individuals, groups and places are often used to illustrate, identity and de-code assumptions about people, their practices and places of origin, placing individuals as passive subjects in their own process of identity construction, constrained by those visible signifiers or labels (Roman-Velasquez, 2021). Yet, *identity* entails two aspects which are grounded in biological features or social facts (objective) and their interpretation (subjective) (Bilgrami, 2006).

Both dimensions are linked in the process of constitution of the self. Whereas *subjective identity* is what individuals conceive themselves to be, *objective identity* is how they might be viewed independently of their own appreciations of themselves (Bilgrami, 2006; Jenkins, 2014). However, the process of identity formation is not only rooted in visible signs, but also in the underlying social

categories and discourses that shape them and exist through their representation by means of labels. These social categories are used to set up boundaries with the subsequent *othering* of *others* who are placed outside them. In this sense, these two dimensions play an important role not only in the process of personal identity construction, but also in the making of social and collective identities. Both the individual and the collective dimensions are entangled with each other, coming into being through interaction and emerging from the interplay of *similarity* and *difference* during such interaction (Jenkins, 2014). At the individual level, *personal self* or identity is defined as the unitary and continuous awareness of who one is in relation to our position and belonging to different groups on the basis of personal attributes, while *social identity* is rooted on our membership to groups built up over social categories (gender, class, ethnicity, etc.) (Van Stekelenburg, 2013). At the group level, *collective identity* entails a shared definition of a group derived from members' common interests, experiences and solidarity (Taylor, 1992).

Identity is a process itself produced and negotiated through interactions between individuals that belong to a same group whose membership is built upon unclear boundaries and shared meanings (Jenkins, 2014; Taylor, 1992). Such identification with a group or groups serves as bridge between the collective and social identity and the *individual* and *collective self* (Van Stekelenburg, 2013). To Sevanen (2004), this collective dimension constitutes our *cultural identity* which is understood as a complex social phenomenon that takes shape within a social and cultural context. *Cultural identity* is part of a person's identity in relation to social categories, such as nationality, ethnicity, generation, or any kind of social group that has its own culture (Ennaji, 2005). Notwithstanding its individual dimension, cultural identity is also characteristic of the culturally identical group of members who share the same culture or upbringing, cutting across many fields and extending to the social, psychological, economic, political and cultural interactions within and between groups (Ennaji, 2005). Cultural identities are established by people in relation to specific times, places and powerful social forces that permit certain practices and not others, being subjected to change and subjecting identities to transformation (Roman-Velasquez, 2021). The term *culture* cannot be defined in a unique way and, indeed, it covers a broad range of ideas, language, products, norms, values, beliefs and so forth (Allan, 1998; Hammersley, 2019).

To Adler (2007), one of the most comprehensive definitions of *culture* is developed by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:181) who state that it consist of explicit and implicit patterns of and for behavior, acquired and transmitted by symbols embodied in artifacts. Its core consists of traditional ideas and especially attached values that a culture system produces by actions of its members to condition their future actions. *Culture* has, therefore, a symbolic reference system whereby individuals produce and reproduce a meaningful real world by means of action, interaction and agency (Allan, 1998). Thus, *culture* entails a fluid and non-static character, subjected to changes and adaptation to different contexts wherein its members' actions are displayed grounded on such culture system itself (Adler, 2007; Karjalainen, 2020). Culture's role in the definition of the social world makes its collective dimension evident since a person cannot individually construct symbols, meanings and realities. In this way, *culture* encompasses individuals' belonging to the same group, influencing the formation of its members' identity and setting up a distinction between them and other groups' members (Karjalainen, 2020). Therefore, the consideration of culture and its role in the process of identity formation and the elaboration of differentiation boundaries can be helpful when exploring the research participants' sense of place, belonging and identification with the new socio-cultural setting.

4.3.3. Race and ethnicity

Race and *ethnicity* continue playing a fundamental role in how people perceive the world. Yet, despite the importance of these concepts in shaping individual and group identities, the constant confusion between them persists in society. Social scientists focus their attention on the underlying social character of these concepts, primarily considering them as social constructs, frequently, misunderstood and distorted by the so-called *evident* racial and ethnic differences (Bolaffi, 2003; H. Goulbourne, Reynolds, T., Solomos, J. & E., Zontini 2010). As social constructs, *race* and *ethnicity* are subjected to changes and vary across time (Schaefer, 2008). However, ethno-racial differences exist and are visible through skin color, customs, clothing, rituals and practices, which are given different and multiple meanings depending on the socio-cultural context in which they are interpreted (Anderson, 2015). The discursive and context-specific nature of these concepts makes possible the emergence of multiple interpretations of the visible signifiers that constitutes how *race* and *ethnicity* are understood. Yet, despite the existent similarities between both concepts, considering their differences can shed light on how they influence individuals' process of identity construction. *Race* is constrained to biological and physical traits associated with groups whose physical appearance is defined as distinctive, whereas *ethnicity* is a broader concept which mainly rest on cultural differences (Anderson, 2015; Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b; Schaefer, 2008).

Ethnicity emerges as the result of sharing a common ancestry, origin and traditions connected to a geographical territory, world view, customs, rituals, religion and language (H. Goulbourne, Reynolds, T., Solomos, J. & Zontini, E., 2010; Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a). Yet, ethnicity can also entail socio-cultural factors shared by the group such as histories, myths, customs, sentiments, beliefs and values, whose combination may define an ethnic identity. Notwithstanding the conceptual differences between both concepts, in practice this distinction is not simple since people from different racial groups can share important aspects of ethnicity, while those who are viewed as different may share the same racial identity, but not the same ethnic identity (H. R. Goulbourne, T.; Solomos, J. & E. Zontini, 2010). Both categories and their cultural meanings and interpretations are linked to humans' need of setting up differentiation boundaries between individuals and groups through labels. As mentioned (see chapter 2), in comparison to Norway, most Latino societies are structurally informed by these socio-cultural categories, influencing their individuals' identities and experiences, understandings and interpretations of the social world. The inclusion of these variables into analysis can shed light on how the research participants experience and makes sense of the social space in Trondheim, Norway.

4.4. Family in the context of transnational migration

Globalization has brought to the forefront the relationship between mobility and people's territorial sense of belonging or its lack, showing that mobile persons can also have or develop strong territorial bonds (Gustafson, 2009). As a form of mobility, migration entails interruption or rupture between people and places (Anthias, 2009; Schiller, 1995). *Transnationalism* emerged as a process in which migrants set up social fields across geographic, cultural and political borders, affecting individuals' and families' everyday life experiences, concerns, expectations, fears and achievements (Schiller, 1995). Migrant families may experience the impact of mobility on their affective relationships and emotional bonds with those who stayed in their homelands, generating

the need of re-shaping them. Based on these considerations, this section focuses on the effects of transnational migration on the traditional definition of *family* as a static unit, conceived in relation to territorial attachment, as well as families' relationships and emotional bonds. For that purpose, the concept of *transnational migration* is introduced and developed to shed light on how transnational migration has eroded formerly conceived static concepts and institutions like the *family*. In this way, transnationalism constitutes the backdrop in which *transnational family*, its emergence and the re-structuration of its internal dynamics can be placed and understood. In doing so, it would be possible to address the material and emotional impact of transnational migration on the participants' lives and relationships in relation to family practices.

4.4.1. Transnationalism and transnational migration

During the last decades, globalization has led millions of economic migrants from poor sending countries to seek employment and opportunities in economically better-off receiving-nations (Bryceson, 2019). In the 1970s the term *transnationalism* arose to point to processes of interchange that could not be understood under the figure of *nation-state*. With the turn of the 1990s, this term entered the debates in a scenario of constant transnational interconnectedness, accompanied with a process of deterritorialization (Skrbiš, 2008). *Transnationalism* is defined as the process in which migrants set up social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders (Baldassar, 2014). As mentioned, the so called *nation-state* and its territorial character has been challenged by increasing cross-border migration, giving rise to multiple forms of identities and belongings, detached from strong territorial bonds (Baldassar, 2014; Madsen, 2003). *Transnational migration* is the process by which immigrants create and maintain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations, connecting their societies of origin and settlement and embedding themselves in more than one society (Skrbiš, 2008). Instead of severing ties to their homelands by trading one membership for another, many transnational migrants maintain their economic, political and religious ties to their countries of origin despite the fact of having a life, work and rights in the receiving society(Levitt, 2002). Indeed, being a *transnational migrant* involves the reconfiguration of existing relationships with family and friends and the maintenance of transnational contacts and social networks with those left-behind through the creation new communicative spaces (Skrbiš, 2008). Understanding the relationship between transnational practices of love and caring and issues of assimilation and integration experienced by migrants is important for addressing transnationalism impact on family life (Levitt, 2002). For that purpose, re-thinking *family* in the context of transnational migration can be useful for understanding how migrant families and their relatives cope with the rupture of their traditional bonds, re-shaping and adapting their inter-personal relationships to the new circumstances of the host country.

4.4.2. Transnational families: re-thinking emotional bonds

The *transnational family* exemplifies the impact of globalization on individuals' life by opening the possibility of living across borders, eroding individuals' possibilities of experiencing all life stages in a single place. Migration disconnects individuals from their families, friendship networks and other socially significant references, such as sacral objects, spaces, practices and language, which have an emotional connotation for them (Skrbiš, 2008). *Transnational families* are a consequence of a combination of political changes, cultural values, yearnings and long-term opportunities

(Michalos, 2014). These families are defined as those in which one or more members live in another country or region, but maintains the connection with those relatives and friends left behind by creating a sense of unity and familyhood across and beyond national boundaries (Bryceson, 2019; Hua, 2016; Michalos, 2014). In this way, transnational families' experiences involve interrelating three key dimensions: migration, emotions and belonging, an evolving institutional form of human interdependence in terms of material and emotional needs in a globalizing world (Bryceson, 2019; Skrbiš, 2008). Despite this type of *family* implies dynamics, flux and change, it is also embedded in stable structures represented by institutions of the host society and affected by the geographic boundaries, international politics and law, impacting its members' experiences (Skrbiš, 2008). Yet, it also constitutes a multi-dimensional spatial and temporal environment of support (Baldassar, 2014; Bryceson, 2019).

Rather than producing rupture or dissolution, transnational migration may serve to re-shape family structures and their emotional bonds. Indeed, despite physical separation, members of transnational families maintain a sense of collectivity, kinship, familyhood and the feeling of belonging whereby technologies for communication and travel, strengthening their family ties (L. Baldassar, Baldock, C. & Wilding, R., 2007; Skrbiš, 2008). In this way, geographical separation becomes a strength for family continuity. Yet, when it comes to transnational family structure and members, going beyond western definitions of family is necessary. Therefore, both nuclear and extended types of family must be included in the definition of *family*, reaching extended family members. Extended family systems prevail in most global south countries and cultures because of the recognition of all family members' role and engagement in family survival and maintenance across the life cycle (Baldassar, 2014; Michalos, 2014). Thus, mobility does not necessarily erode family cohesion, but prompts its adaption to the new circumstances enhancing, in some cases, family networks through relations of support. As a group, family boundaries and coherence mainly rest on emotional sentiments and mutual material exchange (Bryceson, 2019) rather than on physical closeness. Hence, emotions become the glue of family members' connection and co-dependency (L. Baldassar, Baldock, C. & Wilding, R., 2007).

Based on these considerations, it is necessary to re-think the *family* separated of the notion of nation-state and its physical and sedentarist character and so do those practices of mutual support, such as caregiving and child-rearing, that guarantee the social reproduction of households (Baldassar et al., 2014). These practices are produced by global dynamics and phenomena and involve multiple strategies and mechanisms used by family members for dealing with the challenges of going beyond the local context (Baldassar et al., 2014).The notion of *transnational family* reflects how the traditional family is affected by mobility since their members often make material and emotional sacrifices with respect to those left behind (Baldassar, 2014; Bryceson, 2019). Under the new circumstances brought by migration, family relationships become heavenly dependent on digital technology, telecommunications and air travel which allow migrants to maintain transnational relationships and develop a transnational sense of belonging (Reynolds, 2015). This re-conceptualization of *family* because of physical detachment and its internal dynamics and affective bonds can serve as a basis for addressing family participants' experiences re-creating, maintaining and doing family in a different socio-cultural setting.

Chapter 5: Children and families *doing Latinoness*

In the current scenario of increasing migration, concepts like identity, place and belonging have experienced a shift, passing from being considered static to dynamic, mobile and context-dependent (Anthias, 2009; Madsen, 2003; Marshall, 2002). Accepting that identities are fluid entails addressing how they are constructed after migration in relation to the new context. In Trondheim, the research participants have experienced the need of re-defining themselves on the basis of *otherness* and *sameness* by setting-up differentiation boundaries (Hall, 1996). For this reason, this section seeks to explore participants' cultural identities which are defined and re-constructed around three main axes: (1) a common culture, (2) sense of place and belonging associated to place of origin and memories, (3) ethnicity and, in some cases, race. For that purpose, their experiences are introduced to illustrate how such process takes place (consult appendix 3 for Spanish translation). Almost all research participants identify themselves as *Latinos*, emphasizing their cultural differences with respect to Norwegians. Unlike Pantalon who says that she does not feel so Venezuelan or Latina, most children identify themselves as Mexicans, Brazilians, or Venezuelans. That is what Sergio (6), Salvador (10), Elias (8), Vania (16), Rayo (8) and Mariana (12) say when they are asked how they identify themselves and so do their parents.

When identifying themselves, the participants go beyond their nationality, appealing to a common set of features labelled as *Latino*, passing from belonging to a country to a larger *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006). *Latino*, thus, becomes a category which gathers individuals who are unevenly placed within social structures, but share similarities by materializing what in the following sections is called *Latinoness*. *Latinoness* is constructed through the participants' experiences not in opposition, but in relation to *Norwegianness*. Despite their commonalities, children and adults talk about *identity* in different terms. To most parents, *identity* is mostly connected to culture and referring to cultural differences is natural and normal since they are "obvious" for most of them. On the other hand, to most children *identity* is mostly linked to their sense of place and belonging attached to their countries of origin and the meanings co-created there through family relations, memories and cultural traditions. In this context, *ethnicity* arises as a criterion that informs children's and parents' identity re-definition and their longing to maintain such identity in a different socio-cultural setting. Thus, while sharing differences and commonalities, children and parents co-construct and set-up the basis of their mobile identities, adjusting and employing them to read, interpret and make sense of the new socio-cultural world. These dimensions and components of the participants' identities are discussed and addressed in the following sections.

5.1. *Norwegianness* and *Latinoness*: *ellos* and *nosotros*

Culture is a word frequently used, but hardly and inaccurately defined. Yet, indeed, *culture* is not an easy-to-explain term (Bierstedt, 1938). Most children and families I met during fieldwork refer to *culture* as one of the main criteria for setting up boundaries of differentiation and *othering* regarding *Norwegians.* Labels like *Norwegians* and *ellos* (they) are used indistinctly to name not only those who are different, but also those who do not share their *likhet* (similarity) (Sevänen,

2004). As a form of collective identity, *culture* cuts across multiple realms, becoming part of individuals' identity in relation to social categories such as nationality and ethnicity among others, demanding a shared definition of a group based on common grounds (Ennaji, 2005; Taylor, 1992). As such, cultural identity entails both a sense of *sameness* and *otherness* by setting up differentiation criteria. *Sameness* can be objectively constructed on the basis of *sameness* itself, for instance similar ethnic or cultural roots, as well as subjectively grounded on experiences, feelings and a perceived *sameness* (Sevänen, 2004). With respect to *otherness*, the participants set up differentiation criteria for defining who and how they are with respect to those considered *others.* On the other hand, *sameness* is, mostly, assumed and taken for granted, becoming a category for unifying and concealing the existent multiple differences within *Latinos.*

Regarding *otherness*, the participants frequently refer to *ellos* (they) for naming Norwegians as the *others* and *we* for talk about themselves, the researcher and "other" *Latinos.* Under these labels, discussions about what makes one *Latino*, take place, becoming a means for setting up differentiation boundaries between both groups. For most participants, *Latinos* are mainly defined as family-oriented, lively, extroverted, united, unpunctual, friendly, good dancers, passionate, open, fun, charismatic, *fiesteros*(party-going), proud, religious, sociable, followers of traditions and supportive. These traits constitute what they call a "typical *Latino*", being in many cases not only a source of difference, but also of pride. Salvador (10), for instance, proudly says that he is a Latino, from Venezuela, because he is sociable and talkative and enjoys knowing new people and making friends although approaching Norwegian children is difficult. In his opinion, for that reason, "we (Latinos) are so different to Norwegians", which he describes in the following lines

> … if I had to choose a word for defining Latinos, I would choose "sociable", because we are always talking and talking. In Venezuela, for example, everybody is on the streets talking and instead of just walking they walk together while talking or just stop to do it... (Salvador, 10)

This piece reveals that, for him, Norwegians are "ellos" (they), the others, since he describes himself as *Latino*, specifically Venezuelan, but includes the researcher when saying "we are". Like Salvador, for other participants, having or lacking these characteristics can be determining for considering someone as Latino, a "bad Latino" or an "atypical" one. Pantalon (13), for instance, sees herself as an "atypical *Latina*" since according to her words "she dislikes people". In this way, she separates herself from stereotypes in the middle of a conversation in which all family members state their pride of being sociable and extroverted as most *Latinos*. It is also the case of, Teresa, her mother, who states that she is a bad *Latina* because unlike most Latinos, she is punctual as Norwegians. However, she ensures being *Latina* since she fulfills all "the other criteria". According to Vania (16), her older child, within *Latino* culture features such as being unpunctual are socially normalized, expected or justified. These characteristics are not exclusive of one category, but culturally representative and often appreciated by most Latinos, being translated into a different socio-cultural context for differentiating and defining themselves and others like in the following story shared by Mariana (12) to explain her and her parents' preferences about people:

> *Mariana*: …many of our acquaintances and friends are not so… my mom says "hi, how are you?" and they say "hey, hey…", no more…they are not talkative but reserved and, for example, when they are given food they do not say "thanks". In my birthday party at the restaurant, we played a game and my parents gave more points, fake points, to one girl whose name is Clara, she is so respectful and kind…she always says "hi, how are you?" and she does not speak Spanish but she tries, so, she always gets points. She always says hello, chats and asks. That is the kind of people that my parents like...and for my mom, they are the coolest of my classroom…

Interviewer: Do you mean those who are more sociable and talkative?
Mariana: Yeah! the coolest is Lucas because he is Spanish and always speaks Spanish with us and then, Clara…she is one of the most… (looking for a word, she knows more words in English)
Interviewer: …sociable?
Mariana: yeah! Exactly!! (Mariana, 12)

This fragment shows how children and parents co-construct and re-produce meanings by giving value to certain personality traits based on their cultural background despite being in a different setting. In Mariana's case, described above, being sociable and talkative are important features that individuals, regardless of their culture or origin, *should* have. Their absence or presence are valued and measured by using Latino cultural expectations and references as yardstick even with those who are not deemed *Latinos*. These cultural references inform not only how individuals are seen and how relationships unfold in a context like Trondheim, but also serve to set up difference and create *otherness.* In this way participants *do* and perform their culture by producing and re-producing their cultural values and meanings adjusted to the circumstances and conditions of the context, defining what being a *Latino* means while separating themselves from *the others.* Following these *Latino* cultural expectations and standards, most participants define Norwegians as cold, punctual, sporty, introverted, non-judgmental, lonely, systematic, *de pocos amigos* (with few friends), reserved, nature lovers, family-oriented (in a different way), respectful, calm, naïve, patient and kind. In Pantalon's (13) words, Norwegians are lonely people, usually cold in comparison to *Latinos*. Her sister, Vania (16), agrees on that and states that "unlike *Latinos*, most of time *they* feel overwhelmed or afraid by physical contact" which makes it difficult to get closer to them. Such a difference is illustrated by Teresa, their mother, who says that "Latinos see each other on the bus and they talk about everything, but *they* (Norwegians) are not talkative, above all, if they don't know you. You must be the one who starts because they seem afraid of *us"*.

At first sight Norwegians and Latinos, in the participants' words, are opposite. Norwegians are deemed *different* which seems to produce them a sense of pride derived of the feeling of *uniqueness* in a context in which Latinos are a minority group. As part of a small community, the participants feel the need of strengthening their identity based on those *differences* which, at the same time, become a shelter for protecting them from *the others.* Notwithstanding these cultural differences, appreciations and expectations, some so-called Norwegians' characteristics, such as their love for nature, kindness and willingness to teamwork and cooperation, are also valued and admired by some participants. These cultural differences are built upon and judged under Latino cultural values and standards and so do their appreciation and admiration. For instance, to Salvador's family, understanding how Norwegians socialize is difficult, which makes befriending them challenging. However, in their words, "they have their own way of being noble, solidary and capable of trusting your words. W*e* just need to get closer to their culture and social rules to better understand them". Yet, Norwegians are also admired because of their willingness for and engagement in teamwork, like in the case of Elias' family, who question the extreme competitiveness and individualism that is encouraged in a collectivistic culture like the Latino, being opened to learn from Norwegians that sense of engagement in working together for a common goal. Using Latino cultural lenses shaped by the participants' experiences in their home countries, trusting someone as Norwegians do is difficult and, therefore, admirable.

Latin American societies are hierarchical in multiple ways and individuals deal with the challenges that their positions within social structures entail (Wade, 2010). In such a context, everybody is suspicious that someone is trying to get advantage of the weakest person or those placed in the

lowest positions in society. Thereby, it is a scenario for distrust added to an inherent and subtle sense of inferiority produced by discrimination and inequality, which demands putting into practice coping strategies such as being "vivo" (astute). "El vivo" is a person who knows how to take advantage of situations, doing what is necessary to achieve his/her goals by finding the way to avoid hard work or law-abiding conditions. This "culture of el vivo" is rooted in people, authorities and institutions at different levels and it is deemed a survival mechanism, socio-culturally expected and, sometimes, justified due to the conditions of the context (Cosgrove, 2005). This way of thinking prevails in the societies where participants come from, informing all aspects of their lives and relationships, requiring them to take a position on one or another side. Being "el vivo" is sometimes necessary in everyday life, which can make it a burden or an achievement for individuals. Immersed in these cultural parameters and experiences, most parent and older child participants appreciate those who succeed without appealing to act and behave as "el vivo".

"El vivo culture" is also tightly connected to *competitiveness* and the importance of standing out in a context of harsh conditions, inequality and discrimination. For that reason, features like being naïve, honest and capable of trusting others are admirable. Thus, Norwegians are seen as honest and non-hypocrite, uncapable of being jealous and willing to cooperate for a common goal without the feeling of being overshadowed. Following these cultural references, for most participants "Norwegians are *naïve* because they trust you" which it is something difficult to understand, but admirable at the same time. The idea of *likhet* (equality) and *samarbeid* (cooperation) under the Norwegian culture is not something applicable or understandable from parents' views and previous experiences. Yet, for children like Vania (16) Norwegians' *naiveness* is expectable, understandable and normal "in a country like this", revealing that such a feeling is aged since there is a clear generational difference with respect to how *difference* is set-up and understood. Differentiation boundaries are variable and dependent on the participants' age, experiences and position in their countries of origin, as well as their previous migratory experiences. The youngest participants, such as Elias (9) and Rayo (9), and those who have previous experiences of migration, like Mariana (12) and Sebastian (12), are not so familiar with the *vivo culture* since from an early age they start traveling and moving from one country to another, having few possibilities of socializing under such scheme. Therefore, they don't relate to those concepts, mainly focusing on describing Norwegians and setting up differences based on features like shyness, sociability and solitude.

Yet, cultural differences are not always uncrossable boundaries since they depend on participants' aged experiences, which determine their attachment to a certain set of cultural norms and the need of continuing their re-production over time. At first sight, for most parents' cultural differences are evident and important identity markers and, in many cases, despite their appreciation for the *other's* culture, they represent boundaries that they would like to understand, but not breach. These parents admit the importance of getting contact with Norwegians for learning and understanding their culture and mindset. However, they also feel that if that happens, they will not abandon or change their own ideas, traditions and cultural beliefs. This is what Vania's and Pantalon's mother says, "I think it is interesting that they like going skiing and interacting with nature, all what they have, but I don't want to do that". Other parents are more open and flexible to learn from Norwegians and *their* culture. Elias' parents, for instance, emphasis their admiration for Norwegians' humbleness and capacity to admit their mistakes. In their opinion, "being a human and saying I cannot do this or that" is easier with Norwegians since it does not determine your value as human being or professional, reducing individuals' burdens. For that

reason, cooperation and teamwork are fomented within Norwegians in comparison to Latinos who mostly want to individually stand-out. In most children's cases, differentiation boundaries are more flexible and, although almost all of them define themselves as *Latinos*, they are willing to learn from differences, understand Norwegians' idiosyncrasy and question their own beliefs and ideas, especially, those who deem themselves atypical Latinos such as Pantalon (see case above).

Children like Vania (16), Salvador (10), Rayo (9) and Elias (9), admit their increasing interest for taking advantage of climate conditions (of the snow mostly) by doing sports, partaking in outdoor activities and staying healthy as *Norwegians* do. In both cases, socialization plays a pivotal role in getting closer contact with the local culture. Despite these generational differences, *difference* is, in most cases, a source of pride for children and parents. Yet, in children's case it also represents in-group and out-group opportunities for challenging internal cultural expectations and dealing with difference by standing out in a context that requires the adaptation of previous socialization strategies. This sense of *uniqueness* is what Salvador (10) describes below

> *Salvador*: I am Latino, Venezuelan, because my parents always…and Norwegians are like…if you say "hello" they are like… (makes a gesture to express indifference) …
> *Interviewer*: …and that is annoying for you?
> *Salvador*: no, it does not bother me at all because it makes me special when I am with them. It is funnier to not be like the others...it would be boring to be like Norwegians because they are not talkative, but shy… (Salvador, 10)

According to his words, he feels more special and unique in Norway which makes him feel proud. Being sociable and extroverted have helped Salvador to make friends, learn Norwegian faster and socialize even with adults, making his adaptation process easier and helping his parents and younger sister in their own processes. These cases illustrate that differentiation can become a mechanism for challenging one's own culture or approaching a different one. In this way, cultural identity is used as a tool for navigating a different socio-cultural context. Between agreements and disagreements, differences and similarities, children and adults co-construct the meaning that *Latino* culture takes after migration and settlement in Trondheim on the basis of differentiation and *otherness. Latinoness* and *Norwegianness* are constructed as categories of differentiation whose boundaries are negotiated by children and parents whereby their experiences as transnational migrants. Yet, just like *difference*, *sameness* also influences the ongoing process of identity re-construction after migration. Unlike setting-up *difference*, defining *sameness* is not a simple and straightforward process since Latinos are not a homogeneous group, but one made up of people with different nationalities, values and traditions (Nicoletti, 2010). The term *Latino* is a label for naming those who share cultural commonalities, a history of colonization, heritage and a common origin (Harwood, 2002). Yet, *Latinos* are not passive subjects named by such label, but active ones who co-construct from the basis of an imagined *sameness* what being a *Latino* means.

Thus, *Latinoness* is also an in-group creation for gathering commonalities in a context of overlapping structural differences. In this research the participants come from different countries and have different socio-economic status and beliefs which differently impact their life and migratory experiences. However, in a socio-cultural context, like Trondheim, where *differences* are daily experienced, finding similarities becomes not only easier, but also necessary. The participants are aware of their in-group differences, but their common status as migrants becomes a reason for focusing on commonalities and co-produce a *community* and common identity. This small Latino community in Trondheim emerges as a *diaspora*, a group that share commonalities

despite their differences and try to maintains material and sentimental bonds with their countries of origin while adapting to the host society (King, 2012; Skeldon, 2008). Diasporic identities emerge under the idea of *sameness* grounded on similarities like sharing a common historic past, similar cultural traditions and practices, a common language and cultural values and norms. In doing so, differences, that in other setting could produce division, are concealed and overshadowed, creating *unity* what Salvador's parents illustrate in the following example

> *Salvador's mother*: We did not have Latin American friends since we just met two families, but one year ago new people entered to the school and a new group of Latinos emerged. Honestly…there are people so different to us and we realized that all speak Spanish, even those from Spain, but we are not similar, so, sometimes I feel like… (makes a gesture of being uncomfortable) … it is too much for me…because they are people who I would never socialize with in my country. They would not be my friends…
> *Salvador's father*: … yeah (he sounds a little sad) You need like…to feel you are at home and language helps, so, you relate to them but they would not be your friends in other circumstances...

This piece illustrates the role of language in concealing differences and creating a feeling of *sameness.* After being physically detached of their national territories, a common identity provides them a sense of belonging and being part of something, a membership to a group (Jenkins, 2014) that connects them to their past while informing their present as migrants. To children like Vania (16) interacting with other *Latino* children is important because those friendship relationships become sources of emotional support that allow them to feel that they have someone to relate to, facilitating their adaptation process. Yet, *sameness* is also constructed based on participants' embodied experiences before and after migration. In Vania's case, described above, her closer friends are mostly Latinos and her boyfriend too which, in her words, makes easier their relationship and allow her family to interact with them too. Besides, Vania's basic English proficiency constrains her possibilities of interacting more with English-speaking children. Regarding the local language, even though she speaks Norwegian well enough, she does not relate to her Norwegian peers, preferring to interact with other *Latinos*. To extroverted children like Rayo (9) and Salvador (10), having Spanish-speaking friends is comfortable because facilitates the interaction of their families, but not determinant since they also enjoy having friends from different countries. These children have spent less time in their countries of origin, speak English almost as a mother tongue, have previous experiences of migration and know the feeling of going from one place to another.

In the case of shier children like Elias (8) and Pantalon (13), having limited contact with Spanish-speaking children became an opportunity for going out of their comfort zone and socialize with someone "different". For these children language is not a barrier because they speak English, but they see themselves *different* to their peers. Thereby, speaking Spanish with other Latinos becomes an opportunity for experiencing that feeling of comfort and *sameness.* Such a feeling is experienced and narrated by Salvador (10) when listening to someone speaking Spanish in the street he decides to talk to and ask questions. Speaking Spanish in a place like Trondheim can create a sense of being at home and a feeling of closeness showing that language can bridge over differences. The cases previously discussed illustrates that for children and parents reconciling differences between Latinos by appealing to common roots, traditions, idiosyncrasy and language, which are similar among Latin American countries, is simple, giving rise to a feeling of *sameness* and a sense of *community*. Such a feeling is also influenced by their shared position as migrants in Trondheim which make them relate to one another in terms of common adaptation challenges.

5.2. The importance of *belonging*: memories and traditions

Geographical spaces become *places* when imbued with meanings on the basis of a degree of dwelling and rootedness (Hay, 1998; Wilson, 1997). Mobility entails disruption with one's usual social and cultural world and changes in terms of socialization. International migration involves transitions and multiple changes, affecting individuals' sense of place, belonging and identity(ies) (Madsen, 2003). Thus, individuals experience a process of getting familiar with the new setting, adapting their lives and routines to its prevailing social rules. Consequently, individuals can develop to a certain degree a *sense of place and belonging* to that geographic area which varies from one person to another according to their satisfaction and identification with one community, producing different levels and sentiments like rootedness, alienation, relativity and *placelessness* (Hummon, 1992). These different degrees are influenced by individuals' previous migratory experiences and trajectories, time of arrival and settlement in the host country, as well as the time spent in their homelands in relation to age. Roots and routes of migration play an important role in migrant's sense of place and belonging regarding a geographic area (Christensen, 2011). When addressing parents' and children's feelings with respect to Trondheim, the time they have spent in Trondheim, as well as in their home countries must be considered.

In this project, most participants have lived in Norway for at least two years, a short period of time in comparison to the one lived in their *home* countries. However, their migratory experiences differ due to their type of migratory status and trajectories. Families like Rayo's, Salvador's and Mariana's have previous migratory experiences which have influenced their sense of place attachment or detachment. Due to the uncertainty produced by parents' migratory status as migrant workers, for instance, family members are used to move from one place to another, interrupting their experiences of the locale. Notwithstanding these similarities, children's and parents' belonging to different generations and stages in the life cycle affect their possibilities of developing certain degree of *sense of place* in the receiving society, requiring addressing their experiences, first and foremost, as *aged*. Regarding routes, in children's case, previous migratory experiences can influence their sense of place attachment or detachment. To Mariana (12), for instance, moving from one country to another has shaped her feelings of territorial detachment which have facilitated her process of adaptation to a country like Norway what she describes as follows: "honestly, I did not care moving to Norway. I was the one who said, "we should stay here" and they said "ok". I did not care a lot because we had moved before". As noticed, she influenced her parents' decision of staying in Norway which was facilitated by her previous migratory experiences and the uncertainty that it produced in her with respect to a possibility of settlement.

This is also Rayo's (9) case whose family has moved from one country to another since he was a baby wherein he had to adapt himself to the socio-cultural conditions. After living in some Muslim countries, his family moved to Norway, experiencing, one more time, changes and adaptation challenges, facilitated by his scarce experience of *rooting* to one space. In these cases, migration at an early age has produced a sense of physical detachment to one place, reinforced by the uncertainty about the possibility of long-standing settlement. In other cases, children's possibility of developing a sense of place and belonging with respect to Trondheim is influenced by the time they lived in their home countries before migration. To Vania (16), who came to Norway as refugee without previous migratory experience, *adaptation* has been challenging since most part of her life was spent in one *space* which, in her words, shaped her identity. Pantalon (13), her sister, agrees on that and adds that the life stages one experiences in a place are important which she

illustrates as follows: "I think I am not too Venezuelan, because although I have lived there for a while, it was mainly my childhood. I am experiencing puberty here which is more determining when defining how Venezuelan I am. I did not think about this before coming to Norway". To Pantalon, childhood is not so decisive in one's process of cultural identity formation as puberty which, in her opinion, explains why her sister feels more *Latina* than her. This case reveals that, for some children, their cultural identity is tightly connected to the time they spend in their home countries and their feelings of attachment to those places based on memories and life events.

These issues just make sense after migration, as they are influenced by children's migratory experiences and the life stages they are going through. Indeed, individuals' sense of place and belonging can be influenced by the series of life cycle stages they have experienced in a certain context (Hay, 1998). As mentioned, all parents have spent most of their lifetime in their homelands, going through different life stages which strengthened their sense of attachment. After starting their migratory trajectories in their early adulthood, most parents often refer to the difficulties they are experiencing in *adapting* themselves to their new life in Trondheim. This is illustrated by Teresa, a woman in her 40s without previous migratory experience, who states that due to her age, *adaptation* to a new language, culture and social rules is more challenging. Her experience reveals that *adaptation* processes can be affected by individuals' age and previous experiences of being rooted to a *place*, making interaction with a new context difficult and so does developing a sense of place and belonging. This is also what other parents mention when talking about the adaptation challenges they face despite their previous migratory experiences. The life stages and experiences they lived back in their countries have strengthened their attachment to those places, sharpening their detachment to the new setting.

Unlike children, whose *adaptation* process is mostly related to their migratory experiences and time lived in their countries, families' reasons for migrating can affect most parents' adaptation. To Hummon (1992), the level of satisfaction and identification with one community can influence individuals' degree of sense of place. In the case of Salvador's parents, who despite not having refugee status, their decision of migrating was prompted by the political instability and economic crisis in Venezuela, producing and enhancing their feelings of hopelessness, nostalgia and dissatisfaction which is expressed as follows:

> *Salvador's father*: I wanted to stay in Venezuela, but due to the circumstances...we took the first opportunity we had...but I had not planned to go out anywhere, much less for living...
> *Salvador's mother*: The circumstances in which we went out were terrible. We had to take our first chance for going out because it was getting worse and worse...we though "maybe things get better and we can go back" but everything is worsening, so.. I think to live here is difficult.

This piece reveals how feelings of physical detachment of a previously made *place* can be connected to the conditions that triggered migration, informing parents' experiences in and opportunities for creating meanings, setting up a relationship with the new context and transforming it into a *place.* Indeed, families' experiences reveal that their level of freedom for choosing a destination to migrate, as well as their available options based on their occupation, economic status and previous migratory experiences can produce different feelings with respect to the new setting which is illustrated by Mariana's parents in the piece below

> *Mariana's father*: If I would have had to choose a country to move us on I would choose another country, excluding my home country, Venezuela, because it would be an unfair comparison. It

would be difficult to find another country where I could live, so, I like to live here and, maybe, in Dubai. In Norway, we have even more things than in other places. Thus, I have not felt the need of going back to Venezuela in the short term because of the conditions there. We could not abandon what we have got after leaving Venezuela.
Interviewer: what is it?
Mariana's father: safety...peace...can I compare it with Venezuela?
Interviewer: yeah...if you want
Mariana's father: ok...well...here we feel safer...more trustful...
Mariana's mother: yeah, quality of life that we couldn't have in other countries

In this case, two factors have influenced the participant's willingness to balance the advantages and disadvantages that the new setting, Trondheim, can offer them: their previous experience of migration and their decision of migrating. Mariana's family previously lived in Spain and traveled to different countries because of the father's job that enhanced their contact with different socio-cultural conditions. Besides their previous migratory experiences, their free decision of migrating has increased their adaptation skills and level of satisfaction with their lives in Trondheim. On the contrary, Lucy's and Salvador's family have the same migratory status, but their reasons for migrating were different and so do their experiences produced by everyday interactions in a new setting. Families' migratory status influences their decision of staying or not in Norway. To Pantalon's and Vania's parents, who fled Venezuela as refugees, *adaptation* is deemed necessary for surviving and starting a new life in Norway due to their scarce possibilities of going back to their home country in the short term. However, *adaptation* does not necessarily entail a sentiment of being or becoming part of the context and make it become *home*. Vania's and Pantalon's parents describe their efforts for learning the Norwegian language by attending courses and *språkkafeer* (meetings for language practicing) to *adapt* themselves to the country, increase their possibilities of expanding their family business and find better opportunities. Despite their adaptation efforts and knowledge about the main Norwegian socio-cultural rules, they state not having interest in getting deeper contact with the local culture. This is summed up by Vania's and Pantalon's mother who says that she is "too old" and not interested in doing what Norwegians do (see 5.1.1. paragraph 10).

These cases reveal that *adaptation* can be a first step in getting familiar with the host society, but it does not entail willingness to approach to, immerse oneself and get involved in the local culture and norms. *Adaptation* itself cannot guarantee individuals' development of feelings and certain level of attachment. To most parent participants, *adaptation* is a *challenge*, going from the climate conditions to the Norwegian language and culture which often goes hand in hand with their willingness or rejection to make Norway their *place*. Unlike children, parents frequently refer to *adaptation* as a survival strategy since their sense of place is not only emotional, but also connected to a geographic location: their countries of origin. These feelings are influenced by their experiences of attachment to a geographic area that became their *place* and *home* as result of a long period living and interacting in that setting, prevailing over time regardless of their previous migratory experiences. To most children, mainly those with migratory trajectories, *adaptation* is normal since the period they lived in their home countries was shorter and their connections with those places were mostly based on roots and emotional ties. Thus, despite the challenges they face in daily life, they focus more on addressing the space and their experiences in terms of *difference* by appealing to their cultural background for reading, interpreting and understanding the new setting.

As noticed, the participants address *adaptation* differently, but agree on the importance of *roots,* understood as common ancestors, traditions, values and family memories*,* for developing a sense

of connection and creating *place*. Even though both appeal to their culture and ethnicity to explain their connection with their home countries, parents and children experience *place* differently. Due to their shorter period in their countries of origin, children's attachment is mainly built upon emotional bonds associated with memories, traditions and values rooted and imbued in a geographic area. This is what Salvador (10) and Mariana (12) illustrate when saying that they were not born in Latin America but identify themselves as Venezuelans, *Latinos.* Salvador, for instance, states that he was born in Sevilla, Spain, but he is "basically Venezuelan" based on common cultural features as being sociable and extroverted that he associates with *Latinos*. In Mariana's case, she illustrates the difference between *being from* and just *being born* in a country in the following piece:

> *Mariana:* I always say I am from Venezuela, but once one person asked me where I was born and I said "ah! In the United States"!
> *Interviewer:* oh!...but both of your parents are from Venezuela, right? So if you were born in USA and have lived in Venezuela many years...does it make you feel Venezuelan?
> *Mariana*: Of course! We love dancing and singing in parties. I love speaking Spanish and show I am Venezuelan, but I have also learnt about, you know, meetings with Norwegians. (Mariana, 12)

Thus, *being from* and *being born* in a place are not exclusive but, in many cases, two different experiences with different meanings and possibilities of creating *sense of place*. *Being from* is often associated to *roots* built upon memories, culture, ethnicity and traditions, whereas *being born* does not necessarily entail a relation, interaction and production of meanings with respect to that *space*. Salvador (10), a child with little migratory experience, states that what he loves the most of being Venezuelan is taking part of traditions like making *Hallacas (*a Venezuelan dish that is a variation of a dish usually called *tamal* which is made across the continent). With a nostalgic voice, he recalls those memories by saying that "the *hallacas* are delicious. It is like a tradition, you know. Here we cannot always do it but in Venezuela we used to do it which was so good. I would like to continue doing it here". On the other hand, Mariana (12), despite her previous migratory experience, referrers to the importance of traditions for maintaining the ties with her *home* country, Venezuela, her "favorite place" where most of her loved ones stay. She narrates that memory as follows: "we used to be a big family, so, we always gathered in my grandma's home to prepare *hallacas*, everybody had a role. My mom or grandmother put the dough, my cousins and I put the olives and, later, my aunt tied them...I miss doing it". Like in Mariana's case, traditions and memories inform children's consideration of a *place* as theirs.

To younger children, such as Elias (9) and Rayo (9), words like *identity* and *culture* are neither used to explain *differences* nor connection with a *place.* However, as other children, they appeal to language, memories of love and traditions, as forms of connection to their loved ones who stay in their home countries. To these children making a *space* become their *place* depends on continuing with traditions and preserving the knowledge of the world they possess based on their cultural references and previous experiences. In Norway, they have engaged in the re-configuration, adaptation and continuity of some traditions at family level. Both Mexican children are eager to continue celebrating *el día de los Muertos* ("the day of the dead" is a tradition celebrated in most Latin American countries, but it is most representative of Mexico) by baking together *bread of the dead*, setting up altars and offerings for their dead relatives and re-creating *Catrinas* with face paint. The Catrina is the dame of the dead, a festive symbol that consist of an elegant skull that represents the inevitability of the death (Ingram, 2019). After explaining what his family did for *el día de los Muertos*, Elias (9) sums up his feelings in the following phrase: "Mom! We follow traditions, don't

we?! it is because we want to make them continue". To Rayo (9) and his family this tradition is important because of its religious meaning. Therefore, continuing its practice also represents an opportunity for maintaining their catholic faith and their connection with their relatives. While his mother explains their reasons for continuing celebrating this festivity and other traditions, he emphatically says "it is impossible to stop celebrating it because we don't want to forget it".

These children want to preserve and continue their traditions and culture despite being in a different socio-cultural setting, making a different space become their *place* by imbuing it with meanings and creating new ones adjusted to their socialization experiences in the new setting. Based on Shmuel's definition (1991), these children identify with the places they consider *home* as a product of their socio-cultural interaction, participation and involvement in meaningful events, symbols and rituals, developing the feeling of being at home and belonging to that place. Such a feeling not only depends on their physical connection to a space, but also on the meanings collectively and individually created through rites and symbols which are mobile, being carried by children when migrating because they feel responsible for their maintenance. Hence, their sense of place becomes more nostalgic, making their bonds with their places endure after migration (Hay, 1998). Far from being an impediment that tied children to their past, their way of making place can represent an advantage when experiencing the new setting. In Trondheim, children appeal to their socio-cultural knowledge to address, judge and understand its conditions and set up difference while opening, consciously or unconsciously, possibilities for making it their *place*.

In most parents' case, appealing to roots and culture is also necessary for explaining attachment or detachment to a *place*, mostly, in terms of cultural differences. By recalling their experiences back in their countries, their sense of place also entails experiencing its physical dimension which increase their nostalgia and rejection to engage in another spatial setting. Hence, *places* are not only emotional, but also spatial. Thereby, certain conditions of the space can determine their sense of place attachment or detachment and belonging. To these parents, making a space become a *place* depends on building up a physical attachment grounded on similarities. Mariana's mother, for instance, describes why she could make a different country her place through the following example:

> *Mariana's mother*: We lived in Madrid too and I loved it!...and it is because it is more similar, closer to us and our roots, more than just the language. Its culture is like ours, so, I adapted myself there easily, but I have reached more things here. However, as a city, Trondheim, does not have too much to offer, maybe temperature and climate in Madrid were better. Sunlight is important for me. Madrid has a blue sky every day which I love...

To Mariana's mother, she could develop a sense of place with respect to Spain, which she considers similar and familiar to her culture and roots, going beyond *adaptation.* Those similarities allowed her to understand and experience the context more, producing her a feeling of *being part* and *belonging* at certain degree. However, despite living in Trondheim for a similar period, she still feels as an *outsider*, trying to understand the socio-cultural context and its norms which have made her adaptation challenging. To most parents' their interest in adaptation mostly depends on the temporality of the move. Short-term and permanent migration influence differently families' decisions of learning the language, getting familiar with and immersing themselves in the local culture (Hirsch, 2021), and so do their efforts and feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their adaptation process. In the case of Mariana's family, their migratory status and favorable economic situation, influences their decision of not staying in Norway in the long term due to the

parents' dissatisfaction with the education system. On the contrary, in the case of Vania's and Pantalon's family, their possibilities of moving and settling down in another country are constrained by their refugee's status and fewer economic resources which make them see *adaptation* as a copying strategy. Thus, *adaptation* becomes a process that partially depends on parents' need and willingness to get closer to something that, by now, is deemed unknown.

To Salvador's mother her feelings of detachment to Norway and her focus on adaptation as a need, have been informed by her family constrained decision of migrating, limited economic resources and the conditions of the context. In her opinion, neither learning the language nor the extreme weather are problems, but socialization norms and dynamics which she does not understand despite her efforts to approach Norwegians and make friends. Thereby, she feels that the socio-cultural conditions of the context constrain her possibilities of experiencing and making Trondheim her place by interacting with people and learning from them. In other cases, those conditions are not uncrossable, representing both a challenge and an opportunity for going out of one's comfort zone and learning from difference. Elias' parents, for instance, proudly identify themselves as Mexicans, but state that although their contact with Norwegians has been scarce, it has opened their interest in the Norwegian culture which they narrate in the following piece:

> Elias' mother: We have adapted very well...maybe...we could become Norwegians one day...
> Elias' father: In the future, yes, we could feel Norwegians. We like their culture, their way of thinking about life, for instance, that phrase "weather does not matter, but the clothing one wear", going out despite the weather conditions, that is *culture. W*e have adapted ourselves to that. In Mexico we did not go out in rainy days...
> Elias' mother: yeah! No body go out when it is raining in Mexico!
> Elias' father: when we came here, we saw those kind of behaviors. We try to follow them. We go out despite rain and if there is snow...better! How they enjoy nature has blown our minds..if we learn more about their traditions, we could feel ourselves Norwegians one day...

Unlike the previous experiences described above, this piece reveals that Elias' family is more opened to go beyond adaptation, being willing to interact with and immerse themselves in the Norwegian culture to *become* one day Norwegian. As noticed, *adaptation* can be influenced by their strong connection with previous places, the socio-cultural conditions of the context, migratory experiences, culture, adaptation challenges and, to some extent, willingness to open their boundaries of difference. In the case of children, most of them (except for Pantalon) revealed their rejection to become Norwegian by now, since their sense of place is anchored to their cultural identity, memories and traditions that link them to their loved ones by being re-produced in Trondheim. However, they accept that their social interactions and contact with a different language and socialization rules have influenced their way of thinking, learning to feel comfortable and deal with differences, opening an opportunity for creating new meanings and places without giving up their past. In this way, children are making Norway their place through their day-to-day experiences of the context wherein they are living their childhood. Following Shmuel's phases (1991) of sense of place development, both children and parents, despite some nuances, are placed in the first stage since they have not developed a sense of place with respect to Trondheim by now. Indeed, they know where they are located, being capable of recognizing its features and symbols. However, they have not developed feelings that connect them physically or emotionally with the new socio-cultural context so far, and meanwhile their culture and memories have become their shelter and a mechanism for understanding the world.

5.3. "We are different": the importance of race and ethnicity

In the Latin American context, *race* and *ethnicity* play a fundamental role in setting up boundaries of differentiation anchored in the colonial past of the continent (Verdo, 2012). Both categories are different, but relational in essence. *Racial identity* entails identification with certain phenotype transmitted by ancestors, while *ethnicity* is about origin, anchored in a cultural geography, wherein the culture of a place is absorbed by a person from previous generations (Porqueres I Gené as cited in Wade, 2010:20). In this project, the participants constantly refer to the importance of *ethnicity*, as the existence of common roots in terms of culture, traditions, ancestors and a similar past (H. R. Goulbourne, T.; Solomos, J. & E. Zontini, 2010) shared by Latinos. Justified by the blurred boundaries among the multiple and overlapping categories existent in a context of ethno-racial diversity like Latin America, *ethnicity* acts as a unifier criterion for setting up *sameness*, putting aside racial differences and divisions that inform everyday life in their countries and becoming the basis of *Latinoness.* Yet, besides a similar past, idiosyncrasy, culture, traditions and beliefs, *Latinoness* entails a sense of in-group and out-group racial difference which impacts participants' self-identification and sense of place and belonging with respect to the new setting. Thus, *ethnicity* is not only used to create *sameness*, but to justify and enhance differences, setting up and strengthening boundaries of *otherness.*

The participants appeal to an imagined homogeneous ethnicity to overcome internal differences which is illustrated differently by children and parents. For instance, Mariana (12), Rayo (9), Elias (9) and Salvador (10) appeal to the continuity of traditions, rituals and symbols as a way of maintaining contact with their roots and loved ones. On the other side, parents refer to *common ethnic roots* by talking about cultural differences in terms of values and traditions which are more connected to their countries in their physical dimension. Yet, due to their longer time spent in their countries of origin and experiences, most parents also refer to their *racial identity* for setting up differentiation boundaries regarding Norwegians. Alongside *ethnicity*, *race* plays an active role in othering individuals who according to certain phenotype are not seen as *Latinos*. For instance, Vania's and Pantalon's mother appeals to racial traits for differentiating Norwegians with respect to Latinos, alongside cultural differences, despite her awareness of the wide variety of ethno-racial differences among Norwegians. In the ranking tool, she wrote down that Norwegians have blue eyes, blonde hair and light skin color, being "white", while Latinos have darker skin color and hair although she knows that Latinos can also have lighter skin and hair color. In Latin America, this last group of Latinos is usually seen as *atypical* because of their *whiteness*, but in a context like Norway, Latino *whiteness* is concealed and overshadowed by Norwegian *whiteness*. Notwithstanding the recognition of ethno-racial diversity within both groups of people, Teresa's experiences of *race* back in her country and the underlying discourses that informed them are translated into a different context and used for explaining *differences.*

As Teresa, most parents feel that their own racial traits are markers of difference even when living in Norway which influences their feelings of *otherness*. For instance, Rayo's mother states that "we are brown, mostly, but we are different to Filipinos. They (Norwegians) think that all colored people are the same". Thus, unlike their memories connected to Latin America, most parents have not experienced racial discrimination, at least not directly, in Norway. However, their racialized past experiences continue shaping their social interactions and interpretations. In comparison to Norway where the term *race* is never used neither in public nor in private (Vassenden, 2010), in Latin America talking about it is not only usual, but also natural due to the power of *race* in

informing social relations and institutions. In some cases, *race* is used for minorities as a source of pride and resilience against the legacies of a colonial past that continue oppressing them, whereas, in others, as a source of discrimination (Anthias, 1992). Yet, *race* or racial features are also used for expressing love or naming loved ones through nicknames and, sometimes, for creating humor. In all these cases, different underlying discourses inform how *race* is used and interpreted, passing from negative meanings embedded in racist practices to positive ones. For that reason, not using the term *race* would mean ignoring the existent differences among people and how they differently impact and shape their lives, experiences and positions in society (Chavez-Dueñas N., 2014; Wade, 2010). In a context of differences, these meanings around *race* are part of everyday life and make sense when explaining individual and collective experiences, but when they are translated into another context, it is necessary to place them within a backdrop.

As all human beings, *Latinos* are different and so do their experiences which are embodied around different axes. *Race*, as one of them, has informed their experiences of socialization back in their countries and continue doing it in Norway. In most parents' case, their racial identities play an important role in their new experiences of socialization and addressing the new context. Those who consider themselves as white Latinos, do not think that their race is an important criterion of differentiation since they see themselves as *white*, "a different type of white". Following this reasoning, Mariana's parents, for instance, do not mention racial features for explaining differences between Latinos and Norwegians because they do not consider them determining. In addition, due to their self-identification as *white* people, they are afraid of seeming *racist*. In this respect, their racial identity plays two roles: a criterion of in-group difference that informs their fear of being seen as racist, as well as a tool for interpreting a new world of social relations with those similarly different: white Norwegians. With respect to the latter, parents' interpretation of how they are perceived by Norwegians hardly involves a racist meaning or the feeling of being discriminated.

To Vania's and Pantalon's family, who identify themselves as "attractive brown people", their social experiences and interactions are interpreted in relation to their race and physical appearance. The family states that they have felt racially discriminated, ignored and seen with disdain by some of their Norwegian neighbors when trying to set up a basic level of interaction by saying "hello". One of them, a woman in her 80's, has even once made a complaint in the Municipality accusing them of having a baby and being noisy, giving rise to an inspection in their home. After verifying that the youngest child of the family is 12 years old and interviewing other neighbors, the case was dismissed and closed by the Municipality authorities. To the mother such an experience was scary for them because it involved authorities and they are refugees, but she thanks the support they got from their neighbors by saying the truth. Even though all family members have experienced this incident, they have differently interpreted it. To the mother, it was a racist act that she tries to understand and justify by saying "maybe old people like she (the neighbor) is racist because maybe she lived during Nazi times. It was such a dreadful time". Such an experience has created a feeling of fear and in a certain degree rejection to interact with that kind of people who, in their words, go against how most Norwegians usually are. To Pantalon (13) and Vania (16), that incident and other small ones, are seen as *xenophobia* since elderlies did not have chance to interact with foreigners and, so, they just ignore such behavior.

In the cases discussed above, despite their different experiences, interpretations and feelings, parents want their children to avoid thinking in terms of racial difference. For instance, Mariana's mother says that they avoid talking about Norwegians' whiteness with their children or racializing

anybody since they do not want them to be *racist*. They admit that calling people by their color can be misunderstood, seeming offensive, because those *labels* bring about prejudices and stereotypes that they want to forget. In Venezuela, her country, people with darker skin color, like the afro descendants, are sometimes treated like suspicious and dishonest. Like Vania (16) and Pantalon (13), Mariana (12), her child, also thinks about Latinos in terms of color, but without emphasizing such difference or using it for interpreting Norwegians' behavior. During the individual interview she was asked why she did not include skin color differences for defining Norwegians and Latinos in the raking tool and she replied that:

> *Interviewer*: I am curious about why you didn't mention "blonde and white" (in the ranking)
> *Mariana*: Blonde and white! Yeah! I did not use them! (She seems to feel that those features could be included) (...) It is not because I want to be racist or something like that, but there is a Korean girl who is brownish and does not look like Norwegian, the only reason why she is Korean is because of her biological parents, but she was adopted by Norwegians. When I saw her first time I said "she is not Norwegian" just because of her color, but I got surprised...
> *Interviewer*: yeah! There are Norwegians with different skin colors...
> *Mariana*: yeah, my other friend who is from an African country has curly and dark hair, but her dad has blue eyes and blonde hair, the mother and two sisters blonde...
> *Interviewer*: wow...has it changed your mind about how Norwegians are?
> *Mariana*: yeah! Of course! I used to think that one cannot be Norwegian if one is not white, but now I know that everybody could be Norwegian. (Mariana, 12)

As Mariana says she has learned that Norwegians are not necessarily *white*, questioning the use of that word for explaining differences. However, she clearly identifies racial differences and know how they are used to set differences among groups of people, being cautious of not seeming *racist*. Mariana is aware of existent racial differences and their role in labeling people, as well as the different underlying discourses and meanings used for interpreting racial traits. By means of her daily experiences socializing with other children from multiple cultures and ethnic origins, she questions those stereotypes and, thus, de-constructs her owns. Yet, Mariana's considerations and re-considerations of the importance of *race* for defining people have been and is being produced by the socio-cultural context wherein racialized experiences have taken and take place. Most children in the project have lived most part of their childhood moving from one place to another which have influenced their way of thinking and understanding *race* and *ethnicity*, as well as their importance for setting up differentiation boundaries in a new setting like Trondheim. To younger children, the short time experienced in their home countries and migratory routes have reduced their possibilities of socializing in a setting wherein individuals are racialized. Thereby, the term *race* and its expression through physical differences are not considered for defining themselves and others.

In the case of most parents, the long period of time and life stages spent in their countries of origin have strengthened the racialized character of their experiences, carrying them from one place to another and using them for interpreting reality and social relations. In this way, age and generation are categories that can shed light on how individuals who share multiple commonalities can experience differently the power of race and its underlying discourses. In a context of ethnic and racial diversity like Latin America, ethnicity and race are interchangeably used to set up boundaries of differentiation and othering, strengthening individuals overlapping identities and multiple belongings. In Trondheim, despite their awareness of that variety of racial and ethnic identities within the group, the participants appeal to their common roots of mix-blood descendants to co-create a sense of community, place and belonging based on an imagined *sameness*. Thus, *ethnicity* is separated from *race,* which is concealed and overshadowed, becoming a unifying criterion of in-

group differences, whereas is used alongside *race* for setting up differentiation boundaries regarding Norwegians, as well as for interpreting social relations and making sense of the social context.

5.4. *Latinoness* in Trondheim: fluidity or hybridity of culture?

In a scenario like Trondheim, detached of the immediate connection to their family group, a basic form of membership, in which the research participants used to partake in rites, traditions and other ways of cultural production and re-production, the need of finding a membership arises. Interacting, socializing, speaking Spanish and maintaining traditions becomes a way of connecting with one's culture and keep bonds with the past and those left behind, making the participants long to re-create what being *Latino* is. For that purpose, the participants put aside internal differences and appeal to an imagined *similarity* embedded in symbols like language, ideas and traditions (Jenkins, 2014). Thus, *sameness* emerges on the basis of in-group similarities and out-group differences regarding Norwegians and other migrant communities. By setting-up its own boundaries, co-constructing a common identity and defining itself against others, despite its internal differences and diversity of its members (Skeldon, 2008), *Latino* community in Trondheim becomes a *diaspora.* Under this label *(Latino)* individuals with different and multiple identities and their pre- and post-migration experiences are gathered by their common participation in the materialization of *Latinoness*. Despite the commonalities among the participants, children and adults define *identity* differently. To most children, *identity* is tied to their sense of place and belonging which is still attached to their home countries, cultural traditions and family memories, whereas to most parents, *identity* is explained in relation to cultural differences seen as natural.

In this scenario, *ethnicity* informs children's and parents' identity re-definition and their longing to preserve and employ it in a different socio-cultural setting. By re-constructing and re-setting up the basis of their mobile identities according to the new context, the participants individually and collectively shape the meaning that their culture takes. In this respect, when considering *culture* as fluid and contingent, subjected to changes produced by temporal and spatial conditions (Allan, 1998; Hammersley, 2019), talking about *Latino* culture in terms of *hybridity* seems logical, but premature due to the short time spent by the participants in Trondheim so far. *Latinoness'* definition and performance varies according to the geographic and socio-cultural settings wherein individuals interact, constantly changing by their actions and reactions to the ongoing societal changes, being exposed to future *hybridization*. For that reason, at this stage, assuming *Latino* culture's purity can go again its malleable character, leading to overlook individuals' agency in shaping the meaning that their culture is taking and so do their experiences, ideas and feelings.

Chapter 6: Latino families in the transnational space: rethinking togetherness and support

Transnationalism is tightly connected to globalization, migration and mobility, which entails going beyond the national boundaries, ideas and political institutions, producing multidimensional spaces (Smith, 2004). Through this process migrants set up social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders, placing their lives beyond the static notion of *state* (Baldassar, 2014; König, 2016). In consequence, new social and geographic relationships emerge as *transnational social spaces*, breaking-up traditional social and cultural ties, leading to their deterritorialization and delocalization (Collyer; Faist, 2008). In this *transnational space*, *Latino* families collectively and individually navigate everyday life by means of their cultural background, experiences and knowledge, while maintaining emotional bonds with their loved ones back in their countries. As a fluid social institution, *Latino* family experiences a process of re-configuration triggered by its embeddedness in unyielding and stable structures that impact its members' experiences (Skrbiš, 2008), becoming a *transnational unity.* In understanding such a process, the impact of migration on Latino families' composition, dynamics and inter-generational relationships must be considered through the application of a *transnational perspective* on the analysis of movement and migration.

For that purpose, this chapter explores *Latino* families' experiences in doing family in Trondheim around four axes. In the first section, the socio-cultural conditions of the host society and *Latino* families' responses and cultural interpretations are addressed alongside their impact on re-defining and doing *family* after migration. The second section tackles the re-configuration of childhood and its impact on parenting through the analysis of children's experiences navigating everyday life. Underpinned by an *embodied* approach to *transnationalism* (Dunn, 2009), the third part focuses on pre- and post-migration experiences to address their influence on the re-definition of *support.* In doing so, family dynamics and changes produced by migration are tackled through the analysis of children's roles, contributions and ways of negotiating power. Finally, children's and parents' roles in *doing* family are addressed around two dimensions: family as an arena of cultural reproduction through internal relations and as a means for the continuity of culture, illustrating the contingent nature of *Latino* family and culture itself.

6.1. Children and parents doing *Latino* families in Trondheim

Families play a fundamental role in children's socialization since it is within family environment where children start developing as socialization agents, influencing, shaping and constraining their socialization practices (Manuel, 1972). Within the *Latino* culture the family is the most important institution, social form, group and arena wherein children interact, exerting major influence in their lives and socialization than others (Edelman as cited in Manuel, 1972; Dowse, 1971). *Latino* families are unities of socialization in which children are instilled with prevailing cultural values, such as the importance of *respeto* (proper demeanor) and honor, that inform social relations under the *Latino* cultural scheme (Harwood, 2002). As migrants, children and families face multiple

challenges such as learning a new language or adapting themselves to a different socio-cultural context by understanding its socialization rules and culture. In this scenario, family plays an important role as a source of support for its members along their adaptation processes (Fog, 2011) or resistance to the socio-cultural conditions of the new setting. Thus, families become micro spaces in which culture is produced, re-produced and maintained through their members' daily interaction. Indeed, it is within family household wherein *Latinoness* starts being performed on the basis of *sameness* and *otherness* regarding parenting practices and cultural differences.

To most family participants cultural differences go beyond the individual level since cultural identity involves membership to a group. In the previous chapter, family participants' experiences re-defining their cultural identity and strengthening its boundaries are prompted and facilitated by the role that family plays in cultural maintenance and reproduction in the private sphere. *Latino* families are not only made up of family members, but also of cultural partners who maintain their collective identity through daily interaction grounded on values like *familism* which continues informing family relations. Yet, *familism* is differently addressed by parents and children. Parents mostly refer to their role as guardians of their children's present and future wellbeing, whereas children focus on their role as group members which is informed by the idea of *respeto* as a form of reciprocity. Despite these differences, children and parents set up their group boundaries by appealing to *Latino* cultural parameters. *Familism*, thus, comes to the forefront as a core value within Latino family's organization in Trondheim, informing parenting (Parra-Cardona, 2008). Regarding children, it is necessary to consider that Latino children are conceived in a dualistic manner: single individuals included and inserted into a family group, community or environment (Bruheim, 2020). Such interdependence among family members (nuclear and extended family) is informed by *familism* which entails a sense of loyalty and reciprocity, playing an important role in children's upbringing as individuals and group members (Guilamo-Ramos, 2007).

After migration, within the family group *interdependence* is materialized through children's participation in the allocation of household chores, which has positive impact at the individual and collective level. By acquiring more responsibilities children feel empowered and independent, experiencing a sense of pride derived of the value of their contributions to family maintenance and wellbeing of its members. Likewise, *respeto* continue being placed in the core of most Latino families' relations to ensure harmony among their members. *Respeto* or *proper demeanor* entails knowing the level of courtesy and decorum required to social interaction (Harwood, 2002) which is learned at family level, but exercise in multiple arenas. Thus, parents focus on nurturing their children as someone who is *bien educado* (well nurtured), displaying good manners, proper behavior and respect for adults (Fuller, 2010). In family settings, *respeto* is understood as *obedience*, a duty of children with respect to their parents and other adult relatives (Halgunseth, 2006; Umaña-Taylor, 2013). For most child participants *obeying* their parents' orders is important even when they are seen as unfair since *respeto* is linked to *reciprocity* and interdependence between family members based on love and a duty of care. As a form of *respeto*, children's *obedience* to their parents and other adults reveals their position as members of childhood, its meaning and consequences within *Latino* culture. Under this form of *respeto*, *generational order* (Alanen, 2009) takes place. Through these practices both generations interact shaping the meanings of childhood and adulthood, as well as the roles that children assume.

These positions and roles are negotiated and resisted by children according to their age, experiences and participation in intra-generational relations in the new local context. Children's

interaction in other socialization arenas, such as the school, has impacted their way of understanding *obedience*, questioning its underlying cultural basis. For instance, based on her interaction with other children from different cultural backgrounds, Vania (16) thinks that her parents' idea of *respeto* as *obedience* is authoritarian and an imposition of their way of thinking, ignoring her ideas and feelings. She highlights that her parents always want her to do their will and when she obeys, they try to convince her that they are right. However, she thinks that obeying her parents' orders does not entail agreeing on them. She compares her parents with Norwegian parents who, in her words, are more "flexible" like is revealed in the following discussion

> *Vania*: As far as I know Norwegian parents just tell you what to do but you decide whether you want to do it or not. In my case, my mom says, "do this" and I got stressed (Her mother is looking at her trying to say something) "mom! don't say that I don't help you because I do it!"
> *Mother*: no, I will not say that, but if Norwegian children don't have to do anything and so on, so, I have two Norwegian children because you must tell them to do something more than once...
> *Vania*: no! I do it because when I don't you repeat it and it makes me feel angry (Vania, 16)

To Vania being obedient is a form of showing respect and a need for avoiding conflict with her mom and ensuring family harmony. However, Vania appeals to those supposedly more permissive Norwegian parenting practices to question her parents. Despite her few interactions with Norwegian children and her limited experiences in Trondheim, she assumes that Norwegian children have more freedom for decision making. Hence, Vania makes two statements: Norwegian parents and families' organization are *different* to Latinos, setting up *otherness* while appealing to those Norwegian grounds for justifying her rejection to her parents' authority which she obeys. In this way, she questions the underlying cultural basis of *respeto*: familism as a sense of obligation to the family, which puts the collective interests over the individual ones (Sotomayor-Peterson, 2012). In the case of younger children, taking part in household chores makes sense because of their membership to the family. Following their parents' orders and providing support when it is needed is deemed important for making the family work. To Salvador (10), for instance, *obedience* is a form of *respeto* and having responsibilities at home is important not only for the family group, but also for himself since they are a form of training children for the future. In his words "if children don't have responsibilities at home they will not be capable of doing those things when living alone in the future. It must be learned when you are a child and not grown up". Even though his friends have more freedoms, he thinks that his obligations do not impede him to do what he wants in his free time. Just like Salvador, to his parents partaking in household chores is a form of developing empathy and learning that being part of a family entails responsibilities that concern all members.

Likewise, to Mariana's father, *responsibilities* entail a compromise with the family and, thereby, their fulfillment should be rewarded, whereas their breach punished. In his opinion, *rewarding* is a mechanism for guiding children's behavior and promoting the fulfillment of responsibilities. *Punishment* is, on the other hand, a backup tool for constraining children's misbehavior aimed to avoid compromising their future through their negative actions and habits. Just like Mariana's father, most parents think that discipline and control can go hand in hand with intimacy, love and trust, values that they try to encourage in their children and put into practice in family household. For instance, Rayo's father is mostly affectionate with him, but also strict, punishing him in case of misbehavior or disobedience. To Rayo's and Mariana's mother, Norwegian children are often quieter than theirs, thus, their parents do not need to look after them or be too strict, whereas to Salvador's father, Norwegian children and parents are just more *individualistic*. These parents refer to their parenting practices as stricter than those of most Norwegian parents, setting up

differences in terms of their understanding of how a child must be raised. As noticed, among the participants *punishment* is differently applied, being mostly understood as prohibitions rather than physical since, most of them are afraid of being accused of abuse before the *Barnevern* (Child Welfare Services) and deprived of their children. However, most parents highlight the role of punishment as a tool for raising *bien educado* (well nurtured) children.

Yet, understanding *punishment* entails contextualizing parents' experiences back in their countries and the conditions of that context wherein their childhood took place. Most parents feel entitled to correct their children's misbehavior by exerting authority since they are responsible for them, having to face alongside their children the negative consequences of their actions (Halgunseth, 2006; Umaña-Taylor, 2013). Thus, children become self-sufficient and independent which is necessary for successfully facing future challenges. To Mariana's father, alongside education, values, such as *respeto* and responsibility, are tools for navigating everyday life in the present and preparing children for the future. This common understanding of parental roles is based on parents' cultural interpretation of their home countries' conditions where the lack of a welfare state makes parents responsible for their children and vice versa. Under those conditions, values such as competitiveness, respect and responsibility are promoted at family level as means for ensuring better opportunities for all family members. Children's development and success in different spheres is not an individual, but a common goal within a socio-collectivistic culture like the Latina which explains the vital role of *familism* within family. In Norway, these parents are afraid of the control their children are gaining when interacting with peers and teachers at the school wherein they are exposed to discourses that promote a more individualistic behavior and liberal values. At school, children also learn about their rights and freedoms as individuals, as well as the mechanisms for making them effective even before their parents. This human rights' discourse also enters children's lives through media, social media and intra-generational relations, allowing them to question rooted ideas and values produced and re-produced before migration.

Older children like Vania (16), for instance, questions her mother corrective practices by saying that back in Venezuela, she used to punish her and her siblings which, in her opinion, was unfair because violence goes against her rights. As Vania, other children have learned about the prevailing values that shape and inform childhood and children's behavior in Norway. By observing their peers' family interaction, roles, duties and prerogatives, children discover new ways of thinking and socializing, challenging those which they were used to. In consequence, most parents feel that their efforts for orienting and caring for their children are threatened by a society with different values, constraining their parenting and, in some cases, compromising their children's nurture and future. Yet, *doing family* also entails following traditions, celebrations and cultural practices, which are deemed a means for preserving cultural identity through the connection with roots. Thus, families become the main scenario wherein Latino culture continues being produced and re-produced after migration which is strengthened by the absence of a bigger Latino community in Trondheim. To most children, following traditions and cultural practices, such as dance, food and religious festivities (See chapter 5.1.2) are means for keeping memories alive and so do those loved ones involved in them. Mariana, for instance, (12) says that they continue doing *hallacas* at home which she describes below

> *Interviewer*: Do you continue doing hallacas here in Trondheim right? Do all of you participate?
> *Mariana*: yes! but very little. I have watched a video in which my cousin says that first you must put the olives wearing an apron and all those things...I watched it with my mom...

Interviewer: Is there something that you miss? I mean that you used to do before
Mariana: the food! For instance, we make arepas (a type of tortilla), but we must go to the city center to find the PAN flour (a brand of pre-cooked cornmeal) (....) I don't know how much it costs, in some places it is more expensive. I don't know when my mom goes, but we always have it and banana leaves too, they are usually broken...
Interviewer: but...despite that would you like to continue with that tradition?
Mariana: yes! (Mariana, 12)

This piece shows that the continuity of family traditions is important for Mariana and her family since doing *hallacas* is more than preparing a dish but a form of connecting with loved ones, taking roles and helping each other. In Trondheim, Mariana's family continues this tradition which has been adapted to the new family structure while indirectly including other family members like her cousin. In this way, *family* continues being *family*, and traditions help to re-create children's and families' places, people and memories, as well as their sense of *unity*. This is what Elias' and Rayo's family feel when continuing with Día de Muertos activities (see chapter 5.1.2). Most family participants continue preparing traditional food, adapting the recipes to the products they can find in Norway. The two Mexican families, for instance, say that they like tacos' popularity in Norway because it means that Norwegians know about Mexico and Mexicans unlike other *Latinos*. However, most parents prefer to not follow *taco fredag* (taco Friday, a popular Friday's dinner in Norway) since Norwegian tacos are not like Mexicans, but a tex-mex version. On the other hand, their children seem more enthusiastic for doing *taco fredag* as some of their peers. Rayo (8), for instance, says that he would like to do *taco fredag* too since he loves *tacos*, showing that they continue being imbued of the same meanings regardless of time and space.

Indeed, *food* has an important place in Latino culture and families, gluing its members, allowing them to keep memories alive and go back to their past places, while re-creating them in the new setting. In most cases, *food* is a form of differentiation, a source of pride and a part of participants' identities. Likewise, other cultural manifestations, such as language, dance and music, are continued in family households. Mariana (12), for instance, says that speaking Spanish at home is important for her parents since they want to preserve it. For that purpose, they constantly help her to expand her vocabulary according to the Venezuelan variation. *Language* is for most children and families a means for preserving culture, memories and the connection with their roots, previous places, loved ones and feeling of *belongingness*. Under the performance of common values that inform family relations and dynamics, as well as through the continuity of cultural practices, children and families produce and re-produce *Latinoness*.

6.2. Latino children doing *childhood*, shaping parenting

Understanding the impact of transnational migration on individuals and social institutions, such as children and family, requires contextualizing their migratory experiences within the socio-spatial context of the receiving societies. Through social relations people modify and (re)create the spaces they live while being modified by them (Dunn, 2009; Fuchs, 2007). Following these considerations, *Latino* children's and families' construction of *childhood* must be seen as *mobile* and subjected to be shaped and shape the context wherein its social practices take place. Thus, children's social lives and experiences must be contextualized to grasp their process of (re)construction, passing from one context to another (Nagasaka, 2015). As social actors, children construct *childhood* through their social interactions with adults, participating in the determination of their own social worlds, the worlds of those around them and the societies in which they live

(Hammersley, 2016; Jenks, 2004). Thus, comprehending the meaning that *Latino childhood* takes after migration not only depends on contextualizing their social relations, but also their *relationality* with respect to the individuals that take part in them (Fitz, 1982). This project includes children and parents with diverse backgrounds and personality traits that can influence their uneven responses to and experiences of the structural conditions of the new context.

Children's experiences of and responses to the context, through adaptation and resistance, can be influenced by external circumstances accompanying migration and children's own personality traits which determines the course and success of migration (Kubitsky, 2012:85 as cited in Młynarczuk-Sokołowska, 2020). *Latino* children are affected by different factors such as the educational system, health care, language, migratory policies, culture and so forth. However, each of them differently experiences everyday life and react to those structural conditions based on their individual position within social structures (Dunn, 2009; Nagasaka, 2015). Migration reflects and reinforces social organization across multiple variables such as gender, race, class and others (Silvey, 2005). Therefore, children's responses are *embodied* and depend on their subjectivity in experiencing them as opportunities or constrains. Socio-economic factors, socio-cultural conditions of the context and the cultural readings of them, as well as children's adaptation strategies by appealing to their personality traits shape their meaning of childhood, which is re-produced through intra- and inter-generational relations, and so do their experiences in Norway.

Among other factors, families' economic power determines their decision of migrating and the conditions in which that process takes place, affecting their collective and individual experiences in the host society. For instance, all child participants in this project are engaged in after school activities which are, in their parents' words, facilitated by after school programs partially financed by the municipalities (Ministry-Of-Culture-And-Equality, 2021). Parents and children feel satisfied with having the opportunity of accessing this kind of activities which promote wellbeing and healthy habits in more equal conditions than in their home countries. Thus, even though some families count on fewer economic resources, their children can partake in at least one after school activity like in the case of Salvador (10) who is part of a football club. In the case of families with better economic position, their children can participate in multiple sport clubs, leisure activities and access to other resources that socially place them in a better position with respect to their peers. Mariana (12), Rayo (8) and Elias (8), for instance, have a busy schedule due to their multiple after school activities. These children socialize in different arenas, obtaining more opportunities for developing new skills, enhancing their social networks and getting closer to the Norwegian culture.

Families' economic conditions are, in most cases, translated into the Norwegian context, re-configuring families' needs and experiences, enhancing or constraining their opportunities of socialization. To Mariana (12), taking lessons after school has been productive in terms of gaining access to Norwegian groups of children. Unlike other children, to Mariana making friends has never been difficult since in her own words she is a talkative and friendly girl who includes herself in groups instead of waiting for being included. Mariana is an extroverted girl who likes talking to everybody regardless their age which, underpinned by her cultural background, makes her think that "shyness" is weird. In her words, it is more normal to see shy Norwegian children than *Latinos*, but after engaging in the athletics team and interacting with them she realized that far from just being a matter of culture or language, it also depends on children's personality which she tries to understand. Such an experience is described in the paragraph bellow

> Mariana: Honestly, I have not felt excluded here, sometimes people do it, but not on purpose. In the athletics team some children do not talk to me, but it is because they do not speak English. There is one girl who does not speak English and I don't speak Norwegian well but I don't know how we became friends. Once I was late and when I arrived, she told me "Hi! How are you?!" and she does something and we laugh together...sometimes we don't talk but we are friends. In the other group it was different, I was the only one who was not Norwegian...they were younger. Now I am with older children, they are in 10º and they are super kind and smile to me...
> Interviewer: a friendly smile...so do you think that if you would speak Norwegian or they would speak more English it would be easier?
> Mariana: yeah! And it depends on personality too! (Mariana, 12)

Following this excerpt, socializing in a new arena has allowed Mariana to de-construct prejudices around Norwegian children and their way of socializing, gaining opportunities for making new friends and learning from Norwegian culture. In Trondheim, children and families can experience multiple challenges in their attempts to get contact with locals, experiencing feelings of dissatisfaction. However, having better economic resources can allow families to go beyond covering their basic needs, enhancing their possibilities of interacting in multiple social arenas, meeting new people and making friends. To Salvador's mother, after school activities bring about socialization opportunities for both children and parents. In her words, the groups of parents in Salvador's football club are like small bubbles of social interaction that allow them to set up, at least, a basic level of interaction with locals. Yet, children's opportunities or constrains for navigating everyday life depend not only on their economic situation, but also on their personality traits. *Adaptation* can be a challenge for most children, but, at the same time, an opportunity for putting into practice their social skills or developing new ones. This is the case of Salvador (10) whose family has fewer economic resources than his friends' which does not allow him to partake in multiple activities, cutting-edge gadgets and trending toys or videogames.

Despite such economic constrains, his personality and social skills have allowed him to take advantage of the only after school activity in which he participates: the football club. Unlike children like Elias (8) and Rayo (8) who were bilingual before coming to Norway, Salvador (10) just spoke Spanish when he arrived. However, after some months he learnt English and Norwegian despite attending an international school. By taking part in a football club, he spends his free time doing something that he loves while interacting with other children and learning the language. As mentioned (See section 5.1.1), to Salvador Latinos are sociable in comparison to Norwegians, a conclusion that he made after trying to make Norwegian friends at school and neighborhood. Thus, despite his "failed" attempts (according to his words) to socialize with Norwegian children, he made one Norwegian friend and learned more about the culture and language by talking with him and his parents who used to invite him to the family home. Through these interactions he has improved his Norwegian language skills which makes his parents proud because of the multiple compliments they receive due to Salvador's pronunciation. Thus, such apparent economic constrains have been overcome by his social skills, charisma and intelligence, which has allowed him to take advantage of what he has instead of focusing on what he lacks.

Besides enhancing children's opportunities to have more social contact with nationals, socialize with children from different cultures and learn the Norwegian language, economic resources also allow children to challenge their own "limits". This is the case of Elias (8) who takes part in some sport activities after school which have allowed him to make some friends and improve his motor coordination, challenging his physical impairment. Elias and his family deal together with his

condition and after living some months in Norway they feel relieved of counting on state support, something unthinkable in their home country, Mexico. During the first meeting, Elias' father proudly narrates that some Norwegian practitioners have congratulated them because of Elias' huge progress despite his diagnoses. Elias' progress in terms of health is a source of pride for his parents who are satisfied with their parental role and their efforts in materially and emotionally supporting their child. Yet, children also deal with gender-based differences which goes hand in hand with their age and the conditions of the context, shaping their social experiences. Older girls, from 12-16, have progressively gained more freedom, being allowed to spend time with their girlfriends and do "girls' things", such as go shopping, arrange sleepovers, or travel with their boyfriends' families on holidays. These concessions have been driven by girls' need of socializing which, in some cases, have triggered a shift in their parents' mindset and, in others, a higher level of flexibility by "giving children more freedom" which is illustrated by Mariana's parents as follows:

> *Mariana's mother:* We have got more flexible with her because of her age. She is older and has more freedom to do things such as going out with her friends to the mall because I can be sure that nothing will happen and she is going to be ok. In Venezuela I could not go out alone or with my friends when I was that age, but here one becomes more flexible. Therefore, she can go to the athletics activities, go to the school or back home alone...we have tried to adapt ourselves to...
> *Mariana's father:* It is about giving freedoms because we understand that this society is different and permits those freedoms, but we keep our original way of thinking, cultural values and the message we want to transmit them through our behavior at home...

This piece illustrates an issue discussed above (See section 5.1.2.) regarding the importance of *adaptation* as a means for dealing with the different socio-cultural conditions of the context, but without changing one's way of thinking under or identifying with certain culture. To Mariana's parents, *adaptation* does not involve a change in the core values embedded in their parenting style, but it is a way of helping their child in her adaptation process. Such an experience also sheds light on an important condition that influences their own adaptation: the consideration of the context as a safe environment. Thus, parents and their parenting practices are adapted to the new setting wherein parenting is more flexible and children independent from an early age. However, parents continue emphasizing the importance of maintaining their cultural values. This is also the case of other parents whose children are progressively gaining more freedoms for engaging in and doing more activities without parental supervision. Such a process also depends on children's own willingness to be more independent like in the case of Elias (8) who is progressively losing the fear of being alone outside home which he narrates as follows

> *Elias' father:* ...we have seen here that children go alone to the school... normally I go with him because my workplace is close to his school but sometimes I cannot so he must go alone (...) In Mexico it would be unthinkable (...)
> *Interviewer*: yeah! Elias do you like to go alone to the school?
> *Elias*: I prefer to go with my dad...I don't like to go alone...(-giggling-)
> *Elias' mother:* He has not got used to do it yet. He needs to be alone and start loosening up...

According to this quote the conditions of the context can shape childhood and parenting practices. Unlike in their home countries, in Trondheim parents feel that they children are safe which allow them to reduce their need of having control over and protect their children all the time. *Latino* parenting style can be more authoritarian or authoritative, stricter and protective in comparison to others (Aronson, 2002; Domenech, 2009). Yet, migration and settlement in a setting with different conditions like Norway can bring about changes in the way in which children and

parenting are understood, making so rooted cultural values more flexible. Childhood and adulthood are interrelated categories which are socially and culturally constructed and context dependent, susceptible to experience changes which means that a simple change in one part can affect the other (Alanen, 2011; Sayer, 1992). As social actors of their own childhood, children do not play that role in isolation, but with their parents, peers and other adults through daily life interactions. Thereby, contextualizing their experiences and social relations can shed light on how their childhood and their parents' adulthood and parenting are shaped. Yet, children's experiences are not only aged, but also gendered and so do the underlying cultural values that inform girls' and boys' behavior which are regulated through gender-based norms applied at family level. To Falicov (2014), Latinos may have different ideas about the timing of later stages of childhood like in the case of girls. Thus, the boundaries between childhood and puberty are blurred and, many times, independent on biological markers, influencing girls' treatment as innocent and strengthening parents' need of controlling them due to the dangers they can be exposed to.

In Mariana's case, her parents think that she is getting older and, thus, need more freedoms. Therefore, she can go out with her girlfriends since it does not entail any risk for her safety. However, regarding romantic relationships, they nervously state that "she is still a girl", but in the future they expect that Mariana follows the same rules of behavior and values which they were raised with. To most parents', girls' maturation is something difficult of accepting since it may entail losing control over their behavior and social relations. Indeed, girls' need of getting more and more freedom increases with age and maturation, being exposed to the more "liberal" socio-cultural parameters of the context which are performed through intra-generational relations. These parental fears have made a reality in the case of Vania (16) who has faced cultural clashes by experiencing the oversexualization of her body by other teenagers due to gender-based stereotypes associated with *Latino* women. Such experience in social media has affected her opinion about certain men because being oversexualized is, in her opinion, disrespectful. However, it has also empowered her since she has learnt to deal with those situations and take better decisions when interacting with guys. Thus, far from constraining her actions and social interactions, she has opened her mind about her own sexuality and capacity to put limits and play the main role in her love life which she reveals during a family interview by openly saying that

> *Vania*: Regarding sexuality, for example, my parents think that a girl must be respected…be a "senorita" (a woman who stays virgin), so, she cannot go from one place to another...
> *Mother*: Ahhh?? no, not only a girl, but a woman should behave in a certain way… everybody...
> *Vania*: …I tell this in relation to our previous discussions…
> *Interviewer*: …and is that important for you? (To stay "senorita")
> *Vania*: I think that if a man can sleep with many women, why a woman cannot do the same?
> *Mother*: I agree with you, but in a *machista* society women and men "deben darse su lugar" (should make others respect them)
> *Vania*: I don't care what other people think about me…I do what I want… (Vania, 16)

In this way, she challenges some gender-based norms rooted in the *Latino* culture through still prevailing values such as *marianism* and the importance of women's purity (Gil, 1996). By changing her mindset, Vania has subtly forced her parents to adapt themselves to her new way of thinking. Vania's father, for instance, says "we are trying to be open with them, we have changed because time changes fast and we need to adapt ourselves". To Vania (16) her father is more flexible and respectful of different opinions than her mother, even, when he does not agree on them. On the other hand, her mother has more conservative ideas that she refuses to change

since they are based on ideas and values she was raised with. Thus, despite recognizing her attempts to adapt herself and be more flexible, Vania's mother underscores that her ideas are the same and she has ceded to avoid conflicts and protect her mental health and peace. As Vania, younger children like Elias have also de-constructed rooted *Latino* values built upon gender-based differences that back in their countries used to inform gender relations from childhood. To Elias, who interact with girls and loves playing with them, there are differences between boys and girls, but only in terms of physical traits which he describes as follows:

> *Elias*: Girls and boys are different (he sounds fully convinced)
> *Interviewer*: Are they? why?
> *Elias*: because baby boys become boys and then men...baby girls become girls and then women.
> *Interviewer*: so…what is basically the biggest difference between them?
> *Elias*: that both have different things (he refers to genitalia but he doesn't want to say it) (Elias, 8)

This piece shows that to young children like Elias, differences between genders rely on physical features, but they do not limit girls' and boys' participation in the same activities. Salvador (10), for instance, states that he likes playing with girls and boys since both are equal and capable of doing, feeling and liking the same things regardless of their gender. This way of thinking is strengthened by children's experiences at school wherein gender equality is promoted and performed, as well as in their families through horizontal relationships between parents and siblings. In this respect, parents' age may determine how they understand gender differences, roles and social relationships which shape their parenting. Older and more conservative parents, like Vania's and Mariana's, have adapted their parenting practices, but maintain their cultural ideas, values and beliefs. On the other hand, younger parents, like Elias', conceive gender relations from a different perspective, influencing their child's willingness and comfort in socializing with girls. In other cases, parents' age is not determining in shaping their cultural understanding of gender relations. Rayo's parents, for instance, are younger and more conservative than Salvador's which is reflected in their children's way of thinking and behaving. Rayo (8), for example, feels that playing with girls is not as fun as with boys since they are "muy niñitas" (too little children) fragile and whiny. Indeed, from an early age Rayo has lived in Muslim countries due to his father job. In those countries, the family felt that adaptation was easy since they consider themselves more conservative than other *Latino* families due to their catholic confession.

The cases discussed above reveals that Latino culture and some prevailing values that inform family relations and dynamics, such as *marianismo* and *machismo*, have been re-thought and adjusted to the contexts and experiences of the last generations. Cultures are flexible and mobile and, as such, susceptible to experience changes according to the context where they are taken in by their members, being shaped by their actions, which are, at the same time, informed by that culture itself (Adler, 2007; Allan, 1998; Karjalainen, 2020). *Latino* culture is evolving, directly and indirectly questioning its own parameters. Despite some parents' rejection to put aside some cultural values reproduced through parenting practices, their adaptation shows the flexibility of Latino culture, allowing individuals to read and interpret a different setting by using their cultural lenses while adjusting them. For this reason, it is important to consider that not only children and childhood are culture-specific, flexible and variable, but also childrearing practices and family dynamics in which children play a pivotal role. Through their socialization in different arenas and questioning taken-for-granted cultural values and child-rearing practices, children actively shape their childhood and their parents' adulthood, affecting the meaning that their culture takes.

6.3. Family dynamics and children's roles in *doing* family

After migration, *Latino* children and their parents differently experience the loss of extended-family members' support which produces not only a re-definition of family, but also the re-configuration of their internal dynamics and allocation of roles. Migration produces unequal consequences for families, depending on their migratory status, trajectories, economic and material resources. Migratory experiences are *embodied*, thus, variable among family members (Dunn, 2009), individually and collectively determining the re-conceptualization of what *family* means and how *support* is adjusted to the new conditions of the context. Building on this framework, the role of *gender* within the *Latino* culture must be deemed for understanding family relationships and dynamics before and after migration. For instance, *family* is differently perceived by mothers since migration deprives most of them of that main source of support, having to go through important life events and facing adaptation challenges alone. Due to the combination of cultural values and structural conditions, most mothers end up assuming the main role as caregivers which can interfere with their individual goals. In this context, counting on loved ones' support can make a difference, enhancing mothers' feelings of gratitude, satisfaction and hope, while allowing other family members to partake in *doing family* under different circumstances. As a fluid social institution, *Latino* family experiences a process of re-configuration driven by its members' experiences before and after migration (Skrbiš, 2008). Families are 'sets of practices' and, as such, contingent and dynamic entities that acquire meaning under particular circumstances, being more a *verb* than a *noun* (Morgan,1996 as cited in Madianou, 2016:185).

Families are *adaptive* and so are their internal dynamics, relations and organization. Unlike the traditional gender-based distribution of roles within most families in Latin America, in Trondheim it depends mostly on children's age. For instance, older children like Vania (16) are sent to help neighbors during *dugnad* (a custom of communal work*)* instead of their parents or clean the house by turns, while younger children like Elias (8) must make their beds. In this way, children gain more independence, counteracting parents' need of exercising control and overprotection while learning self-sufficiency, contributing to diminish their parents' burden. This is the case of Mariana (12) who loves going alone to the school and Salvador (10) who is becoming more independent. Even though these children admit that they do not like doing those tasks, they think that as family members they "must do it". Elias (8), for instance, says that in Mexico he lied to his parents because other relatives used to make his bed instead of him, but in Norway he must do it by himself which produces him a sense of satisfaction and sufficiency. This allocation of roles that includes children as active participants and members of families have positive impacts on the individual and collective level. Salvador (10), for example, says that doing small tasks at home, such as making his bed or cleaning the toilet, are important for reducing his parents' responsibilities at home since both have also a paid work. He states that his mother is not the only one in charge of housekeeping, but all family members. Such arrangement is not his favorite but help him to contribute to his family continuity. Elias (8) states the same but highlights that doing his "things" by himself allows her mother to get some rest or pay more attention to his younger brother. Responsibilities can also produce a sense of pride for children like Rayo (8) who is happy because, according to his father, he is "el nuevo hombre de la casa" (the new head of the family), responsible for caring for his mother and little brother when his father travels.

As noticed, by assuming responsibilities according to their age and capacities, most children feel empowered, independent and "grown", while their parents can reduce their burdens and have

more time for themselves. In this way, children become a source of support for their parents, contributing to family harmony and maintenance after migration under the idea of *familism* which continues informing families' relations based on membership, reciprocity and interdependence. Indeed, depending on children's age, parents can be released of their burdens as main caregivers and housekeepers. For instance, unlike Carolina's children, who are 8 and 1 year old, Teresa's children, Pantalon and Vania, are respectively 13 and 16 years old which gives her more free time since they can take care of themselves most part of time. Thus, Teresa can study and practice Norwegian while working part time which other mothers cannot. Since her husband is currently the only family's bread winner and, mostly, has a busy schedule, Carolina is fully immersed in her role as housewife and caregiver, having scarce time for studying English and Norwegian as she wants. Her tight schedule depends on Rayo's leisure activities and classes since she must be available for taking him to and picking him up from those activities. Having a 1-year-old child makes her situation even more difficult, impeding her to be outside home for studying or doing another activity. These mothers recognize the importance of their role and contribution to family dynamics and better-off conditions and opportunities, feeling satisfied when seeing that their personal sacrifices are fruitful in generating benefits for their children and other family members.

In this project, most mother participants are mostly 30- and 40-year-old women with higher education and previous migratory experiences and so do their husbands. In comparison to older generations, these parents grew up under less rigid gender-based roles which alongside their current needs and migratory experiences allow them to question and de-construct those practices. Even though most mothers accept the importance and collective value of their roles for the family, they continue pursuing their personal and professional goals by counting on the support of their husbands and children. This is the case of Alexandra who is almost a full-time housewife but maintains her dream of studying a master's degree in marketing and obtaining a skilled job. By looking for a balance between his work life and his role as parent, Alexandra's husband tries to spend more family time by taking part in children's activities and household tasks like taking Elias to the school and picking him up. Hence, Alexandra just looks after her 1-year-old child, having more free time for herself and for improving her English proficiency to apply for a master program in the future. This is also the case of Sergio's (6) father, who despite being divorced of his mother continues being a source of material and emotional support for both. After their divorce he assumes a pivotal role in Sergio's nurture by taking care of him and adjusting his work schedule to his needs, allowing Cristina to study, work and take care of her other child.

As mentioned, *Latino* institutions, family relations and parenting practices are influenced by values such as *marianismo* and *machismo*. *Marianismo* promotes the idea of self-sacrifice (Gil, 1996), influencing women's sense of duty and sacrifice regarding their loved ones. After migration, family's organization and re-distribution of roles detached of a gender-based division of responsibilities can produce more equalitarian relationships, helping families to achieve their individual and collective goals and face together their adaptation challenges. Thus, these families counteract the power of cultural values, such as *marianism* and machismo, and the impact of structural conditions. Besides, counting on children's support contributes to strengthen their belonging and sense of duty with respect to other family members, while increasing their self-sufficiency and independence. In this way, children co-construct what *family* is by re-creating Latino cultural values such as solidarity and reciprocity while challenging others, counteracting the loss of support brought about by migration and contributing to *doing family*.

6.4. Cultural readings of the context: re-thinking *togetherness*

Due to the global circuits of power and capital and political instability, the movement of people across national borders have been driven by the need of economic security, the yearning of career development and/or lifestyle change (Baldassar, 2007). Globalizing processes reshape social institutions, reconfiguring human relations and generating experiences of uprooting and re-grounding (Holton, 1998 as cited in Svašek, 2007). In this context, transnational families emerge as fluid unities that shape and are shaped by the context wherein they settle down (Bryceson, 2019). *Family* is not only a private space of everyday life interaction, but also a public one constantly negotiated by different social actors with discursive power, material constraints and spatial practices, subjected to change (Purkarthofer, 2021). Hence, their migratory experiences must be analyzed in relation to the context that triggers migration and shapes families in the receiving society (Nagasaka, 2015) through the application of the *transnational approach* (Dunn, 2009). In this respect, *spatiality* and *temporality* play a fundamental role in families' migratory experiences and trajectories, shedding light on the effects of transnational migration on families' re-definition, composition, dynamics and performativity. *Transnational family* involves physical and geographic separation between its members and the creation and maintenance of *familyhood* as a feeling of collective welfare and unity across national borders (Nagasaka, 2015).

At first sight, this re-conceptualization of *family* seems incompatible with its traditional definition, structure and dynamics within the *Latino* culture, which emphasizes the maintenance of a strong kinship network among family members (Smokowski, 2008) through solidarity and mutual support (Clutter, 2009; Harwood, 2002). Transnational migration is often associated to familial separation and the breakdown of support (Silver, 2014). However, *families* are dynamic and responsive to being stretched across places (Mand, 2015). A *transnational perspective* reveals that rather than dissolving ties with their homelands, migrants continue interacting and maintaining familial ties with those left behind (Skrbis, 2007, p.262 as cited in Mand, 2015), influencing individuals' definitions and sense of doing *family* across diverse spatial locations. In this project, the participants' experiences as transnational migrants in Trondheim have triggered a process of re-configuration of their definition of *family* that encompasses their cultural background and the structural conditions of the context. Thus, concepts like *unity*, *togetherness* and *support,* placed at the core of the *Latino* culture, have been adapted to families' current life, experiences and challenges, shaping their definition of *family*, as well as its composition and criteria for inclusion and exclusion of members grounded on their immediate role of *support*.

When defining *family,* most children refer to immediate family members as the most important people in their lives. The traditional *nuclear family* is mostly described by children because of their immediate relationship, unity and role as members of a narrower support network across the multiple spaces wherein they navigate as a unit. To Vania (16), for instance, just her parents and siblings are part of her *family* now because they are still with her, being a source of support, care and love. In her view, being an asylum seeker and refugee in Norway entails following migration policies and rules, as well as facing different adaptation challenges. However, family support and *togetherness* can make the process of asylum seeking and life as refugee more digestible. This sense of *unity* and *support* determines who is *family* and it is strengthened by *keeping in touch* with other relatives. This statement is based on her experience of migration and life in Norway which, in her opinion, have made her "grow" and "mature", changing her mind about *family* and the importance of *togetherness*, separating herself of her previous experiences of *doing* family.

Following the same premises, to Mariana (12) her family is just made up of her parents and little brother who stay together since most of her relatives left Venezuela as refugees long time ago, breaking her sense of *unity* and *togetherness* which are necessary for considering someone *family*.

Both girls highlight the importance of *unity* and *togetherness* for explaining family relations and ties, but in each case *togetherness* takes different meanings. To Mariana (12), *togetherness* and *unity* are used for defining family from physical proximity since she continues maintaining emotional bonds with her family, facilitated by videocalls, chatting and occasional trips. Unlike Vania's family, Mariana's family came to Norway due to a job opportunity, producing a sense of uncertainty about settlement and movement to a new destination. This situation has influenced her feelings of physical proximity as immediate, appealing to her nuclear family as main source of support. Mariana mentions that she misses spending time with her cousins and relatives who stay in Venezuela and other countries. Those memories are connected to experiences of fun, play and cultural traditions that are part of her past due to the difficulties for entering to Venezuela. However, Mariana's family migratory status allows them to visit relatives and keep in contact and maintain emotional bonds with them which Vania's family cannot do due to their refugee status and limited economic resources. Under these different conditions, both children differently set up their *family* boundaries through their understanding and re-creation of *togetherness*. These cases illustrate how children's and families' uneven conditions determine their decision of migrating, migratory experiences and, thus, their definition of *family* and its boundaries after migration.

In other cases, it may bring about the adaptation of what *family* means to the new geographic and spatial conditions. This is the case of Salvador (10) and Rayo (8) whose definition of *family* not only includes their parents and siblings that live with them, but also other relatives, such as grandparents and older siblings, who stay in their home countries. Those relatives continue being part of children's lives through memories of love and care, a reason for missing their life before migration and a bond with their home countries. Despite their different economic positions, Rayo (8) and Salvador (10) recreate *togetherness* on the basis of nostalgia and memories. Rayo has experienced physical separation of his loved ones from an early age but keeps contact with them by sporadically visiting Mexico or receiving his relatives in Trondheim which has been facilitated by his family economic power. In Salvador's case, his family's limited economic resources and lack of previous migratory and physical separation experiences have strengthened the power of his memories, re-creating *togetherness* in a more emotional fashion. This nostalgic re-creation can be understood as an expression of what Tymczuk (2015) calls *temporality of togetherness*, which entails a past or pre-separation phase and a future reunion with loved ones. In the participants' experiences, *temporality of togetherness* takes place in important family events or festivities that re-unite the whole family back in their homelands or in Norway. For instance, Elias' definition of *family* only includes his nuclear family members. However, he mentions that Norway would be perfect if all his relatives were in Trondheim and, while invoking some family memories, talks about his excitement for going back to Mexico for Christmas to see his loved ones.

Those moments of physical *togetherness* and proximity are longed for by children despite having their lives in Trondheim. Through family memories Elias glue his prior and present life, re-creating his previous definition of *family* through a non-physical sense of *unity* and *togetherness*, while waiting for meeting them again. Regarding parents, in re-defining *family* most of them refer to previous experiences of *support*, as well as the emotional bonds with relatives back in their home countries. *Familism* emphasis the role of extended family members and the importance of family

unity as a source of support for individuals (Coohey, 2001; Zayas, 1992). The traditional definition of *Latino* family goes beyond the nuclear family (parents and children) including extended family members through relations of solidarity and mutual support (Clutter, 2009; Harwood, 2002). *Latino* family dynamics and organization at the nuclear level depends in many ways on extended family members' support as caregivers. Before coming to Norway, most families maintained tight relationships with extended family members not only by sharing traditions, festivities and important family events, but also through solidarity-based practices such as child rearing and care during illness or maternity. As most children, parents refer to the importance of *support* as a premise for family unity, but they often detach support of *physical presence* or *memories* since migration has triggered a re-definition of what *support* means and how it can be provided despite distance.

Within Latino family's child-rearing practices and care are mostly left on female hands due to the socio-cultural construction of gender roles under values such as *Marianism* and *machismo* (Ayon, 2015; Bruheim, 2020; Harwood, 2002), contributing to families' organization, wellbeing and better-off living conditions (Baldassar, 2014). Therefore, migration brings about not only the loss of physical contact with loved ones and emotional distress for what is left behind, but also uncertainty, solitude, adaptation challenges, and the loss of parents' main source of support. However, *support* is continued in an emotional fashion, maintaining parents' definition of *family* despite time and space. By listening to their problems, giving them advice about children's nurture and comforting them in case of distress, these family members continue playing an important role in most parents' lives, hence, continue being deemed *family*. Notwithstanding these similarities, families' experiences of migration differ according to the different overlapping structures wherein they are placed before migration, determining the meanings that *family, unity and support* take after migration. Defining *family* as *transnational* involves adaptation to the context and structural conditions that shape families' lives and their loved ones'. The host country migratory policies and laws and the socio-economic and political conditions of their homelands can constrain their contact with those relatives left behind. Yet, families' migratory status and economic power can also influence their definition of *family* in harmony with *Latino* values such as *unity* and *support*.

To some families their economic situation constrains their possibilities of travelling to their countries or visiting their relatives for important festivities and events, forcing them to find other means for keeping in contact with their relatives and preserving their transnational families' *unity*. The current conditions of globalization facilitate long-distance contact and communication despite geographic difference (Arnold, 2016). Children's skills in the use of technology help their families overcome the structural constraints, while maintaining cultural values like *familism* by means of a strong kinship network (Smokowski, 2008). For instance, Mariana (12) participates in WhatsApp groups and video calls with her cousins for celebrating important festivities, while Salvador (10) keeps in touch with his sister in Venezuela through videocalls. Yet, the reconceptualization of family as *transnational* is subjected to the redefinition of *togetherness* (Martín-Bylund, 2020), which is affected by the spatiality and temporality of migration. Families with previous migratory experiences and better-off economic position see *separation* as part of their life, re-creating *togetherness* and *support* by keeping alive family memories and the hope of meeting their loved ones again. On the other hand, to those families with fewer possibilities of going back to their countries due to their migratory status or limited economic resources, *support* and *togetherness* have assumed a more emotional character. In these ways, the transnational *Latino* family connects the participants' past and present in the transnational space, showing its fluidity and continuity.

Chapter 7: Concluding remarks

The starting point in this research study was to explore how children and families with Latino background navigate everyday life in a different socio-cultural context like Trondheim, Norway. Through the application of a child-centered, participatory and human rights-based approach, children and their families were included as participants. The consideration of childhood as socio-culturally constructed informed the process of setting up the methodological considerations and potential ethical issues based on the Latino definition of childhood. Thus the role that families play in children's lives under Latino culture (Ingoldsby as cited in Flake, 2006) was determining in the inclusion of families as participants, providing a backdrop for contextualizing, addressing and understanding children's experiences of the context. This thesis project was based on fieldwork conducted in the home of six Latino families and seven children who settled down in Trondheim in the recent years. Among the participants, three came from Venezuela, two from Mexico and one from Brazil, contributing to the diversity of the sample. Through the collective and individual application of participatory tools across three stages, the participants took part in different activities according to their level of comfort with the researcher's presence and the research questions. In the case of the Brazilian family, due to its busy schedule, the inclusion of their experiences in the findings was based on the information obtained through participant observation. In this way, this project was an empirical study that examined the participants' experiences of everyday life in Trondheim, endorsed by the mainstream definition of childhood and the role of family within the Latino culture.

As transnational migrants, the research participants have experienced a sense of detachment of those *places* that used to be theirs, as well as the disconnection from their usual worldview by interacting in the new context. Such a process has given rise to the need of re-defining their cultural identity by setting up *otherness* with respect to Norwegians, while seeking ways for making Trondheim their *place*. *Culture*, thus, becomes a means for unifying and concealing the existent differences among Latinos under a common set of features and cultural parameters gathered in the idea of *Latinoness*. In this respect, after migration, the family household becomes a micro-sphere of *Latinoness* re-production and continuity, a means for maintaining the connection with loved ones. Through its daily reproduction in the family realm and outside home, *Latinoness* provides a sense of belonging and membership and a shelter before an unknown social world. Latino children's everyday navigation is informed by the interplay of adaptation and resistance through the application and performance of their cultural identity for reading, interpreting and understanding their new arena of socialization. Under these circumstances, the re-configuration of the Latino family as *transnational* emerges through the re-definition of *togetherness* and *unity*, enabling the connection between the participants' worlds regardless of time and space. As part of the analysis presented in the chapters 5 and 6, *culture* and *family* re-definition, as fluid and mobile categories, are addressed from an embodied approach to transnationalism, illustrating the diverse ways in which children and their loved ones continue *doing Latino* family and culture after migration.

In chapter 5, the importance of cultural identity as a means for setting up difference and creating place and belongingness is addressed. Through the co-construction of *Latinoness* in relation to *Norwegianness*, the participants re-define and strengthen the basis of their cultural identity driven

by the need of finding a form of membership. By identifying differences between Latinos and Norwegians, children and their parents differently express their ways of thinking, grounded on their age-based experiences of their previous and present places. In this scenario, *race* and *ethnicity* emerge as categories of differentiation that inform the participants' interpretations of the new context and social relations. Despite these different but similar worldviews and experiences, the participants co-construct their cultural identities, shaping the meaning that *Latino* culture and its core values take, opening the possibility of gradually developing hybrid cultural identities. Notwithstanding these commonalities and cooperation between both generations as cultural partners, children and parents define their identities differently. In the case of children, *identity* is connected to their experiences of place and belonging built up over nostalgia, memories and traditions, assuming a more emotional character. On the other hand, to most parents their identity is linked to their previously made places wherein cultural traditions, values, customs and memories were produced, making the physical and emotional dimensions of *place* converge.

Chapter 6 examines how children and parents do *family* and maintain its underlying cultural values through its re-definition as a *transnational* unit and the adaptation of *togetherness* and *unity*, the basis of Latino family relations, to the participants' experiences of the transnational space. To most children, *togetherness* and *unity* are understood in terms of both physical proximity and emotional support. In the case of most parents, *togetherness* assumes a more emotional character tightly connected to the idea of *support*. After migration, children contribute to the re-creation of *togetherness* and *support*, by actively participating in the allocation of roles and assuming responsibilities regarding the family group, *doing* family. Thus, family household continues being children's main private socialization arena, as well as the scenario where *Latinoness* is re-produced after migration, serving to set up differentiation boundaries in terms of parenting and child rearing practices. Moreover, it is within family home where Latino culture is questioned and challenged by children, underpinned by their socialization experiences in other social settings. In doing so, children contribute to the continuity of Latino family and culture as adaptative units. Based on these contributions, this research enables the acknowledgement of children's active role as social actors, individuals and family members that connect their different social worlds through daily experiences.

Nevertheless, in addressing the aims and purpose of this research study, recognizing some limitations regarding time was possible. The hardships experienced for finding participants from different countries was sharpened by the covid 19 pandemic, families' busy schedules and some unexpected challenges that arose during data collection. However, the participants' willingness, engagement and openness to share their experiences and feelings made this research and the fulfilment of its aims possible. For this reason, as a form of being thankful to them, their experiences and stories were prioritized and, thus, included along this study to make them visible. Due to the limited time and scope assigned to this project, topics that emerged during data collection and analysis could not be addressed in depth or included in the findings. Related issues such as *Latino* children's experiences when going back to their countries of origin and their impact on their sense of place and belonging, as well as the identity, sense of place and belonging of first Latino immigrants' descendants could be interesting topics for addressing *Latino* culture flexibility for hybridization. Later research in these topics could facilitate the analysis of the effectivity of integration policies regarding minority groups. Even though these topics are not tackled in this study, this research seeks to set up the basis for increasing interest in *Latino* community and its members' experiences, perspectives, needs and contributions as individuals and social actors in Trondheim.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Information sheet and consent forms in Spanish

¿Te gustaría ser parte del proyecto de investigación
"Niños y familias latinas en Trondheim, Noruega: perspectivas sobre el día a día"?

Mi nombre es Neith Paredes, una estudiante universitaria del programa de maestría en Estudios de la Niñez de la NTNU, Trondheim. Actualmente me encuentro trabajando en mi tesis (algo así como una tarea que debo presentar para poder terminar mis estudios solo que algo más larga) la cual trata sobre las experiencias de los niños y las familias latinas que viven en Trondheim. Hay muchas cosas que los adultos no sabemos y a veces solo los niños(as) como tú pueden ayudarnos con su conocimiento y experiencias, por lo cual me gustaría que pudieras participar en este proyecto compartiendo conmigo tus experiencias personales sobre tu vida diaria.

Quiero que sepas que tú no estás obligado(a) a hablar conmigo si es que no lo quieres hacer. Yo valoro que quieras participar y ayudarme, pero también si es que en algún momento ya no deseas continuar o si deseas tomar una pausa. Yo te doy mi palabra de que no habrá ninguna queja de mi parte y que no le diré nada a tus padres o me enojaré contigo si te cansas o deseas dejar de participar. Lo que quiero es que sea una experiencia divertida y entretenida para ambos(as) y no algo que te haga sentir mal o incómodo(a).

He planeado diferentes actividades para poder hacer esto de una manera más divertida para ambos (as) y así puedas compartir tus experiencias personales y familiares conmigo. Sin embargo, si cuando estamos hablando te sientes incómodo(a) o cansado(a) y quieres que tomemos un descanso (o te quieres ir) no habrá ningún problema. Tampoco habrá problema si decides no contestar algunas preguntas. Todo dependerá de tu voluntad.

Quería también pedirte permiso para poder grabar tus respuestas en audio así las recuerdo cuando escribo mi tarea. Tú puedes decirme si quieres que no grabe algo de lo que me digas en el momento que desees. Yo voy a proteger esos audios para que nadie más tenga acceso a ellos.

Yo misma voy a transcribir el contenido de las cintas en mi cuaderno y solo yo y mi profesora Ida Marie Lyså podremos verlo. Cuando escriba mi reporte quizá necesite añadir algunas de las cosas que hablamos, pero NUNCA usaré tu nombre, así nadie sabrá que fuiste tú quien las dijo. Después de terminar mi trabajo (aproximadamente el 18 de Mayo del 2022) eliminaré todos los audios con tu voz.

En caso tengas alguna duda o preocupación después de nuestra conversación siéntete libre de decírmelo. Yo voy a mantener todo lo que me digas en privado y solo lo compartiré con tus padres si tú me lo permites y en caso considere que te encuentras en alguna situación riesgosa solicitaré ayuda de algún otro adulto para garantizar tu seguridad.
Tus papás me dijeron que estaba bien hablar contigo hoy, pero si tú no quieres seguir haciéndolo después de esta reunión yo lo entenderé. Voy a respetar tu decisión. Solo quiero

que te sientas cómodo (a) y totalmente libre de preguntarme lo que desees antes de que aceptes ayudarme.

Formulario de consentimiento para niños y jóvenes

Neith me ha dicho que está bien si:

- No quiero hablar con ella y que eso no me traerá problemas ☐
- No quiero responder alguna pregunta personal sobre mi vida ☐
- Ya no quiero seguir contándole mis experiencias e ideas en algún momento ☐
- Ella usará mi información para su trabajo de universidad sin usar mi nombre ☐
- Tengo alguna duda o preocupación puedo hablar con ella cuando lo desee ☐

Estoy de acuerdo de que Neith hable conmigo y grabe mi voz y respuestas el día de hoy.

…… (Yo estoy de acuerdo) Día……

¿Te gustaría ser parte del proyecto de investigación
"Niños y familias latinas en Trondheim, Noruega: perspectivas sobre el día a día"?

Mi nombre es Neith y soy una estudiante universitaria escribiendo su tesis, algo así como una tarea solo que más larga. Esta tarea es sobre las experiencias de los niños y las familias latinas que viven en Trondheim. En esta hojita te voy a explicar algunos detalles sobre ella y cómo podrías ayudarme.

¿Cuál es el propósito de este trabajo?
Yo quiero saber sobre tus experiencias y conocimientos sobre la vida diaria en Trondheim y creo que nadie más puede saber tanto como tú sobre eso, por ello ¡sería genial si decides participar! 😊

¿Quién es responsable por este trabajo?
Como te dije, esta tarea es para la universidad, la NTNU, y mi profesora Ida Marie Lysså es quien me ayudará, pero ella no va a saber lo que me digas si tú no quieres.

¿Por qué me gustaría que participes?
Te invito a participar en este proyecto porque me gustaría saber sobre tus experiencias sobre la vida en Trondheim y ese conocimiento solo lo tienes tú. 😉

¿Cómo puedes participar?
Vamos a hacer diferentes actividades como dibujar, escribir y también conversar (tú escogerás) eso nos ayudará a hablar sobre tus experiencias diarias en Trondheim. Serán actividades cortas y tus respuestas serán grabadas así puedo recordarlas cuando escriba mi tarea.

¡Tu participación es voluntaria! 😊
Esta es una invitación para que participes si es que así lo deseas. Si no quieres participar está bien, yo lo entenderé. Si te interesa participar…no te preocupes porque si te cansas, te aburres o ya no quieres continuar puedes decírmelo, yo entenderé. También puedes decirme si no quieres contestar una pregunta o prefieres que no grabe alguna respuesta. No habrá ningún problema por eso. Nadie lo sabrá. Solo quiero que disfrutemos compartir nuestras experiencias y me cuentes sobre ti.

Tu privacidad – ¿Cómo guardaré tu información?
¡Descuida! No pondré tu nombre en mi tarea. Tú puedes escoger un nombre que te guste y usaremos ese. Yo no le contaré a nadie lo que digas, ni a tus papás si es que tú no me das permiso. ¡Será nuestro secreto! Si en algún momento no te sientes seguro pediremos ayuda y todo estará bien. 😉

¿Qué pasará con tu información cuando termine mi tarea?
Yo voy a terminar mi tarea en Mayo del otro año (2022) y luego eliminaré la información obtenida.
Si tienes alguna duda o hay algo que te preocupe después de esta conversación ¡solo dímelo!

Yo ya conversé con tus padres y ellos me permitieron hablar contigo y preguntarte si deseas participar, pero si tú no quieres hablar conmigo después de esta reunión… ¡No te preocupes! ¡Voy a respetar tu decisión! 😊

Consentimiento para niños y niñas
Neith me ha dicho que está bien SI:

- No quiero hablar con ella, eso no me traerá problemas ☐
- No quiero responder alguna pregunta sobre mi vida privada o mis experiencias ☐
- Quiero dejar de compartir mi información con ella en algún momento ☐
- Ella usa mi información para su tarea de la universidad sin poner mi nombre ☐
- Si tengo alguna duda o preocupación se lo puedo decir cuando yo quiera ☐

Estoy de acuerdo en hablar hoy con Neith y que grabe nuestra conversación el día de hoy.

…… (yo acepto) Día……

¿Te gustaría ser parte del proyecto de investigación
"Niños y familias latinas en Trondheim, Noruega: perspectivas sobre el día a día"?

Esta es una consulta sobre participación en un proyecto de investigación cuyo principal propósito es explorar las experiencias diarias de niños y familias latinas que viven en Trondheim. En este documento te brindamos información sobre el objetivo del proyecto y las implicancias de tu participación.

Objetivo del Proyecto
Este proyecto tiene como propósito explorar las experiencias diarias de niños y familias latinas que viven en Trondheim, a fin de incrementar el conocimiento, así como también el interés en la comunidad Latina en Noruega y las experiencias y puntos de vista de sus miembros. Para ello, las diferencias y similitudes entre generaciones (niños y familias) serán abordadas considerando las experiencias familiares y personales de los participantes, su bagaje cultural, así como también sus estrategias para recorrer cada día de su vida en Trondheim.

La investigación es llevada a cabo por Neith Paredes, una estudiante del programa de Maestría en Filosofía de Estudios de la Niñez de la NTNU (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) con la supervisión de la profesora e investigadora postdoctoral Ida Marie Lysså. Los resultados serán usados en la redacción de una tesis para culminar el programa de maestría.

Quién es el responsable del proyecto?
La Universidad Noruega de Ciencias Naturales y Tecnología (NTNU) es la institución responsable del proyecto mediante la supervisión de la profesora e investigadora postdoctoral Ida Marie Lysså.

¿Por qué me gustaría que participes?
Este Proyecto busca incluir tanto a niños como a familias de origen Latino. La muestra estará compuesta por niños de entre 5 y 18 años, incluyendo tanto aquellos nacidos en Latinoamérica como aquellos en Noruega.

Qué implican tu participación y la de tu hijo(s)?
Este proyecto busca incluir como participantes tanto a niños como a familias, por lo cual se aplicarán diferentes herramientas o métodos que permitan que los participantes se sientan cómodos con la investigación, facilitando el acceso a sus opiniones y experiencias.

Tu niño(s) participará en diferentes actividades como hacer dibujos, ser parte de entrevistas individuales y grupales, elaboración de un ranking, entre otras tareas, dependiendo de sus preferencias, habilidades y el nivel de facilidad de la tarea. La mayoría de estas actividades serán llevadas a cabo individualmente, mientras que otras en familia a fin de motivar a los niños de sentirse cómodos expresando sus ideas. Mediante estas actividades se le pedirá a tu niño(a) que describa sus expectativas sobre el futuro, las principales diferencias culturales que identifica entre generaciones, cómo se identifica (Noruegos o Latinos), sus experiencias sociales de inclusión o exclusión en relaciones amicales, así como también las formas en las que expresa su identidad de manera colectiva junto a otros miembros de la familia.

De este modo, los niños participarán en la elaboración de ensayos, dibujos, entrevistas individuales, narrando su vida, entre otras tareas, las cuales durarán entre 30-60 minutos. Dichas actividades serán grabadas usando un dictáfono provisto por la universidad (NTNU).
Usted participará en entrevistas individuales para conocer sus ideas y percepciones respecto al sentido de pertenencia e identidad de su hijo(a), la elaboración de un ranking para clasificar las principales características de Noruegos y Latinos, así como también entrevistas individuales y familiares sobre la identidad colectiva de la familia puesta en práctica día a día.

La participación es voluntaria
Participar en este proyecto es voluntario. Si decide permitir que su hijo(a) participe, él/ella será también informado sobre todos los pormenores del proyecto y luego consultado(a) si está interesado(a) en participar. Toda la información recaudada será anónima, así ni tú ni tu hijo(a) serán identificados. Del mismo modo, tu participación es también voluntaria y eres libre de evitar alguna pregunta o retirarte del proyecto cuando lo desees sin ningún tipo de consecuencia negativa.

Tu privacidad y la de tu hijo(a) – ¿Cómo almacenaremos y usaremos tu información?
Nosotros solo usaremos la información sobre ti y tu hijo que tenga relación con el objetivo del proyecto especificado en este documento informativo, la información obtenida será anonimizada.

- La investigadora, Neith Paredes, será la única que tenga acceso a la información recaudada y su transcripción, a menos que cierta información pueda generarle alguna preocupación justificada y legítima.
- La información personal de tu hijo(a), como su nombre por ejemplo, será reemplazada por un código.
- La lista de nombres de los niños, información de contacto y respectivos códigos serán almacenados por separado con respecto al resto de la información recaudada mediante el uso de un servidor de la NTNU. Tu información personal será protegida de la misma manera.
- La información será recogida mediante el uso de un dictáfono y los audios obtenidos serán almacenados en un 7-zip documento y servidor parte del sistema de la NTNU.
- La información recolectada será usada para la elaboración de un reporte en el cual los participantes no serán reconocidos ya que sus nombres serán reemplazados por seudónimos y sus características personales (como edad, género, entre otros) serán cambiadas o se mantendrán ocultas.

¿Qué pasará con tu información personal cuando termine el proyecto?
Este proyecto está planeado para terminar el 18 de Mayo del 2022, y a su fin los audios obtenidos serán eliminados, solo dejando la transcripción de estos para su uso posterior por parte del investigador en investigaciones derivadas de la presente, siempre manteniendo su anonimidad.

Tus derechos y los de tu hijo(a)
Este proyecto no busca acceder a tu información personal, solo a tus experiencias personales e ideas. Sin embargo, la más mínima información personal que pueda llegar a ser conocida por la investigadora no será divulgada de modo que facilite su identificación o la de su hijo(a)

por lo cual será anonimizada. Por tanto, siempre que tú y tu hijo(a) provean información personal, tú como individuo y en representación de tu hijo, tienen derecho a acceder a esa información personal, requerir su eliminación, rectificación y uso.

¿Qué nos da derecho a usar y procesar tu información y la de tu hijo(a)?
Nosotros procesaremos tu información personal y la de tu hijo en base a tu consentimiento. De conformidad con la Universidad Noruega de Ciencias Naturales y Tecnología (NTNU), la NSD (Centro Noruego para Información e Investigación) ha evaluado y evaluará el procesamiento de información personal en este proyecto conforme a legislación vigente en materia de protección de datos.

¿Necesitas más información?
Si tienes dudas o preguntas sobre este proyecto o quieres ejercer alguno de los derechos descritos, por favor contáctanos:

- Estudiante de Maestría Neith Paredes Alarcón, mediante email neithp@stud.ntnu.no o teléfono +47 46641174
- Universidad Noruega de Ciencias Naturales y Tecnología (NTNU), líder del proyecto Ida Marie Lyså, mediante email (ida.marie.lysa@ntnu.no) o teléfono: +47 99722377
- Nuestra Oficina de Protección de Datos. Universidad Noruega de Ciencias Naturales y Tecnología (NTNU). Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Educación (Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap - SU). Instituto de Pedagogía y Aprendizaje (Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring).
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, mediante email: (personverntjenester@nsd.no) o por teléfono: +47 55 58 21 17.

Atentamente,

Líder del Proyecto

Estudiante

(Investigador /supervisor)

Consentimiento para padres/tutores

Yo he recibido y entendido la información sobre el proyecto "Niños y familias latinas en Trondheim, Noruega: perspectivas sobre el día a día". Yo he leído también una copia de la información sobre el proyecto y consentimiento entregado a mi hijo(a) y he tenido la oportunidad de hacer las preguntas pertinentes. Todas mis preguntas han sido satisfactoriamente respondidas y entiendo que soy libre de requerir más información en cualquier etapa del proyecto.

Yo sé que:

- La participación de mi hijo(a) es totalmente voluntaria y él/ella puede retirarse cuando desee ☐
- Soy libre de retirar a mi hijo(a) del Proyecto en cualquier momento ☐
- Mi participación es totalmente voluntaria y soy libre de retirarme cuando así lo desee ☐

Yo doy mi consentimiento para que mi hijo(a):

- Participe en *entrevistas individuales* ☐
- Participe en la elaboración de un ranking, discusiones grupales, dibujos individuales, ensayos o narraciones orales de sus historias de vida, entre otros. ☐
- Se use la transcripción de la información sobre mi hijo y familia en posteriores investigaciones, asegurando su anonimidad. ☐
- Se use la información sobre mi hijo(a) y familia para ser publicada de manera que él/ella no sea reconocibles o identificados, protegiendo su anonimidad y la de mi familia. ☐

Yo doy mi consentimiento para:

- Participar en entrevistas individuales ☐
- Participar en la elaboración de un ranking y en discusiones grupales. ☐
- Para usar la transcripción de la información provista por mí mismo sobre mí mismo(a), mi familia y mi hijo(a) en posteriores estudios o investigaciones. ☐
- Para publicar la información provista por mí mismo sobre mí mismo(a), mi familia y mi hijo(a) de tal manera que no seamos reconocidos o identificados dentro de la comunidad. ☐

Yo doy mi consentimiento para participar en este proyecto,
Yo doy mi consentimiento para que mi hijo(a) participe en este proyecto,

…… (Fecha)…….

Firma del padre o tutor

*Este Proyecto ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Comité de Ética del Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata - NSD (Centro Noruego para Información e Investigación)

Appendix 2: Information sheet and consent forms in English

Are you interested in taking part in the research project?
"Children's and Latino families' perspectives on everyday life in Trondheim – Norway"?

I am a university student who is writing a master's thesis for finishing my studies. It is basically like homework, but a bit lengthier. My report is going to be about children's and Latino families' experiences upon everyday life in Trondheim, Norway. So, I would like you participate in this project to know your first-hand experiences and knowledge about your daily life. To be honest, I think adults do not always have all the answers and counting on children is helpful to solve many doubts.

You must know that you do not have to talk to me, if you do not want to it is fine. You will not get into trouble and I will not tell your parents. I just want we enjoy this process of sharing your views.

We will be doing different activities that will help us talk about our daily experiences here in Trondheim as individuals and members of a family with Latino background. If, when we are talking, you feel uncomfortable or tired and want to stop talking or go, that is OK. If you want to reply to some questions and avoid others, that is OK too. In the same way, when we are talking, I will put on the recorder so that I can remember what you said for my report, but you can feel free to tell me to turn it off at any time and I will do it.

The content of the tapes will be transcribed by myself, so your words from the tape will only be seen by me and my supervisor/teacher Ida Marie Lysså. When I write my report, I might write about some of the things you have talked about but I will not use your name so people will not know they are your words. After we have finished the report, the words and the tape will be locked away during the project but it will be deleted at its end approx. on May 18th, 2022.

If you have any doubts or concerns after our talk, just feel free to talk to me. I will keep everything private even from your parents unless you tell me it is OK. Yet, if I think that you might not be safe, I might have to tell some other adults who can help me make you safe.

Your parents have said it is OK for me to talk with you today, but if you do not want to talk with me after this meeting that is OK too. I am going to respect your decision. I just want you to feel totally free of asking me any questions you have before saying it is OK to talk to you.

Consent form for children

Neith has told me that it is OK if:

- I do not want to talk to her and I will not get into trouble. ☐
- I do not want to reply any question she asks me about my personal daily life experiences ☐
- I want to stop sharing any information at any time ☐
- She will use my information for her university report without using my name ☐
- I have any worries or doubts and I can talk with her at any time. ☐

I agree it is OK for Neith to talk to me and use the tape today.
…… (I agree) Day……

Are you interested in taking part in the research project "Children's and Latino families' perspectives on everyday life in Trondheim – Norway"?

I am a university student who is writing a report to finish my studies. It is basically like homework, but a bit lengthier. My report is going to be about children's and Latino families' experiences upon everyday life in Trondheim, Norway. In this letter, I will give you some information about this project and how you could take part of it.

What is the purpose of this project?
I want to know about your first-hand experiences and knowledge on everyday life in Trondheim and I think nobody else can know more about it than you, so, it would be great if you decide to participate! 😊

Who is the responsible for this project?
As I told you, this homework is for my university, the NTNU and my professor Ida Marie Lyså will guide me through this process, but she will not have access to the information you share with me in case you want to do so.

Why are you being asked to participate?
You are invited to participate in this research because I would like to know about your experiences living here in Trondheim and that knowledge, I just can get it from you. 😉

What does participation involve for you?
We will be doing different activities, such as drawings, essays and individual interviews among others, that will help us to talk about our daily experiences here in Trondheim as individuals and members of a family with Latino background. These activities will not last that much and all your responses will be recorded so I can remember what you said and put in in my report.

Your participation is voluntary! 😊
This is an invitation for you to participate in this project but you can decide doing it or not and both options are OK. If you decide to participate, you are free to stop answering questions or drop it when you want without giving me any explanation, and you can also ask me to turn the recorder device off. I will respect your decision and you will not get into trouble. I will not tell your parents. I just want we enjoy this process of sharing your views.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data
I will not include your name in my report. You can choose another one and we can use that one. I will keep everything private even from your parents unless you tell me it is OK. Yet, if I think that you might not be safe, I might have to tell some other adults who can help us.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?
I am going to finish my report on May 2022 and later I will delete your information.
If you have any doubts or concerns after this talk, just feel free to talk to me!
Your parents have said it is OK for me to talk with you today, but if you do not want to talk with me after this meeting that is OK too. I am going to respect your decision.
Consent form for children

Neith has told me that it is OK if:

- I do not want to talk to her and I will not get into trouble. ☐
- I do not want to reply any question she asks me about my personal daily life experiences ☐
- I want to stop sharing any information at any time ☐
- She will use my information for her university report without using my name ☐
- I have any worries or doubts and I can talk with her at any time. ☐

I agree it is OK for Neith to talk to me and use the tape today.

…… (I agree) Day……

Are you interested in taking part in the research project "Children's and Latino families' perspectives on everyday life in Trondheim – Norway"?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to explore Latino children and their families' experiences upon everyday life in Trondheim, Norway**. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.**

Purpose of the project

The aim of the project is to explore Latino children and their families' experiences upon everyday life in Norway to contribute to increase the knowledge on this community, its members' experiences and insights as human beings and citizens of the Norwegian society. For this purpose, the differences and similarities between generations (children and families) will be explored by considering their cultural background and personal and collective experiences, as well as their insights and strategies to navigate everyday life in Trondheim.

The research is being carried out by Neith Paredes, a student of the Master Phil Programme in Childhood Studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), with the supervision of the postdoctoral fellow Ida Marie Lysså. The research findings will be used for a written report for finishing the master programme.

Who is responsible for the research project?

The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) is the institution responsible for the project through the supervision of the postdoctoral fellow Ida Marie Lysså.

Why are you being asked to participate?

This thesis project seeks to include both children and families. The sample will be composed of children from 5 to 18 years, including both those who were born in Latin America and in Norway.

What does participation involve for you and your child?

This project seeks to include children and families as participants and for that purpose different methods will be applied to engage the participants with the research project and facilitate the process of obtaining access to their views and experiences.

Your child will participate in different activities, such as drawing, individual interviews, ranking and list exercises, among others, depending on their preferences, skills and level of ease with respect to the topics and the researcher. Most of these activities will be carried out individually by the child, while others by the family group to encourage children to feel free of expressing their views. Through those activities, your child will be asked to describe how they see themselves in the future, what are the main cultural differences they identify between generations, how they identify themselves (Latino or/and Norwegian), their social experiences of inclusion or exclusion in friendship relations, as well as the expression of their collective identity as members of a family.

In doing so, children will be asked to participate through the elaboration of essays, drawings, individual interviews, lists, life histories and ranking exercise. These tasks should take approximately 30-60 minutes. They will be recorded using a Dictaphone provided by the NTNU.

You will be asked to participate in individual interviews to explore your insights about your child's identity and sense of place and belonging; a ranking exercise to classify what you think are the most notable characteristic of a Norwegian or Latino followed by individual interviews and family interviews about how your family performs its collective identity in everyday life.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to allow your child to participate, he/she will be asked about it after explaining her/him the main issues related to this project. If your child accepts to be part, he/she will be free to stop replying to questions or withdraw. All information about your child will be made anonymous, so, your child and family will not be identifiable.

In the same way, your participation is also voluntary and you are free to avoid certain questions or withdraw from the research when you want without consequences for participants.

Yours and your child's personal privacy – how we will store and use personal data

We will only use the information provided by you and your child for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter and that information will be anonymized.

- The researcher, Neith Paredes, will be the one who have access to the collected data and its transcripts, unless certain information could generate concern to the researcher.
- Your child's personal information, such as his/her name, will be replaced with a code. The list of names of the children, contact details and respective codes will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data in a server of the NTNU network. Your personal information will be protected in the same way.
- The data will be recorded using a Dictaphone and the obtained audio files will be stored in a 7-zip file in the research server, as part of the NTNU network.
- The collected information will be used by the researcher for the elaboration of the report and the participants will not be recognizable since their names will be replaced by pseudonyms and their personal characteristics (e.g., age and gender, among others) will also be concealed.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end on May 18th, 2022, and at its end the audio files will be deleted, just leaving the transcripts for a later use in future research or follow-up studies by the researcher, always keeping their anonymity.

Yours and your child rights

This project does not seek to access personal information, but personal experiences. However, some basic information is going to be known by the researcher. That information will not facilitate your and your child's identity which will be carefully anonymized. Therefore, so long as you and your child will provide personal information you as individual and, on behalf of your child, have the right to access the personal data that is being processed, request its elimination, rectification and use.

What gives us the right to process your and your child's personal data?

We will process your and your child's personal data based on your consent. Based on an agreement with the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- Master student Neith Paredes Alarcon, by email neithp@stud.ntnu.no or by telephone +47 46641174
- Norwegian University of Science and Technology via project leader Ida Marie Lyså, by email (ida.marie.lysa@ntnu.no) or by telephone: +47 99722377
- Our Data Protection Officer: Norges Teknisk-naturvitenskapelige Universitet. Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring.
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: personverntjenester@nsd.no or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Project Leader

(Researcher/supervisor)

Student

Consent form for parents and guardians

I have received and understood information about the project "Children's and Latino families' perspectives on everyday life in Trondheim – Norway". I have also read a copy of my child's information sheet and consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

- My child's participation is entirely voluntary, and he/she can withdraw it at any time ☐
- I am free to withdraw my child from the project at any time ☐
- My participation is entirely voluntary, and I am free to withdraw it at any time ☐

I give consent to my child:

- to participate in *individual interviews* ☐
- to participate in the elaboration of lists, ranking exercise, group discussions, individual drawings, essays, or life-history and recall exercises. ☐
- for using the transcription of the information about my child and family in later follow- up studies and research, ensuring their anonymity ☐
- for information about my child and family to be published in a way that he/she cannot be recognized or identified, protecting her/his anonymity and my family's. ☐

I give consent:

- to participate in individual interviews ☐
- to participate in the elaboration of lists, group discussions and ranking exercises. ☐
- for using the transcription of the information provided by me about myself, my family and child in later follow-up studies and research ☐
- for publishing the information provided by me about myself, my family and child in a way that I cannot be recognized or identified within my community. ☐

I give consent to take part in this project,

I give consent for my child to take part in this project

…… (Date)…….

Signature of parent or guardian

*This project has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of the Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata (NSD)

Appendix 3: Quotations in Spanish

5.1.

> … Si tuviera que escoger una palabra…sería…. (él busca una palabra para describir a los Latinos) "sociables", porque siempre estamos hablando y hablando, siempre todo eso está… todo el mundo… en Venezuela todo el mundo ahí está en la calle… todo el mundo habla y habla y sí se ven en vez de sólo caminar ahí se ponen a hablar, se paran…
>
> (Salvador, 10)

> Mariana: no sé, por ejemplo, muchas de ellas no son muy… o sea mi mamá le dice a todas "Hola ¿cómo estás?, y ellas "sí, hey, sí hey", no son así… son reservadas y como que, por ejemplo, cuando le dan comida no dicen gracias a veces, por ejemplo, entonces me dicen "oye Mariana - después de mi fiesta de cumpleaños en un restaurante- ¿quienes ganaron puntos?" y es como así como que… ellos le dan unos puntos falsos… como que por su comportamiento y hay una niña que se llama "Clara" y le dije que yo no me imaginaba eso porque esa niña siempre es súper amable… ella siempre dice "Hola ¿cómo estás?", ella no habla español pero siempre lo dice… o sea ella como que siempre gana puntos…siempre saluda, habla, pregunta… entonces es el tipo de personas que, por ejemplo, le gusta a mis papás, sí porque es como mis amigas… pero nosotros hemos hablado sobre esto antes porque mi mamá así como que… los ve como los más cool de mi clase, algo así…
> Interviewer: … ¿los más cool son los más conversadores?
> Mariana: sí, así entonces mi mamá hacía como que…bueno el más cool es Lucas porque él es español y siempre hablaba español con nosotros y después está Clara, porque ella es así como que de los más…
> Interviewer: …sociables
> Mariana: sí, ajá
> Interviewer: y ¿tú crees que a los latinoamericanos nos gusta que la gente sea sociable?
> Mariana: ¡sí, exacto!
>
> (Mariana, 12)

> *Salvador*: Yo me siento como de Latinoamérica… venezolano… porque es que los padres siempre… y como que los noruegos son… o están… si tú le dices "hola" están como que así… (hace gesto de indiferencia)…
> *Interviewer*: ¿y eso te molesta?
> *Salvador*: no me molesta porque es como que yo soy como… soy especial con los noruegos… entonces es como… más divertido no ser como todos… además que es como que… como que sería aburrido si todos fuéramos iguales… para mi si yo fuera noruego para mí sería aburrido… porque ellos siempre no son públicos… no van diciendo "ah hola hola, mira…!"… siempre están como todos así… (imita a alguien asustadi)
> Interviewer: …tímidos…
> *Salvador*: exacto! (Salvador, 10)

Mamá: Ah bueno también… un ratito… este… no sé de he hecho no teníamos amigos latinoamericanos solo conocíamos 2 familias latinoamericanas… pero hace un año fue que vino gente nueva al colegio y se generó un grupo ahí de latinos y se formó claro nosotros o sea…honestamente… lo que nos ha preocupado, últimamente, es que vemos que hay gente muy diferente y claro nos damos cuenta que el punto de unión fue el español… o sea que todos hablan español, incluso hay familias de España, y que en realidad no somos gente que somos afines en todos los sentidos sino que se reunió por el español… entonces, yo en algún momento ya estoy así como… (fastidiada) es como mucho para mi… o sea mucho porque son gente con la que realmente si yo estuviera en mi país no sería amigo de ellos…
Interviewer: … sí también me ha pasado…
Papá:…claro (algo apenado)…necesitas sentirte como en casa…y el idioma ayuda…entonces… te identificas con esa persona pero no serian tus amigos en otras circusntancias
Mamá: … exacto es lo que yo creo…

(Salvador's family)

5.2.

Papá: sí, claro, yo quería quedarme en Venezuela pero las circunstancias no me lo permitieron así que prácticamente la primera opción que salió… pero yo no tenía planteado salir a ninguna parte… a vivir menos…no…
Mamá: …lo que pasa es que las circunstancias en las que nosotros salimos de Venezuela fueron terribles o sea lo que él te dice la opción que saliera… la íbamos a agarrar porque… sigue siendo terrible y nosotros… de hecho nosotros en su momento pensamos "bueno nos vamos un rato a lo mejor la situación mejora"… pero como están las cosas, cada vez está peor, entonces como que…

(Salvador's family)

Papá: …también… hubiera escogido otro país… ahorita quitando a Venezuela, porque al final mi país de origen y es una comparación injusta, entonces quitando Venezuela me costaría encontrar otro país donde me gustaría vivir diferente a este… quizá tengo 2 países que… de repente… bueno un país o ciudad de repente Dubai… podríamos vivir en Dubai y me daría cosas que aquí no tengo y aquí tengo unas cosas que no tengo allá o no tendría y no muchos más honestamente… si trato de buscar algún país no encuentro…no creo que… aquí creo que tenemos cosas que nos dan…que no hay en otro lugar…yo no he sentido la necesidad de regresar a Venezuela, ni creo que en el corto plazo… ahora mismo no no tengo ganas de volver a Venezuela por como están las cosas y tendría que mejorar mucho para realmente cambiar lo que tenemos ahora, lo que hemos conseguido al salir de Venezuela…
Interviewer: …porque… ¿se podría decir que Noruega ofrece, por ejemplo, más oportunidades, ofrece más seguridad, tranquilidad…?
Papá: exactamente al final te dan te dan mucha seguridad…más que allá pero no lo quiero comparar con Venezuela ¿o el ejercicio es así?
Mamá: sí, claro, claro…
Interviewer: claro puede compararlos…
Papá: vale…creo que aquí… creo que en Noruega tenemos que resaltar que nos sentimos seguros, confiados…
Mamá: sí, sí…calidad de vida..que no tienes allá y quizás en muchos otros países…

(Mariana's family)

Mariana: …digo que, de Venezuela, pero después una vez alguien preguntó como… que dónde naciste y yo dije "¡ah!... en los Estados Unidos!"
Interviewer: ¿naciste en Estados Unidos?
Mariana: ajá y entonces pues una vez yo se lo dije y me dijo una amiga "ay por qué le dices tu secreto" y yo, "no es un secreto", ella pensaba que era un secreto y yo… "no" (hace gesto de que le parece absurdo y ríe)
Interviewer: ¿tus papás los 2 son de Venezuela?
Mariana: ¡sí!
Interviewer: …pero si tú naciste en Estados Unidos y has vivido en Venezuela de pequeña… tú por esa razón…o sea…porque has vivido en Venezuela ¿sientes qué eres de ahí?
Mariana: ¡sí! ¡Por supuesto!... nosotros amamos bailar y cantar en reuniones…esas reuniones que hay ¿tú sabes no?... con juegos de mesa… y yo amo hablar español y demostrar que soy de Venezuela en el colegio y también en reuniones con noruegos u otras personas…pero también he aprendido mucho acá de ellos

(Mariana, 12)

Mamá: nosotros viviámos antes en Madrid y me encantó…
Interviewer: A mi también me gustó cuando viví ahí… y ¿por qué te gustó? ¿por el idioma?
Mamá: sí… era como más parecido quizás, más cercano a lo que son mis raíces…sí, quizás no tanto el tema del idioma sino el tema cultural… muy similar al nuestro…quizás me adapté más rápido…aunque acá he logrado… conseguido más cosas que no conseguía allá…sin embargo como ciudad, por ejemplo, lo que ofrece y eso me gustaba más allá… quizás las temperaturas…el hecho de que son condiciones de clima más suaves… el tema del Sol por ejemplo para mí es importantísimo… Madrid tiene cielo azul todos los días a mí me encanta…

(Mariana's mother)

Mamá: nosotros nos hemos adaptado muy bien hasta ahora… Yo creo que quizá podríamos convertirnos en noruegos algún día…
Papá: hmm…hacia el futuro sí… creemos que nos podremos sentir noruegos… nos gusta mucho la cultura que tienen aquí… de que no importa el clima, puede salir solo lo que importa es el tipo de ropa… para mi es eso una cultura… y es algo que hemos aprendido a adaptarnos porque yo estaba antes… por ejemplo "lluvia, entonces yo no voy a salir"
Mamá: …sí… en México llueve…nadie quiere salir
Papá: …lo primero que vimos aquí es es ese tipo de comportamientos… cuando llegamos… ella siempre les ha empujado más de que… hay lluvia y algo, pero bueno, vamos a salir… vamos a ir a pasear, si hay nieve mejor todavía… siento que es una de las principales cosas que más nos ha llamado la atención… la forma en que ellos disfrutan realmente sus paisajes… eso es lo que realmente llama la atención y creemos que si es de las cosas que hemos tomado de ellos…y que así quizá algún día nos sintamos más noruegos quizá cuando sigamos más sus tradiciones…

(Elias' family)

5.3.

Interviewer: … no sé, pero me parece curioso que ustedes… no he visto que hayan puesto, no me he percatado por más de que lo he mirado… que hayan puesto "rubios y blancos" para la columna sobre noruegos (se refiere al ranking tool)
Mariana: …rubios y blancos, sí, ¡ah… no lo usé!
Interviewer: …podías hacerlo solo si querías…
Mariana: claro, sí, no es porque yo quiera ser como que racista o lo que sea, sino que yo sí…o sea… esta niña que es coreana y es medio marrón, no parece Noruega, la única razón por la que es coreana es porque su mamá… los papás reales…su mamá biológica… ellos son coreanos, pero creo que la mamá adoptiva es noruega, la única razón es porque es así, pero yo la vi y dije "esta no es Noruega" solamente por verla y en realidad te sorprende…porque si lo es…
Interviewer: claro, sí como que hay noruegos de todos los colores…
Mariana: …ahora la niña esta la africana tiene cabello, así como que muy rulo, pero, así como bastante rulo y negro como hasta acá y el papá tiene como ojos azules y cabello rubio (duda las palabras) es lo mismo que me pasó con el inglés… (respecto a su duda de palabras)
Interviewer: ajá, no te preocupes…

(Mariana, 12)

6.1.

Vania: …y también pues lo que yo conozco… según lo que yo supongo, los noruegos no… simplemente es como que les mandan a hacer algo y ellos deciden si lo hacen o no lo hacen, en cambio, mi mamá me dice "haz esto" y es como que yo si no lo hago me estreso. No digas que no hago las cosas que tengo (dirigiéndose a su mamá)…
Mamá: no, yo no voy a decir, pero qué es eso que no les dicen que hagan las cosas, los noruegos no les dicen que hagan las cosas, yo tengo tres hijos noruegos porque a ellos tres veces tienes que pedirle… (algo enojada)
Vania: no, tampoco, tú me dices tal cosa y yo lo hago de una vez porque es para dejarte esperando y que después se me olvide… que después se me olvide y que me lo repitas me fastidia entonces por eso…

(Vania, 16)

Interviewer: Ahora, por ejemplo… ¿ustedes continúan haciendo ese plato (Hallacas) acá? ¿Todos participan?
Mariana: ¡sí! …pero como eso es tan poquito y yo he visto un video de mi primo que dice que primero se ponen las aceitunas…con un delantal y todo y yo lo vi con mi mamá, pero sí…
Interviewer: Aww ¡qué bonito! Y ¿hay alguna cosa que ustedes quisieran hacer acá… que ustedes hacían en Venezuela y en España…algo que extrañen? O… ¿simplemente se han adaptado a lo que hay acá y están bien con eso?
Mariana: la comida, por ejemplo, nosotros hacemos arepas, pero como que hay que ir al centro para encontrar esa harina, harina PAN…
Interviewer: …en Rema encuentras también esa harina…
Marianai: Ah, pero es que… es que no sé lo que cuesta porque en una cuesta como 56… y en otra cuesta como €4, igualmente no sé cuándo mi mamá va, pero siempre tenemos, nunca se acaba y también la hoja de plátano, estaba bastante rota y no estaba buena…

Interviewer: y a pesar de eso… ¿a ti te gustaría seguir manteniendo esas tradiciones?
Marianai: ¡sí!

(Mariana, 12)

6.2.

Mariana: no, la verdad que no, aquí no, pero a veces la gente lo hace sin saber, en atletismo no siempre me hablan porque no hablan inglés. Hay una niña que no habla inglés y yo no hablaba noruego y ella dice que somos amigas y como que no sé cómo es que somos amigas, pero una vez yo llegué tarde y me dijo "¡hola! qué tal?" y por ejemplo ella hace algo y nos reímos… no hablamos…pero no sé cómo somos amigas sin hablar, somos amigas que como en mi otro grupo yo era la única en la mayoría de los… entonces ahora es un grupo de mayores y son unas niñas mayores de 10º grado que son súper amables, que yo siempre yo las veo y me sonríen…
Interviewer: …una sonrisa amistosa… o sea ¿crees que si hablaras tú noruego o ellas inglés sería como que más fácil hacer amigos?
Mariana: sí, sí…y también depende de la personalidad

(Mariana, 12)

Mamá: Nosotros nos hemos vuelto más flexible sobre todo con Mariana…bueno también por la edad porque está más grande tiene como la libertad de que ella ya puede salir con sus amigas al centro comercial porque bueno yo me siento tranquila también acá, sé que no le va a pasar nada… no muchas cosas…claro pero por ejemplo allá en Venezuela no me dejaban a mí a esa edad…entonces es algo como que te flexibilizas un poco porque dices "bueno aquí no le va a pasar nada"… de repente ella va a un curso de atletismo y ella va y agarra el bus y se va sola… o de repente se regresa del colegio algún día sí yo no puedo ir a buscarla… se viene caminando sola… son cosas que creo que hemos tratado de adaptar…
Papá: …es un tema de dar libertades… porque entendemos que la sociedad aquí es distinta y permite esas libertades pero yo diría que no hemos tratado, no hemos cambiado el mensaje que intentamos inculcar a través de cómo nos manejamos dentro de la casa…
Interviewer: … o sea ¿ustedes básicamente lo que quieren es transmitirle los valores o la forma en que ustedes fueron educados?
Ambos padres: sí, sí…
Interviewer: ¿porque son cosas importantes para ustedes?
Mamá: claro…sí, te parece que está bien digamos… hay cosas que quizás no estuviste de acuerdo pero tratas de adaptarla… digamos quizás no la cultura de acá pero de acuerdo a lo que vas aprendiendo, a como van cambiando las metodologías de enseñanza a los niños y todo eso…entonces bueno tratas como que de mezclar lo que tú aprendiste, lo bueno de eso, y lo adaptar a tu propio… sí… a lo que estás viviendo también… pero no necesariamente a la cultura de acá…

(Mariana's family)

Papá: … otra cosa que hemos visto aquí es que los niños desde pequeños se van solos a la escuela…
Interviewer: ¿ustedes lo mandan solo?
Papá: normalmente no lo hago porque se supone que mi trabajo queda muy cerca pero ha habido ocasiones en las que él se ha ido solo y si lo ha hecho bien… en Mexico nunca me lo hubiera imaginado…que saliera solo, que tomara su autobús y todo y que perfectamente entendió su ruta…que tenía que cruzar ciertas calles para llegar y llegó perfecto…y hace un par de días algo similar estaba en el autobus y le dije "bájate aquí"… y se fue…
Interviewer: ahh… ¿te gusta ir solo al colegio o prefieres ir con tu papá?
Elias: …prefiero ir con mi papá…no me gusta ir solo porque con mi papá… (risa nerviosa)
Mamá: como que con todo…eso es a lo que aún no se ha acostumbrado…como que ha estar solo y soltarse…

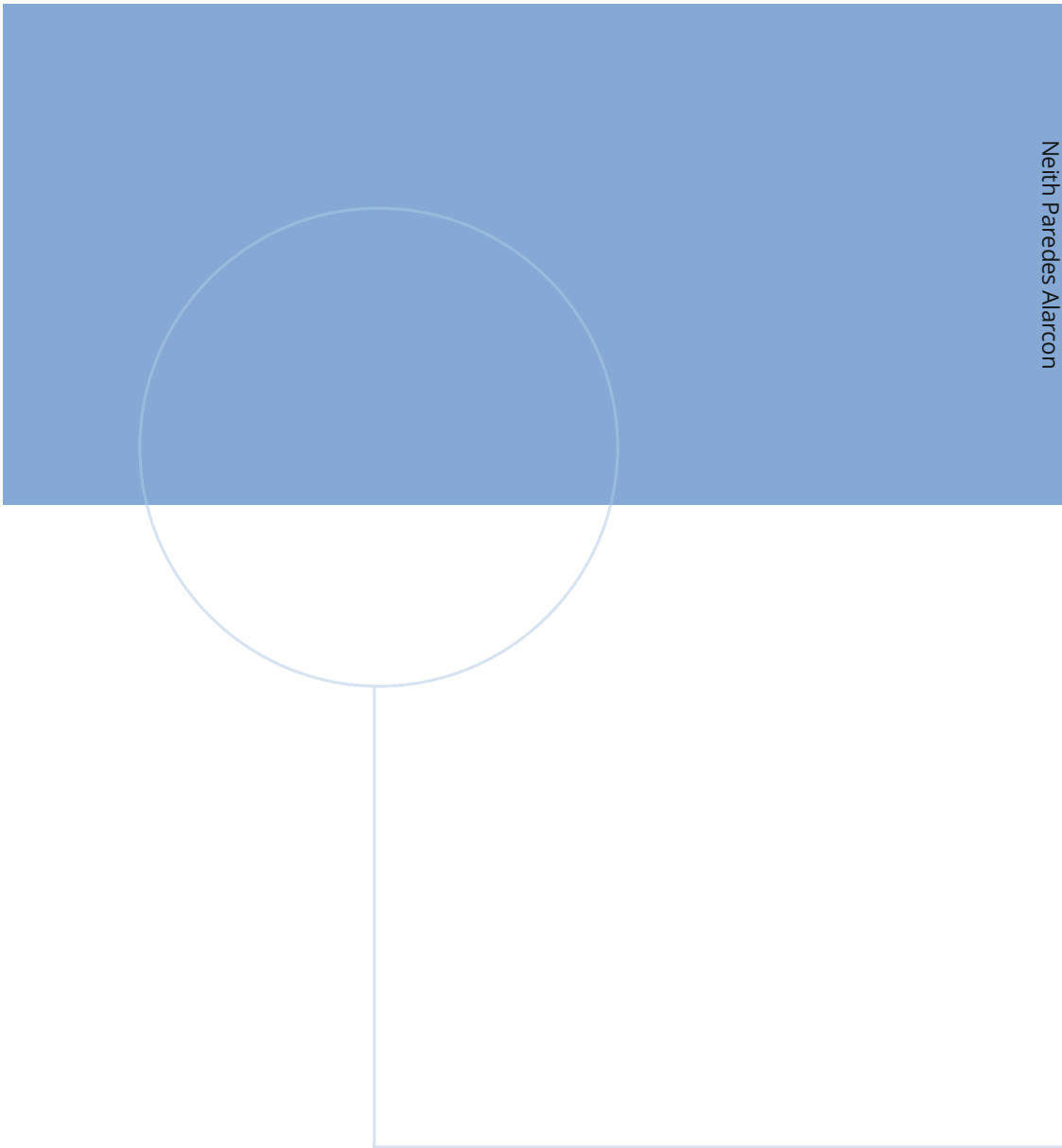
(Elias' family)

Vania: por lo menos yo, personalmente, en cuanto a la religión y todo eso… o sea no, no, para mi no va con lo de la religión y todo eso, pero en cuanto a la sexualidad, por ejemplo, mis padres piensan que una mujer tiene que ser señorita…
Mamá: ¿ah?
Vania: …que tiene que ser respetada, que… que no puede andar de aquí para allá…
Mamá: no, no…lo de señorita no, pero sí, una mujer debe tener cierto comportamiento… y una mujer nada más no, toda… todo ser humano, hombre, mujer, niño, niña
Vania: lo digo en base a cosas que han pasado y discusiones que hemos tenido
Interviewer: …y ¿tú crees que para ti eso no es importante?
Vania: yo considero que la mujer y el hombre son lo mismo o sea que, porque un hombre va y (perdona si…) … pero si un hombre va y se t**** a cinco mujeres, por qué una mujer no puede hacer lo mismo…
Mother: yo pienso igual que tú…
Interviewer: ah, tienen un punto en común
Mother: yo pienso igual que tú y… todos deben de tener respeto por sí mismos y por los demás y deben darse su lugar. Lo que pasa es que vivimos en una sociedad machista
Vania: si, por ejemplo, ella lo ve como si tú haces esto, te van a ver mal, pero yo hablaba
como si yo hago esto… me vale v****...

(Vania, 16)

Elias: Bueno niñas y niños son diferentes (muy convencido)
Interviewer: ya y ¿por qué son diferentes?
Elias: un bebé se convierte en un niño, un niño en un hombre, las bebés que son niñas se convierten en mujeres…
Interviewer: entonces ¿cuál es básicamente la diferencia entre hombre y mujer?
Elias: que tienen diferentes cosas (se refiere a lo físico)

(Elias, 8)



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