

Yu Huang

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

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Yu Huang

The Family on the Way: Social Inclusion Experience of Chinese Migrant Families in Norway

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Childhood Studies

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Supervisor: Ida Marie Lyså

Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Department of Education and Lifelong Learning

Abstract

This study attempts to explore the social inclusion experience of Chinese migrant parents and children in Norway, with a focus on the intergenerational relationship as the main key aspect. It also enhances understanding between two diverse cultures and societies, China and Norway. This study uses concepts and theories from migration research and psychology to guide the analysis and to associate with the methodology, together with concepts of children's agency and generational order from childhood studies.

A total of six families (eight children and nine parents) participated in the study and the children age ranged from eight to eighteen years. This study uses qualitative research methods including neighborhood walk and household visits, drawing, and semi-structured interviews to explore the understanding of participants' social inclusion experience. More specifically, this study seeks to find out the new challenges in the migrant parents and children's everyday lives, such as language barriers, climate differences, food habits and traditional festivals, education experiences of migrant children and working experiences of migrant parents, friendship, and network; their coping strategies when they faced with the challenges; the relationship between parents and children and how migration impact on their relationship.

The research findings indicate that family migration faces new challenges in the destination country, but it also severely impacts intergenerational relationships. It also includes the unique situation of Norwegian-born children of Chinese immigrants or Chinese-born children who faced challenges and lack of contact with local culture and community, which I describe as the "Chinese island in Norway". The results in this Master project reveal evidence of intergenerational transmission of emotional closeness, conflict and ambivalence. However, it also identifies the significant changes in parenting styles that have taken place in migrant family life and new perceptions of the traditional notion of filial expectation regarding intergenerational relationships in China from children's perspectives.

Dedication

To my dear husband, Bo and lovely son, Qin.

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Throughout the writing of this Master thesis, I have received so much support and assistance from the following people:

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The following text presents one of the families I have met in the fieldwork:

Recently, Lily(mother) has been satisfied with her son's (Kim) contribution to the household work and family business. Although Kim still spent less interest in communicating with his parents, Lily felt it is enough and convinced herself that "This is because Kim is a boy, and he is shy to talk". Kim said that he had a great passion for computer science. However, from Kim's parent's perspective, they believed that he only wants to play computer games in daily life. After migrating to Norway, Lily found that his son had become a "screen boy". But Kim refused this stereotype by Lily and asserted that "I love computer when I was young before moving to Norway." Kim experienced childhood in China and adolescence in Norway, which has shaped the unique Kim. Meanwhile, Lily also experienced the different daily life between China and Norway, especially the changing in the parent-child relationship. The different understandings of each other sometimes create conflicts in the migrant families.

The fieldwork in Kim's family reminded me of when I first decided to choose this topic about Chinese migration families in Norway. 5 years ago, I visited my family relatives, the first-generational migrants, who lived in Bergen (the second biggest city in Norway) more than 20 years. It was my first time meeting my two cousins who looked Chinese but can only understand a little Chinese dialect. However, they can speak Norwegian and English fluently. They have learned neither any Chinese culture nor Mandarin in their life. One of my cousins showed great curiosity about China and asked me to translate the newly Chinese TV program for him as he does not understand any Mandarin. Because of the language barrier among us, during the dinner, everyone at the table has to speak English to show respect to each other. After dinner, my aunt told me the difficulty that her children encountered when they try to learn Chinese culture and Mandarin in Norway. This special dinner experience impressed me, and the idea of doing a research on the "transnational family" arouse in my brain since then.

Transnational Chinese families have been largely researched as those families from China migrating to North America and Britain (Lee, Chan, Bradby, & Green, 2002; Waters, 2005). Generally, these types of families are described as "Family with parachute kids", which term refers to education-centered families with children migration arrangement and reflects that children live alone in a new country or live with a caregiver (Zhou, 1998). In contrast, the family considered in this project is that Chinese parents live in Norway while their children accompany with them, or their children born in Norway. Compared to the previous families, the whole families in this project have experienced new cultures and society.

I have several years of counseling experiences based on my social work background, which provided me with a better understanding of psychology. After studying childhood studies, I would like to conduct this Master thesis utilizing an interdisciplinary perspective. This thesis provided new research insight into family migrant research and childhood studies. Tatlow-Golden and Montgomery (2021, p. 3) stated that "Childhood studies is a

dynamic and still-going subject". In this study, theories and concepts not only come from migration research and childhood studies but also come from psychology.

1.2 The Problem Statements

The decision to migrate to new countries is not lightly made for migrants who will experience the new culture and language in unknown environments. The reality of family migration presents challenges to all family members, both parents and children. The challenges include not only the difficulties of inclusion and adaptation in the destination countries but also changes in the daily family life. The sense of identities and belonging is important for parents and children. Apparently, the family environment is developed in two cultures that can result in both advantages and disadvantages for children's development. The understanding of ethnic cultural values is beneficial for migrant children's academic and psychological adjustment in new countries (Wu & Chao, 2011). Although the intergenerational relationship shares common value cross different culture, such as love, support and communication (Chao, 1995), the Norwegian culture typically demonstrates the open communication and independent relationship between parents and children (Proctor, Roch, Breidenstein, & Forsey, 2020). However, Chinese culture emphasized the reciprocal qualities of the intergenerational relationship (Li, 2013). Parents should take care of their young children with parental sacrifices, and the children have filial obligations that is "an intricate part of the general Confucian requirement to become a virtuous person" (Li, 2014, p.105). However, the positive intergenerational relationship also is influenced by parents and children's social inclusion experience in daily life. Therefore, I would like to explore the daily experience of Chinese migration families and how these experiences influence on the intergenerational relationship.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study attempts to explore the social inclusion experience of Chinese parents and children in Norway, with focusing on intergenerational relationships as the primary key aspect. This project also enhances understanding between two diverse cultures and societies, China and Norway. Parents and children's conceptions of parent-child relationship may consist of different dimensions and cultural meanings. The major concern of this study is to find out what challenges exist for Chinese parents and children in order to be integrated into Norwegian society. Beside, finding out what factors may influence those challenges and to exploring the way how migrant parents and children face the challenges in the new society.

To acquire above research aims, this study objectives are:

- Identifying how children experience of social inclusion in various areas (education, friendship and social activities etc.) and how does these experience relates to intergenerational relationship
- identifying how parent experience inclusion in Norway from their personal affairs (job-seeking, raising children and social activities etc.) and how it relates to intergenerational relationship
- Exploring the inclusion strategies chosen by migrant family's members

This project will use semi-structured, in-depth interview with the aim of understanding parents and children's narratives of their social inclusion experiences in Norway and the explanation of the changes in intergenerational relationship. In addition, drawing and sentence completion as research tools will be used in this project, which could help

children to express their experience, providing a different insight into the situations they exist. In order to approach the research objectives, the transnationalism theory from migration research understands Chinese migrant families in two different cultural contexts, the acculturation theory reflects the gap between parents and children after migration, the theory of intergenerational ambivalence and generation order describe the relationship between parents and children, the concept of social identity and belonging explain the personal emotional experience.

1.4 Research Questions

In this study, my overall aim is: *In which ways do Chinese parents and/or children experience their new life in Norway?*

This overall aim can also be divided into following questions:

1. In which ways do children experience moving to a new country with parents or grow up in Norwegian society and how does this transition influence the intergenerational relationship?

2. In which ways do parents experience moving to Norway, how does living in a new cultural context impact on their perceptions of child rearing in intergenerational relationship?

3. Which coping strategies do migrant parents and children adopt when they face the challenge relating to culture, identity and generational difference?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Previous family migration research rarely focuses and analysis the experience of children during the research process (Penn & Lambert, 2009). Generally, children are viewed as vulnerable and need protection or caring from reliable adult, especially in migration process. Whereas in fact, it is argued that children's agency can be understood and developed by their responses to the environment (Qvortrup, 2009, p.24). The children are viewed as social actors, and they have right to express their voice in research. Therefore, I would like to explore their agency as children to cope with daily life in two different cultures.

This study presents not only the daily experience of parents and children, but also offers new insights into the intergenerational relationships in Chinese migrant families exposing to in two different cultures (Chinese and Norwegian). In the context of Chinese migrants in Norway, Chinese families is the third largest Asian subgroup in Norway (Østby, 2013)with apparently growth rate in recent years. However, the previous literature lacks both parents and children's perspectives in the discussion of intergenerational transfer, especially for Chinese migrant families in Norway. Therefore, this project will explore how the parent-child relationship changes or influence by Norwegian culture during the daily experience in this migration family.

1.6 Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of seven chapters. The first chapter introduces the background of the transnational migration family and the reason for the choice of this topic. In addition, this chapter also elaborate research aims and question, and also the significance of the study.

The second chapter presents the profile of China and the study area in Norwegian context.

The chapter three describes the theoretical perspectives and framework, which provides a solid foundation of this thesis's analysis and finding.

The chapter four discusses the sampling method and the data collection and analysis. Besides the ethical issues and possible challenge in this study are highlighted.

The empirical part of the study is covered in chapter five. This chapter presents and discusses the data collecting through the field work. Challenges faced by children and/or parents after migrating to Norway are shown, which includes the experience of social inclusion in Norway with focusing on cultural habits, climates, friendship, and daily life in school/workplace. It also includes the strategies adopted by children and parents, which for coping with new life in Norway. Following this, the chapter six presents the impact of migration on the intergenerational relationship in Chinese migrant family, for example, hybrid parenting style and different filial expectation occurs after migration. Those also lead to ambivalence of relationship between children and parents.

The last chapter ends with a summary of this thesis and concluding remarks. At first it returns to the research objectives, theoretical framework, and the methodology. Then, it highlights the finding from the fieldwork. Finally, this chapter also presents my own reflection during the research practices and future work of the practice.

2 Country Profile and Research Context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the background of the study which concludes the profile of China and the research field in Norwegian context. It starts with introduction of China, including geography, economic development, education and childhood in China, and then provides the reasons of Chinese migrants to other countries. The one-child policy and intergenerational relationship in China are also introduced. In addition, a brief description of Norway, at where this study was conducted, is given at the end of this chapter. Such as Norwegian welfare, education and childhood in Norway, the intergenerational relationship in Norway and the situation of Chinese migrants in Norway. In all, these aspects are important to understand how the social, cultural structure and policies impact Chinese immigrant children and their families in Norway.

2.2 The Brief Description of China

China is situated in eastern Asia, on the Pacific Ocean’s western shore. It covers a massive physical region of 9.6 million square kilometers and is home to nearly 1.4 billion people(Statista, 2021). Beijing is the capital city of China, which is also economic, cultural and communications center of the country. China has 34 administrative units, including 23 provinces (including Taiwan), 5 autonomous regions, 4 municipalities (Chongqing, Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin), 2 special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macau) and all of which are directly under the central government (See Figure 1).



Figure 1 Map of People’s Republic of China (PRC)¹

The geography of China is extremely diverse, with plains, rivers, and hills in the east and plateaus, mountains, and deserts in the west. China’s climate is also diverse. The climate in the south is tropical, with high temperatures and humidity, whereas the climate in the northeast is subarctic, with dryness and coldness. The diversity not only presents in

¹ Source from: <https://zh.maps-china-cn.com/>, access date 11th,May 2022

geography, but the development of cultural, social and economical factors also exhibits as well. It will discuss more in the following sections in this chapter.

2.2.1 Economic Development and Demographic Transition of China

The economic development of China in the past four decades can be divided into two periods: the pre-reform era (before 1978) and the post-reform era (after 1978). Deng Xiaoping chose in 1978 to embark on an economic reform to change the planned economy (pre-1978) into a market economy. China’s economy has evolved from a closed system with a centrally planned, government-controlled market to one with more open commerce and a flexible production structure over the decades. During this post-reform period, Chinese government opened to foreign trade and investment. This reform has resulted in significant economic growth and unprecedented changes in China. For example, China began to experience high GDP growth rates, with an average annual GDP growth rate of around 10% even throughout the financial crisis of 2007/2008 (Yueh, 2013). In 2021, China’s recovery from COVID-19 has been swift, making it the only major economy to reach positive growth in 2020. China experienced 2.3 percent real GDP growth in 2020, aided by the suppression of the COVID-19 outbreak since March 2020, and supported by supportive banking and fiscal policies and resilient exports (Bank, 2021) (See Figure 2).

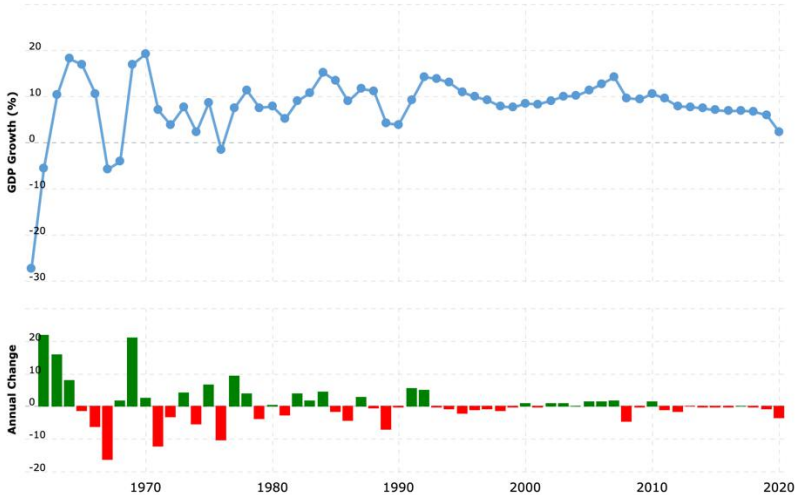


Figure 2 China GDP Growth Rate 1961-2021: (Macrotrends, 2021)

Along with the rapid economic growth resulted from the economic reform, the standard of living and employment rate of the Chinese people has also increased. However, the economic development of China is different between rural and urban area. Understanding the shifting nature of rural and urban is important to understand the labor market in China. Rural-urban segregation was introduced in 1958 and used to erect a household registration system called “hukou” – every Chinese must registered at birth in the birth place whether they held rural household or urban household (Meng, 2012). Comparing to urban area, collectively owned rural community provided limited health, education and employment opportunities. After 1978 economic reform, the growing urbanization demands more labor in coastal cities, while the technological agricultural releases more rural labor in the west, leading the demographic transition in China (Yang, 2014). For example, although in the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in China, the number of rural laborer work in urban area is 285.6 million in 2020 (N. B. o. Statistics, 2021).

In all, the development of economic policies and the “*hukou*” system contributes to the foundation of condition for increasing adult Chinese migrants to moving across cities or border, while some immigrant children had the experience of “left-behind children”² in the rural areas before migrating to Norway with their parents.

2.2.2 The Influence on Family Expectation by One Child Policy

China’s one child only policy was introduced in 1979, which aims at limiting family size to one child. Exemptions were possible under certain circumstances, according to the policy. Couples who live in rural areas or who are members of a minority group are two examples of exempted groups that may be allowed to have more than one child, particularly if the first child is a girl. Although the one child policy was officially terminated in October 2015, the one child generation results in “three-members nuclear family” in most areas in China, which also influences the family structure. The Chinese “three-members nuclear family” was conventionally considered a product of the stem family. Traditionally, when son marries and lives with the parents, the other children live in another place (Guo, 1995). However, the one child policy restricts the ideal Chinese family structure that three generations (grandparents, parents and children) of the same family live under one roof. The family structure also showed the continued shrinking in Chinese household size (Hu & Peng, 2015). In addition, the traditional family interaction also changes to simple that three members family comprise a triangle, with the result that interaction is intense and close (Feng, 1992). In other words, more conflict may occur in the nuclear family.

Generally, conflict is connected with expectations across generation in the family. The one child Chinese families expect higher from their child contribution to the family because parents have heavy investment when child are young. The expectation enables every Chinese child to achieve success, while it works as a way to fulfill their filial duties (Fong, 2002). Filial piety, this norm in China traditionally defined as one of “Confucian virtue” requiring adult children to fulfill elderly parent’s practical and looking after their emotional well-being; it also requiring high level of obedience and respect from the younger to the older generation during daily life.

Chinese parents encourage their children to attain academic success in everyday life because they believe that it is vital for their children’s success in today’s competitive environment. Another key ancient Chinese idea was that children should be raised for the security of the elderly and the continuation of a patriarchal line (Ning, 1995). However, the One-child policy has produced a new reality in which a couple has just one child to support and care later in life, challenging traditional child-rearing practices. Thus, the family expectation strongly associates with the one-child policy because one-child’s successful means that adult parents can receive more supports when they are old.

In all, the impact of One-Child policy on family expectation provides the background to understand the family expectation of Chinese migrant families, especially for only one child in the family, although they may live in destination country.

² The definitions are various, some view children under sixteen as left-behind children (留守儿童), some adapt compulsory education as the range, and some extend the age until eighteen (Ye, 2011). It means that children stay at home with grandparents or caregivers in rural areas, while their parents migrate to cities for work.

2.2.3 Education and Childhood in China

In China, the education system can be divided into three types: basic education, higher education, and adult education. The basic education includes pre-school education (three years), primary education (six years, usually starting at the age of six) and secondary education (six years). The *Gaokao* (高考) is the most important exam for every Chinese students after 12 years' education, which is taken in their final year of high school in early June. Generally, this exam is described as "thousands of soldiers and tens of thousands of horses across a single log bridge (千军万马过独木桥)." It means that *Gaokao* is a strong competition for every Chinese student, which requires all students contribute the best to achieve the highest academic score in order to enroll a good university. This sentence is normally used in the school by teachers or talked by parents in every Chinese student's daily life. Thus, Chinese students have to prepare for "Gaokao" exam early at school in order to enroll their dream and top universities in the future. The length of the school day in Chinese student's life is dramatically longer than European children, especially for Norwegian children.

Time	Content
6:25	Breakfast
6:45	Exercise
7:00-7:15	Cleaning
7:25-7:45	Morning Reading
7:50-8:30	First lesson
8:40-9:20	Second lesson
9:30-10:10	Third lesson
	Exercise
10:35-11:15	Fourth lesson
11:25-12:05	Fifth lesson
13:00-14:00	Lunch break
14:15-14:55	Sixth lesson
	Setting up exercise
15:10-15:50	Seventh lesson
16:00-16:40	Eighth lesson
16:50-17:30	Ninth lesson
19:15-20:30	Evening session1
20:45-22:00	Evening session2

Figure 3 A Day in Chinese student's life at high school, made by author

Childhood for many Chinese children is a never-ending conveyor belt of extracurricular classes and tutors, as well as an expensive time management nightmare for parents, putting many off the concept of larger families. Comparing families with two or three children, the one-child parents are easier be encouraged by others to invest more, because these parents only have chance to invest one child. Parents' concerns about their children's academic futures have spurred a multibillion-dollar tutoring and cram

school business³ in China (Souhu, 2021). China's state council has published the strict policy on 23 July 2021 that prohibit after-school tutoring services on weekends or during holidays (Souhu, 2021). The new rules purposes of reducing the workload for both students from kindergarten to Grade 9 and their parents and also try to improve basic education quality.

The education opportunities are different for children from rural and urban area in China, especially for migrant rural children in big cities. This study only discusses the basic education in China, which is a state-run system. Every Chinese citizen must attend public school for at least nine years with receiving funding supporting from government. However, children study at the state-operated schools, which means that students should embrace local household registration and must live in areas within the school district (Yang, 2014). If students don't have local household registration, they have to take exam in order to enroll private school with high tuition fees. Although some rural migrant worker's school opens for children without urban household registration, the educational conditions of this type of school are different from other state-operated school because they only receive limited funding. It means that the migrant children receive less educational resources at school.

In sum, this section provides the basic knowledge for readers to understand the education and childhood situation of Chinese migrants, especially for children who have born and grow up in China. In other words, the childhood and education in China also impact the understanding of destination country between adult parents and young children. Thus, the unique intergenerational relationship in China should be highlighted in the following section to describe the general background of family relationship in China.

2.2.4 Reciprocal Intergenerational Relationship and Confucianism

The intergenerational relationship generally can be divided into two periods of family life cycle: (1) the relationship between parents and minor children (the age under 18) – concentrate on child rearing issues. (2) the relationship between adult children and elderly parents – concentrate on elder care. This study focuses on the intergenerational relationship in the first period, although the reciprocal as a unique characteristic into the intergenerational relationship in Chinese culture (Li, 2014). Parents should take care their young children with parental sacrifices, while the children have filial obligations that is "an intricate part of the general Confucian requirement to become a virtuous person" (Li, 2014, p.105). In other words, children should listen to and respect parents in daily life.

In ancient agricultural Chinese societies, generations are cohesive through reciprocal relationships, and it is through the exchange of nurturing and support that intergenerational equilibrium is achieved, which is what Fei Xiaotong calls the reciprocal model (Fei, 1983). This reciprocal model is made possible by the control of resources by the father's generation and the commonality of interests that exists between generations. The experienced parents understand more information than children in the traditional societies. The traditional Confucian filial duties also require children to respect and serve their parents, and it can become submissive obey the decision by parents, including education or marriage (Li, 2014). However, in modern societies, the family resources have been changed to more controlled in or tilted toward the hands of the offspring

³ Cram school business means that private organizations provide the large number of materials for students to study in a short period of time.

(Shen,2010). For example, Chinese parents control their expenses on own needs or social activities in order to save money for their children or grandchildren's college tuition. Because the parents view education as the best path for children to get future upward mobility (Fuligni & Yoshikawa, 2004). Although the concept of filial piety, centered on treating parents well, is still highly affirmed among youth population (Liu, 2012), the children learn faster than parents and receive more information by Internet in this new society. Thus, the traditional intergenerational relationship in China has been questioned by the social change and foster new type to response the changing family relationship (Yan, 2006).

2.2.5 Causes of Chinese Emigration and Destination Country

Before 1978, mainland China was forced to implement the lockdown policy, and only limited foreign trade was conducted through Hong Kong (Zhuang, 2006). Zhuang (2006) has stated that the reason of Chinese emigration after 1978 can be explained by two perspectives as the change of migration policy by developed western countries and policy reform in China – the lower level of economic development in the emigrating country causes pressure for survival and employment, and the higher level of economic development and income in the destination country creates a pulling force.

On the one hand, the economic reform policy has led to a new period of rapid development of abroad activities for the population in China. After 1978, mainland China adopted an economic reform policy, allowing its citizens to leave the country for private purposes and even to emigrate abroad. This policy promotes the migration of people from mainland China to overseas in many areas, such as education, business investment, family reunification and skilled labor. For example, the number of Chinese students studying abroad grew in 2016, with China becoming the world's largest exporter of students(Wang & Miao, 2016). The main destination countries for new Chinese immigrants continue to be the traditional immigration countries, such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The total number of Chinese who obtained permanent residency in these four countries in 2012 was a total of 148,000 (Wang & Liu, 2014).

One the other hand, the migration policy of developed western countries has changed to accept excellent talents from other countries and provided better conditions for high skilled labor with the economic development, especially for Chinese students. As an example, the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992, which allowed Chinese students who were in the U.S. from June 5, 1989 to April 11, 1990 to apply for permanent residency (Zhang, 2007). Thus, 49,000 Chinese students and 20,000 family members of Chinese students were granted permanent residency in the United States (Zhang, 2007).

In all, in this section, I have demonstrated shortly about the reasons of Chinese emigration and the choice of destination country. This contributes to the foundation background of Chinese migrants through two aspects. Although Norway is not main destination country for Chinese migrants, what kind of Norwegian factors attract them? In order to answer this question, next section will introduce the study area of Norwegian context, such as the welfare regimes, education and childhood and situation of Chinese migrants in Norway.

2.3 The Study Area in Norwegian Context

Norway is a country located in Northern Europe with an extensive range of natural variation and is a home with 5.4 million people (SSB, 2021c). The climate is various in Norway from southern part to northern part, the southern area views as the summer paradise while the northern area is best known as the northern light place with all darkness in winter. There are 11 counties and 428 municipalities (Andreassen, 2013) in Norway. After the first oil finding in the North Sea in 1969 (Andreassen, 2013), the Norwegian economy growth is significantly boosted by Petroleum activities. Norway is one of the highest GDP entity with low unemployment and high labor market participation of both gender in Europe – oil, public services, trade, industry are the main contributors to GDP (Byfuglien & Stensrud, 2002). The Petroleum industries create thousands of jobs for Norwegian, while it also looks for more unskilled worker with different backgrounds (Ødegård & Andersen, 2021). Thus, Norway is characterized as a safety, stable and wealth country that attract many immigrants from different countries. The numbers of immigrant with family member in Norway have been growing rapidly in the last forty years (Østby, 2013). In 2013, the number of populations raised 1.3% than previous years population in Norway, which is accounting for 72% immigrants of this growth (Andreassen, 2013). In addition, Norway is being a secular country, which means that it claims to be officially neutral regarding religion and welcome all religions, including immigrants' faith. Although the church of Norway is Lutheran, the Catholicism and other Christian groups are also widely practiced, while the Islam is one of the largest religions in Norway (SSB, 2021a).

Regarding the welfare policies, Norway as a representation of Nordic countries, which have efficient and well-regulated public sectors in the world, sharing the equal opportunities and benefits, safety environment and social right for every citizen. The stable welfare regimes provide the foundation of individualism, which refers as a culture values that emphasize the individual' s right and self-realization (Toikko & Rantanen, 2020). The meaning of "self" is important for every Norwegian citizen to express their personal opinions, including the children's voice. Nevertheless, children in Norway achieve a good situation compared with children in most other countries in Europe or in the world (Leira, Saraceno, Enjolras, & Sivesind, 2008). The situation of children also reflects the situation of relationship between parents and children in Norway, which emphasizes more openly communication and interaction.

2.3.1 Norwegian Welfare Policies Attract Immigrants

Norway has always been a largely ethnically and culturally homogenous country. Since the establishment of social organizations, gender equality and equal treatment have become fundamental foundations for gaining support and credibility in Norwegian politics. The concepts of inclusion and equality have been viewed as the paramount under the leadership of the Labor Party (Horst, Carling, & Ezzati, 2010). The important goal for the integration policy in Norway by the Norwegian ministry of children equality and social inclusion (Norwegian ministry of education, 2012) is to ensure that inhabitants live in Norway are equal to access to the social resources and participate in the community, regardless of their cultural, ethnic background and gender. In 2016, the white paper *From reception centre to the labour market – an effective integration policy* focus on helping newly-arrived immigrants with refugee backgrounds to find jobs or start education more quickly in order to enter the employment market in Norway.

Norway represents one of Nordic countries and reflect the welfare policies in the unique Nordic welfare model – high taxes, universal social services and substantial support, significant investment in health and education, and work with good payment. High taxes are viewed as a mechanism that supports equal opportunities and whole system operation. In Norway, the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) managed the welfare system since 2006, which administers a third of the national budget (NAV, 2019). It provides unemployment benefit, work assessment allowance, sickness benefit, pensions, child benefit and cash-for-care benefit. For example, during the work life, every employee contributes 37.5 hours working per week with 5 weeks' vacation with full pay per year, while they receive old age pension after age of 67 years (NAV, 2022) . Regarding parental benefits, both parents can apply for 49 weeks off at full pay or 59 weeks off at 80% pay (NAV, 2022). The significant investment in health services or education by Norwegian government in order to form of a healthy and well-educated workforce. Until the child reaches the age of 18, all Norwegian families are entitled to child benefits. Education covers from pre-primary (childcare) to secondary school, and tertiary education with free tuition supported by various funding and loan schemes, which will be introduced more details in the next section.

2.3.2 Education and Childhood in Norway

By the end of 2013, 14.9% of the total population in Norway were immigrants or Norwegian-born to immigrant parents (SSB, 2021b). The daycare is available for all children who are age after 1 year old, while on average 92.8% of the 1-5 years old attend kindergarten part-time or all day (SSB, 2021c). The proportion of children with background of immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents in kindergarten has increased from 5% in 1998 to more than 14% in 2014 (Dzamarija, 2016). The services of daycare also provide good resources for immigrant children who can learn Norwegian before starting compulsory school in Norway.

The structure of the Norwegian education system consists of kindergartens (children who reach the age of one to five), primary education and lower secondary education (ages 6 - 15 and grades 1- 10), upper secondary education (ages 16-19 and Advanced Course 1-3), higher education and training for adults (Figure 4). School is compulsory for ten years, while the young people have right to attend high school for three years to enroll university or to enroll post-secondary vocational education. Each year, more than 60,000 children enroll the school (direktoratet, 2019). This system is aimed at keeping as many young Norwegian complete high schools as possible to prepare for future societies.

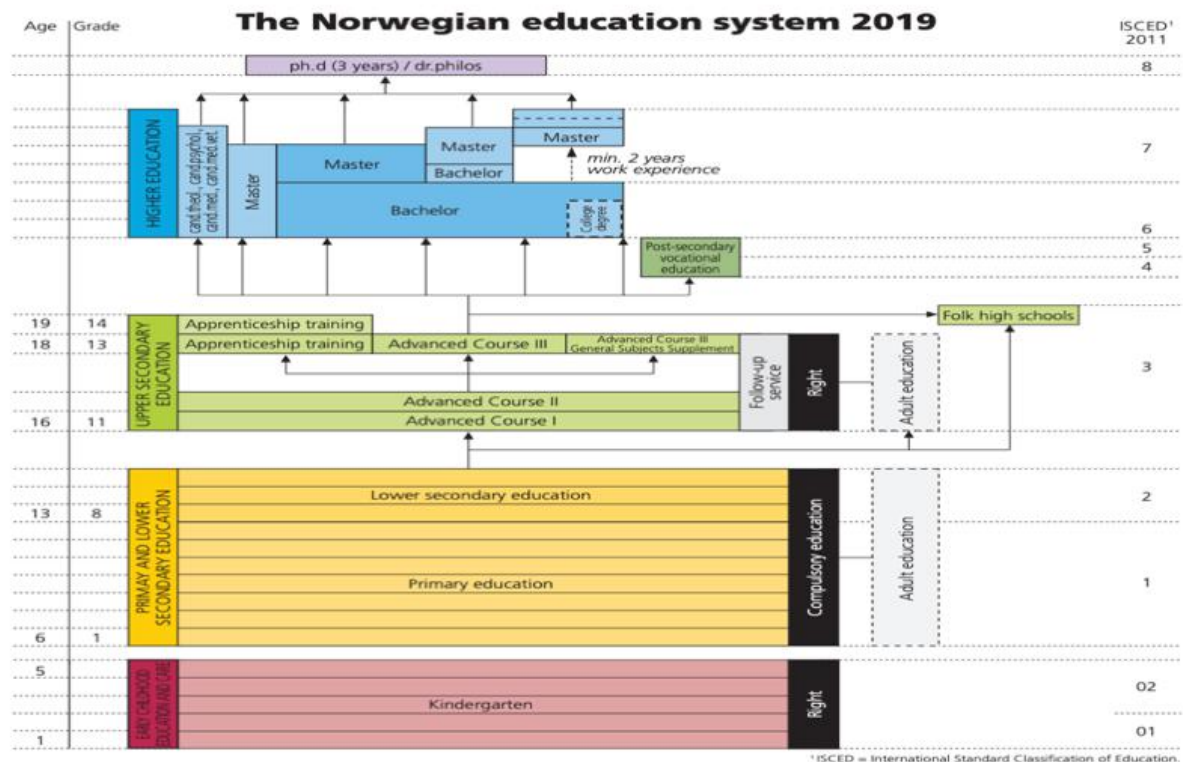


Figure 4 The Norwegian Education System 2019: (N. Statistics, 2019)

Every child in Norway is entitled to be involved in education from kindergarten from the age of one year, which is supported by local community's priority securing enough places for children. "Outdoor play" is the key word for every Norwegian when they reflect their childhood in Norway. It is greatly emphasized by Nilsen(2008) that part of life was ingrained in the Norwegian people's culture from the beginning:

Nature trains independence and the ability to cope in the wild. Nature offers harmony and peace of mind and distance from the hustle and bustle of society [...]. This is how Norwegian men and women think, and to a greater or lesser degree this marks the upbringing of their children (Gullestad, 1992, p.204 cited in Nilsen, 2008, p. 53).

As a result, providing outdoor activities through childcare agencies such as "Barnehager" (kindergarten) is a method of preserving Norwegian culture, which includes a concept of a "good" childhood. The transition from kindergarten to school is prepared ahead of time with the goal of making it as easy as possible for the kid. The "friluftsliv" (open-air-life, Scandinavian philosophy of living outdoors) became an obligatory part of the school curriculum as a way to "see friluftsliv as an important aspect of Norwegian everyday culture and national identity" (K. P. Gurholt, 2008, p. 13).

2.3.3 Chinese Migrants in Norway

Despite the fact that following the initial wave of Chinese immigration in the late 1960s, which sparked the impact of "chain migration"⁴, the population of Chinese immigrants in Norway is still considered small in comparison to other Asian immigrant groups. In 1970, Only 402 Chinese in total were registered in Norway (SSB,2013). Comparing to research on other immigrant groups, it is clear that studies on Chinese immigrants are minor. The

⁴ Chain migration describes the process that immigrants from a particular area who follow others from that area to a particular destination (in the same country or new location).

importance of my research question is reflected in the rising number of Chinese immigrants to Norway, which began the increase number of Chinese immigrants from 909 in 1980 to over 10,000 in 2017, and the absence of relevant study on the Chinese in Norway (SSB, 2021b). The numbers of Chinese immigrants in Norway also have been growing steadily in the last five years (Table 1).

Table 1 Population of Chinese Immigrants in Norway (Persons) : (SSB, 2021b)

Content/Year	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Chinese Immigrants	8475	8812	9090	9469	9322
Norwegian-born Children of Chinese Parents	1978	2144	2255	2381	2452

The major reason for immigrants to move into Norway includes labor demand in the economic development, family reunification, education, and refugees (Østby, 2013). However, individual immigrants' ability to adapt and integrate into the host country's society may be influenced by disparities in length of stay across ethnic groups (Berry, 1997). The majority of Chinese immigrants in Norway agree that the first Chinese migrants to arrive in Norway were Chinese sailors (Oyen, 2014), who were regarded as "the pioneers" among the Chinese community in Oslo. Individual contracts were in place for the Hong Kong Chinese sailors who finally moved to Oslo, and some of them established Chinese restaurants in Norway. Subsequently, the seamen-family reunification primarily from Hong Kong and the booming of Chinese restaurants in Oslo began during 1980s (Ou,2008). The increase of Chinese skilled cooks is the third wave of Chinese immigration to Oslo which is resulted by the popularity of Chinese restaurants. In the early 1990s, more than 300 Chinese restaurants spread across Norway⁵. Many of the food they served could be a very narrow dish selection – a Norwegian style of Chinese food. In the same period, the Chinese students who were encouraged to study abroad, are also viewed as potential migrants. In addition, the Chinese students received the scholarship from the Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund (Statens lånekasse for utdanning) to support their study program. The organization Chinese Professionals in Norway (CPN), which was founded in 2003, may be seen as a continuously increasing Chinese community with higher education in Oslo. This organization's goal is to "become an essential communication medium between Norway and China, as well as between working immigrants with advanced degrees and Norwegian society" (CPN, 2013).

2.4 Summary

This chapter aims to provide the background context of Chinese migrant families in Norway. It firstly elaborates the Chinese policies of economic development and *Hukou* which provide the condition for adult immigrant to move across cities in China or emigrate. Then, it provides the descriptions of childhood and education in China. This chapter also explains that the higher family expectation and reciprocal intergenerational relationship are two unique features of Chinese families, while it is also shaped by changing family structures. In the end of the chapter, it also introduces the basic

⁵ Verdens Gang (VG) 27.09.1992. This number might seem slightly large as they might have different definition for places to serve Chinese food. It might include some Chinese fast-food stalls which were in smaller scales.

information about Norway, including welfare policies, education and childhood, and situation of Chinese migrants in Norway.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

Theory can be utilized to explain a variety of social issues. The theoretical framework is generally understood to mean that it connects with research and guide researcher to select the research methods. Prout (Prout, 2019, p. 139) argued that childhood studies has “potential field that can be multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary in a broad sense – that is spanning the natural sciences, the social sciences and the humanities.” My interdisciplinary Master thesis is not only written from a childhood studies perspective, but it also draws some theories from a Psychology perspective and migration research.

On the one hand, childhood studies is a dynamic subject which views children as the center. It identify the primary understanding that children are worth advocating for their rights and that children are treated as active agents (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). In other words, it pays attention to how children develop through the social, cultural, political and economic environment and how children’s different experiences impact their life. Thus, I introduce the social studies of childhood in the first section of this chapter, including the emergence of childhood studies, children’s agency, and childhood as socially constructed. Further, the concept of generational order (Alanen, 2009) also has essential values in Childhood Studies, which provides the understanding of different positions between migrant parents and children in this thesis.

On the other hand, although the childhood studies critiqued developmental psychology in the early periods of academic development, for instance, some researchers believed that developmental psychology was in the “dustbin of history” (James et al., 1998, p. 9). Golden and Montgomery (2021) stated that there are also areas of overlap in developmental psychology and childhood studies in recent research. The mainstream theories from psychology demonstrated that development is also increasingly seen as a process, an interaction between a specific cultural environment and each child (Tatlow-Golden & Montgomery, 2021). To analyse the social inclusion experience of Chinese migrant families, I draw from different interdisciplinary theories from three fields – childhood studies, psychology and migration research.

Thus, this chapter explains the theories from childhood studies and psychology as a theoretical foundation and how these theories could guide analysis from different perspectives while complementing each other in the following chapters. Additionally, the theories from migration research provide the perspective of viewing family as dynamic and developing during the migration period.

3.2 Social Studies of Childhood

The social studies of childhood are the theoretical foundation for this study, providing good awareness of the view on children and childhood. The essential theoretical perspectives of social studies of childhood concerning the study are introduced in this section. At the same time, it explains how to apply those theories in the further coming chapters.

3.2.1 The Emergence of Childhood Studies

The shift in childhood studies came in the 1970s and 1980s, referred to as the new sociology of childhood at the beginning (James & Prout, 2015), while children were viewed as social actors (James, 2009). Previously, there was a propensity to regard children as "human becomings" rather than "beings" (James et al., 1998), and it also viewed childhood as social construction actively produced/reproduced by children and adults (Prout & James, 2015). The developmental psychology linked with Jean Piaget viewed children as future adults, characterizing them as dependent learners while generally disregarding the cultural settings in which they learn, undermining children's societal and developmental contributions and discounting children as individuals (James, 2001). However, children are independent and "active, creative, social agents who produce their own unique children's cultures while simultaneously contributing to the production of adult societies" (Corsaro, 2011, p. 4). Some scholars stated that children's social interactions and cultures are worthy of study in their own right (James & Prout, 2015; Qvortrup, 2002), and ethnography is a helpful approach in doing children's research (James & Prout, 2015). Childhood as socially constructed will be presented in the following section.

3.2.2 Constructive and Structural Sociology Childhood

Childhood has generally been viewed as the natural biological stage of development. However, this view lacks understanding of the children's culture and background (James & Prout, 2015), while it is affected by the development psychology (Qvortrup, 2002). Childhood is not a natural phenomenon (Jenks, 1982); instead, childhood is a social phenomenon (Corsaro, 2011). Two theoretical perspectives interpret childhood with different approaches: constructive and structural sociology of childhood.

On the one hand, as Giddens (1979) stated, human beings are social agents, and the living environment construct them. If children are understood as human beings (Qvortrup, 2002), they also actively contribute and build to society as the same as adults. As a result, childhood is a part of society that must be considered in light of factors such as gender, socioeconomic class, and ethnicity. (Corsaro, 2011). This means that it is not only one childhood, as childhood also experience cross-culturally (James & Prout, 2015). Christensen and Prout (2005) maintain that this is a straightforward way of thinking about childhood and children as constructed and reconstructed by historical, social and cultural factors. It has changed through the above factors in different ways. For example, the social-economic, cultural, political, and educational factors play imperative roles in shaping different childhood for children. In my study of migrant children's experience, this theoretical perspective supports me by explaining the difference in childhood between China and Norway. The intensive daily schedule in Chinese childhood of children can be illustrated briefly by the Chinese culture of expectation about bringing up children for the purpose of being looked after in old age (Sun & Mulvaney, 2021). However, Norwegian childhood emphasizes more about "nature" and "happiness" (K. P. Gurholt, 2008).

On the other hand, the structural sociology of childhood complements the constructive sociology of childhood by focusing on the analysis of childhood as a fixed permanent type from any generational structure (Alanen & Mayall, 2001), while it emphasizes the structural relation between children and adults. Mayall has stated, "childhood is an essential component of a social order where the general understanding is that childhood is a first and separate condition of the lifespan whose characteristics are different from

the later ones" (Mayall, 2002, p. 23). The sociology structural childhood provides a framework to describe the social structure and system around childhood and child-adult relations (Alanen & Mayall, 2001). This theoretical perspective gives the context background of childhood to understand the migrant children and parents' daily life at the macro-level. The term of "generational" is developed by Alanen and Mayall (Alanen & Mayall, 2001), which describes the structural characteristics of child-adult interactions. They maintained that childhood is part of generational order that is developed by "a complex set of social processes through which people become (are constructed as) "children" while other people become (are constructed as) "adult" (Alanen & Mayall, 2001, pp. 20 - 21)". Mannheim also has stated that the generation is "a historically positioned age group whose members undergo a similar socialization process which brings about a shared frame of experience and action and makes them into an 'actual', active generation" (Alanen, 2009). The social categories of "childhood" and "adulthood" have a structural relative in a different direction (Alanen, 2009, p. 159). The relation across generations is described as "a structured network of relations between generational categories that are positioned in and act within necessary interrelations with each other" (Alanen, 2009, p. 161).

The generational order theorizes the social position of children as a social category and defines specific social positions in which they act and thus participate in their ongoing social life (Alanen, 2009, p. 161). It also highlighted that the generational ordering is generally used to explain the interdependency of parenting – "childing". Thus, generational order is adopted to explore the interactions between migrant children and their parents and demand to explore the social ordering of children–adult relationships in this thesis. Moreover, Alanen (2009, p.170) argued that the generational framework lies in revealing the social and cultural practices of positioning – both self – and other – positioning through which the current generational structures, and the generational order as their composite structure, are generated, maintained and (occasionally) transformed. In this study, the Norwegian context could provide the environment for children to reshape intergenerational social order through the social inclusion experience. Additionally, the Agency of children is also an essential concept in the social studies of children and childhood, which will be explained next section.

3.2.3 Children's Agency

After the emergence of the social studies of childhood, children's agency has been recognized (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998), and it refers to the "capacity of individuals to act independently" (Campbell, 2009, p. 410). At first, this concept was originally from the "actor-oriented approach" in social sciences (Abebe, 2019, p. 3). This approach mentions that human beings (including children) are social actors who have the capacity and responsibility to act for others and themselves (Long, 2001). Methodologically, it also focuses on researching children's experiences from their perspectives and recording the diversity of childhood experiences. Abebe (2019, p. 9) has reconceptualizing agency as two approaches: on the one hand, agency as a continuum, which is "negotiated continuously between children and families and communities as they navigate tensions between personal and collective interests ". On the other hand, agency as interdependence "is how intergenerational relationships between adults and children play out in everyday life" (Abebe, 2019, p. 10).

The legal framework of children's agency is presented by UNCRC (United Nations, 1989), defined as "the child who is capable of forming his or her own views [has] the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child" (United Nations, 1989,

Article 12). It emphasized that children have abilities to make decisions about things relating to them. Robson, Bell, and Klocker (2007) also state a similar opinion that children not only exercise agency to fulfill the expectation of economic, social and culture, but they also schedule the possibilities for daily lives. Children's voices should be listened to by adults. In addition, children may experience a diversity of agency in their life, however, it is depending on who they are accompanied by, how they are doing, and how is the situation (Robson et al., 2007).

In this study, children's agency and childhood are intertwined. Childhood is potentially transformative during the changing of social, economic and cultural environment (Qvortrup, 1987), especially when connecting with migration. It has resulted in the experience of childhood changes. Human beings (including children) also use their actions to change or influence the things or people around them in daily life. Therefore, this study focuses on children's perspectives. I researched how new social-cultural and economic factors impact children and their parents from their perspectives, and how children exercise their agency or create their cultures and friendships in daily life in a new country.

3.3 The Concepts and Theories from Psychology

The transnational family study covers different topics. This section introduces the concept of social inclusion and some relevant theoretical psychological approaches to analyse the empirical data in the next chapter. Thus, I introduce the concept of social inclusion, acculturation theory, concept of social identity and belonging, intergenerational ambivalence theory in the following.

3.3.1 The Concept of Social Inclusion

Social inclusion refers to the migrant's initiative in the economic, behavioral and cultural aspects of adaptation and integration into a wide range of social relations (Seeman, Brissette, & Cohen, 2000). This concept includes acculturation, economic, political, and identity integration (Yue, Li, Jin, & Feldman, 2013). The process of social inclusion related to multicultural societies has a different meaning, and it can be understood in the context of receiving-immigrant-country. It means that the foreign country or region has diverse cultures, and social and economic circumstances, which impact the social inclusion experience of the immigrants. One of the objectives of the present study is to find whether children or parents feel included in the new country based on their daily life experience in school, community or working place. The term "inclusion" in school curriculum has come to be used to refer to "inclusive education" that all children are placed in their age-appropriate general education classroom to receive-high quality instruction, interventions and supports that enable them to achieve success in the core curriculum (Turki & Dianne, 2012). In addition, social inclusion in school is also connected with relationships between students and other members of the educational community of different cultures (Almeida et al., 2019). The voice of students should be respected and receive a response in school. Regarding the migrant children in Norway, they are viewed as one of the groups that need additional support to fulfill compulsory education (Andreassen, 2013). Therefore, the school's curricula should accept the diversity of students of different ages, ethnic, gender, race, class and capacity to make students feel included. The feeling of social inclusion in new countries by parents has also faced the challenges of parenting practices and personal experience. Migration and the process of inclusion could make the parents face more challenges than the host country, especially

for single-mother families (Pong, 2008). Two participants are single mothers in this research, which will share their experiences in the chapter on Analysis.

3.3.2 Acculturation Theory

Acculturation theory has traditionally been examined for adult immigrants (Coll & Magnuson, 2005). It is significant to develop because the family unit is a common type of current immigrants, with children playing an essential role in the migration process of immigrant families. Concerning acculturation, it defines as the phenomenon that occurs as a change result of interactions with individuals, groups, and social influences from different cultures (Gibson, 2001). The acculturation theory is initially conceptualized as a single-dimensional process in which the preservation of host culture and acquisition of a receptive culture were considered to be two simple directions (Rebhun, 2015). However, Berry has developed the model of acculturation that "receiving-culture acquisition and heritage-culture retention are cast as independent dimensions" (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010, p. 238). There are four acculturation categories in Berry's model (1980) – assimilation (accepts a receiving culture while rejecting the home culture), separation (opposes accepting culture while preserving home culture), integration (keeps the home culture while adopting the receiving culture) and marginalization (Both the home culture and the receiving cultures are rejected). Thus, the environment of migrants' original country and the new country in which they have settled intersect to create two crucial focus points (Berry, 2009) – (1) the significance of preserving ethnic uniqueness (how to face the cultural difference between two countries). (2) the political, demographic and economic factors in two different countries influence immigrant's daily lives. Further, the acculturation process can also be understood on a psychological level, emphasising the psychological mechanisms of acculturation in the person. It identifies acculturation as "a process executed by an agentic individual (it is not a process that happens to an individual) after meeting and entering a cultural community that is different from the cultural community where he or she originally socialized (Chirkov, 2009, p. 94)".

In this study, the Chinese immigrant children or parents might face challenges is constructing personal daily life with the mainstream culture in Norway. For example, the cultural difference between China and Norway concerning childhood, education and parenting style. Berry (1997) notes that different adaptation experiences also impact the overall acculturation process, which relates to personal characteristics, such as age, gender, educational background, migration reason and culture. Berry (1997) also explained that the higher education level of immigrants is connected with a high degree of integration because it is associated with social-economic status, employment opportunities and active social networks. Thus, it is critical to consider the function of parental acculturation in children's adjustment because they are entangled in a significant developmental context (family). Parents work as a powerful agents of socialization for their children during the acculturation process (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000).

3.3.3 The Concept of Social Identity and Belonging

We shed light on the transnational identity concerning capturing migrants' unique sense of belonging that it is feasible to contextualize and diversity separately from the limits of the nation-state (Bertelsmann, 2018). The debate of making a clear distinction between

“us” and “them” is also considered a social group identity discussion. This is a process of deciding which social group people belong to, “the in-group” and “the out-group”.

Development psychology believes that the development of identity connects to self-development. In contrast with Piaget, who supposed development automatically from the children, Vygotsky argued that the language stemmed from the culture (Crain, 2011). However, cognitive psychology argues that identity is an unconscious and continuous process of incorporating the past into the future. It also means that people consciously change their perceptions to deal with the problem. The definition of social identity is that “self-understanding obtains from social discourses and often symbolically charged through emotional attachment, which an individual has of him/herself ” (Levinson, Foley, Holland, & Weis, 1996, p. 12). A well-developed identity is a consistent awareness of self or recognition by others for a long period (Erikson, 1980). In the 1970s, the socio-cultural approach believed that social identity and differences were also influenced by children understanding themselves in the common culture background or different cultural backgrounds when they have social interaction with others (Crain, 2011). In other words, social identity is constructed of a social member’s background with sharing the same culture or communicating with different cultures, while it is also influenced by the cultural factors or dress, food etc. (Hengst, 1997). For example, the interpretative reproduction approach has extended the traditional psychology, which demonstrates that children creatively collect information from the adult world to produce or reproduce their peer culture (Corsaro, 1992). Children from immigrant families tend to learn more than one culture and identify with more than one ethnic group because they are socialized in their receiving society’s culture while being grounded in a family that supports their culture of origin (Hong & Benet-Martinez, 2014). They can identify with either their ethnic group of the origin or with the receiving society. Further, they can also identify with a mix of the two communities, resulting in a conjoined or bicultural identity.

In this study, one purpose is to explore how Chinese immigrants define their identities (ethnicity or nationality) in various situations in Norway. The clash between the norms and values that create uniqueness in the home society and those that prevail in the host culture forces migrants to be continuously conscious of who they are and how they (re)present themselves in different circumstances. They also become more aware of how others view them (particularly the destination society) and whose social rank they are thought to belong to (Waldinger, 2015). Waldinger (2015) also states that this pressure motivates the formation of transnational identities in several ways, including assimilation, isolation, integration, or dualism in home and destination communities (or beyond). The newly formed identity is not necessarily a trade-off with the original identity. A migrant may simultaneously experience a strong sense of belonging to the home society, a sense of assimilation in the host society, and have to cross the national borders to achieve (Sheringham, 2010).

3.3.4 Intergenerational Ambivalence

The relationship between parents and their children often exists a feeling of positive and negative across the lifespan, such as ambivalent. The concept of ambivalence was first presented in sociology by Merton and Barber, which explains the social roles, social institutions and status (Hillcoat-Nallétamby & Phillips, 2011). Later, the concept of intergenerational ambivalence was introduced by Lüscher and Pillemer (1998), defining as that “it is used to designate contradictions in relationships between parents and adult offspring that cannot be reconciled. The concept has two dimensions: (a) contradictions

at the level of social structure, evidenced in institutional resources and requirements, such as statuses, roles, and norms and (b) contradictions at the subjective level, in terms of cognition, emotions, and motivations” (Luescher & Pillemer, 1998, p. 416).

However, this theory is also adaptable for examining the feelings of ambivalence that exist at younger ages, such as adolescence (Tighe, Birditt, & Antonucci, 2016). The intergenerational relationship is exceptionally ambivalent because parents and their children experience different social norms and desires, especially for adolescents in immigrant families. This situation may be at a high level in adolescence compared to adulthood because the young adults experience the eventful developmental period when they start to seek independence from their parents. Tighe, Birditt and Antonucci (2016) also highlight that adolescents also play an important role in the family, and they expect to take more responsibilities for families and contribute more through their actions. The period of developmental changes usually impacts the intergenerational relationship and produces more imbalance in the family. In addition, the immigrant parents experience daily life in a new culture, adapting to the new challenges every day in new countries. However, a significant degree of ambivalence about parents is created by the sense of continuous dependency on parents, along with the new urge for independence, which may indicate ambivalence with the developmental requirements of teenagers (Tighe et al., 2016). Therefore, when parents and children are negotiating relational transitions in adolescence, intergenerational ambivalence may be at its peak.

According to Connidis and McMullin(2002), intergenerational ambivalence can also emerge when systemic arrangements limit an individual’s capacity to meet intergenerational expectations. It is more likely to occur when family members have conflicting expectations of their roles (Connidis & McMullin, 2002). Individuals who perceive the dichotomy of reliance and independency in their position (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998) are one of the primary drivers of ambivalence. In this study, this theoretical perspective on the intergenerational relationship can help us to understand better the daily experience of Chinese migrant families in Norway and interpret the results of the changes in the intergenerational relationship from empirical data. The concept of ambivalence can also help identify the contradiction in the immigrant children’s and their parents’ experience in Norway and help clarify how such conflicts impact the individual experience and the intergenerational relationship.

3.4 The Concept and Theory from Migration Research

3.4.1 The Concept of Children in Transnational Family Migration

Generally, the concept of children is various, depending on the cultures and countries. In Norway, the “child” can broadly be defined as every person under 18 years old (Norwegian Ministry of children and education, 2016). Similarly, “child” in China is commonly referred to as someone under 18 years old by Article 1 in the agreement of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of children (UNCRC, 1991). In this study, the “child” can be defined as everyone under 18 years old. However, the range in age of child participants is between 8 and 18 years old, who can explain the emotional experience and understanding of family relationships, including the attitude to home country’s culture and identities.

Children are generally presented in popular discussions on different topics during the family migration research, such as transnational families (Pratt, 2009). However, in term

of the concept of “children in transnational family migration” has been used to refer to three situations – the experiences of second-generation migrant children who are born in immigrant families in migrant-receiving countries (Penn & Lambert, 2009) and the experiences of children who reunion with parents after initial parental migration (Hernández, 2013) or migrant with parents together. In this study, I mainly focused on the situation of children born in China and experienced childhood in China before migrating to Norway. I also research Norwegian-born children with Chinese parents to explore changes in intergenerational relationships in the Norwegian context.

The above definition of “children in transnational family” in this study was a person who was in range age between 8 to 18 years old and who was born in China and migrated to Norway after experiencing the childhood in China or a person who was born in Norway and grew up in both Chinese parents’ family in Norway.

3.4.2 Transnational perspective

The transnational perspective was initially developed by Basch, Schiller and Blanc (1994), questioning the traditional understanding of migration as a linear process and assuming that immigrant parents and children assimilate into the new society, and their ties to the home country weaken over time. The concept of nationalism or transnational perspectives has transformed the ways of researching the lives of migrants and their descendants as family units. Generally, the term “Transnationalism” has been used to refer to the formation and maintenance of the migrant process of multistranded social relations that link places of origin and places of emigration (Basch et al., 1994). This process emphasizes the social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders established by contemporary migrants. As opposed to the traditional paradigm of transnationalism with a nation-state perspective, it changes as that attempt to break the confines of national borders and places international migrants from a global perspective across borders and places international migrants in a transnational social space. This will help us to analyze the dynamic and changing nature of migration. Transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, while immigrant parents have viewed their home country as an important reference and share the same commitment to raising their children in a multicultural context (Ken C. Sun, 2013).

The primary purpose of adopting the transnational perspective in this study is its analysis of immigrant children and parents’ daily life across nation-state boundaries. Immigrants are frequently enmeshed in multi-level, multi-location transnational social spheres, as Levitt and Schiller (2004) suggest, which has ramifications for how they practice and perceive everyday life. This wide definition enables us to investigate numerous aspects of the transnational family in a global setting at various levels of study. This broad definition assists with the exploration of unique manifestations of transnationalism as they appear in the empirical data in the next chapter. Therefore, this transnational perspective raises awareness of the migration process, parental practices, and experiences of immigrant children and parents, which cannot be limited to a single country but must be understood as shaped by the family in a context that includes two countries. In addition, the transnational perspective in this study means that focus on the expression of transnationalism, including the travel between the home country and the destination country of receiving migrants, financial support, and preserving transnational social network through digital technology, such as telephone or Wechat App (the most popular social media APP) in China.

3.5 Summary

This chapter demonstrates different theories that constitute of foundation for the following analysis chapters in this thesis. This interdisciplinary study is based on the concepts and theories from childhood studies, psychology and migration research. The concept of children's agency and constructive childhood sociology provide the theoretical bases for analyzing how the different cultural, social and economic contexts influence the construction of both children's and parent's childhood, and how children respond to a new environment or parent's behavior. Additionally, the concept of social identity and belonging will be used to understand how migrants cognize their background in migration. Moreover, the concept of generational order (Alanen, 2009) and structural childhood sociology are adapted to explain the relationship between parents and children, while the acculturation theory completes the understanding of the acculturating gap between adults and children. The theory from childhood studies and psychology approaches the notion of intergenerational relations from several angles. The theory of transnationalism will serve as a theoretical approach to understanding the whole migrant family across borders in two contexts.

4 Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, it presents the methodology perspectives, the methods employed during the fieldwork, the research fields, ethical consideration, and challenges. I will firstly discuss the childhood studies, qualitative research method and the view of 'insider' and 'outsider' from methodology perspectives. Then, I will explain the research location and how to select the participants during research process. The choice of methods is based on the research objectives of the study which focus on the impact of migration relate to intergenerational relationship on Chinese parents and children and their coping strategies to the new environment in the new society.

4.2 Methodology Perspectives

4.2.1 Childhood Studies

The approach of how children are viewed has experienced a paradigm shift in the research on children over the decades. The new paradigm in childhood studies, which occurred in 1970s and 1980s, has clarified the shift from children's need to be cared for to being social actors and emphasised the voice of children (James, 2007). It also has changed the way of conducting research from doing research "on" children to now doing research "with" children (James, 2007; Christensen and James, 2000). Children learn the knowledge and skills from adults, while they are also competent social actors. However, children are marginalized in society because of the power imbalance between adults and children, and their position in the society needs to be adjusted (Punch, 2002). The differences between children and adults are also influenced by their political and culture context (Punch, 2002), which also influences their experiences of childhood. The most important thing noted is that the biological age of children are different from that of adult, while the age cannot become the main reason for researchers to choose a particular method. Solberg has argued that ignoring 'age' is an important marker in child research. She explains that "It should be open to empirical investigation to explore the significance of age and status within different contexts and situations, to explore 'doing' rather than 'being'." (Solberg, 1996, 4).

4.2.2 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research is a type of empirical research that collects data from participants in the form of words (Punch, 1998). Qualitative research methods are frequently utilized in child studies as part of the social sciences because the importance of children's knowledge of their own experiences is emphasized in childhood studies.

In contrast to quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers collect non-numerical data, and their findings cannot be generalized as representing larger populations. On a micro-level, qualitative research usually focuses on case studies. This allows the researchers to have in-depth conversations with the participants (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003), as well as access to information about their lives. A combination of informal interviews and visual methods such as drawing is a common approach, especially for research with children in family studies. Rather than capturing 'lives of research participants', the

qualitative method aims to approach research participants, create conditions for them and open them up to the possibility of sharing their experiences. It is not interested in the generalization of life experience, but rather in gaining a deeper and more thorough knowledge and information about the life experiences, opinions and perspectives of a smaller group of research participants. The two approaches (quantitative and qualitative) thus have very different aims, which leads to require different methodology. In this study, it employed qualitative research in order to learn migrant children and parents' social inclusion experience in Norway. Therefore, the qualitative research method provides a better understanding of the participants' behavior in their daily life.

4.2.3 The View of "Insider" and "Outsider"

"The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely turned-into the experiences and meaning systems of others-to indwell- and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand" (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 114). On the one hand, my background as a native Chinese Mandarin speaker assisted me to share the common culture, value and knowledge with the participants as Chinese migrants in Norway. In addition, being an insider encouraged me to realise that this not only enhanced my understanding of the migration experience but also helped me personally and supported me to become a better parent in the future. Perhaps because of my background in counseling in the past work experience, I have spent time on self-reflection and even doing in my research. On the other hand, I worked as an outsider because I had not experienced the migration as a parent in this study. In fact, most of my participants did not appear to view this as a barrier to the research process. I also believed that it offered me a space and distance to reflectively look at the situation of migration family in this study (Milligan, 2016). However, one of the parent participants in this study expressed concern about my outsider status and questioned my experience and capacity to appreciate their experience. In response to it, I explained that although I was not a parent, I hoped to learn from their experiences. Nevertheless, this concern by this parent did not hinder the process of the interview. Instead, she shared meaningful information and was positive about the process after my explanation. Another interesting thing I found in the fieldwork was that one child called me "aunt (阿姨)" during the interview. This word in that context did not imply kinship in the family relationship but rather expressed politeness and respect in Chinese culture.

4.3 The Research Participants and Location

When selecting the research fields, I firstly considered to doing fieldwork in Norway, where I had lived more than three years and I knew some Chinese families in big cities, such as Oslo and Trondheim. Generally, big cities attract more migrants through more job opportunities and effective transportation. However, when I started recruiting participants and received only one positive response from a family in Trondheim, I realized that I should look for more Chinese families throughout Norway when I only received a positive response of one family from at the beginning of participant recruitment. Then, I chose other cities in Norway to do my fieldwork based on the willingness of the participants such as the friends and family relatives of mine and the participants in Norway. For the reasons of privacy and confidentiality, some small cities with only a few Chinese are mentioned by name (but are used as empirical material) in this study because the participants are easily recognized through the name of city.

4.3.1 Research Location

The choice of research location influences children's engagement in research. Generally, school and home are two important places in children's daily lives. In this study, due to the influences of COVID-19, I visited only two families and conducted interviews at their home and café (one at home, one at café), while the remaining four families were interviewed online. I had decided to conduct the interviews online because the participants were located far from the city where I lived. The method of conducting interviews online required both the researcher and the participants to stay in a quiet room. Sometimes, the interviewer faced the challenges when the children being interviewed was called away by their family members or friends, so the interviews had to be stopped. Interviews may also be stopped due to technological issues. Conducting interviews in children's home can be empowering for the children because they can feel comfortable. Additionally, the researcher can understand the living environment of children.

Before I visited the participant's home, I had asked the parents about the meeting time and ensured that the children stayed at home. Then, when I arrived at the participants' homes, I asked the children to choose where to be interviewed. One child, who was too shy to talk with me alone, decided to attend the interview with her parents in the living room, where she felt more comfortable. The living room was decorated by many lovely toys and plants, and her cat ran around the room during the interview. Also, dinner time was approaching during the interview, the father decided to cook in the kitchen while I continued talking with the rest of family members. Some sounds may have disturbed, distracting the young girl in the interview.

Another family's felt relaxed to have a face-to-face interview conversation with me alone in a café near her school. She also worked as a part-time employee in the café. We scheduled the meeting in the morning because it was quieter and there was less customers in the café.

For the rest of the families that were interviewed online, I asked the children to attend the interview alone and ensured that the parents sat in different rooms at their home, so that there would be no interruptions to the parents or the children during the interview. However, one child responded a question when I interviewed her parents, because the parents sat in the living room. The little girl just took a drink from the kitchen and felt curious about the topic of discussion. After that, she ran to her bedroom and left space for us to continue the interview.

4.3.2 Sample Selection and the Participants

Two sampling techniques were used in this study: snowball sampling and purposive sampling. Snowball sampling generally refers to selection from their acquaintances (Birch, 2006). The initial participants will be selected from my social network and asked them to introduce more participants who fulfilled the selection standards from their friends or relatives. Therefore, the group of participants will increase like rolling a snowball. The participants I firstly contacted in the research were from my personal network, who had migrated to Norway from China in the past. Both of them had experienced a great deal during their migration. Although they were interested in my study, their children were already over 18 years old. Then, they introduced my project to their close friends. In addition, purposive sampling also was adapted in this research in order to expand the range of participants. Purposive sampling suggests making participants more diverse in the selection process and finding specific participants based

on the criteria for selection (Birch, 2006). Therefore, I used it to look for participants from different backgrounds of education, age, gender, economic status, the number of children, the current marriage status, occupation and the length of residence in Norway. Finally, three families lived in urban area of Norway, and the remaining three families lived in rural areas of Norway. All participants were given three days to make a decision.

All participants were assured that their participation in the study was completely voluntary and anonymous, and that they were allowed to withdraw their participation at any time. The parents and children over the age of 16 were given a short project description and informed consent forms. After the parents had decided to participate in this project, I asked the children at the age under 16 years old individually if they would like to participate in this project.

A total of five Chinese-born children (three girls and two boys) and three Norwegian-born children to Chinese parents (two girls and one boy) participated in this study. Only one boy was aged 8 years, and the rest of the children were adolescents aged 10 years or older, as defined by World Health Organisation (2021).

Their parents who lived in Norway also participated in this study, and it should be highlighted that two families had only single mothers in Norway. One of the aims of the research is to understand changes in intergenerational relationships in migration families, and the Norwegian-born children's attitude and behaviors are helpful to understand the Chinese-born children as migrant children. Therefore, the children were therefore selected to be between the ages of 8 and 18, and were able to explain their emotional experience and understanding of family relationship, including their attitudes towards the host culture and identities.

4.4 Methods

The appropriate methods chosen should be appropriate to the research questions of the research project, consider the needs or requirements of participants and the cultural or physical environment, respect resource constraints and be ethical (Punch, 2002). In this project, I used neighborhood and household visit, semi-structured interviews, drawing and sentence competence activities.

4.4.1 Neighborhood and Household Visit

At first, I considered whether participants would experience the same school environment or communities' culture if I recruited them from different cities in Norway. Because I only lived in Norway for few years, I decided to use the neighborhood visits to give me more vivid details about the environment of migrant families. Before the interviews, some participants invited me to walk around their schools or neighborhood areas where they had studied and lived. I had traveled to some participant's cities in Norway. Although I had not been to some participant's cities, I asked them to show me pictures or videos about their neighborhood areas if they felt comfortable. One child used the method of drawing to describe her school environment, which also empowered child. Therefore, I could gain a deeper understanding of the participants, especially when discussing the topics of daily life during the interviews.

The household visit method is a good type of gaining knowledge of "assets, networks and social relationship" (Abebe, 2009, p.455). In combination with interview methods, I

would like to conduct interviews in the participant's home because I might have had the opportunities to visit the migrant families, which would provide more details about them. However, due to the pandemic situation, I only received an opportunity to visit one household (the other family was interviewed at café) and conducted the interview at their home (see research location session). One family showed me their home situation by video.

4.4.2 Drawing and Sentence Completion Activity

The benefits of drawing are that it encourages children to engage in the research and helps them relate well to the adults' research. Children can use their drawings to express their emotions and some meaningful experiences that they can not express in words (Punch, 2002). Similarly, in Nielsen's project in day-care institutions, children learn to use visual methods to express themselves when drawing at home and in day-care institutions (Nilsen, 2012). This tool helps children to reflect on their experiences, providing a different insight into the situations where they exist and a understanding of the world they draw from what is obtained by traditional interviews in research. However, drawing is influenced by the context and surroundings in which children create it and by the children's relationships with adults. For example, some older children are lack of artistic competency, especially for children without a practical drawing environment, which is highlighted in Bolivia project by Punch (2002). Those children in the project who lived in a rural community without digital technologies, such as mass media like television and computer with the mass media (Punch, 2002), were unable to express what they wanted to draw. In the beginning of the interviews, I asked every child under 16 years old to complete the sentences (appendix 3) as a game, which was helpful for me to understand the children better. It also provided a clear topic for children to understand the meaning of this study. Finally, all children under 16 years old were invited to draw their understanding of the differences between Norway and China, and to describe 'Norwegian' and 'Chinese' through their drawings. Fortunately, all children enjoyed this part during the interviews. After drawing, most of the children became more active in sharing their opinions.

4.4.3 Semi-Structured Interviews with Children and Parents

Unlike quantitative surveys, which provide an objective instrument between the researchers and the respondents, semi-structured interviews allow for new ideas and opinions to be shown during the interview. Five families of parents and children were interviewed separately, and one family only accepted to be interviewed together. Before the interviews began, I asked the agreement from participants to being recorded in the whole interview. All participants accepted except one child who was confused about the meaning of recording. After I showed him how it worked, he accepted the request. I began by asking the general questions for parents, following the interview guide (appendix 4) to interview them for an hour. In the interviews with children, the drawing and sentence competence activities were also involved in order to encourage active participation. I began the sentence completion activities with children (the age under 16) and used open question to allow the kids to freely express themselves. When conducting interviews with young children, I kept the research questions short to avoid confusing them with complex questions. The flow of the conversations was based on the interview guide (Appendix 1 and 2), which guided me during the whole interviews. Each interview with the children lasted around thirty minutes to forty minutes, which was recorded under the children's permission. In the end of the interviews, I also asked children (the age under 16) to draw their understanding of two countries (Appendix 1 and 2).

Afterwards, they shared their opinions on the meaning of the drawings and the significance they understood.

4.4.4 Research Diary

Research diary is viewed as an opportunity for reflection and “inner dialogue” (Marion, 2011). During the fieldwork, I wrote down observations during the household visits, neighborhood visits and interviews (in case that some important points may be ignored, although interviews were recorded). After meeting with each family, I wrote down my feelings and reflected my observations in my research diary. I also kept a research diary with me when I had ideas about the fieldwork. The process of analyzing of the data and writing was important with research diary, which can provide the fresh and most impressive moments. The first moment of events occurring also inspired me significantly during the writing process.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues not only exist when conducting research with adults, while they also matter in conducting child research. Informed consent and confidentiality are two key ethical issues in child research.

4.5.1 Seeking Informed Consent

Informed consent means that the participants have enough knowledge and competence to decide whether to participate in the research project and to understand the risks of the research (Beresford, 1997). However, young children might face the challenges in giving informed consent. Thus, researchers always ask their parents or care givers to provide informed consent, which is also a requirement from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) in Norway. This is dilemma for researchers to deal with the power inequality between the adults and children if children are unwilling to participate (Andy, 2007). In addition, children might agree to participate in the study for a short period of time, thus, researchers should ensure that the children have the right to withdraw from the research. This ethical issue is also relevant to researchers who use drawing methods in their projects. For example, using drawing approaches with children can undoubtedly encourage their engagement in the research, while their identities and potential use of the drawing methods are challenges because children might draw something related to their identities. Thus, I had to first ensure the willingness of children participation in drawing and that they did not have to complete drawing if they did not want to.

In this study, I first sent the information letters to parents and youth (the age above 16 years old). After receiving a positive response, I made an informed consent form (see Appendix 6) for the parents and youth (above 16 years old) to read and sign before the research. For the interview that was conducted online, I only received the oral consent from parents and children/youth. The informed consent form included information about the purpose of research, what the parents and children/youth participation would participate in, how the information about them would be stored, and the meaning of voluntary participation. For the children (under 16 years old), after receiving the approval of parents, I received oral consent from the children and explained who I was, why I talked with them, what the purpose of this study was. Also, they were told that all information was anonymous, their participation was voluntary and how I would publish my thesis in the university.

4.5.2 Privacy and Confidentiality

Privacy and confidentiality are also viewed as important ethical issues when the above research methods are used in child research and family research. This also means that, researchers should be careful about children's confidentiality in the research. However, as Lange and Mierendorff (2009) noted, the concern about child abuse in western societies faces the challenge of constructing the confidential relationships between children and the adult researchers. In this case, the researchers should consider how to deliver the confidential information to authorities in certain appropriate methods.

The names of some cities in this study are not mentioned due to the participants' privacy. All information gathered from children and parents was kept private, and they were informed of their privacy prior to the participation in the study. To ensure each participant's anonymity, I did not collect their real name. All names in this study were chosen by participants, while some participants did not mind the nickname. In addition, the identities of their neighborhood areas and schools were undisclosed in this thesis. All notes were destroyed after the analysis and write-up. Moreover, the visual approach and observation methods may breach the confidentiality or anonymity. For example, the way researchers present photos (not in this project) or drawings is worth considering, while it may distort the children's original opinions. In response to this, it is inevitably that some researchers may use text or words to explain how the visual methods of children are engaged in the research in order to maintain children's decisions. I also gained the children's permission to use their drawings in this thesis, which is presented in next chapter. Moreover, if some parts of the drawings related to the children's identities could not be presented in this study, I would present the drawings by description instead. The recordings were all deleted after this project was completed.

4.5.3 Reciprocity

The debate of reciprocity regarding paying or providing other incentives in exchange for their participation in research is a heated discussion (Ennew et al., 2009). At first, I considered to buy a gift card as a gift for the participants. However, I decided to change the type of gift because "payment may be made in kind instead of cash, such as pencils and notebooks" for children (Alderson & Morrow, 2011, p.69). Thus, when I made the household visits and face-to-face interviews, I gave the home-made desserts to them. I ensured that the children and the parents had not known about the gift before I received their informed consent. For the rest of families who participated in the online interviews, I arranged some online game activities for the families and sent them thank-you messages.

4.6 Challenges of the Study

The role of the researcher and other challenges regarding this study are introduced in the following sections.

4.6.1 The Researcher Roles

The researcher should understand his/her position during the research process, and should "focus on the ways that children have been positioned in the construction of knowledge about them, through research *on*, *with*, and *by* them"(Mason & Watson, 2014, p. 2758). In the beginning of the interviews, I decided to introduce myself as a student instead of a researcher to these children, because it may be easier for them to

understand this word than the word 'researcher'. I explained the purpose of my project about migration experience and told them that they knew the topic better than I did.

In carrying out this research with children, though the researchers have their own purposes and agendas, it is important not to impose their ideas on the informants (Punch, 2002). In other words, researchers should try not to impose so much of their ideas on the children. Conducting interviews involves many factors, such as the relationship between interviewees and interviewers. Also, the relationship between a child and an adult involves unique and unequal power dynamics (Punch, 2002) during the research process in the interviews (James, 2007). As the interview topic is determined by the interviewer, the researchers should take care not to have children experience power asymmetries (Punch, 2002) in interview situation. During the fieldwork, I tried to minimize the power imbalance in this study in different ways. For example, I wore a casual dress, said simple sentences with children and made sure that they can understand the conversation. When we talked with each other online, I asked parents to sit in other rooms and leave the privacy space for the children. The children decided the place and time to meet during the face-to-face interview. I followed the interview guide and asked them question, and they also had the right to decide what to talk during the interview. The drawing and sentence completion also encouraged them to show more opinions and address the power relationship. Thus, the power was seemingly existing between me and the children participants, while the children seemed comfortable and at ease as well as being willing to share their opinions.

4.6.2 Other Challenges

There are two challenges I met in this research. The first was that there was an interference from the parents during the drawing activity. In China, parents always show a strong control of the research condition, especially for family interview. When I asked the willingness of the child to participate, the little girl preferred to accept the interview and the drawing activity with her parents. At first, I considered that the child may feel more comfortable and safer when her parents were present and her younger brother was running in the living room. Although the parents were not sitting next to the children and the girl had enough space to sit on the sofa, the parents still guided the children too much by their words in the drawing process. I told the child that she could draw anything with her own opinions. When the girl started to draw the feeling about the two countries and cultures as I mentioned before, the girl asked her mother for a feedback, "is it ok for me to draw like this?". Her mother replied, "It's ok for me. You should ask the aunt (author) and make her satisfied with your drawing." Additionally, the noise of the younger brother's running also influenced the quality of the drawing. Therefore, I explained again about the volunteerism to them and asked her parents to leave more space and time for the child to draw. Later, I also gave one paper for the little boy to draw on it and then he kept quiet until the end of the girl's interview.

Another challenge was the participant's willingness to participate before interview. I contacted one family at the end of August after being approved by Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). At first, I planned to use a face-to-face interview and made agreements with them to have a household visit. In the morning of the meeting day, the parents changed their mind and were afraid that the COVID-19 situation would influence the interview at home and they preferred to participate in the interview online. Thus, we scheduled the meeting time after one week. However, they found that it was too busy to conduct an interview on the weekend, so that they decided to do it in the end of September. Finally, I confirmed their willingness again in the beginning of October when

they decided not to participate. Fortunately, I prepared for this situation early, since my supervisor and classmates reminded me to prepare more plans instead of waiting for the participant's response. Thus, I still had six families to participate in my project as I proposed previously.

4.7 Data Transcription and Analysis

The data transcription is important for researchers to reflect further and learn more after the interview. It is also a part of the initial process of the analysis (Svend & Steinar, 2018). I kept the impressions in the research diary I had after each meeting, which also provided more details during the data transcription. Some parts of the sentences were unclear during the analysis, so that I referred to the notes to confirm my understanding of the transcription.

In this study, all interviews were recorded under the participants' permissions and were transcribed to the detailed words from Chinese to English by the author. All data have provided understandings of Chinese parents and children's migration experience in Norway. I also transcribed the drawings, sentence completion activities and interviews. The process of transcribing the materials helped me to improve my approach of communication and to encourage me to reflect my practice in the fieldwork. For example, when I transcribed the first interview, I found that I said 'yes' often, which allowed the participants to express too much irrelevant information regarding the interview questions. Thus, I tried to avoid this in the next interview and activities. Additionally, completing the transcription as soon as possible could provide more details. For instance, I did the interview transcription two weeks later after the first interview. I found that I did not remember some emotional details about the participants, especially when they were sharing their opinions on the challenges. Thus, I transcribed the interviews immediately after interviews were completed in the following interviews and activities. The last important thing I would like to emphasize is that it was difficult to translate some expressions to another language. Thus, I had to explain the sentences with my own words, while I tried to maintain what the participants wanted to express in the interview.

In the following two chapters, I will analyze the data and discuss them regarding the children and parents' experiences of migration, the representation of Chinese and Norwegian culture in daily life, and how their personal experience was shaped in the changes of intergenerational relationship in Norway.

5 The Social Inclusion Experience in the Process of Migration in Norway

This study explores the social inclusion experience of Chinese immigrant families through their daily life, as well as possible challenges they face the migration framed in Norwegian context. According to the theories of acculturation, the individual acculturation mentioned that person must confront with many different issues as that maintain the belonging or develop cultural identity in new countries and seek for positive relationship with the receiving society (Sam & Berry, 2010). These dimensions are changes in multiple aspects for immigrants in this study: perception of climate difference, cultural practice (food habits and festival celebration) change, language change, and social relationship change. It also impacts on the immigrant's sense of belonging and identity. The perception of climate difference is important for most of participants in this study. However, it is not to claim that the experience of immigrant's family is only understood by individual level. The transnational perspectives in migration research emphasizes that migrants can live in a way, "that incorporate daily actives, routines, and institutions located both in a destination country and transnationally" (Levitt & Schiller, 2004, p. 1003). It means that family molds by the framework of two countries, which also will raise awareness of understanding of the experience of immigrant Chinese families in Norway. Thus, in this chapter, I will first discuss about how is migration decision process and the children's response to it. And after that, I will elaborate on the challenges (language barriers climate change, food habits and festival celebration, integration in school and workplace, friendship and network) of participant's' daily life in Norway. Thus, the acculturation theory and concept of identity and belonging will be present in the analysis of empirical findings, indicating how immigrant families' members making decision of migration and how they face with the challenges in new country. Additionally, the social construction theory, transnationalism theory and the concept of generational order will be used to explain the social inclusion experience of migrant families (Chinese-born migrant children's family and Norwegian-born to Chinese children's family) in this study.

5.1 Migration Decision Making Process and Children's Agency

Although the existence of children in the family is supposed to impact family migration motivations, it is sometimes assumed that children are not participating in family migration decisions. The children's engagement in family migration decision making was lowest when children was in younger ages of childhood or in the older adolescent (Mason, 2000). In Mason (2000) study of migration, parents considered the children's need as part of family migration, but they did not always negotiate with children. In this thesis, the adult participates from two Chinese-born children immigrant families only notified their child when they decide to migrate. Lily(mother) and Kim(son) from big city in South China said:

Yu(author): How do your family decide the migration?

Lily(mother): I discussed with my husband to reunify together. Lee (her husband, father) worked as chef in Chinese restaurants in Norway. We were separately living for five or six years. I need my husband, and my son need a father. I don't want to raise my son alone.

Kim(son, 18 years old): My mum told me that we would move to live with my father in Norway when I finished the spring semester. It was so cool! It's the first time for me to study outside China. I didn't need to write summer homework⁶!

Yu(author): Have you asked Kim's willing? How is his first reaction?

Lily(mother): No. He is too young to understand this thing. I just notified my son, and he said 'great'. He looked excited. Then, I went to his school to deal with withdrawal procedures.

In Lily's opinion, although Kim was 12 years old as adolescent, he was treated as young child who was unable to make decision. Thus, Kim had not been involved in the discussion about moving to Norway. Actually, Kim also was excited about moving to Norway. He could live with his father again and waive the homework from China. This age framework allows children and adults to be compared in many ways (Prout, 2005), and at the same time places both children and adults on a straight line of evolutionary development in order to judge the differences between children and adults and to structure their social relations (James & Prout, 2015).

Zhu (single-mother) and Nini (elder daughter) from big city in East China said:

Yu(author): How do your family decide the migration?

Zhu(mother): My situation is unique. I would like to know, have you met the same experience from other Chinese people? Actually, I was migrate to Norway when I was 12 years old as the same age of my daughter. After reciving Master in Norway, I found good job in China and married with my exhusband in this city. I have two daughter. The elder one who was followed me to Norway three weeks ago. In my expectation, she will stay at Norway until finishing her bachelor program.

Nini(daughter, 12 years old): My mum always make the decision for us. She didn't ask me anything. She also believe that my grandparents will take care of me in Norway.

Yu(author): Have you asked Nini's willing?

Zhu(mother): She always follow my guidance. I told her the strength of migrating to Norway. You know, the education competition in China is crazy. She is quiet and less active to participate in many competition in school. I am afraid that she cannot enter a good university in the future. In the meantime, she didn't say negative opinion. So, by default, I agreed that she agreed to follow with me.

Sometimes, family migration was viewed as one way of protecting children from uncertain life. In Zhu (mother)'s narratives, I found that the power of decision-making was tied with responsibility of trying to be a 'good' mother by meeting the social expectations, and she emphasized that she already made the best decision for Nini even if little girl had not been involved in the decision to migration. Zhu has experienced the role of migrant children when she was young as the same as her daughter. Thus, she believed that her daughter would also beneficial from migration in the future. Nini didn't have right or space to express her opinion of making decision during the discussion of moving to Norway.

However, in the interview, there are two families of Chinese-born children immigrant families in this study has mentioned that child participated in decision-making with parents. The first 18-year-old girl described it in the interview:

Yu(author): Have you partcipated in migration decision-making with your mother?

⁶ It is common that every Chinese student has to finish the summer homework

Lin(18 years old): Yes. When my mum told me, she would be willing to start new marriage and migrated to Norway, she asked my opinion. They met in China and had stable relationship for a while. I met him many times. Actually, I was surprised at that moment. Migration is not an easy thing, even we didn't know the country. I began to search information about Norway online, and try to give some advices to my mum during the discussion.

Yu(author): Why you feel surprise?

Lin(18 years old): I felt that I was really important for her. she told me everything. My mum was busy in her business when I was young age. She didn't spend so much time at home with me. My parents divorced early, while my father lived with my younger brother in another city. I took flight alone to visit my father and little brother when I was seven years old.

The other 13-year-old girl expressed the same aspect:

Yu(author): Have you participated in migration decision-making with your mother?

Yuan(13 years old): Yeah, I heard the migration proposal when I was making weekly video call with my mother. She worked in big city in China and came back our hometown in holidays, however I lived in a village with my grandparents. She told me that I would have new father from Norway. I didn't know where is Norway. I confused the meaning of migration. Then, my mum discuss the advantages and disadvantages of moving with me and asked for my support. I didn't want to migrate to the place where I didn't know. So, I rejected my mother's proposal. She can migrate alone without me.

Yu(author):Why you decide to migrate to Norway after that?

Yuan(13 years old):My mum moved to Norway (for 3 years), and she visited me with my stepfather in China every year. We spent time living together in China. He looks nice. My mum asked my willing again and showed me the picture and video about Norwegain life. I have asked my grandparents and friends's advice. All of them encourgange me to migrate with my mum. My mum also apologize to me because of her absence during the past years. It is good chance to living together in Norway. Thus, I say yes.

Both children participated in the decision-making process, such as showing the children's agency to the parents. For example, In the first response, the child attended the discussion with parent, for example, she searched the related information online and understood the meaning of migration decision. In the second response, the child is not only analyzing the reason of why she decides to migrate, but she also actively to ask advice from people who live around her. Compared to the child who was only notified by parents, the child who participated in the decision-making processes, expressed better understanding of complex various factors that influenced the migration decision.

5.2 Challenges after Arriving in Norway

Although migration might have a good influence on family financial situation and development, there are some challenges that come with it. It means that many migrants will face the challenges when they arrive in the new countries. The challenges also reflect the process known as acculturation, which means that migrants maintain their heritage culture and adapt of values, languages and behaviors in the receiving countries (Berry, 2009). The following section will introduce the five main challenges of migrants in this study: language barriers, climate difference, food habits and festival celebration, integration in school and workplace, friendship and network.

5.2.1 Language Barriers at the Early Stage

Language barrier can happen to almost every immigrant, including parents and children. Berry (1997) has explained that Language competence is first important indicator of acculturation level. The parents in this study have highlighted that Norwegian proficiency

essentially is not only affecting the parenting and communication in the family, but it also impacts the possibility of jobs. They experienced the difficulties contacting with the Norwegian social systems and organizations. The same situation also occurs in immigrant children. According to Anderson (1999), children can experience stigmatization among their peers when using a foreign language. Qi(mother), Lin (daughter) and Bin (younger son) described the language challenge to me in the interview:

Qi(mother): Norwegian is far away from Chinese. I can't image how I survived. I went to the language school in the daytime, and I only find part-time job in Chinese restaurant. The first time I didn't understand what the Norwegian customer asked for, I felt embarrassed. I also struggled with the Norwegian activities from my daughter school. I wish I was a good mum. I didn't have time to educate my daughter in the beginning. It made me frustrated for a while.

Lin (daughter, 18 years old): Norwegian is not difficult for me. But I remembered that my classmates discussed about my Norwegian proficiency. I was not happy in the first years...My mother studied Norwegian ten hours per day. It encouraged me to study hard at school. I also joined in the language... We only speak Norwegian at home in the past years. Since my brother arrived in Norway last year, we changed it to speak Chinese and Norwegian with him. I don't want him to become tired of study. But he can speak more Norwegian now.

Bin (son, 14 years old): I don't good at English, neither Norwegian. I didn't speak to anyone at school. Now, the situation become better. My sister always supervises my homework like a teacher.

The language barrier could become pressure for parents who experience migration in the beginning. The parents would admit that despite the best intentions, learning language is a big challenge. This challenge also exacerbates the isolation between parents and children, especially when parents avoid learning new language. Surprisingly, the sibling's behavior work as sources of support for immigrant children. As younger siblings increasingly interact in Norwegian, the family's language changes to decreased use of the Chinese, and results in two language sharing situations. However, another single-child family case showed the language barrier to me during the interview. Kim was single child in his family, while he migrated with his mother to be reunified with his father in Norway. He talked with me about how he faced language challenge in the interview.

Kim (18 years old): Norwegian is easy now. I made many friends on computer game, including Norwegian friends. They encouraged me a lot...I didn't talk to my parents about my situation. Until now, they don't speak good Norwegian. You know, my father only understands little Norwegian.

In the first section in this chapter, Kim described by his mother as child, "he is too young to understand..." However, this perception of adult ignored children's agency. Kim has agency to impact the people who live around and use less time to deal with the language barrier through making Norwegian friends to practice Norwegian. In contrast, Lily(Kim's mother) and Lee (Kim's father) described the different situation of learning language to me as:

Lee(father): Norwegian is not a challenge because I don't need to use Norwegian. I work in kitchen for whole day; We speak Chinese at home. All of my friends are Chinese...My friends and wife can help me to deal with the things (related to Norwegian).

Lily(mother): I am not as young as my son to learn a new language quickly. I don't speak Norwegian well, and then it took me a lot of time to learn. It was too painful process. But I must experience it... I have to face with customers every day in our restaurant.

Although Lee migrated to Norway more than 10 years ago, he only understood little Norwegian. He kept the simple daily route as “kitchen (where he worked) -home-store (where he bought food)”, which has not required him to speak fluency Norwegian. He is strongly depending on his friends or family members who understand Norwegian. Regarding learning Norwegian, “painful” is the first word into Lily’s mind. The family division of labor encourages Lily to learn new language. This to some extent facilitates Lily’s ability to adapt quickly.

5.2.2 Climate Difference

The climate difference has certain impact on the migrant’s inclusion process. Multi-level analyses in migration study shows that when individuals transferred to host places that were climatically comparable to their hometown, they experienced the least stress and the most sociocultural adaption (English, Kunst, & Sam, 2019). In the interviews, two families didn’t experience the climate difference in Norway. Ren (father) from city in Northeast China and Lei (father) from city in West China have similar response to the question regarding climate difference in Norway.

Ren (father): I don’t like summer. The weather (in Norway) is better than my hometown. I don’t have to wear too much in the winter here. One jean for whole year.

Lei (father): The weather here is very similar to our hometown. I feel quite comfortable. We can fish in summer and ski in winter.

These two participants were not affected by the challenge of climate change. The similar climate increases the process of acculturation on immigrants.

In the drawing activity, children could express their feeling better than description by talking. When I asked the challenge of arriving in Norway, some children mentioned the climate challenge. This is one of drawing here:

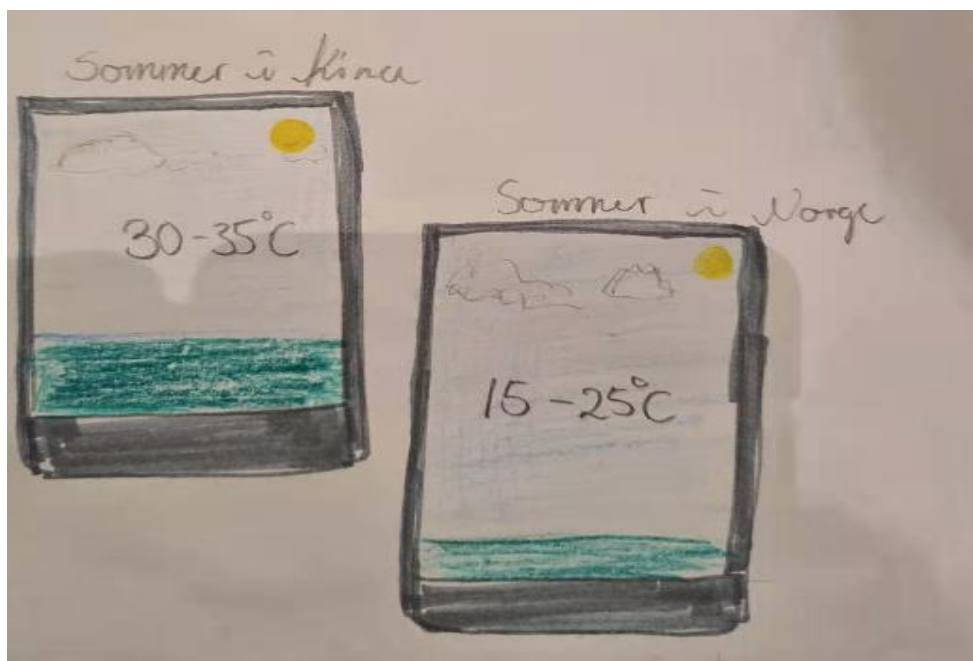


Figure 5 The picture drawn about the summer difference between China and Norway

In this picture, Yuan (daughter) from small village in Southwest China, drew the temperature difference in summer between China and Norway, as reading it from a phone. The title in this picture is ‘Sommer i Kina (Summer in China)’ and ‘Sommer i

Norge (Summer in Norway)'. Further, she also explains the situation of crazy hot summer in China. She usually stays at home with her grandparents who take care of her most of time during the past years. Sometimes, they went to the forest nearby home for a walk and swimming.

In the interviews, Shelly (mother) illustrated the experience of climate differences during migration:

Shelly (mother): (...) Although we can see the northernlight in the winter, the weather is crazy cold here! I have to experience half year of darkness. My husband worked on the sea, thus he was not at home every two weeks. I stayed at home alone and felt lonely in the first month after arrival. Whether you go to bed or get up, it's dark outside. I only went outside for shopping once a week.

Yuan (daughter, 13 years old): The weather is different from my grandparent's home (in China). It's not hot here. I have time to adapt to it.

Both of participants in one family shared the same feeling about climate change, while the adult participants connected "dark", "cold" and "lonely" together. It means that the huge climate difference between hometown and Norway influenced the belonging of participants. A sense of belonging is formed, according to Probyn (1996), by the movement of, and between, "self," "others," "society," and "culture." The adult participant stayed at home for first month and lack of ability to create connection to the society. This made her feel loneliness. Further, I asked them to explain the strategies of dealing with climate challenge:

Yu(author): How do you faced with challenge during the first month, especially for climate change?

Shelly(mother): I tried to make my day busy with different things at home, such as household work. I made video call to my friends and my daughter almost every day.

Yuan (daughter, 13 years old): It's not big challenge for me. The first month is busy for me. I went to school and learn Norwegian. One of classmate was interested in learning Chinese. I made new friends at school and apply for joining sports teams by community. I have to make time for painting, which is my one of hobbies.

On the contrary, the child's action indicated that she connected self, others (new friends), learning setting (school) and cultural community within her special meaning. She situated herself as belonging to the learning setting (school) and local community. It also shows the children's agency to influence herself and environment. Thus, the climate change didn't view as big challenge for child.

5.2.3 Food Habits and Festival Celebration

The food habits and festival celebration can reflect the immigrant's culture background. Food culture play important role in the construction and keep sense of belonging (Reddy & van Dam, 2020). This shift in eating patterns appears to be more prominent among immigrant children, who prefer to consume cuisine from the receiving country. After migration, the dietary practices changing are related to the "dietary acculturation", which refers as a process of migrants adjust their attitude of host society's conventional dietary (Casali, Borsari, Marchesi, Borella, & Bargellini, 2015). Although all adult participants and five child participants was born in China, they still have different food habits of eating Chinese food. For example, Lin's family prefer spicy food, but Kim's family didn't eat any spicy food. When they migrate to Norway, the adult participants still keep previous food habits, however, some child participants change it to eat more hotdogs and sandwiches. In the picture, the participant drew the food difference between China and Norway. She

drew the Chinese hotpot (a soup food containing various Chinese ingredients) in the left and Norwegian sandwich in the right. She also wrote hotpot in the sentence (My favorite food is ...) completion activity.



Figure 6 The picture drawn about the food habit difference between China and Norway

Two participants described the food challenge to me as:

Lin (18 years old): ... Another challenge is food habits. When I studied in introductory class⁷, my mum prepared Chinese lunch for me. The hot lunch made me feel sleepy. At first, my classmates curious about it and they would like to try it. But I must find microwave to heat it. It took much time for me. Sandwich and yogurt are best food for me in the school. (...). I eat Chinese dinner with my family, but the spicy food is not the same as Chinese spicy.

Kim (18 years old): I usually eat Norwegian cold food for quick lunch in school and hot dinner at home. It is more convenient. All Chinese friends did this in Norway.

As we shall see in the above quote, two child participants empathized that dinner still maintain privileged time for family and remains their identity or sense of belonging from the home country. In Chinese immigrant family, the dinner also views as a way of mitigating the 'assimilating effects' of lunch, which each family members may eat independently outside the home.

The most interesting is that two Norwegian-born to Chinese children's family has similar experience of difference food habits between parents and children. I present one typical discussion about this topic here. Ren (father), Wang (mother) and Hua (daughter) said that:

Ren(father): Drinking hot water every day, then doctor go away (每天喝热水, 医生远离你)⁸. (laugh). I always bring my thermos at any time. If I eat food in the restaurant, I will ask for a cup of tea. It is Chinese style.

Wang(mother): I always cook fried rice in the morning, but my daughter prefers eat bread with milk. I need to prepare two types of meal in the morning...The Chinese ingredients is difficult for me to find, such as wheat starch. I took many ingredients (from china) to Norway every time. Sometimes, I have to buy it online from China through few months' transportation.

⁷ Before joining mainstream classes in the public school with Norwegian teaching, immigrant children attend introductory classes for one or two years

⁸ The meaning is similar to proverb "an apple a day keeps the doctor away".

Hua(daughter, 11 years old): My parents like hot food, and sometimes they eat spicy food. I prefer Pizza and hotdogs. When they celebrate my birthday party, my mum cook many tasty food. But, my friends and me only eat fried dumplings.

The Chinese-born children are more likely than Norwegian-born children to refer to the culture of their country of origin. For example, Hua didn't distinguish the food from China or Norway, but Lin and Kim have mentioned "Chinese" many times during the interview. In the sentence completion (I come from...) activities during the interview, Hua wrote "I come from Norway, but Chinese", and she knew that her parents come from China. And her parents have clear perception of different food habits.

Along with the arrival of immigrants, the host country absorbs some of the immigrants' culture. Chinese immigrants have brought the unique, diverse tradition festivals to Norway. For example, an organization in Trondheim (Lager 11) has scheduled the Chinese celebration activities in order to share Chinese culture to residents, such as Chinese culture workshop for all children in Norway (Kjeldsberg, 2021). However, families' cultural values alter after migration as festivities are modified to the new socio-cultural setting and some acquire Norwegian cultural values and ways of celebrating (Sand, 2008). In the interview, all participants have celebrated Chinese and Norwegian festivals in Norway. They prepare two types of food in order to celebrate the festivals in two cultures. All families attended the big parades in their city center, while five of six families used Norwegian flags to decorate their house in 17th, May (Norwegian national day). However, Norwegian-born to Chinese children's family and Chinese-born children's family showed difference among Chinese festival celebration. Jia (daughter) represent the Norwegian-born Children, and her parents Lei (father) and Wen (mother) come from Northwest China said that:

Lei(father): Before pandemic situation, I attended the CSSA⁹ activities every year. My family usually come with me. I don't know how the situation is now. In my hometown, we also celebrate the local festivals, which is different from spring festival.

Wen(mother): When my children were young, I brought them to different parties with Chinese friends. They have their own friends now. I didn't require them to follow us. In recent years, we only cook more Chinese dishes into the spring festival dinner. It is not special day for us.

Jia(daughter, 10 years old): I learned Chinese and attended the Chinese activities to speaking Mandarin. I also attended the Chinese course online, which is required by my mum.

With the increasing length years of living in Norway, participants sense of ritual for traditional Chinese culture slowly diminishes. In Wen's narrative, we found that she didn't celebrate the spring festival as important day instead of cooking more dishes. Parents who was born in China, they still keep the habits of eating Chinese dishes, which is viewed as one way of festival celebration. On the contrary, the Chinese-born children's family attach great importance to the way Chinese festivals are celebrated as a way of expressing their identity and sense of belonging. In the interview, Zhu(mother) and Nini (daughter) come from East China, viewing the Chinese festivals as important festival:

Zhu(mother): We celebrate two countries festivals in Norway, especially for the Chinese festivals. Although my parents migrate here more than 30 years, we keep the tradition until now. We need to wear red clothes and eat hometown food with friends in Norway in

⁹ CSSA means that Chinese Students and Scholars Association. It exists every university in Norway.

the evening for Chinese New Year¹⁰. We also make video call to our family relatives and friends who live in China. Definitely, my daughter will follow the tradition as we did in the past years.

Nini(daughter, 12 years old): I just ate mooncake for Mid-autumn festival¹¹... I prefer to attend the activities in Chinese because I only learn few weeks Norwegian. Last week, my mother took me to attend a Chinese party in the local community and I made new Norwegian friend who also speak good Chinese.

The above narratives show how the Chinese immigrants produced the identity with cultural heritage that distinguished them as group across the national borders. The festival is not only developed the personal identities, but it also facilitates interactions through social activities to develop a social identity. Moreover, the way of celebrating the Chinese festival strengthened the perceptions of the traditions and identity, and thereby also created a sense of belonging to the local community.

5.2.4 Integration in School and Workplace

The sociocultural integration as one components of understanding of acculturation, which also refers to 'how well an individual is able to function in their daily lives in school or work, and generally in the community' (Berry & Sabatier, 2010, p. 192). The experience of integration in school for migrant children and workplace for migrant parents, which is viewed as one of challenge for immigrants. All immigrant children in Norway, like all Norwegian-born children, receive the education training in the local school. In the following picture, the participant drew the school difference between China and Norway. Hundred's students, higher teaching buildings with bright window and weekly flag raising ceremony¹² were the key words for her to describe the Chinese public school. In contrary, less students with spacious plaza represents the school in Norway.



¹⁰ The Chinese New Year begins on the Gregorian calendar at the new moon that occurs between 21 January and 20 February.

¹¹ It is one of the most significant festivals in Chinese culture; it takes place on the night of the full moon on the 15th day of the 8th month of the Chinese lunar calendar, which corresponds to mid-September to early October in the Gregorian calendar. Mooncake is traditional food.

¹² All schools and kindergartens in China are required to hold a weekly flag-raising ceremony, while all people should sing in the ceremony with playing national anthem.

Figure 7 The picture drawn about the school difference between China and Norway¹³

In the interview, all children participated in the school after arriving in Norway. However, Chinese immigrant students are usually not physically integrated into Norwegian classes at the beginning of schooling in Norway. Only few schools in Norway provide additional support for immigrant students (Skrefsrud, 2018). At first, immigrant students usually attend the introductory class before joining the mainstream classes with Norwegian teaching for one or two years (Skrefsrud, 2018). However, the experience of introductory class can result in positive and negative experience. On the one hand, students made friends easily who were also foreigners in Norway. One participant talked it to me: "it was good place for me to make new friends." On the other hand, when immigrant students transferred from introductory class to mainstream class after evaluation by school administration, they were lost friends. The students have to adapt new environment again. One immigrant child in this project also said: "all friends moved to other school."

The mainstream class is important for immigrant children to learn Norwegian and inclusion in Norwegian society. However, the Norwegian school in urban and rural areas construct different schooling experience for migrant children. In this study, two children studied in rural area, while three children studied in urban area. In the interview, almost all migrant children in rural reflected the negative experience of schooling during the beginning period, and migrant children in urban showed the positive experience at school. The following descriptions show that migrant children experience at school:

Lin (living in urban Norway, 18 years old): In the first year, we lived in small village. I felt unhappy without any friends. I don't like group project at school. Then, we moved home to city. I love it. There are many foreigner children, even in my class. All of them were kind and nice at school. I have visited my friends' home overnight in the weekend.

Kim (living in rural Norway, 18 years old): I am the only Chinese at school, and I felt lonely. They (Local children) know each other from kindergarten. We are only classmate, not friends. When I walked close to them after class, they smile polite and kept distance from me.

The attitude toward immigrants' difference between rural and urban Norway that is connected with the expectation from native-born residents in rural, when immigrants have difference characteristics and behaviors from them (Zahl-Thanem & Haugen, 2019). This also reflects the fact that rural residents are concerned about immigrant integration while being mindful of maintaining social distance between native-born people and immigrants. Hua (Norwegian-born children in rural areas) said: "I know two immigrants in our school. They always stay together while not joining local events. They should try more. I have experience similar in kindergarten." Hua experienced not joining in local events when in kindergarten, and then she was alone for a while. This study from children's schooling perspective also confirms Zahl-Thanem and Haugen's (2019) findings that people living in urban express more positive attitude towards immigrants than people in rural areas. Because children may affect by their parents' societal norms, attitudes, and behavior in daily life.

In the interview, only one Norwegian-born to Chinese children's mother (Wang) didn't find a job after moving to Norway, compare to the rest of eight adult participants. The reason for becoming housewife, Wang said: "I'm only undergraduate with little Norwegian. I used to be a department manager in Chinese company, and I didn't want to

¹³ The participant didn't have blue pen to draw Norwegian flag

work in a restaurant as waitress.” Although eight adult participants have jobs, they also show different levels of integration difficulties, even including experience discrimination during applying for jobs. I present two participants narratives in the following:

Ren (Norwegian born to Chinese children’s parent, PhD degree): In Norway, people with PhD degree will not easily find jobs more than those with a bachelor’s degree. They have higher expectation of you...We (with colleagues) have distance between us, I don’t know how to explain...It’s not problem of Norwegian language skill. One of my Norwegian colleagues moved house and didn’t invite me (for a housewarming party) until I heard them discussing it during the lunch.

Shelly (Chinese born children’s parent, bachelor’s degree): ...This sale job was recommended by my husband’s friends. I have applied for it by myself before. I waited for feedback more than one month. No one contact me. You know, foreigner. Then, I have to ask my husband for recommendation request. Only two days, I received the interview call.

We found that Ren has experienced the difficulties of finding a job due to higher education background. During the working period, he still was faced with social distance of other colleagues from Norway. Sometimes, in spite of better Norwegian language skill, highly educated immigrants place into the difference in educational understanding and expectations of equal treatment that might explain the reason of conundrum. Shelly has experienced the job-seeking process for one month by herself, however, she didn’t receive any response due to the foreigner background. The friendship and social network are important for immigrants to find job in the new society, which I will explain it further in next section.

5.2.5 Friendship and Network

Friendships is crucial in the process of adolescent immigrants reconstructing their personal and social identities (Weinreich, 1991) and beneficial to the migrant children’s sociocultural and psychological adaptation (Berry, 2009), especially when they have to resolve the inevitable difference between the cultural values of their families and culture in new society. Their friends provide the fundamental support and help for adolescent immigrants. Thus, interaction with friends appears to be an integral part of acculturation to the migration experience, including experience of schooling and local community. Although some children in this study mentioned that they made new friends easily at school in the previous section, to maintain the friendship with friends in China that was difficult without any technical tools, such as mobile phone. In sentence (My best friend come from...) completion activity, Nini told me:

Nini (daughter, 13 years old): Norwegian friends are good, but I still miss my friends (in China)...Good friends is important thing for me. I feel that I am not alone. I have Wechat account (most popular social media platform in China). But I have to make video call with them by my mum’s mobile phone (because she doesn’t have mobile phone). It made me feel less space. My mum promised me when we arrived in Norway. If I can get the great grade of Norwegian exam in this semester, she will buy a mobile phone for me.

The narrative indicates clear concern about importance of friendship from origin country, which has provided emotional support to migrant children. However, although there are several cases of the Norwegian-born to Chinese children integrating better than immigrants from the same countries, it still exists some situation of children who faced with the challenges of building networks in Norway. The experience of discrimination somewhat more prevalent among the Norwegian-born to migrant parents’s children (Barstad & Molstad, 2020). Although Hua was born in Norway, she faced the challenge of friendship. She described her experience of making friends to me as:

Hua (daughter, 11 years old): I don't have Chinese friends in China. China is my parent's hometown. My friends were 'Norwegian'. But all of them were as the same as me (second-generation immigrants). My classmates in kindergarten said, I was not a Norwegian because of my black eyes and black hair. It's not true. I was born in Norway, but I was Chinese in Norway...My parents' good friends were Chinese. We also speak Chinese at home.

Hua maintained the network of Chinese and kept in touch with Chinese in daily life because she was affected by her parents, who emphasized the family culture based on Chinese Confucianism. The value of Confucianism requires Hua to respect parents and emphasizes the authorities of parents' power. It also kept Hua exposed to the Chinese culture. She made friends who was the same situation as her, sharing the common background and unique experience to shape an independent group of their own, although they physically living in Norway. It also means that she doesn't have a sense of belonging to Norwegian society or an identity of 'Norwegian' even though she has lived in Norway since birth. Although her language, food habits and behaviors are like a Norwegian, she feels a sense of belonging when she interacts with Chinese or participate the events in Chinese.

The similar situation about facing challenges of making friends or building network also exists in migrant parents, especially for parents who don't have job and only understand little Norwegian. The small and simple social network also limit the migrant's sense of belonging in Norwegian community. Hua's mother mentioned her situation in the interview:

Yu(author): After moving to Norway, have you made new friends or attended any social activities?

Wang (Hua's mother): I only knew two Chinese in our village. Last party was two years ago due to the COVID-19 situation. My husband would take me to attend the social activities. However, it is Norwegian program.

Yu(author): Have you contacted with your friends or parents in China?

Wang (Hua's mother): Yes. But we have time difference. I check the Wechat message every morning in order to know everything happened in China. Although I don't have lots of things sharing to them, I feel good when I check their updated moment in China. Sometimes, I feel alone here.

Although Wang physically lived in Norway, she kept the habits and friendship strongly connecting with China. She could assimilate well in new country, but she chose not to do. It also impacts her on acculturating in Norway and loss the sense of belonging. The habits of checking Wechat App were not only occurred in Wang's daily life, but it also happened in many participants' daily life in this study. This method represented a solution of dealing with the sense of belonging by migrant in Norway. If we research the Hua (daughter) and Wang(mother)'s behavior together, it is easily understanding why Norwegian-born to Chinese family still exist the challenge of building friendship and network. Because Wang were not accepted the new culture and emphasized more Chinese culture in the new context, which also impact the daily life of Hua. Thus, I believe that this type of second-generation migrant situation looks like "Chinese island in Norway". It means that people who are born or lived in Norway while only feel the sense of belonging when interact with Chinese people.

5.3 Discussion: Acculturation Gap between Children and Parents

In the above sections, we find that children acculturate faster than adults, which may result in acculturation "gap" of differences in cultural attitudes (Lopez-Class, Castro, & Ramirez, 2011). It also presents the difference between parents and children during the acculturation process. This process can become quite contradictory.

On the one hand, we can understand the difference of acculturation between children and parents from social constructionism theory. It explains how childhoods are shaped and understood, which reveals that this process is not a fixed phenomenon, but an ongoing construction renovating with social change. In this study, both children and parents are shaped by the social, cultural, and economic factors of the destination country in everyday life. Although they have experienced the same challenges such as language barrier, their reactions to the challenges are full of traces of social changes between children and parents. According to the interview, children participants learn Norwegian via online courses and computer games, while parent participants learn Norwegian in the language cafeteria. Changes in society also impacts the childhood. The meaning of childhood for Norwegian-born to Chinese children is different from that for Chinese-born children in this study, since it is a social construct through actions and interactions. The childhood can be a social construct, contrary to the concept of a universal childhood (James et al., 1998). As Nilsen noted, "Various constructions of children and childhoods are part of ongoing processes of cultural production and reproduction, acted out by agents at all ages, in different ways and in different contexts" (Nilsen, 2008, p. 39). The childhood which emphasizes the importance of good academic performance within or outside school in China, advocates exploring children's interests through education in Norway. Understandably, few child participants from China mentioned any challenges about homework or academic pressure in this study after migrating to Norway. Thus, when they migrate to Norway, few of their childhood experiences in China come into play to help them integrate into the new environment due to cultural differences.

On the other hand, the acculturation "gap" can be explained by acculturation theory (Berry, 1997), transnational perspective (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) and generational order (Alanen, 2009). In Berry's model (Berry, 1980), assimilation and separation are two categories that explain the situation of "acculturation gap" via different life stages. The same topic may have different dimensions between children and adults. For example, in this study, children who go to school have more human contact with people than adults who worked in the kitchen. In the destination country, children accept and assimilate with Norwegian culture such as sleepovers with friends in this study. However, their parents may consider it dangerous and even be afraid to accept it, since they didn't experience the same process. For the adult participant who worked in the kitchen, he only had contact with Chinese people in this new country. His behaviors are viewed as a separation (opposes accepting culture while preserving home culture) (Berry, 1997). This phenomenon may also create difficulties to transnational intergenerational order. Alanen (2009) has pointed out that the concepts of 'children' and 'parents' are mutually constituted structures. The change of action in children's position may lead to a change in parent's position. The determinants of intergenerational structure and positions are always dynamic, changing and complex (Alanen, 2009). In other words, the role of acculturation gap affects the transformation of generational order.

Generally, the children in the transnational family maintain cultural, linguistic, historical and emotional and other linkages with their parent's home countries. They are diaspora groups different from other groups. In relation to the "children in transnational family migration" concept, the term of "Chinese migrant children" or "Norwegian born to Chinese children" made the connection between migrant parents and the identity of children. It also resonates with the "childing" concept by Mayall (2002). When children stay in school, they are treated as students, and feel "less child". However, their identities are apparent when they are positioned with their parents at home. In transnational perspectives, when Chinese-born children visit their family relatives and friends in China instead of living in Norway, they feel "less migrant identities". On the contrary, Norwegian-born to Chinese parent's children felt 'more migrant identities' in China than in Norway. Thus, the physical spatial position is important for us to understand intergenerational ordering in the transnational family context. Additionally, the 'childing' should be used to correspond to 'parenting' (Alanen, 2009). In one participant's case, her mother only strongly maintained a connected relationship with (other) Chinese people in Norway. This behaviour also encourages the child to make new friends who has common background like second-generation migrants, although the child was born in Norway. She would share the feeling of difficulties and supporting with her friends when her parents or teacher could not support. The school life in Norway also provides a place for those children to learn, to develop and to share responsibilities during the interdependence process among peers, such as team activities within or outside school. The schooling experience also enhances the support among second-generation migrants. Thus, it argues that the peer relation among Norwegian-born to Chinese children and their friends is also an intragenerational order.

Moreover, intergenerational relations can be explored into the extended relationship. According to Alanen (2009) research, examples work for generational order were not only describing the parent-child relationship, but also the teacher-student relationship. It could be extended to relationship between grandparents and grandchildren as one example of generational order, as exemplified in one Chinese-born to migrant parents' family in this thesis. The grandparents provide the practical and emotional support to migrant children in the daily life when parents are absent due to work. However, the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren were not highly evident in Norwegian-born migrant family, in other words, children are lack of support from their grandparents because of long distance. Thus, it emphasizes that distance play an importance role of interdependent positions between the generation.

5.4 Summary

In sum, this analysis chapter presented the difference between parents and children during the acculturation process. I have discussed migrant family's challenges as social inclusion experience using the acculturation theory (Berry, 1997), transnational perspectives (Levitt & Schiller, 2004), concept of social identity and belonging, and concept of generational order (Alanen, 2009).

In the beginning of this chapter, it presented the migration decision-making process of migrant family. It reflected the different experience of children's involvement in family migration decision-making. Before migrating, parents were the powerful person in the majority family, and they decided how much involvement of children in decision-making. Roche (1999) believed that the level of children's participation in decision-making increases with age (Roche, 1999). Kim's experience in my study also confirmed Roche's

study that the age is one of factors strongly impact on children's involvement in migration decision-making process. However, the result in my study informed that Lin and Yuan were younger than Kim and Nini when they heard the news of migration, and they shared the common background of growing up in a single-mother's family before moving to Norway. Lin and Yuan's mother created more space for children to engage with discussion in migration decision-making process. In other words, the family pattern (single parent) was opening for children's participation and inclusion in family matters. The participation of children were meaningful and made them to feel important in the family. They also need to believe that their voice and opinion should be heard and be listened.

The second section of this chapter aimed to explore the challenges of children and parents in daily life, such as language barrier, climate difference, food habits and festival celebration, integration in school and workplace, friendship and network. It demonstrated how children and parent reacted to challenges after arriving in Norway and how their daily experience was constructed by social, economic, cultural elements in this context. Acculturation has an impact not just on the individual, but also on the family as a whole. Each family member may adapt at a different rate, resulting in a developing gap in cultural beliefs or behaviors. This disparity was frequently found between adolescents and adults (Berry, 2003), particularly when children acculturated more quickly than their parents. Thus, it can explain how difference between the parents and children when they face with challenges. In other words, to some extent, it also reflects that the impact of migration on the intergeneration relationship, which I will present in next section.

6 The Impact of Migration on the Intergenerational Relationship in Chinese Migrant Families

In the previous chapter, we discussed the challenges of migrant children and parents in destination country and how the position of children and parents is constructed different within different context. This chapter has drawn theories from childhood studies and developmental psychology to discuss the impact of migration on the intergenerational relationship in Chinese migrant families, such as social structure theory, transnationalism, acculturation theory and intergenerational ambivalence theory. The knowledge of childhood may be dependent on the understanding of adulthood, and generation is a major idea here, it is critical to relate this generational nature with familial interactions (Mayall, 2002). The intergenerational relationship is shaped by changes in family cultures and values. It also reflects different dimensions of intergenerational relations (support or ambivalence) and the expectation across generations surrounding migration. The intergenerational relationship in migrant families can be understood in a twofold way. Firstly, intergenerational relationship in migrant family can be strengthen through family supports after international migration (Sun & Mulvaney, 2021). It may enable the migrants to focus on their family members instead of integrating socially in the destination country. Secondly, the acculturation "gap" of differences between children and parents in cultural attitudes effect the changing of intergenerational relationship, which also reflect the intergeneration ambivalence arising in many aspects of the migrant families. Thus, this chapter will focus more on both support and ambivalence, which are integral aspects in Chinese migrant family that were interviewed in this project. It also explains how the impact of migration on the intergenerational relationship in Chinese migrant families through theory of intergenerational ambivalence (Luescher & Pillemer, 1998) and concept of intergenerational support.

6.1 Parenting Style and Children's Reaction

In the previous section of migration decision-making process, we have discussed the difference of children engagement in migration process among these families. It also reflects the difference of parenting style in the family. The role of immigrant's acculturation is important for understanding the gap between generations. The preferable situation of intergenerational communication is considered to be a situations where the parents understand the cultural difference, which new aspects should be absorbed, which to modify and which to retain from the origin countries (Bornstein & Bohr, 2011). The Chinese tradition in parenting style was that mother was responsible for biophysical care and father was responsible for sociocultural reproduction, such as moral education. The Chinese relationship between parents and children highly emphasized respect and an intimate relationship between parents and children (Lee et al., 2002). However, the parental role also extended from caregivers to learner in immigrant families. The parents are not only caretakers of their children but also learn new parenting style in the destination country. The Norwegian culture typically demonstrates the open communication and independent relationship between parents and children (Proctor et al., 2020), which is different from a hierarchical form of reciprocal relationship in Chinese

context. Thus, some parents in this study develop a hybrid parenting style that combine discipline and autonomy regulation when they educate their children after migration. Qi (mother) and Lily (mother) have discussed their hybrid parenting style in the interviews:

Qi(mother): We (mother and daughter) are as close as sisters and talk about everything. Sometimes, she's more like mom than I am in daily life. But she was rebellious in the adolescence. She wants to stay with her friends overnight. I rejected. At that time, she said that I was too strict. Norwegian parents trust their children...My Norwegian friend told me, take it easy...

Lily(mother): I was 'Norwegian mom'. Give freedom back to my son. Since he lives in Norway, he is as happy as he can be. However, some Chinese etiquette will still be repeatedly. I reminded for him to remember, for example, when we make tea, we have to let the elders drink first.

Qi and Lily expressed the similar attitude of changing parenting style after migrating to Norway. In Qi's case, it is common that children stay overnight in friend's home in Norway, however, this situation is not familiar with Chinese parents. Four of six families faced this cultural challenge in the interviews. Lin still remembered the first argument she had with her mother (Qi) after arriving in Norway and said:" She didn't trust me and didn't allow my friend to visit me overnight. After long time, she finally accepted it." The longer length of immigrants in destination country, they became more accustomed to new culture, including style of parenting. Kim as immigrant children also shared his experience of reacting about Lily's parenting style to me in the interview. Although Kim didn't share everything with his mom (Lily), he said:" The situation changed after living in Norway. I made decision of everything, including my university and major. I have asked my mom about expectation of my career development as my Chinese friends who have done to their parents. But my mom told me, she wants me to become a happy man. "

The important sign of parental acculturation is that immigrant parents started to ask their friends in destination country or question the previous style of childrearing in home culture. The parents' personal reflection may result in changing of parenting style from implicit communication of Chinese culture to openly communication of Norwegian culture. This situation not only occurred in these two families, but also occurred in different ways in the remaining/other four families. However, the most interesting was that one family with Norwegian born children showed less parental acculturation in this study. The length of living in destination country and understanding of culture are not the only reason of impact the immigrant acculturation. The parental acculturation can impact by many factors. Lei (father) and Wen (mother) were Norwegian-born children's immigrant parent, and they exposure in the contact with Norwegian culture longer than other parents in this study. After the long-term interaction with Norwegian parents, they still insist on the childrearing style of "cultivate children to survive into the stronger competition", which has discussed before in chapter three about childhood in China. Their parental practice is also characterized as more authoritative style. However, the Norwegian-born children (Jia and Peng) also accepted the way of parenting style and attended different training programs under the schedule of parents. Jia (daughter) and Wen (Jia's mother) have discussed the homework in the interviews:

Wen(mother): The homework is not enough for my children. They are really smart and finish homework in short time. Their learning capacity enable them to learn more in order to catch up the development path of competition society. Look at the children in China. I don't require them to spend the same time as Chinese children. At least half?

Jia(daughter, 10 years old): I am busy in the weekend. I have to attend different activities and clubs. I can speak three language fluency...Sometimes, I felt tired.

Wen has asked the education tips from friends who come from China and compared the situation of Chinese children. In this case, Jia has experienced the difficult period of learning many programs, however, Wen believed that all learners should experience it and more skills can support her daughter in the future, such as explore more job opportunities in China. The different childhood experience between parents and children also results in different filial expectations, which I will explain it more in the next section.

6.2 Different Filial Expectations Across Generations

The differences in intergenerational norms, such as filial expectations, may arise the ambivalent in the parent-children's relationships. The filial expectation specifically connects with the cultural heritage of the Chinese Confucian familism that emphasize the elder care when the parents are in old age(Lin, Bryant, Boldero, & Dow, 2015). The filial expectations are referred in this study that adult parents are authoritative and expect young children to fulfill the caregiving obligations of elder care or accepting co-residence in the future. Based on the empirical evidence in the study, under the intergenerational ambivalent theory guidance, I find that not all of the child migrants are comfortable with their transnational existence (for example, Nini miss her home in China), while most of child participants do not meet the filial expectations of the parents when they adapt to the norms of the country of immigration. Lin (daughter) has mentioned her view of filial expectation when she shared the situation of communication with her mother (Qi) in the daily life:

Lin (18 years old): ...I am living with my mother and young brother now. But I saved money through part-time jobs and expected to buy my own apartment in Oslo soon...Because I have a boyfriend now, my mother and I have talked about marriage (laugh). If I have children, I will take care my children alone, and will not let my mother interfere. She might move back to China.

In Lin's future plan, she believed that it was a form of filial piety to buy a house in Norway through own efforts and to take care of the children by herself to ease the burden of her mother in her old age. However, Qi (mother) described the different expectation of filial piety, "Norway's life changed me a lot, but I might move back to China in one day. My parents still stay in China. I confirm that I changed the expectation of children. I still hope my daughter doesn't go too far. She is a good sister. Although it is still decades away from not being able to walk, I still want them to be with me..." Qi believed that it is good for her and children to have opportunity to live overseas, but she planned to return to China and looked for living closer with her children when she in old age. By taking care of her brother and easing the burden on the family, Lin fulfilled the obligations as an older sister, and to a certain extent, Qi recognized her daughter's dedication. In addition, the living arrangements also expressed the different intergenerational norms. Qi also felt homesickness for China where her parents have already established roots. She must fulfill her elder care obligation. This longing to return to China is common occurring for the first-generation adult immigrants. In contrary, the adherence to filial expectation is lower for the second generation. Lin decided to stay in Norway instead of moving back China with her mother.

The situation of different filial expectation not only occurred in Chinese-born children migrant family, but the Norwegian-born children family also face the similar phenomena. All adult participants have expressed their expectation of children in the future, while one father (Ren) have discussed his understanding of filial piety through his experience:

Ren: I only have one daughter, and I want her to grow up healthy and happy, and I also want her to be with us when we are old. We also don't have the means to go back to China to pay respect to our parents, and they can't live in Norway for a long time, which is a kind of regret. My father stays alone and feel loneliness in China... But my daughter was born in Norway, and she might have different idea from us...

When second-generation children become more integrated into the destination country, the immigrant parents experience more distance with their children, including intergenerational norms. In this case, Hua (Ren's daughter) was born and grow up in Norway, surrounding Norwegian and Chinese multi-culture in daily life. Ren was unable to fulfill the elder care obligation because of long distance with his elderly parent, and his father decided not to migrate. It made him feel regret. This word 'regret' represented that filial piety was significant for Ren. In Ren's narratives, he believed that his father's loneliness was associated with unmet filial expectation. This is where he worries about the difference between his future and his daughter's understanding of filial piety. In Hua's family, Qi(mother) and Ren (father) as adult parents believed that the intergenerational co-residence is important for their children to fulfilment of filial expectation. Although Hua (Ren's daughter) didn't discuss anything in regard to filial expectation in the interview, she has mentioned the feeling of intergenerational co-residence when she visited China in the summer holiday, "I remember there were so many people in my grandmother's house, and everyone lived together. For example, my uncle's family was with my grandmother. I was a little overwhelmed. It was different from our family, there were only three of us." Hua only experienced living with her parents in Norway, while less Norwegian family involve the co-residence across generations. Generally, the nuclear family were emphasized adult parents and their children (a mother and father with one or more children), which is became the common type of family in Norway (Lomeu Gomes, 2020). Thus, the different understanding of filial expectation can result in ambivalent across generations.

6.3 Intergenerational Ambivalence

The intergenerational ambivalence means that conflict between older generation and a younger generation (elderly parents and adult children, adult parents and children in adolescent years or grandparents and grandchildren) (Connidis & McMullin, 2002). In this section, we will discuss the relationship between adult parents and their children in adolescence. The period of adolescence is the stage of conflict, which occurs in children who try to get away from their parent's control. The common image of immigrant children engaged in daily life against parents easily occurs in the immigrant families, which reflects the negative meaning of intergenerational ambivalent. The strains on the relationship between parents and their children in immigrant family was shaped by their background. In the previous chapter, the main ambivalent was described, and arising from the fact that parents and children lived in different social context and shaped by different childhood. The typical ambivalent scenario is that immigrant parents keep the previous parental belief and behavior, while the children integrated into the new culture. When children integrated more culturally in the host country, the situation of intergenerational ambivalent was easier occur in the daily life, for example, the disagreement of 'staying with friends overnight', which we have discussed in the above section (See chapter 5.2.4). In addition, when children do not adhere the religious or tradition regulation, more ambivalence occur across generations. Traditional values will be replaced by the host country's new ideals, resulting in a loss of identity, for example, children are less attending the traditional festival. Although the Confucian familism is built upon a hierarchy of gender, generation and age, the gender difference was not

expressed in the intergenerational ambivalence in this study. Five of six families reported the situation of ambivalent in the interview and described the type of conflict in the family, which was mainly focused on education conflicts. The intensified market competition since the economic reform in China, which made many Chinese parents invest much in their children's education (Fong, 2002), and was also emphasized by the Chinese immigrant parents in this study. Thus, the way academic performance or upbringing is often a cause of ambivalent between children and parents in immigrant families.

In this study, every parent believes that education is the most important thing for children. 'Tiger Mother' Amy Chua story of education circulates among immigrant families. The tiger mother's "strict parental style derived from her so-called Chinese upbringings have made Amy Chua, a second-generation of Chinese American, a center of attention" (Guo,2013). Wen (mother) and Jia (daughter) has main conflicts of the way of education, while Lei (father) perceived the happy education. In Lei's opinion, happy education means that children's hobbies and holistic development is important than academics. They described the ambivalent situation to me in the interview:

Wen(mother): Contradictions? We fight a lot. She doesn't do her homework well enough, or she goes out to play without telling us. She is very stubborn and hard to talk to properly. Her father can talk to her calmly. Sometimes I find it really hard to raise a child in Norway, her perception of culture is completely different from ours. Although they have learned Chinese well, they are children who grew up here at heart. She herself says, she is Norwegian. Whenever she argues with me, she says I don't understand Norwegian children.

Lei(father): Interest is the best teacher of learning, and I basically rarely have conflicts with my kids. It is mainly my wife who is in charge of the children's learning, I am upholding the idea of happy education.

Jia(daughter, 10 years old): My mom and I fight a lot, and she regulates me too much. Sometimes it's about homework, sometimes it's about the little things.

Wen's childhood was full of fierce competition in the learning environment, and through continuous efforts, she was able to get into a top Chinese university to obtain the opportunity to study abroad. On the contrary, Jia (daughter) grow up in nature and independent education in Norway, which give more spaces and possibilities for children to explore. The ambivalence raised from different priorities of education and training in different context. Although Lei(father) was born in China as the same as his wife, he still insisted on the idea of happy education, which is different from his wife. But Wen (mother) has more power in the matter of teaching children to learn. However, in the following narratives, we found that ambivalence has a positive meaning as "the intimate relationship" from parents' perspectives. Zhu (mother) has two daughters, one is Nini who has participated in this study and lived in Norway, while another one lived in China. Zhu was migrated to Norway with Nini's grandparents since she was 12 years old and moved back to China for working and marriage. After Zhu's divorce, she decided to ask for support from her parents to take care Nini. Although Nini migrated to Norway and separately lived with her younger sister only two months, she felt alone. Zhu (mother) and Nini (daughter) mentioned their ambivalent situation in the interview:

Zhu: I have strong conflict with my father when I was young. He is stubborn (...). I would love for my daughter to get into an argument with me. Who doesn't have a rebellious child during adolescence? She's a good girl and doesn't talk much. When she came to Norway,

she used to stay in her room by herself and didn't know what she was doing. I believe that conflict is associated with intimacy ('亲密'¹⁴ in Chinese character).

Nini (12 years old): I rarely argue with my mother. She was busy and I used to spend more time with my younger sister. My sister and I fought a lot. She would wear my clothes without my permission and I talked to her about it many times...I missed her (young sister).

Zhu and Nini didn't have many ambivalence in the daily life because Zhu spend much time in her jobs. Nini described more conflict of daily life with her younger sister who still lived in China. Zhu's description illustrated common issues and family dynamics that cause ambivalence in immigrant families, such as the less emotional support between children and parents. Zhu would like to develop more intimate relationship with her daughter, and she didn't know how to approach with Nini and maintain their relationship. However, the intimacy relationship always described as 'subjective experience', which need time and effort to be built up. Although Nini has ambivalent with her young sister, she expresses the feeling of missing. Thus, ambivalent is not only having negative meaning, but it also has positive meaning in Chinese context. 'Ambivalence' connects with frequently interaction between parents and children in this study. The intimacy relationship between parents and children which is different from relationship among peers. The later relationship emphasizes the mutual dependence. However, the relationship between parents and children is based on the emotional dependence of the children. The less emotional communication between parent and children results in less interaction.

In addition, under the intergenerational ambivalence context, the sibling support in the same generation should be highlighted here in this study. Previous research studies have underlined the interdependencies among different family relationships. It points that one family relationship can strengthen or weaken the other family relationship, such as intergenerational relationship(de Bel, Kalmijn, & Duijn, 2019). The findings in this study substantiate interdependency between intergenerational and intragenerational sibling relationships. In this study, besides Nini, two families which have two children, living with sibling together in Norway. The narratives of Lin (elder sister) and Bin (young brother) gave me clear expression about sibling support during the interview, when I asked the questions about relationship between parents and children.

Lin (elder sister, 18 years old): My mother didn't spend much time on my brother because my parents have been divorced for long time. But we (Lin and Bin) are really close. He told me everything, including the feeling of moving to Norway. My mother didn't know that. As a sister, I need to take care of my brother.

Bin(young brother, 14 years old): I don't have conflict with my mum. It's not bad. Although she tried to talk with me after living here, I prefer stayed with Lin. She was fully supportive of me. Sometimes, she gave me pocket money to play computer games. It was our secret!

Generally, the parents who support their children can create the family atmosphere of helping each other in the family, which gives the important understanding of sibling support to children. The first thing Lin does everyday when she gets home is check her brother's Norwegian homework. In Bin's memory, before migrating to Norway, he only stayed with his mother for 2 or 3 years after parents divorce. The unfamiliar relationship between mother and son made him not know how to talk to his mother. Sometimes, he chose to confide in his sister. Qi (Lin and Bin's mother) has expressed the similar

¹⁴ The Chinese character '亲密' described the state of good relationship, while it emphasizes the subjective feeling

narrative as Zhu (Nini's mother), "My son is in adolescence, but cannot see any rebellion. We don't have any conflicts either. Most of time he comes home and stays in his room."

In Lin and Bin's opinion, they keep secret with each other, which make them felt intimacy instead of ambivalent. Thus, the relationship between Bin and his mother indicates that compensation of weak intergenerational relationship through strong sibling relationships.

6.4 Intergenerational Support

The intergenerational support is a heated topic in transnational family research(Baldassar, 2007). The existing discussion have advanced the understanding of relationship between elderly parents and adult children(Luescher & Pillemer, 1998), much less is known on the group of relationship between adult parents and young children, such as children in adolescence. Thus, the intergenerational support in this section is distinguished into two types: support exchange from parents to children and from children to parents.

The practical help from parents to children can be understood in a twofold way. Firstly, the financial, emotional and social networks support provided by adult immigrant to their young children. The adult immigrant generation has always played the role of primary caregiver in transnational families. The main reason is that they have income and access to a large amount of resources, so they naturally become the main breadwinners in the family(Baldassar, 2007). They are not only providing the financial support, but they also offer social network resources support to their families' members. For example, all child participants have been invited to attend their parent's friends party, including Chinese and Norwegian events. Two immigrant children mentioned that the first Chinese friends in Norway was introduced by their parents. For example, Yuan described how she made the first Chinese friends in Norway in the interview and said "she lived nearby our home. My mother took me to join in the party and introduce her to me." It is common that migrant children participate to their parent friend's event. And vice versa, parents can also get to know other children's parents through their children's friends, thus expanding their own friendship circle. In addition, emotional support remains important between generations in the family. All mothers in this study explained that they tried to communicate with their children when children were faced with the challenge. However, children sometimes do not actively talk to their parents about the difficulties they are experiencing. This condition did not appear to be gender specific in the finding, and it related to the relationship between siblings of children. For example, Bin prefer asking the strategies from his sister, while Nini usually digest her own emotions by herself although she has a younger sister.

Secondly, elderly immigrant provided support to their adult children. Based on the reciprocal nature of intergenerational relationships in China, especially in the family context, elder immigrants provide emotional and financial assistance to their adult children and grandchildren (Baldassar, 2007). The welfare services in destination country also affect how much adult children need to rely on their elderly parents for practical support. In Norway, the stable welfare state support adults to balance work and family. For example, the adult parents, including immigrant parents, can apply for parental leave when they give birth to a baby in Norway. Generally, this period requires both parents' effort on new baby, when it also views as good time for adult children to ask elderly parents to migrate in Norway from Chinese culture context. The Chinese grandparenting emphasizes blood ties and intergenerational support, especially for the third-generation child caring. It also expresses an extension of parental responsibility, which culturally constructed as family responsibilities. However, in this study, only one family has

described the practical support from elderly immigrant, which is Nini's family. The adult participants from the rest of five families took care their young children by themselves. At the same time, adult children and grandchildren also receive the emotional support from the elderly generation. Zhu works as single mother and commutes between China and Norway every year and her parents live in Norway. Although Zhu has strong conflict with her father, she decided to ask support from her parents to take care daughter in Norway. Zhu described the situation to me in the interview:

Zhu: ...I haven't talked to my father for 1 year ago because he believed that divorce was my loss ... My parents had enough time to take care Nini. In the past years, Nini have attended the summer camp program in Norway and visited my parents several times...I taught Nini how to prepare meals by herself. She should learn it.

When I asked the question about communication with parents or grandparents, Nini told me, "I never imaged living with my grandparents. They were nice. Norway was a holiday place for me (in the past years). Now, it becomes my study place." Nini described her feeling about the relationship with her grandparents to me. I found that grandparent's home and Norway were not associated with 'home' through Nini's narrative due to less contact in the previous years. The role of caregiver still need time to build the emotional support.

Few research has been conducted on support from young children for parent in immigrant families. Adult always ignore the support from their young children, especially for moving into the destination country. In this study, only one parent report that she has received the practical support from her son in the daily life. Qi was proud of her son's independent abilities in the daily life. She has divided the household chores into different types, while Bin (son) was in charge of most household chores.

Qi (mother): My son used to be particularly spoiled, living with his father when he never went out to the supermarket to buy things. After he came to Norway, I taught him how to wash dishes and cook, and he can now prepare his own lunch for school. He also helps me to relieve myself of household chores.

Actually, children are highly adaptable. In the previous chapters, we found that two child participants (Lin and Yuan) have showed their capability and positive reaction to assist their parents to make migration decision (see chapters 5.1). In addition, emotional support doesn't only happen between adults. Two child participants in the interview reflect that they provide the emotional or practical support to their parents during the migration:

Yuan (12 years old): ...My mom was very anxious when she first arrived in Norway. She would call me on video, but never said anything. After I came to Norway, she would talk to me about the things she was experiencing, and I would comfort her... Sometimes, I would make her desserts.

Lin (18 years old): My mother only digests her emotion by herself. I would often talk to my mom and share everything. Since two years ago, I've been working part-time to earn money for paying daily necessities and would buy gifts for her.

The first participant was left-behind children before migrating to Norway to reunify with her mother. Left behind children means that they are under the age of 16 and their parents have migrated to work and live in big cities, while most of children lived with their grandparents in village or small cities (K. C Sun, 2013). Maintaining contact with members of the family left behind is also an important way for adult migrants to provide transnational care, and it is a way to reduce the emotion of transnational separation. The intergenerational order (Alanen & Mayall, 2001) emphasizes that how both children and

adults play an important role in mutual support and care. For example, Yuan's mother maintained frequently making video call with Yuan. This behavior enhanced emotional support in the long-distance relationship. At the same time, children's feedback is really important for building stable intergenerational relationship. It is also one way of child to express her emotional support. For example, the second participant was actively sharing everything to her mother, while she also worked as part-time employee to contribute the practical support in the family.

6.5 Discussion: Migration and Changes in Families

In this chapter, the effect of migration on the intergenerational relationship was main topic, while I also analyzed the different filial expectation across generations. In this way, I aimed to contribute to a better understanding of the impact of migration on intergenerational relationship through intergenerational support and ambivalence as two key aspects in the chapter. The effect of migration on the migration family in this study was various, which presented us with dynamic situation and the changes of intergenerational relationship in Chinese migrant families.

Firstly, the parenting style is impacted by migration, which lead to ambivalence between parents and children into migrant family's daily lives. It also reflects that acculturation trajectories between parents and children were different. In the interview, the child participants talked about some ways of Norwegian culture, while their parents still kept the previous strict parenting style in the country of migrant. Adult participants said that they have tried to learn the perceptions of parenting style not only to view children as self-reliant, but also, in some cases, to accept the idea that children are more independent, and their voice should be listened to. We found that the hybrid parenting style was created by immigrant parents after migration. The positive behaviors was the main features of parental rearing behaviors, and also confirmed the findings of other Chinese scholar's studies (Xia et al., 2006). The results of this study suggested that the parents who were likely to be more accepting the new culture and transfer it into the parenting style, they received more positive children's response and built more stable intergenerational relationships. Thus, parents might learn to become cross-culture perceptions when they are rearing the children.

Secondly, the filial expectations are different across generation. Although the findings showed that filial piety was still a strong prevailing social norm in migrant children, they changed the understanding of filial expectation. In my study, one child participant expressed the understanding of filial piety as taking care herself in order to release the burden of her parent. This view as paradoxical, as it is complete opposite from conventional understanding in Chinese context. Traditional Chinese filial piety emphasizes the obligation to support one's parents, while taking care of oneself is more of an individualistic expression. From culture and transnationalism perspective, migrant children received the perception of filial expectation through their parents in daily life or Chinese peers. Those children not only practice the filial piety in daily life through interaction with their parents or Chinese peers, but they also learn it from their parents's behaviors. Regarding migrant parents, filial children are responsible for elder care, for example, co-residing with elderly parents and provide financial and care support in daily life. However, migrant children expressed different expectation from their parents, which can be explained by structure change and intergenerational ambivalence perspective. On the one hand, migrant children experienced the change of family structure from extended family to nuclear family, especially after migration. They only interacted with their

parents or sibling in Norway instead of maintaining frequency contacts with elder generation. It means that their parents express less traditional norms of filial support of elder care than they would have if living with elder generation. Thus, it is difficult for migrant children to understand the traditional elder care in China. On the other hand, those children experienced the Chinese collectivist and relationship cultures to Norwegian independent and individualist society, which was filled with different understanding of expectation. This may partially explains the different filial expectation and how they can create conflict between parents and children.

Thirdly, the migration influences the family structure, and weakening wider kinship relationship, like relationship with elder generation. The loss of intergenerational support enhances the distance of extended family. As indicated earlier, the traditional Chinese family had a strong patriarchal element with unique characters as reciprocal intergenerational relationship. However, the migration may impact the Chinese family structure from extended family to nuclear family, and change the importance of patriarchal power in the family. In other words, the nuclear families focus on the children, and elder people lose their position of authority in the family, especially for adult children who are migrants. International migration leads to the separation of family members and greater dependence on the nuclear family, weakening ties with other extended family members, like grandparents. For instance, in chapter five, only one adult parent, a single mother, received the support from her parents in Norway, at the same time, the five families visited China less with the length of living in Norway. Arber and Timonen (2012) found that grandparents were a valuable resource for single-parent families or families with strained parent-child relationships. Synthesizing the empirical studies in this area, it can be concluded that the role of grandparents is manifested in two ways: (1) grandparents can take more responsibility for the nurturing and care of their grandchildren; (2) the presence and help of grandparents can offer more gender roles and socialization support for grandchildren with absent fathers or mothers. Further, the changes of family structure had a significant impact on the intergenerational relationship as parents and children acculturate at different rates in a new country. The changes of family structure also reconstructed the intergenerational relationship. In a structural perspective, the family structure has undergone drastic changes, resulting in a big gap between the two generations in term of cultures, economics, ideologies, lifestyles, and political attitudes. Thus, the intergenerational relationship become contradictory and alienated.

Finally, migration results in intergenerational ambivalence. Being different from their parents, the children of immigrants do not have much life experience in China, nor do they have substantial ties. They all migrate to Norway with their parents in elementary school and then slowly identify with the country they grew up in. For second generation immigrants born in Norway, most of them identified with their country of birth. The acculturation gap between parents and children also results in intergenerational ambivalence, such as understanding of culture and daily habits. However, growing up in an immigrant family, children often figure out that they are in two conflicting cultures, Chinese culture and Norwegian culture, which is root cause of intergenerational conflict in Chinese immigrant families. This situation can be understood by intergenerational ambivalent theory (Connidis & McMullin, 2002), which explains the reaction of negative and positive from participants perspective. For instance, the negative experience mostly occurs in daily practices, like attitudes of academic achievement across generations. On the contrary, the positive experience in this study reflects that conflict arises within the intimate relationship. The theory suggested that family members often experienced the

contradictory psychological experience of wanting to be independent while having to assume family responsibilities; of desiring freedom while hoping for family support; of considering personal interests while having to consider the moral responsibilities assigned by social norms (Connidis & McMullin, 2002).

Overall, the impact of migration on the intergenerational relationship is significant. It also is demonstrated by the different migrant families to reconstruct the intergenerational relationship to maintain family connectedness during the migration. The migrants, including both parents and children, experience adapt to new culture and new regulations and rules in the destination country. The family support as intergenerational support in this study has addressed some cultural challenges of migrants. In the future, the family support will build more stable relationships between family members in order to integrate into the individualistic Norwegian culture.

6.6 Summary

This analysis chapter explained how the intergenerational relationship changed by migration through daily practice, such as parenting style, different filial expectation, intergenerational support and ambivalence. It also built on discussion in how migration shaped migrant family. Hybrid parenting style was a product of migrant parents, and it positively affects the parent-child relationship. The different filial expectations were constructive by social change and family structure changes. For example, children were born in Chinese or Norway, and their parents were born in China and studied or work in Norway. The extended Chinese traditional family was shrunk to nuclear family after migration. Two different contexts shaped two generations. Additionally, the intergenerational support indicated that parent-child relationship is a bidirectional relationship. It not only involved practical support (financial support and house chores), but it also found in emotional support. The intergenerational ambivalence mostly happened in education in migrant family, while 'ambivalence' had positive meaning of 'intimacy' in adult participant narratives.

7 Conclusion

The term “Chinese migration family” is familiar to me, as I have heard of relatives and friends migrating outside China since I was a child. I would meet them at parties during important Chinese festivals and listen to them talk about their lives in their destination countries. After studying in Norway, I experienced the migration process myself deeply, with its challenges and opportunities. Meanwhile, when I visited my relative who lived in Norway, it gave me an experience of the bi-cultural background of Chinese migrant families’ daily life, which I mentioned in the background chapter. Thus, this made me want to learn more about how Chinese migrant families live in Norway.

This chapter summarizes the findings from previous chapters, develops the understanding of transnational families, provides some reflections on interdisciplinarity (childhood studies and development psychology), and makes some recommendations for further research.

7.1 Summary

This thesis explored the social inclusion experience and intergenerational relationships of Chinese migrant families in the migration process. To examine this, I design the main research question as “In which ways do Chinese parents and children experience their new life in Norway?”. I was interested in how different/similar social inclusion experiences are between Chinese parents and children are. Under this question, I split it into three questions.

The first research question is “In which ways do parents experience the new life, and how do their perceptions of child-rearing maintain regarding intergenerational relationships?”. This research question was designed to explore how migrant parents experienced Norwegian life and how it impacted parenting behavior when interacting with children. In chapter five, I learned that parents have different opinions about children in many aspects, especially regarding culture integration. Thus, in chapter six, I realized that most migrant parents had changed their parenting style from authority to hybrid.

The second research question is “how do children experience the new life with parents or grow up in Norwegian society, and how do it experiences the intergenerational relationship?”. I designed this research question to explore how Chinese-born migrant children and Norwegian-born migrant children’s experience was similar or different in Norwegian society and how they interacted with their family members in Norway. In chapter five, I learned that not only did Chinese-born migrant children experience new challenges (language barrier, climate difference, food habits and festivals, schooling, and friendship), but Norwegian-born children also faced the challenge of festivals and friendship. This also influences the relationship with parents when they communicate with their parents, while some of them have a conflict with their parents, which I explained in chapter six.

The third research question is “Which coping strategies do migrant parents and children adopt when they face the challenge of cultural, identities and generational gaps?”. In chapter five, parents and children show different attitudes towards challenges and reflect on how they faced them. I learned that children were acculturated faster than adults in

the migration process during the interview. Through the intergenerational support and intergenerational ambivalence perspectives, I realized that the migration factors strongly impact the intergenerational relationship.

The theoretical frameworks were adopted in twofold ways. Firstly, childhood studies are the main theoretical framework for this project, while the study recognized that children's agency to be active in the environment around them instead of acting as passive receivers of social development (James et al., 1998). The structuration theory (Alanen & Mayall, 2001) and generational order (Alanen, 2009) were also applied to this research. It views as migrant children, and their parents lived their lives and experienced the childhood in different social structures. This research explained how social structures in a different environment influenced the migrant's lives and how migrant children exercised their agency to face challenges in a new environment. Secondly, the theories of acculturation (Berry, 1997) and intergenerational ambivalence (Connidis & McMullin, 2002) can be used to understand the impact of migration on the intergenerational relationship. Parents work as a powerful agents of socialization for their children during the acculturation process (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000). However, the acculturation gap between parents and children can result in *intergenerational ambivalence*. Furthermore, the theory of transnationalism (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) can assist us in understanding the family was not shaped by a single country but must be understood as shaped by the family in a context that includes two countries.

This project was conducted in Norway, including 17 participants: 5 Chinese-born children (3 girls, two boys) and 3 Norwegian-born children (2 girls and one boy). The nine adult Chinese-born parents (6 mothers and three fathers) who lived in Norway also participated in the fieldwork. Multiple methods in this project were used to generate the data, such as semi-structured interviews for children and parents separately (only one family attended the interview together), drawing, sentence completion activity, and neighborhood and household visits.

7.2 Transnationalism and Chinese Immigrant Families in Norway

The empirical findings indicated that transnationalism constituted an integral part of many Chinese immigrant families' daily lives. It transferred the Chinese cultural norm through parenting practices and children's behavior, language usage, food habits and festivals, academic achievement, and friendships into everyday life in the destination country. In some cases, it was demonstrated through adult parents and their young children's annual international travels to China to visit elderly parents or other family relatives, as well as the exchange of information or education resources in the families, such as the frequent online communication by using Wechat App (see Chapter Five and Six).

This study discovered that it existed both challenges and opportunities for immigrant families. On the one hand, better welfare resources provided more opportunities to immigrants. For example, Norwegian welfare had a parental benefit and stable annual vacation with reasonable payment, which were one reason for attracting the immigrant. It also provides more interaction time for adult parents and young children. In the study, most families had emphasized the importance of communication between children and parents, which was the feature of an excellent intergenerational relationship.

On the other hand, many challenges of immigrants after migrating to the new country were the main findings in this study, such as climate differences, food habits and festivals, integration in school or workplace and social networks. For example, concerning changes in food habits and festival celebrations, immigrants were generally influenced by the majority's culture in the new society, leading to changes in their daily lives. For the six families in this study, including the Norwegian-born children's family, the Norwegian food was stored in all migrant's fridges, such as scrambled eggs and salmon. All migrant children experienced the two types of food culture during the day: a cold sandwich at school and a Chinese dinner at home. It highlights that they maintain many components of their own eating culture alive. Migrant parents also discussed the influence of food challenge on their families, emphasising the importance of family meals and how it relates to the cultural identity. Transnational migrants will bring some necessary hometown food to Norway when they have visited China every time. They maintain a unique connection with their home country through various methods. The cultural adaption is not only through the food habits but also occurs in festival celebrations. All participants celebrated festivals of China and Norway, while some adult participants sought a sense of belonging by celebrating traditional festivals as one way of identity recognition.

In addition, the intergenerational relationship was changing through daily practices, which was associated with the level of acculturation. For example, some parents adopt the hybrid parenting style, which benefits healthy intergenerational relationship. However, some families attained a different understanding of filial expectations. The new transnational way of family life eroded traditional Chinese family life, such as understanding co-residing living arrangements. It showed that there are challenges for members across generations in conducting filial care for older generations.

Furthermore, the transnational practices were working as an effective coping strategy for maintaining the family relations of extended family when the adult parents and their young children live separately with the elderly generation across national borders. New culture and welfare also affected the intergenerational relationship across generations when the immigrant lives longer and is included in the destination country. This study, also actively shaped the way of interaction between adult parents and young children, which manifested as how the difference between filial expectation and how they show support or feel ambivalence in the relationships.

7.3 Brief Reflection

Although the Childhood Studies were "marked by wariness of, even hostility to, developmental psychology" (Tatlow -Golden & Montgomery, 2021, p. 3), these subjects might enrich each other. For example, childhood studies views children as active actors, and this concept was developed as a critique of the developmental psychology that led to the social practice of preparing children for future adulthood. However, this classic understanding of viewing children as active constructs in individual development was classic by Piaget's contribution. The importance of interdisciplinary research is also confirmed by Alanen (2012, p. 419), "A central reason for the goodness and significance of interdisciplinarity is that it is believed to push the frontiers of knowledge forward and create knowledge that helps to solve the problems of the world (e.g. Weingart, 2000)". Prout(2015, p. 2) also has a similar opinion about childhood research, 'it requires a broad set of intellectual resources, an interdisciplinary approach and an open-minded process of enquiry'. For example, the concept of "children's agency" is commonly recognized by

childhood studies and developmental psychology (Tatlow-Golden & Montgomery, 2021). I also emphasized the importance of supporting children's individual agency in the migration process, including the behavior in the school, home and community. The interviews with children and parents explored the migrant's personal experiences, engagement under school or workplace context and their relationship in the family. Additionally, I also discussed the identity and belonging of migrant children and parents from psychological perspectives, which explored how Chinese immigrants define their identities (ethnicity or nationality) in the various situation in Norway. Thus, I believe that childhood studies and psychology should have a sense of interdependency, which also drives the development of the two fields.

7.4 Concluding Remark and Further Research

This study indicated that family migration faced with challenges in the destination country and had a serious impact on intergenerational relationships. Chinese-born migrant children have different childhood and daily life compared with Norwegian-born children. The challenges of inclusion in Norway were the main factor preventing immigrant children from integrating into the new community while they rebuild their friendship and social networks. In some cases, it also resulted in a feeling of exclusion in the new environment for a period. Compared with adult parents, the young children demonstrated that they showed a stronger interest in learning the new language and acculturate faster than adults. The immigrant children also utilized their agency through many strategies to cope with family migration to make family life better in the destination country. This study finding also indicated that the impact of migration on the intergenerational relationship was significant.

Some topics of transnational family migration research can be explored further in the future. Firstly, my study discovered that education was still the center of discussion for Chinese immigrant families. Secondly, this study only discussed the intergenerational relationship between adult parents and young children. It was an exciting topic to discuss the changing intergenerational relationship across three generations in the destination country. Finally, how languages develop in migrant families could be an exciting topic to discuss further.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide for children/youth who born in China

1. Introduction

- Introduction of the interviewer
- Introduce and explain the purpose and meaning of the project

2. General background information of the informant

- Age
- Length living in Norway
- Educational background
- The expectations of person had about Norway before moving

3. Life after migration – personal experience

- How is the beginning experience of moving to Norway?
- How is your daily life in Norway, especially for weekend?
- Do you prefer to attend activities in Chinese or Norwegian?
- Do you make new friends in school or another place in Norway?
- Have you maintained contact with your friends in China?
- Have you met any challenges in learning new language? If yes, how do you deal with the challenges?
- How is language used in the family (Chinese, English or Norwegian etc.), especially for talking with your parents?

4. Life after migration – the relationship with parents

- How often do you communicate with your parents? (every day, weekly, monthly ect.)
- Do you think you become more independent or more rely on your parents? Any changes?
- When you faced the challenges have you talked with your parents?
- What types of things occur conflict or disagreement with your parents?

5. Informal interview with drawing (children under the age of 16)

How do you describe 'Chinese' and 'China'? 'Norwegian' and 'Norway'

Appendix 2: Interview guide for children/youth who born in Norway

1. Introduction

- Introduction of the interviewer
- Introduce and explain the purpose and meaning of the project

2. General background information of the informant

- Age
- Educational background
- The expectations of person had about China before visiting

3. Personal experience

- How is the beginning experience of China?
- How is your daily life in Norway, especially for weekend?
- Do you prefer to attend activities in Chinese or Norwegian?
- How is language used in the family (Chinese, English or Norwegian etc.), especially for talking with your parents?
- Have you met any challenges? If yes, how do you deal with the challenges?

4. The relationship with parents

- How often do you communicate with your parents? (every day, weekly, monthly ect.)
- When you faced the challenges have you talked with your parents?
- What types of things occur conflict or disagreement with your parents?

5. Informal interview with drawing (children under the age of 16)

How do you describe 'Chinese' and 'China'? 'Norwegian' and 'Norway'

Appendix 3: Sentence Completion for children who is born in China or Norway

1. I come from ____
2. My best friend comes from _____
3. My favorite games are _____
4. My favorite books are _____
5. My favorite cartoon character is _____
6. My favorite songs are _____
7. My favorite sports are _____
8. My favorite foods are _____, which is cooked by my _____ (family members, friends, teachers etc.)
9. My favorite festival is _____
10. My favorite things in Norwegian school are _____

Appendix 4: Interview guide for parents

1. Introduction

Introduction of the interviewer

Introduce and explain the purpose and meaning of the project

2. General background information of the informant

- Migration status (permanent or temporary)
- Length living in Norway
- Educational and work background
- Family background (spouse, number of children, sibling, etc.)
- The children's place of birth
- The expectations of person had about Norway before moving

3. Life after migration – personal experience

- Have you worked in Norway? If yes, how long and what kind of jobs?
- After moving to Norway, have you made new friends or attended any social activities?
- How much time do you spend on housework?
- How is contact with elderly parents or friends in China?
- Have you met any challenges in raising the children in Norway? How to deal with this challenge?
- Have you met any challenges in learning new language? How to deal with this challenge?
- Have you felt lonely? Why?

4. Life after migration – the relationship with children

- How is feeling of being parents in Norway?
- How often do you communicate with your children? (every day, weekly, monthly ect.)
- How is language used in the family (Chinese, English or Norwegian etc.), especially for talking with your children?
- How you as parents to make decisions about cultural influence in your family?
- Do you prefer to attend activities in Chinese or Norwegian?
- How is children engagement in the decision-making process? Such as participation in events, language courses or festivals.
- What types of things occur conflict or disagreement with your children?
- What do you think of children growing up in bi-culture? Any advantages or disadvantages?
- What do you think of bringing up children for the purpose of being looked after in old age? Have you changed after moving to Norway?
- What is your expectation of children in the future? Have you changed?

Appendix 5: consent form for youth (16-17 years old)

Request for participating in research project

“Chinese families in transition: social inclusion experience in Norway”

I would like to invite you and your parents to participate in my Master Thesis project with the goal to explore migration experience in Norway. In this document, you will find more information about my research and what your participation will entail.

The Responsible Researcher Information and Institution

Name: Yu Huang

Contact information: yuhua@stud.ntnu.no; phone: 40631920

Responsible researcher: Ida Marie Lyså

Study program: Master of Philosophy in Childhood Studies at Norwegian Centre for Child Research, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). Responsible institution: Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

Research Purpose

This project attempts to explore the social inclusion experience of Chinese parents and children in Norway, with a focus on intergenerational relationship as main key aspect. It also enhances understanding between two diverse cultures and societies, China and Norway. Parents and children's conceptions of parent-child relationship may consist of different dimensions and cultural meanings. The major concern is to find out what challenges exist for Chinese parents and children in order to be integrated into Norwegian society. What factors influence those challenges and to explore how migrant parents and children deal with the challenges in the new society. To acquire research aims, the project has to identify the family members migration and inclusion experience, such as how parent inclusion in Norway from their personal experience (job-seeking, raising children and social activities) and how children identify themselves with experience of Norwegian education system. It is considering their given personal, social, and cultural contexts, which consists of multiple factors shaping their social inclusion experience of migrants in Norway.

What does your participation mean?

If you decide to participate in this project, I will contact you in August or September. Your participation will consist of one hour interview, while your parents also be invited to participate in an hour interview. The interview will be in form of a free conversation, around your personal stories of moving from China to Norway, such as what was the expectation of moving, how do you experience your new life after migration, whether your perception of your relationship with your parents has been changed, in what way? And how do you describe the meaning of 'China' and 'Norwegian'. Regarding the question relating to the social network in the interview, you must omit names and any other identifying characteristics in descriptions of incidents and persons.

If you and your parents give consent about the project, I would like to use sound recorder during the interview or discussion. The sound file will be deleted right after the transcription. The transcribed interview will be anonymised (so that your identity is kept confidentially) and only be used for the purpose of this research. If sound recorder is not used, I will take notes during the interviews and discussion.

The information given by youth will also be kept confidential without parent's access, 16 - 17-year-olds are consenting to participate themselves, and the parents don't have the right to see the information about them (but the parents have the right to see the personal data that the 16-17 year olds give about the parents). Parents and youth also get the opportunity to receive the information guide, but the parents beforehand to not instruct the youth in any way.

How your information will be stored

Your personal information will be treated with confidentiality and in compliance with the rules and regulations. Only Huang, who is conducting this project, will have access to your personal information, sound recording and other related data. The interviews are conducted in Chinese and will be translated by Huang. Names and other personal information that can make other people identify the informant will not be presented in the publication. I may also change some of your background information to ensure the anonymity.

This project is planned to end May 2022, but the data collection is planned to end in October 2021. Audio files will be deleted when the project has ended.

Your right

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- - Have insight on the personal information we registered about you and ask for a copy of these information.
- - Correct your personal information
- - Delete the personal information about you.
- - Send complaint to the Norwegian Data Protection Authority about our treatment of your personal information

We are only allowed to treat your information based on your consent.

Voluntary to participate

Your participation must be voluntary bases. If you choose to participate, it is also possible for you withdraw at any time of the research stage without giving me any reasons. In so cases, I will delete all your information.

If you still have question about this research, or wish to exercise your rights, please contact:

- Mr.Thomas Helgesen, the data protection officer at NTNU:

Thomas.helgesen@ntnu.no/ +47 93079038en

On behalf of NTNU (the responsible institution for this project), NSD - Norwegian Center for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with the privacy regulations.

If you have question concerning how NSD assess this project, you can contact:

- NSD – Norwegian Center for Research Data AS, personverntjenester@nsd.no or telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

I will individually ask youth willing of participation in this project. The confirmation will be given orally. In addition, I will send over consent form for participants to read before giving consent. If I conduct interviews online, I will collect the consent orally.

Supervisor Information

Name: Ida Marie Lyså

Email: ida.marie.lysa@ntnu.no

Institute: Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

Confirmation to participate in the study

I have received information about this project, and I am willing to participate

I agree to attend the interview (for youth 16-17 years old)

I agree that that my parents can talk about me and our relationship.

Signed by youth (16-17 years old), date

Appendix 6: consent form for parents and their children who are under 16 years old

Request for participating in research project

“Chinese families in transition: social inclusion experience in Norway”

I would like to invite you and your children to participate in my Master Thesis project with the goal to explore migration experience in Norway. In this document, you will find more information about my research and what your participation will entail.

The Responsible Researcher Information and Institution

Student Name: Yu Huang

Contact information: yuhua@stud.ntnu.no; phone: 40631920

Responsible researcher: Ida Marie Lyså

Study program: Master of Philosophy in Childhood Studies at Norwegian Centre for Child Research, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

Research Purpose

This project attempts to explore the social inclusion experience of Chinese parents and children in Norway, with a focus on intergenerational relationship as main key aspect. It also enhances understanding between two diverse cultures and societies, China and Norway. Parents and children’s conceptions of parent-child relationship may consist of different dimensions and cultural meanings. The major concern is to find out what challenges exist for Chinese parents and children in order to be integrated into Norwegian society. What factors influence those challenges and to explore how migrant parents and children deal with the challenges in the new society. To acquire research aims, the project has to identify the family members migration and inclusion experience, such as how parent inclusion in Norway from their personal experience (job-seeking, raising children and social activities) and how children identify themselves with experience of Norwegian education system. It is considering their given personal, social, and cultural contexts, which consists of multiple factors shaping their social inclusion experience of migrants in Norway.

What does your participation mean?

If you decide to participate in this project, I will contact you in August or September. Your participation will consist of one hour interview for the parents, while children also be invited to participate in an hour interview (combined with different child-friendly methods, such as drawing or brainstorm discussion). The interview will be in form of a free conversation, around your personal stories of moving from China to Norway, such as what was the expectation of moving, how do you experience your new life after migration, whether your perception of your relationship with your children/parents has been changed, in what way? I will also collect the parent health data by asking questions, for

example, have you felt lonely? Regarding the question relating to social network in the interview, parents and children must omit names and any other identifying characteristics in descriptions of incidents and persons.

If you and your children give consent about the project, I would like to use sound recorder during the interview or discussion. The sound file will be deleted right after the transcription. The transcribed interview will be anonymised (so that you and your children identity is kept confidentially) and only be used for the purpose of this research. If sound recorder is not used, I will take notes during the interviews and discussion.

The information given by children will also kept confidential without parent's access, but parents have the right to see this information. Parents and children also get the opportunity to receive the information guide, but the parents beforehand to not instruct the children in any way.

How your information will be stored

Your personal information will be treated with confidentiality and in compliance with the rules and regulations. Only Huang, who is conducting this project, will have access to you and your children personal information, sound recording and other related data. The interviews are conducted in Chinese, and will be translated by Huang. Names and other personal information that can make other people identify the informant will not be presented in the publication. I may also change some of your background information to ensure the anonymity.

This project is planned to end May 2022, but the data collection is planned to end in October 2021. Audio files will be deleted when the project has ended.

Your right

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- - Have insight on the personal information we registered about you and ask for a copy of these information.
- - Correct your personal information
- - Delete the personal information about you.
- - Send complaint to the Norwegian Data Protection Authority about our treatment of your personal information

We are only allowed to treat your information based on your consent.

Voluntary to participate

Your participation must be voluntary bases. If you choose to participate, it is also

possible for you withdraw at any time of the research stage without giving me any reasons. In so cases, I will delete all your information.

If you still have question about this research, or wish to exercise your rights, please contact:

- Mr.Thomas Helgesen, the data protection officer at NTNU:

Thomas.helgesen@ntnu.no/ +47 93079038en

On behalf of NTNU (the responsible institution for this project), NSD - Norwegian Center for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with the privacy regulations.

If you have question concerning how NSD assess this project, you can contact:

- NSD – Norwegian Center for Research Data AS, personverntjenester@nsd.no or telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

After parents deciding to participate in this project, I will individually ask children’s willing of participation in this project. The confirmation will be given orally. In addition, I will send over consent form for participants to read before giving consent. If I conduct interviews online, I will collect the consent orally.

Supervisor Information

Name: Ida Marie Lyså

Email: ida.marie.lysa@ntnu.no

Institute: Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

Confirmation to participate in the study

I have received information about this project, and I am willing to participate together with my children

- I agree to attend the interview (for parents)
- I agree that my child can participate in this project with methods of brainstorm discussion/interview /drawing
- I agree that my children (the age of 16–17-year old) can talk about me and our relationship.

(Signed by participant (parents), date