Abstract

Coastal communities are characterized by being in transition regarding economies, work, demography as well as socio-cultural life. This master thesis is an exploration of childhood(s) and "island living" with a particular focus on aspects of everyday life and belonging across generations in an island community in Northern Norway and aims at contributing with more empirical data on the topic of coastal childhoods in transition. Through an ethnographic approach as well as semi-structured life-biography interviews that focus on childhood memories across three generations, the thesis has looked at how this island is narrated as a place to belong, which has and still experiences rapid socio-cultural and economic change. Furthermore, the thesis has focused on how the generational position of children, youth, and young people has changed over time. Findings reveal that despite broad social structural changes and transformation of work, education, family life, play, and leisure as well as values and expectations in this coastal community, a strong sense of belonging to place, people, and identity as an *øyværing – islander or coastal people* continues to be narrated as important in terms of their construction of who they are. Historically, children, youth, and young people were important contributors to their families and local communities and placed within the coastal employment system. Contemporary childhoods and children's lives are structured differently and are now more characterized by spending increased time in an educational institution and centered around formal learning but continue to be viewed as central agents in terms of maintaining and further developing this coastal community into the future.

Sammendrag

Kystsamfunn er preget av å være i omstilling når det kommer til økonomi, arbeid, demografi i tillegg til sosio-kulturelle aspekter. Denne masteroppgaven utforsker hvordan barndom og «øylivet» har endret seg over tid og har valgt å fokusere på hvordan endringer i hverdagsliv og tilhørighted blir beskrevet på tvers av generasjoner i et øysamfunn i Nord-Norge. Masteroppgaven har som mål å bidra med mer empirisk materiale som omhandler og relaterer til temaet «kystbarndom i endring». Gjennom semi-strukturerte biografiske intervjuer med et fokus på barndomsminner og en etnografisk tilnærming har denne master oppgaven sett på hvordan øya blir beskrevet som et sted å høre til tross for å ha erfart store sosio-kutlurelle og økonomiske endringer over generasjoner og tid, og da potensielt hvordan den generasjonelle posisjonen til barn og ungdommer er i endring. Funnene indikerer at til tross for disse sosiale og strukturelle endringene som har påvirket arbeid, utdanning, familieliv, lek og fritid i tillegg til verdier og forventninger i dette kystsamfunnet, en sterk følelse av tilhørighet til sted, mennesker og en identitet som øyværing eller kystfolk forsetter å bli beskrevet som viktig når det kommer til konstruksjonen av hvem de er. Barn og ungdom har i et historisk perspektiv vært viktige bidragsytere i familier og i lokalsamfunn, og hadde en sentral plass i sysselsettingssystemet på kysten. Dagens barndom er i større grad preget av å være mer struktyrert i form av å tilbringe økt mengde tid i instituasjoner og sentrert rundt forell læring, men blir fortsatt på som viktige aktører i forhold til å opprettholde og utvikle dette kystsamfunnet inn i fremtiden.

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Table of contents

Abbreviations:

UNCRC - United Nations convention on the rights of the child.

SSF Guidelines – The Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries

WWII – World War II

SDG – Sustainable Development Goals.

1 INTRODUCTION.

Norway is a sea nation – consisting of thousands of islands and surrounded by oceans. Approximately 90 % of the Norwegian population lives less than 10 km from the coastal line (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015), and historically, the use of sea resources has been of great importance to enable settlement, employment, and economic activity along the Norwegian coast (Kolle et al., 2017; Sønvisen et al., 2011). Today, coastal communities and societies around the world are characterized by being in transition in regards to economies, work and labor, demography, socio-cultural life (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015), and is impacted by a diversity of challenges connected to ecosystem degradation, a changing climate, technological developments, restructuring of local labor markets, and long-lasting trends of out-migration, centralization, and depopulation to mention some of them (Rybråten et al., 2018). The construction of Norwegian rurality and rural politics was important in the post-war period to ensure stable economic growth in all regions of Norway (Cruickshank et al., 2009). State-driven structural initiatives have been developed to even out some of the costs of living in rural districts and aim to maintain a dispersed settlement pattern (st.meld nr. 18, 2016-2017). However, the witnessed decline in small-scale fishing in Norwegian rural areas due to collapses in fish stocks, implementation of new aquatic regulations, and a decrease in the number of fishers and boats, the remaining fishing fleet has been subject to technological developments. As these factors have worked together, the result is, therefore, that many traditional fisheries-based coastal communities have experienced restructuring of their local labor market due to the loss of local industry. As described by Jentoft (2020b) when returning to one of his research locations:

"When I returned to this community many years later, I could see that much had changed. I was not even sure it could be called a fishing community anymore. Many of the houses had been converted into second homes for city people. The fishing harbor was now filled with leisure boats. I found several of the fishers I knew and went out with in the graveyard. Some were retired, and their children had moved away. This is the fate of many small-scale fishing communities in Norway and elsewhere in the world" (2020b, p. 390).

Norway is dependent on the ocean and coastal resources both for settlement, employment, and economic activity (Sønvisen et al., 2011), but how the ocean has been used has changed drastically due to changes in climate, resources, modern technology, and the market (Kolle et al., 2017). The restructuring of the small-scale fishing industry thus resulted in changes and transformation of coastal communities due to global processes of restructuring of the economy and neo-liberal market-oriented policies (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021) impacting local communities in a diversity of ways. The way in which globalization influences local aspects of a community varies. Their internal social relations, cultural traditions, and practices, identity formation, processes of placemaking, as well as other aspects of everyday life (Jentoft, 2020b; Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015). The importance of community for the small-scale fisheries and vice versa his highlighted by many (Jentoft, 2020b; Sønvisen et al., 2011; Vik et al., 2011; Wadel & Jentoft, 1984) and plays an important role in employment, food security, and livelihoods globally (Neis et al., 2013). However, the decline in small-scale fishing around the world has left many coastal settlements abandoned and, in some cases, restructured as second homes and leisure-places.

Some coastal communities have explored new ways to utilize coastal resources, and fish farming businesses as a livelihood have grown fast and become an important food-producing industry with a high export value in Norway (Christensen, 2017a; Pettersen, 2019). In a recent report published by the Norwegian Government *Blue Ocean, Green Future* (2021) clearly states the government's commitment to the ocean and ocean industries and highlights the importance of the ocean and the related industries for both the economy and society in general. The report acknowledges the ocean's potential for growth and employment in addition to the many challenges related to continued use of the world's oceans. The Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries (known as the SSF Guidelines) is the first internationally agreed instrument that is fully dedicated to, often neglected, the sector of small-scale fisheries (FAO, 2015). Highlights "[…] the different dimensions of small-scale fisheries, arguing for their importance and contribution to society, and provide a broad spectrum of how achieving their sustainability is critically linked to the political, social, economic, natural, and governance systems in which they operate" (Said & Chuenpagdee, 2019, p. 2). Additionally, the SSF guidelines acknowledge the linkages between small-scale fisheries and aquaculture but the guidelines focus on capturing fisheries (FAO, 2015, p. 1). The Norwegian Government's strategy and commitment to ensure growth in the blue sector, in general, includes developing the aquaculture industry further in the future. Reasons often highlighted are the need to contribute in terms of global food security in an even more populated world, possibilities for continued economic growth and security at the same time as acknowledging the fact that the industry needs to act in accordance with the natural elements and the state's commitment to The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's).

Coastal communities around the globe are shown to struggle to sustain their communities due to economic restructuring processes, aspects of globalization, and the emergence of new global discourses intersecting with local discourses. Being part of a globalized society with its processes and discourses is shown to enable political, economic, and social changes which impact and intersect with local ways of life and discourses. "This implies that any local community in the world can be unaffected by influences from the wider society" (Kjørholt, 2013, p. 246). Gilliam and Gulløv (2022) argue that studying children as potential could inform us about key cultural values and social dynamics within society and thus how they are established or changed. "[…] new generations do indeed have the potential to both reproduce, refigure and change society over time, and this makes children's experiences and practices central to the study of society" (2022, p. 312). *The Valuing the past, sustaining the future*- research project led by my supervisor, Anne Trine Kjørholt, have addressed aspects of education, knowledge, and identity formation across three generations in coastal communities in five different countries (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015) and have found that childhood experiences and memories of spending time in nature and the coastal environment is of great importance for their construction of a coastal identity and a sense of belonging across different contexts and generations and, changing local circumstances (Bessell, 2021; Crummy & Devine, 2021; Gaini & Sleire, 2022; Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Spyrou et al., 2021).

Theoretically, the thesis draws on critical debates which state the need to "decenter" the child and to emphasize the relational aspects of intergenerational relationships, childhood, children, and society (Abebe, 2019; Bessell, 2017; Punch, 2020; Spyrou, 2017; Wyness, 2013). The field of childhood studies considers children and young people as active co-creators of their own childhoods, at the same time as viewing childhood as a social phenomenon constructed in time and space within specific socio-cultural contexts

(Montgomery, 2003; Prout & James, 2015). Contemporary childhood(s) is characterized by increasing individualization and institutionalization of childhood: formal education and knowledge production to exemplify, to a greater extent, led to children and young people being constructed and placed in specific spheres and into an age-segregated social order (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015) compared to traditionally being gradually socialized into primary industries through intergenerational knowledge transfer between generations. As the thesis tries to move beyond the micro-macro divide and aims at avoiding "reducing children's everyday lives to their everyday micro experiences [which] risks ignoring the extent to which these everyday practices are shaped by wider macro structures" (Leonard, 2016, p. 39). It rather aims to capture the changing experiences of childhood across time and space, emphasizing the relational aspects to gain a deeper understanding of how contemporary childhoods are integrated and part of a generational social order and embedded in broader historical processes (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021).

An island community in Northern Norway was chosen as the case study context for this project, which has changed from a more traditional and homogeneous community characterized by fish farming – *fiskarbonden.* A gender-divided society where the household was the main production unit, of a community whereas a blooming fish farming industry emerged as a result of the restructuring of the small-scale fisheries in the 1970s. An exploration of coastal childhood(s) and "island living" the thesis will emphasize everyday life experiences of living and growing up across three generations. A focus on aspects of everyday life, sustainability, place-making, and sense of belonging as complex and relational processes located in the intersections between local and global discourses and neo-liberal market-oriented policies has transformed the very basis of young people's choices related to education, lifestyle, and employment opportunities (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015). The concept of belonging is argued to create opportunities to study the interconnectedness of social change and the self through a consideration of the influences of relations, places, generations, and social change as features that shape a person's experience of being and (not)belonging in everyday life (May, 2013).

1.1 Initial interest and personal motivation.

Before starting the planning phase of the master project, I knew that I wanted to gain more experience with carrying out a fieldwork-based project. As the COVID-19 pandemic was highly present during the planning phase of the project, we were encouraged to plan ahead and be open to changes and the unexpected. When I heard about my supervisor's ongoing work on the topic of *coastal childhoods in transition,* I became intrigued. This is most likely based on my own experience of being born and raised in a relatively small coastal town in northern Norway, as well as a highlighted curiosity about the nuances of what it is to "be a Norwegian" in contemporary Norway.

Through the childhood studies master program, conversations and discussions with professors and students from different parts of the world made me curious about how cultures and societies are constructed differently in a diversity of contexts, impacting how we view and experience our surroundings, and what kind of social norms and practices we relate to, in addition to a growing interest in local/global perspectives and the impact by global processes on children and youth

The master thesis project is highly inspired by the research project: *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the future*- a research project funded by Research Council Norway and led by my supervisor, Anne Trine Kjørholt. The research project aims to establish a deeper understanding of the interplay between education, identity, and society, with a particular

focus on generational relations in different coastal communities in five countries (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015). This thesis will be an attempt to partake with more empirical material from a Norwegian context related to coastal childhoods in transition.

1.2 Research Aim and Questions.

The overall aim is to explore children's and adult's perspectives and experiences of everyday life and to grow up in an island context in northern Norway across generations. More specifically, the thesis will focus on aspects of everyday life, place, and aspects of sustainability, and belonging and will explore changes in constructions of childhood across generations. As a point of departure, I asked:

1. How is childhood narrated across generations in a North Norwegian Island community?
2. What are the perceptions among the participants of the role children and young people play – in past, present, and future perspectives – in this island community?

1.2.1 Research limitations.

The case study conducted for the purpose of this master thesis is a small-scale qualitative case study, and therefore the number of participants is relatively small. I will argue that this is one of the study's limitations, and therefore the perspectives, views, and narratives presented in this thesis might not be representing potential contradictory perspectives existing in this island community.

Participants were selected based on two initial criteria:

1. Participants should have experienced growing up and living on the island during their childhood, and
2. the sample should ideally be of three generations from the same family.

However, as I will illustrate throughout the analytical chapters (i.e., chapters 5 and 6), this island community has changed, developed, and transitioned in the past decades, and therefore the criteria for finding participants from three different generations (grandparents, parents, and children/youth) within the same family as well as currently living on the island was difficult due to a high degree of out-migration across generations.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis.

The thesis is divided into 7 chapters. In chapter 1 is an introduction to the research topic and a presentation of the rationale and personal motivation for conducting this master thesis project. Additionally, the chapter provides an overview of the structure of the thesis, and an elaboration on the aims, and research questions.

In chapter 2, I will give a brief overview of the broad and main characteristics of the Norwegian context, sociocultural aspects, and characteristics of contemporary Norwegian childhoods. A brief overview of national developments happening within Norway after World War II will be given to enhance our understanding of how small coastal communities has transitioned and being restructured. The restructuring of small-scale fishing and its impacts on coastal communities will be elaborated on to understand today's situation in coastal communities in Norway.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the thesis's theoretical base and key analytical concepts used in the master thesis project. Furthermore, a brief overview of the

development of the field of childhood studies, in addition to an introduction to the analytical concepts of belonging, place, place-belongingness, and sustainability will be elaborated on before going into an introduction to the theorization of coastal childhood(s) in transition.

Chapter 4 is concerned with methodological considerations, methods used in the field, in addition to ethical aspects related to island research. A discussion related to the student's position within the field is given and concludes with a researcher position characterized by "in-between-ness", rather than a complete outsider or insider.

Chapters 5 and 6 will provide a discussion of my analytical findings of the qualitative data generated for this master thesis project.

Furthermore, in chapter 7, I will summarize the research findings as well as discuss limitations, strengths, and implications for further research.

2 BACKGROUND & CONTEXT.

In the following chapter, I will provide relevant information about the background and contexts of my research aim, objectives, and questions. This will include some of the main characteristics of the socio-cultural context of Norway, and structural developments have impacted and continuously redefined conceptualizations and experiences of childhood across time and space. Relevant socio-cultural and historical aspects will be given to contextualize the research.

2.1 The Norwegian context

Contemporary Norway is a well-developed industrial country with high living standards and life expectancy. With its 5,4 million inhabitants (SSB, 2021), Norway is sparsely populated and characterized by its long and narrow shape and distinctive coastline, consisting of thousands of islands, islets, fjords, and bays mostly surrounded by oceans. The long-lasting dependency on natural resources includes hydropower, oil, natural gas, agriculture, fisheries, and aquaculture. Historically, as in many other nations worldwide, the Norwegian state was impacted by economic, social, and cultural changes related to processes of urbanization, industrialization, and modernization (Gullestad, 1991, 1997). Several waves of migration toward the urban centers have also occurred since the 19th century due to new employment opportunities in cities and larger towns. Urbanization and Modernization, however, came relatively late, and the development from a rural to a post-industrial society happened quickly, which partly explains why rural values and identities and why aspects of Norwegian nationalism took a somewhat different character than other European countries (Gullestad, 1996a). It was egalitarian and rural in its orientation, highlighting idealized aspects of simple ways of life, farmers and peasant culture, love of nature, and spending leisure time in the countryside, which is also reflected in terms of highlighting the natural qualities of children and childhood (Gullestad, 1991, 1996a).

Norwegian national identity is closely connected to notions of rurality but also with the farmer and peasant culture, which could be considered a strong trait within Norwegian identity constructions (Eriksen & Neumann, 2011). Out of the national protected cultural objects, 96% of them are associated with peasant culture. To compare, only 174 boats are saved out of over 4000 objects. Mostly, boats and other maritime cultural objects used to be burned when they weren't of more use anymore, and thus not viewed as objects that should be protected. However, it is reasonable to estimate that five times as many Norwegians have ties to aspects of coastal culture compared to peasant culture. Eriksen and Neumann (2011) point out that metaphorically, Norway appears more as a family farm than a fishing village (2011, p. 425). The construction of Norwegian rurality and rural politics was important and can be traced back to the post-war period (Cruickshank et al., 2009), where several public initiatives were introduced aiming at preserving rural settlement patterns and work opportunities in rural areas to ensure a stable economy and growth. Two Norwegian discourses on rurality emerged: the growth discourse and the intrinsic value discourse. During the 1970s, the Norwegian government aimed at preserving and stabilizing rural settlements and worked politically to avoid depopulation in any part of the country. However, the focus shifted during the 1980-

1990s towards specific regions rather than the whole country (Cruickshank et al., 2009), and the perspective of rural settlements as of cultural value for the nation is challenged by the view that rural settlements must be economically sustainable to be of any value at all. The economic growth discourse during the last decades has gained momentum, and recent rural policies focus more on industrial change and adjustment to market demands (Cruickshank et al., 2009). Even if the general trend is characterized by urbanization and outmigration from rural areas to bigger cities or towns, the intrinsic value discourse in Norwegian rural politics aims at preserving and strengthening rural areas, valuing them in all their cultural, historical, and economic dimensions.

2.1.1 Contemporary childhood(s) in Norway.

The Nordic countries are known for a relatively strong commitment to child-centeredness. The principle of "the child's best interest" was a part of the development of the Nordic welfare state even before this rhetoric was associated with the UNCRC (Nilsen, 2008). According to Gullestad (1996a) even though social policy measures were introduced early in the 20th century, the developments of the welfare state gained momentum in the aftermath of World War II and are today governed by the key principle of universal social rights for all inhabitants, which are characterized by features such as public responsibility, a large public sector and generous welfare benefits and services (Gulbrandsen, 2019).

Even though, The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) was an international attempt to secure a universal system of rights for children around the globe and, therefore, an aspect of globalizing childhood(s). However, being part of a globalized society and its processes involves political, economic, and social changes that impact notions of childhood and children's lives in different ways in various contexts around the globe (Kjørholt, 2013). The UNCRC was ratified by Norway in 1991 (Langford et al., 2019) and was strengthened when it was incorporated into Norway's Human Rights Act in 2003 (Kjørholt, 2008). The implementation of the UNCRC into the Norwegian law enabled the children's rights discourse to emphasize other qualities of contemporary children. In contrast with the previous ideas of children as natural and innocent, contemporary Norwegian children are now ascribed with qualities such as "participants," "competent," "rational," "autonomous," "independent" (Nilsen, 2008, p. 41), and seen in terms of human capital and social investment (Kjørholt, 2013).

The global model of childhood, as a product of globalization, places children and youth in specific spheres and settings such as schools, day care, and kindergartens, afterschool care, at home, in nature, which results in a new age-segregated intergenerational social order (Kjørholt, 2013). In a study conducted by Nilsen (2008) in Norwegian outdoor kindergartens, points out that "[…] the cultural values and practices of nature and the outdoor life are assumed to fit into cultural constructions of the good life for children and other generations, now and in the future" (p. 46) and in that way, children are placed in the middle of the (re)construction of what is considered a "good" and "proper" childhood in Norway. As in the process of constructing a Norwegian national identity, the "rural idyll" in minority world contexts, is often associated with perceptions and expectations of "the rural lifestyle" as more appropriate for children and youth healthier and characterized by more freedom than living in urban places (Punch et al., 2007).

2.2 "Norway as a sea nation": The Norwegian Coast in Context.

The coastline has historically been of great importance for the Norwegian traditions of fishing, hunting, agriculture, and trade (Kolle et al., 2017), and the involvement and dependency on sea resources enabled settlement, employment, and economic activity along the coast (Sønvisen et al., 2011). The way the sea has been used has changed drastically over the past 1000 years due to changes in climate, resources, technology, and the market (Kolle et al., 2017). In the Middle Ages, people living by the coast learned how to utilize cod commercially and dry it to enable the stockfish to be transported long distances. The cod fisheries became essential for further development and growth in towns and rural areas, but as the fisheries were built and dependent on fish stocks, this was sometimes characterized by uncertainty. This cyclical feature has been an essential feature of living by the coast. During the 17th and 18th centuries, as a period of rich natural conditions, increased participation, and convenient market conditions, Norwegian fisheries experienced a significant expansion; stockfish production increased, clip fish as a new product was introduced, Norwegian spring-spawning herring was commercialized, and export to other areas became important factors for economic growth along the coast which enabled societal development and urbanization. The significant growth of fisheries, export, and seafood trade indicates, according to Kolle et al. (2017), that Norway took part in the industrial revolution by supplying fish and timber products which nourished the industrial developments happening in Europe at that time.

2.2.1 Coastal Communities and The Decline of Small-Scale Fishing.

Traditional Norwegian coastal communities were characterized by a combination of small-scale farming and fishing practices termed – *fiskarbonden* – which depended on and worked as a community-based social system with the family as the core production unit (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021). *The Coastal Employment System,* as described in 1970-80s by Wadel and Jentoft (1984), emphasized the dependency and social relationships within the interplay between fisheries, fishing industry, service industry, households, and local schools, and these have been important factors for sustaining and recruitment into small-scale fishing within coastal communities (Jentoft, 2020b; Vik et al., 2011). The combined occupations were possible due to the seasonal cycles and the division of work and responsibilities between household members. Work and responsibilities were gendered and seasonal, where women handled both farming, domestic tasks, and childcare when men were out fishing (Gullestad, 1991; Pettersen, 2019; Wadel & Jentoft, 1984). A common characteristic of many fisheries was that children and young people actively took part in unpaid and paid employment and were not considered unproductive or invaluable (Lowe, 2015; Wadel & Jentoft, 1984). Hence children and young people were part of the coastal employment system. In this way, when children and adults worked side by side, it facilitated the sharing of intergenerational practical local knowledge and everyday-life skills often particular to specific local communities (1984, pp. 16-17). Traditionally, fishermen entered the fisheries at an early age and were socialized into shared knowledge, ideas, values, and cultures and hence experientially socialized into the coastal employment system, being exposed to the fisheries through family relations or community members (Vik et al., 2011).

We observe a tremendous decrease in small-scale fisheries after World War II from around 100.000 to less than 10.000 today (Directorate of Fisheries, 2019; Kolle et al., 2017). Over two or three generations, the fisheries changed from seasonal local fishing with smaller boats and with a high degree of male participation, to year-round fisheries with advanced technology that needed fewer but professional trained fishermen. These

changes can be explained as a result of fish stock collapses due to overfishing practices, aquatic regulations, and the implementation of, at that time, new regulations such as property and quota regimes (Kolle et al., 2017; Sønvisen et al., 2011). The introduction of the quota system meant that the quota belonged to the boat owner, who also had to be a registered fisher; therefore, ownership of a boat is a prerequisite for getting fishing quotas, which is essential to gain access to fish resources (Pettersen, 2019). This as well as the regime of buying and selling fish quotas is identified as a threat or as a challenge in terms of recruiting (new) young fishers into the sector. There is tension between the cost of fish quotas, on the one hand, and the need to fish enough to be economically sustainable over time, on the other (Broch, 2022). In addition to this, the emergence of new aquatic industries such as fish farming has provided new employment opportunities in many Norwegian coastal areas and needs to be seen in relation to why small-scale fishing and fisheries have declined. This will be elaborated on in the following section.

2.2.2 Aquaculture: New Utilization of Coastal Resources.

Coastal resources play an important role in Norway's economy, and we can see an increase in sea-related exploitation in coastal areas since the 1960s, especially through the after math of the discovery of oil in 1969, which has enabled Norway to gain national incomes, as well as employment opportunities in specific coastal regions (Christensen & Zachariassen, 2014; Kolle et al., 2017). Additionally, the emergence of fish farming in the early 1970s as a supplemental business for farmers in Norwegian coastal areas has developed into an important coastal industry in Norway (Steinset, 2017). The fish farming businesses were, in the beginning, locally controlled and operated and were viewed as a political measure to contribute to regional economic development, new job opportunities, and to maintain a dispersed settlement pattern (Pettersen, 2019). The fish farming industry was marked by a crisis in the early 1990s due to overproduction, fish diseases, large debts, and decreasing market prices in the late 1980s, which ended with a collapse in the distribution system and bankruptcy for both The Fish Farmers Sales Organization and local businesses (Christensen, 2017a; Pettersen, 2019). In the aftermath of the crisis, the license regulation was liberalized, and the rule of local ownership was loosened, which made it possible to have majority ownership in several companies and, in the end, led to structural changes; it started as a small-scale and rural industry which has been developed into an industrialized and capitalized industry with fewer and larger (often global) companies (Christensen, 2017a; Pettersen, 2019).

Today, fish farming is growing fast and has become an important food-producing industry with a high export value. Globally, the production of fish is estimated to have reached 179 million tons in 2018 (FAO, 2020). In 2020, Norway produced 1,3 million tons of Atlantic salmon with a value of 64 billion NOK (Directorate of Fisheries, 2020) and has been the 2nd major exporter of fish and fish products in the world since 2004 (FAO, 2020). Fish farming industries are located in many areas throughout the Norwegian coast, whereas Trøndelag, Vestland, and Nordland County produce the highest number of fish and fish products and have, therefore, the highest number of employees in the aquaculture industry. In 2020, according to the Directorate of Fisheries (2021) just under 10.000 people is working within the sector.

2.2.3 The Restructuring of Norwegian Coastal Communities.

As described in the previous sections, the restructuring of the fishing industry was followed by a larger restructuring of Norwegian coastal communities. The impact of being exposed to global processes of restructuring (social, cultural, economic, etc.) has

impacted local communities in different ways. "The meaning of physical distances and national borders have changed, and the flow of capital, goods, technology, people, and symbols are changing local realities" (Pettersen, 2019, p. 308). The global intersects with the local in a diversity of ways. The decline of small-scale fishing caused by technological developments, stock collapses, and new regulations led to a loss of livelihoods and employment opportunities for a lot of people working in fishing. Therefore, the dependency between the coastal employment system (Wadel & Jentoft, 1984) and their communities, resulted in whole communities being affected by the decline of small scale-fishing. The close ties between people living in coastal communities changed during the 1970s. Traditionally, households needed the fishing industry for employment and work opportunities, whereas the fishing fleet relied on the households, local communities, and services provided within, and a school system that was flexible towards seasonal work (Johnsen & Vik, 2013). However, broader national developments throughout the 20th-century, such as demographic changes and investment in the public sector and welfare services, changed the relationship and the dependency between households and fishing and contributed to the changes happening within coastal communities and societies (Johnsen & Vik, 2013). In the following paragraphs, I will shortly outline some of the broad developments which contributed to changes and restructuring in Norwegian coastal communities.

In a study by Johnsen and Vik (2013), they explored fisher's reasons for leaving or not leaving the fisheries. They found a discrepancy between the hypothesis presented in the public debate (I.e., fishers were forced out of the fisheries) and their research findings; the reasons for people leaving the work as a fisher were many-sided and diverse. Most of the fishers reported that they resigned themselves, and the reasons were closely connected to sociocultural aspects such as prioritizing family life, leisure time, other working hours, wanting more education, etc. (Johnsen & Vik, 2013). In the next section, I will go through some of the main developments impacting and changing the recruitment into the fisheries that led to the restructuring of coastal communities in Norway: processes of migration and urbanization, the implementation of compulsory education, and the investment in the welfare state and the social and public sector.

2.2.3.1 (out)migration & Urbanization.

The neo-liberalization of marine and coastal industries led to losses of local jobs, which again have, in many cases, limited the opportunities for local youth. In a Norwegian and North Atlantic context, there are several reasons why people decided to leave fisheries and, in the end, coastal communities. Today, more than 82% of the Norwegian population lives in cities or towns compared to 50% in the years after World War II (SSB, 2021). Several waves of urban migration toward the centers have occurred since the 19th century and are mostly connected to periods of urbanization, industrialization, and modernization. During the 1960s, unemployment in rural areas was an important factor that led people to migrate to cities and larger towns to seek out new employment opportunities and contributed to urban growth (Gullestad, 1991). Throughout the following decades, several technological developments had happened, and even rural communities had obtained modern appliances such as running water and electricity, which meant that many of women's daily household tasks became easier and opened up for more women to work outside the home (Gullestad, 1991). The expansion of the welfare state and the public and service sector contributed to this development (Johnsen & Vik, 2013). Coastal communities' experiences of youth out-migration must be understood in relation to global discourses, which reflect values of higher education as a

necessity for future (working) life (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015). The result of these changing values, in some cases, is that those who earn degrees potentially must rely on employment elsewhere (Lowe, 2015).

2.2.3.2 Formal Schooling & Education.

Recruitment problems into small-scale fishing were not only a matter of fewer employment opportunities in the Norwegian fishing fleet. Still, they must be seen in relation to a trend of formalization of education and secondary socialization throughout the 1970-1980s. As described above, children and youth were often socialized into the fisheries through experience with and taking part in fishing through the household (Sønvisen et al., 2011; Vik et al., 2011). One could say that Schooling and formal education replaced the traditional way of transferring local "everyday," "practical," and "tacit" knowledge that was shared and disseminated through intergenerational relations (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015), and hence a danger for deskilling and devaluation of life-skills that often is practical as well as environmental knowledge that is viewed as vital in terms of maintaining and develop sustainable livelihood in coastal communities. Studies have shown that the disconnectedness between formal education and local knowledge consequently has made some students struggle with seeing the value or relevance of formal education and learning (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015).

Norway as well as most European countries experienced a rapid expansion of formal education in the aftermath of WWII, and the length of formal schooling was extended from 7 to 10 years (Nilsen, 2021). These changes were seen as potential factors that could change social relations, how local traditions and knowledge were shared between generations, and, therefore, break up the coastal employment system and coastal communities in general (Sønvisen et al., 2011). The "education revolution" during the 1990s resulted in over 90 % of youth between 16-18 years continuing their education after primary school, and therefore the formal school system could be seen as a process that contributes to pulling youth and young people away from an uncertain future in the fisheries (Johnsen & Vik, 2013, p. 9). Placing children in compulsory educational settings, schools could be viewed as a long-term and unpaid apprenticeship preparing children and youth as future workers in the rapidly changing and more specialized labor market (Leonard, 2016). The replacement of practical local knowledge with formalized training and education, in a way, partly excludes contemporary children and youth from the labor market. It also contributes to pulling youth away from the fisheries, as well as widening the gap between the community and the fisheries, as fewer are directly involved in the industry. This is a major structural change that has been and still is contributing to the restructuring of coastal communities, globally and in Norway.

2.2.3.3 The Expansion of the Norwegian Welfare State.

In the years after WWII, Norway invested in the public sector through increased investments in education, health, and social services. Women benefited especially from these investments in the public sector and we observe a tremendous increase of women entering the labor market and new employment opportunities being created throughout the 1970s (Gullestad, 1991). These developments must be seen in relation to an expansion of general public services and a strengthening of the Norwegian welfare state. These developments and national public investments through an active policy on upholding the settlement patterns in peripheral areas, and the expansion of the welfare state resulted in rural areas having large public sectors (Karlsen Bæck et al., 2019), compared to before when primary industries and refining industries dominated the labor

markets (Aarsæther & Nyseth, 2007). During the 1980s, the national economic situation experienced a downfall and thus led to less growth in state-initiated social welfare: "[…] the welfare state is in effect now in crisis in the sense that is no longer able to meet the growing expectations of the inhabitants" (Gullestad, 1991, p. 485). National investments in the public sectors have been important in terms of compensating for the loss of fishing, a long-standing industry, and many rural areas are dependent on support from the state.

2.2.4 SUMMARY: Coastal communities today.

This chapter has illustrated some of the main characteristics of the Norwegian socio-cultural context and how the restructuring of small-scale fisheries has impacted many Norwegian coastal communities. Traditionally, coastal livelihoods were characterized by diversity; households often combined farming, fishing, and other forms of paid employment to sustain their families. Technological developments in both agriculture and fishing gradually made the traditional way of combining different types of work less prevalent (Christensen, 2017b). Practices of overfishing, stock collapses, and ecosystem degradation was followed by a restructuring of the small-scale fisheries through the implementation of quotas, aquatic regulations, and technological developments in fishing aiming to maintain human control over ocean resources (Sønvisen et al., 2011; Vik et al., 2011; Wadel & Jentoft, 1984). This led to changes in the local labor market and employment opportunities in coastal communities and societies in Norway. Periods of urbanization and migration have also occurred at different times, whereas the coastal population has migrated to municipality centers or bigger cities to find employment or seek education, and therefore the coastal population is becoming more and more centralized (Christensen, 2017b). Some of the most remote coastal settlements are left totally depopulated or at least partly reorganized as recreational sites and found new purposes as places where people have their second homes or cabins used for spending their leisure time.

However, there is a need to point out that the reorganization of Norwegian coastal communities has not necessarily affected them equally across coastal regions or settlements but clearly affected and restructured many of them in somewhat different ways. Utilizing new ocean resources and the emergence of and investments in aquaculture has, in many cases, been a prerequisite for sustaining many Norwegian coastal communities: generating jobs, economic development, and maintaining a dispersed settlement pattern (Christensen, 2017a). Many of these communities have transitioned from being relatively homogeneous traditional fish-farmer communities to becoming characterized by a "booming" fish-farming industry (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021) which in many cases has faced recruitment challenges and therefore made the majority of coastal industries dependent upon in-migration and foreign labor forces (Rye, 2018). Overall, the developments happening after WWII with an emphasis on the development of compulsory education, investments in the public sector and the welfare state, as well as infrastructural and technological development, have led to rural and coastal areas providing similar services to their inhabitants as other geographical areas (Broch, 2022).

2.3 Case Study: A small Island Context in Northern Norway.

The case study takes us to a small island located south of Nordland County, Northern Norway. The region which is characterized by its mountains, forests, and fjords, in addition to a long coast line with a high number of islands, faces multiple environmental and socio-economic challenges and opportunities for its population (Rybråten et al.,

2018). In Norway, the population has grown by 2,1 million people since 1950, and approximately 82% of the population lives in densely populated areas compared to only 50% after WWII (SSB, 2021). Northern Norway is one of the regions in Norway that experience challenges with outmigration and if we look at recent population developments in Nordland County as a whole in 2022, the population number is 240.190, which means a decrease of 155 people from 2021 (Indeks Nordland, 2021). In general, the population numbers in Northern Norway are decreasing compared to the total population in Norway which for a long time has been viewed as an increasing problem. Furthermore, due to centralization, more people live in municipality centers and towns today compared to before and, we witness an over 10 yearlong decrease in population numbers and especially that young people (20-29) move away from the region, which again makes the population in Nordland significantly older than large parts of the country (Indeks Nordland, 2021, p. 14).

Primary industries, fishing, and farming are still of great importance within Nordland County, but we witness a decrease in employment and an increase in earnings, as well as a general trend of fewer but bigger boats and farms (Rybråten et al., 2018). Additionally, in Northern Norway, a high percentage is employed within the public sector (40-50%) and thus vulnerable in terms of changes in this sector and its consequences for unemployment in these areas (Karlsen Bæck et al., 2019). Furthermore, aquaculture (which has been discussed previously in this chapter) and the production of Atlantic salmon and rainbow trout is an important sector in terms of new employment opportunities and the regional as well as the national economy (Rybråten et al., 2018). The government's Marine Strategy emphasizes that aquaculture industries could be profitable for rural districts in Norway due to, often, local ownership and thus a good starting point for further developments of local coastal communities in addition to acknowledging that the natural environment in the northern regions of Norway is especially favorable in terms of developing old and new natural resource-based industries (Government's Marine Strategy, 2021).

The case study context is part of a small coastal municipality (approximately 2000 inhabitants in total) and consists of the mainland and several inhabited islands connected together with a car-ferry which was established under the "transport revolution" during the 70s (Christensen, 2017b). Before this development, the island inhabitants used other transports (i.e., melkeruta - a boat picking up milk from the different farms located on islands and other coastal places in the area) to travel between the island and other places located on the coast. Today, the car-ferry is the primary mode of transportation of people and goods to and from the islands and is viewed as a necessity in terms of sustaining this island community today and into the future. The island has transformed from a relatively traditional and homogeneous community to a more heterogenous community largely characterized by its fish farming industry located on the island as well as increased tourism, cabin owners, and leisure guests. Coastal communities in Northern Norway are often dependent on natural resources and traditionally most households were involved in fish farming – *fiskarbonden* – which was a gender-divided society that combined and divided its tasks between its household members which characterized many of the Norwegian coastal and rural settlements (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021). When men and fathers traveled north to Lofoten or Finnmark county to partake in the annual winter fishing, women and mothers were responsible for the farm, household, and children at home (Pettersen, 2019). Historically, this island was divided between two municipalities, with two "centers" on each side due to the lack of road connection between the two settlements.

Today, this island community needs to be understood in terms of how it has changed over time as a result of the decline in small-scale fishing or the more traditional combination of fishing and farming, and hence the changes within the local labor market in this specific context. The aquaculture industry started in modest ways, through local island initiatives in the 1980s, and has developed into a major business in the area, which has brought both local employment opportunities, attracted people from other places, and enabled local economic growth. The investment in aquaculture has in many ways diversified this island community and now it is a place where people from different parts of the world live and work together. It is likely to believe that the in-migration related to aquaculture industries from abroad has helped in terms of balancing the average age on the island, such as described in, in my opinion, a comparable context, in the study of Herøy municipality in Nordland (Aure et al., 2018).

The municipality is characterized by a high percentage of commuting between the mainland and the islands, in addition to other nearby municipalities and towns. Within the municipality itself, commuting happens daily for educational reasons, health, social, and cultural related services that are provided only on the mainland. Today, the industries represented on the island are more diverse than before and consist of economic activities ranging between agriculture, forestry, tourist industry, quarrying, and fish farming. As previously mentioned, 40-50 % of the people living in Northern Norway are working within the public sector (Karlsen Bæck et al., 2019), which for many islanders and island workers implies commuting daily to and from work. The municipality with its islands is characterized by mobility practices and movement throughout everyday life. As described by Gerrard (2013) these mobile practices can be seen as embedded within the coastal culture, at the same time as they are changing over time, whereas mobility practices in the past often "[…] appeared to be strongly dictated by gendered relations and social reproduction imbedded in a male breadwinning worldview" (2013, p. 318).

In terms of educational institutions and formal learning on the island, there have been provided different solutions based on the island's needs at specific times. The school has been closed and reopened several times over the years. Historically, formal education in Norway has been the object of broad transformation between the end of the 18th century and up to today. Norway was essentially rural at the time when compulsory education was established, and in the beginning, the initiatives were mostly impacted by pietist movements stressing the importance of every individual having the capacity to read the holy book (Solstad & Andrews, 2020). Evidence of families refusing to send their children (aged 10-14) to school in the late 1800s during periods of harvesting seasons or annual fishing, reflects how children were important contributors to the economies of their households in traditional communities of the past in addition to an early concern of schools being disconnected from its local communities (Edvardsen, 2011 in Solstad & Andrews, 2020, p. 296). In the aftermath of WWII, the number of schools was reduced, and between 1950-1970 the number of rural schools was reduced from 5325 to 2500 (Solstad, 1978 in Solstad & Andrews, 2020, p. 296). In the 1960s the process of expanding compulsory education took off, and the establishment of lower secondary schools (grade 7-9) was tested out. However, municipalities were asked to "improve" their primary school provision by closing down as many small schools as possible. Rural and sparsely populated municipalities, such as the case study for this master thesis project, needed to fulfill the viewpoint that each grade needed to have at least 60 pupils and hence the process of locating the rural schools as strategically as possible to minimize transportation and away-from- home lodging during the school week (Solstad &

Andrews, 2020) meant that the lower secondary school were placed on the mainland, and thus transportation and away-from-home lodging ended up being the reality for rural youths in the 1950s and 1960s. Today, the number of children and youth in school age is very low and thus it were decided in cooperation with the families, that children and youth should commute daily 45 minutes each way to the mainland to go to school.

3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND KEY ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS.

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical approaches and concepts that will be used to explore coastal (island) childhood(s). I will give a brief outline of the field of childhood studies to provide the theoretical and analytical foundation of the research. The theoretical basis for the master thesis understands and views children and childhood as social, structural, and relational phenomena that are determined by changing dynamics of time and space across particular historical contexts. I have chosen an intergenerational approach that aims at situating generational categories to each other to explore how childhood, belonging, and place relate to wider social changes and development happening across historical times.

3.1 A brief overview of Childhood Studies.

The new paradigm of the sociology of childhood (i.e., "the new social studies of childhood" or "childhood studies") (Prout, 2011) emerged during the 80-90s with a wish to set oneself apart from previous thoughts of developmental psychology, anthropology, and sociology which were seen to marginalize children and childhood and the new paradigm argued against previously established perspectives viewing children and childhood as decontextualized, biological, and "natural" (Holmberg, 2018; Jenks, 1982; Prout & James, 2015). Different disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, geography, etc. were central in the development of the field and have continued over the past decades to contribute with theoretical perspectives and concepts to research childhood (Kehily, 2013). Research topics within the field vary greatly and reflect the diversity of researcher's backgrounds and contexts. The emergence of the "new" paradigm thus reflected a critique of the way children and childhood has been viewed, theorized, and researched in "mainstream" research which was connected to theories of development and socialization mainly within disciplines like psychology and education (Jenks, 1982; Prout & James, 2015).

Prout and James (2015) identified six key features of the "new" paradigm of childhood studies in the 1990s as an attempt to define and give shape to the new research field. These key features are still central within the field today. *Childhood as a social construction* is the first key feature and enables an interpretative frame for contextualizing the earliest period of human life, highlighting that childhood "[…] is neither a natural nor universal feature of human groups but appears as a specific structural and cultural component of many societies" (Prout & James, 2015, p. 7). Second, *childhood is a variable of social analysis* and thus never really separated from other variables (I.e., gender, class, ethnicity, generation, etc.). Instead of viewing childhood as a universal phenomenon, the emphasis is put on childhood(s) in the plural and hence how the concept of childhood varies across time and space and different cultural contexts (ref.). Another core idea within the field of childhood studies is to see *Children as subjects worthy of study in their own right*, which places children and their views, experiences, and concerns at the center of child research. This feature challenges the previous perception of children and childhood in terms of "growth" metaphors and

strives to view children as "becomings" instead of "beings" (Jenks, 1982); thus, the focus was moved away from the idea of the child as only being in the process of becoming an adult, but rather on valuing children and childhood in the present "here and now". Viewing *children as active social actors* implies acknowledging that children act, (re)construct, and influence their own, and others' lives and society, and therefore cannot be isolated from broader societal structures and processes. The new paradigm highlights the field's role of producing knowledge regarding children and childhood and, in that way, being a part of the process of *reconstructing childhood in society.* The field of childhood studies is closely connected to the political sphere in terms of placing children's issues on the political agenda and advocating for children's voices to be heard and taken seriously (Punch, 2020). These claims are accompanied by the last feature which states that *ethnography is a particularly useful methodology* for studying childhood based on the need to include children more directly in sociological research and to understand childhood as a social, structural, and relational phenomenon.

The "new" paradigm of childhood studies emerged as a field towards the end of the 20th century as a response to a growing body of critique of the existing conceptualization of children and childhood. The field of childhood studies was based on feminist and social constructionist perspectives (James, 2007) and critical theories that aimed at deconstructing childhood and the conceptualization of the child (Prout & James, 2015). Thus, they were highly critical of socialization theories and development studies due to their treatment of children as incompetent "becoming" rather than "beings" (Jenks, 1982). These critiques continue to be a part of childhood studies, as well as being subject to both external and internal critiques such as promoting a highly euro-centric understanding rather than cross-world dialogue, a need to move away from binary thinking, better theorization within the field, in addition to highlighting new research topics and aiming to advance the production of contextualized and nuanced understandings of children's lives and experiences (Punch, 2020; Tisdall & Punch, 2012).

3.2 Childhood as a Social, Structural and Relational Phenomenon.

3.2.1 Childhood as Socially Constructed.

Within the field of childhood studies, conceptualizations of childhood and the child are not entirely uniform. There is too a large degree of consensus regarding the need to view and treat children as members of society and beings worthy of study in their own right (Prout & James, 2015) and understand childhood as multiple, varying across diverse contexts (James, 2007). The constructions of particular images of children and childhood are now understood as cultural rather than natural (Nilsen, 2008) and closely connected to daily life practices and a variety of forms of discourses and ideas (Jenks, 2004) that are rooted in historical, societal and political contexts in any given society (Montgomery, 2003). In this way, emphasizing that childhood is diverse has led to the use of the term *childhood(s)* to illustrate the emphasis put on the diversity of constructions of childhood instead of viewing childhood as a single, universal, and stage-like phenomenon (Prout & James, 2015). Ideas or "images" of children and childhood are therefore dependent on their social, cultural, and historical contexts and will have consequences for how people placed in specific category (i.e., children, adults, elderly people) will be treated, viewed, and hence in what kind of way they will be able to act and negotiate their socio-cultural environments, across time. The thinking outlined above, often referred to as a

constructionist perspective, views children (and adulthood for that matter) as socially (culturally and historically) constructed categories that will vary and differ from country to country, from culture to culture, and from place to place in addition to changes that will occur across time (Montgomery, 2003). Therefore, a critique of the idea of "the universal child" began to emerge, and the new paradigm of childhood studies pointed out the lack of attention given to changes and the changing circumstances that children are maneuvering in their socio-cultural environments.

3.2.2 Childhood as a Structural Form.

The concept of *generational order* was met with critique when it first was suggested as a useful concept within childhood studies but has recently been suggested that it was "swept away too quickly" (Punch, 2020, p. 132). Therefore, a need for unpacking the concept of generation and generational order in more detail. As a term, generation is used in everyday language, in many ways and with a variety of purposes. Karl Mannheim was one of the first to bring "generation" as a concept in sociology and in his view, it needed to be understood in cultural terms. Generations are formed when cohorts (age-groups) live through and experience the same historical and social events happening in societal circumstances (Mannheim, 1952 In Alanen, 2001, pp. 14-15). Mannheim stresses that we need to account for changes and changing circumstances in constructions of childhood(s) and children's lives in researching how changes in their social, cultural, and historical context affect their micro-experiences. As an attempt to move beyond the individual child, childhood could be viewed as a social phenomenon and children as a social category existing within all societies (Alanen, 2001). Within the field of sociology, Qvortrup was one of the first to state that childhood and adulthood must be understood as different generations which is structurally related to each other (Alanen, 2009) and therefore must be understood as interactive structural elements with a particular social status and as relational to each other.

Qvortrup (2009) argues that childhood, in structural terms, "[…] has no temporal beginning and end and cannot, therefore, be understood periodically" but rather "[…] as a permanent form of any generational structure" (2009, p. 23). The phase in life, often referred to as childhood, needs to be acknowledged as a social structure rather than only viewed as a transitional life stage where all humans find themselves at a certain point in life (Alanen, 2009). Recognizing childhood as a generational phenomenon (Alanen, 2001) within a *generational order* (Alanen, 2009) emphasizes the development of generational identities through a system of social ordering impacted by social, cultural, and structural aspects and the everyday life interactions and routines that are shared between different social (generational) categories, living, and acting together, in this case, within the same island community. Childhood, therefore, has permanence in society or in other words; childhood is both a permanent structure and constantly *changing* due to historical, material, societal, political, etc., aspects that influence and constitute childhood. Other traditional structural categories such as gender, ethnicity, and social class do also have permanence in society. However, generation as a structural form compared with other structural categories "is the relatively quick turnover of their members" (Qvortrup, 2009, p. 28). The structural perspective of childhood is applied to account for and acknowledge how structural developments potentially have impacted childhoods across time and space and, therefore, to map how these potentially have impacted generations and intergenerational relations differently. In terms of coastal childhoods, which have been characterized by rapid (structural) transformation over the past decades, it will be of

interest to understand how these changes have occurred and are experienced from a coastal population's perspective across generations.

3.2.3 Childhood: A Relational Phenomenon.

As this master thesis tries to move beyond the child-adult dichotomy and aims at an approach to the study of childhood which emphasizes the relational dimension of generational categories, in addition to looking at how macro-structures of the society are impacting everyday life micro-experiences in this island community. Instead of viewing "children" and "adults" as opposites, the thesis aims at understanding the historical, cultural, and social circumstances which determine the everyday negotiations between and among inter- and intra-generational relations in a specific context across time. The approach developed by Alanen (2001, 2009) and Mayall (2002, 2009) to grasp the concept of generation as relational focuses on *processes and practices*, with a particular focus on intergenerational practices in relationships between children and adults to reveal the social order/structure. Furthermore, Alanen (2009) suggested the application of "generationing" to underline the active and ongoing process in which both children and adults take part, act and create the generational social order together in specific historical contexts. As highlighted by Alanen (2001), "[…] the social worlds in which children live and act are, in the end, generationally structured […] and will impact children's lives, their opportunities, experiences, identity formation and intergenerational relations (2001, p. 14). The dynamic, contextual, and situated structures in any specific network of relations are highlighted, and therefore the concept of agency needs clarification.

There has been a tendency to consider children as social actors with agency, underlining and echoing discourses of universality and children's rights (Abebe, 2019). In this case, I want to highlight the concept of agency as "[…] the "powers" (or lack of them) of those positioned as children to influence, organize, coordinate and control events taking place in the social worlds" (Alanen, 2009, p. 170). The recognition of children as social actors with agency within the field of childhood studies "[…] is so pervasive that it has come to represent something that all children should have the right to exercise (Abebe, 2019). Instead, agency is understood as something negotiated and renegotiated interdependence within social relations and communities (Leonard, 2016), as well as embedded within the broader social and generational structures in a specific context (Abebe, 2019). The reengagement with the concept of generation and the generational social order, emphasizes the dynamic interdependent relations between generational relations, structure, and agency, and is closely connected to aspects of contextualized generational order, which impacts children's and youth's ability to practice agency in their socio-cultural contexts (Leonard, 2016; Spyrou et al., 2021). In other words, agency is not something one possesses but rather accessed within relations to others (Leonard, 2016). Additionally, as argued by Abebe (2019), "An important, but under-theorized set of questions relate to the spatial, political, and material factors that shape the lives of children, the "choices" they might confront, and the types of futures they might expect, experience, negotiate and, navigate" (2019, p. 12). The need to acknowledge that children's (as well as adults) agency are essentially negotiated and renegotiated through interactions with people implies that generational categories is dependent and independent at the same time, and thus that the degree of agency will be impacted by where they are, what they are doing and with whom they are interacting (Robson et al., 2007).

Scholars within the field of childhood studies have recently raised questions about whether or not it is time to decenter childhood? (Spyrou, 2017). Critical debates within the field highlight and emphasizes the relational aspects of childhood, children, and society for future research, and point out that much of the research conducted is largely centered around children and childhood "[…] in a way which ultimately holds us back" (Spyrou, 2017, p. 435). As argued by Wyness (2013) there is a need for a more interdependent and intergenerational approach that not only focuses on children and childhood but acknowledges that we cannot understand children's worlds and lived lives without understanding the complexities and the nature of children's (intergenerational) relationships with adults. Through an exploration of Australian children's viewpoints on community, Bessell (2017) found that children identified relationships as essential for a strong and supportive community as well as shrinking spaces for the development of intergenerational relationships due to childhood being to a larger extent privatized and institutionalized. Furthermore, global discourses emphasizing children's rights and the value put on formal education and schooling have been shown to impact children's lives around the globe and place children and childhood in a particular contextualized intergenerational social order (Kjørholt, 2013).

3.3 Exploring Coastal Childhood(s) in Transition.

Many coastal communities across the globe have undergone significant transitions related to economies, working life, education, and livelihoods (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015). As described in more detail in chapter 2, Norwegian socio-cultural and economic aspects were impacted by broader national developments and neoliberal policymaking, which has contributed to the restructuring of coastal communities in Norway and elsewhere. Within the specific time, we find ourselves living our lives "[…] all communities are in touch with and influenced by global structures and impacts" (Broch, 2022, p. 3). The restructuring of the global economy and its effects on economic and social conditions in coastal contexts continuously shapes and reshapes local notions of everyday life, knowledge, learning, and belonging. This has resulted in shifts and changes in values, expectations, norms, and aspirations in and between generations in coastal communities (Crummy & Devine, 2021).

Recently published international studies reveal the importance of childhood experiences and memories of spending time in nature and in the coastal environment for their construction of a coastal identity and a sense of belonging in coastal communities (Bessell, 2021; Crummy & Devine, 2021; Gaini & Sleire, 2022; Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Spyrou et al., 2021). In these studies, the connection between self, place, and the physical (natural) coastal environment (the sea, the coastline, the beach, the boat, etc.) is shown to be important identity markers in the participant's childhood narratives across generations. However, the coast as home has, as I have mentioned, in many ways transitioned and changed over the years (Jentoft, 2020b). Studies were conducted on Tasmania's east coast (Bessell, 2021), in an island community in Mid-Norway (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021), in fishing villages in Cyprus (Spyrou et al., 2021), and in Irish coastal communities (Crummy & Devine, 2021). All these studies share in showing a strong and consistent identity, stretching between and across generations, despite (and as well as) drastically changing circumstances for childhood and young people transitioning into adulthood.

show a strong and consistent coastal identity between and across generations, as well as drastically changing circumstances for childhood and young people transitioning into adulthood.

As aspects of everyday life, placemaking and belonging are complex and relational processes located within and between intersections of local and global discourses, as neo-liberal market-oriented policies have transformed the basis for young people's choices related to education, lifestyle, where to settle down, and employment (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015). Amongst other things, the way in which education is valued in global discourses has been shown to be interfering with local discourses in different contexts and locations around the globe (Kjørholt, 2013). Recent studies show how generations that have experienced hardships related to the fishing profession (e.g., ecological changes impacting fish stocks) led older generations to transmit practical, fishing-related (local) knowledge, at the same time as they encouraged their children to seek out education, in response to the changing labor and market conditions (Lowe, 2015; Spyrou et al., 2021). In Norway, they found that the changing and transitional circumstances in local work markets (i.e., fish farming industry dependent on in-migration and foreign laborers) have resulted in a *continuum of belonging*; where social differentiation and inequalities between different families resulted out of hegemonic local discourses which connect homemaking to rootedness, shared collective memories of local place across generations, and shared agencies (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021). Thus, for contemporary youth, their identity and sense of belonging are therefore positioned, constrained, and enabled by their different relational histories and have become complex negotiated projects in which local discourses on belonging that emphasize roots create positions of inequality between contemporary youth growing up in this community of islands.

3.3.1 Sustainability and Resilience in Coastal Communities.

Sustainability and resilience will not be used as analytical concepts but as interesting aspects to reflect upon. Sustainability is viewed as an important aspect of coastal communities due to the multiple challenges related to global environmental and socio-economic changes. The ocean and the uses of its natural resources have been essential for centuries in terms of livelihoods, social and cultural practices, and the transfer of local knowledge for generations. To understand the complexities coastal communities in transition face, an understanding of place, culture, and connectedness is essential to understand not only the environmental issues but also trends of out-migration of young people and declining opportunities for work in coastal communities (Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming). Furthermore, climate change and related issues have shown to be of great concern for children and youth all over the world and have led to the mobilizing of youth activists through the utilization of social media such as Greta Thunberg's *"School Strike for Climate"* and #FridaysForFuture which aims at changing, or at least impacting, local and global climate policy (Han & Ahn, 2020; O'Brien et al., 2018).

The term *sustainability* and *sustainable development* has been and still are widely used buzzwords both in everyday language, in research, and in politics and policy measures on a global, national, and local level, but they often remain fuzzy and lacking in clarity (Adams, 2020; Ngai, 2020). Since the beginning of the 1960s, shifting interpretations of sustainability have occurred within the environmental discourse and have extended beyond the ecological focus, implementing economic and social dimensions as well (Ngai, 2020). I will not elaborate on this process in detail, but the potential for conflicts between environmental preservation and economic development was addressed in the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, which led to the Brundtland

Commission and the widely cited Brundtland Report from 1987 (Adams, 2020; Ngai, 2020) where we find one of the most influential definitions of sustainable development (Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming). The Brundtland report aims to ensure that humanity "[…] meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland, 1987, p. 16). Adams (2020) points out that there was a shift in rhetoric, where the concept of sustainable development in the Brundtland Report was (re)defined out of social and economic objectives rather than the environment's "health," which previous environmental engagements had. According to Bessell and Kjørholt (2022, forthcoming), the report highlighted the need for a shift in knowledge and skills that responds to the emerging challenges of environmental sustainability and raises questions about the role of both informal and formal learning, and education have in terms of sustainability, intergenerational knowledge transmission which is interconnected with coastal communities and their livelihoods. It is suggested that a holistic approach to sustainability is needed and that it should consist of and emphasize the interrelatedness between the four pillars of sustainability: *environmental*, *social*, *cultural*, and *economic*. Additionally, a holistic conceptualization of sustainability needs to consider the intergenerational nature of the concept (Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming). For this thesis, socio and cultural sustainability is of special interest.

The concept of cultural and social resilience is useful concepts to understand what it takes to sustain the survival of coastal communities since the components of the concepts are related to aspects of sustainability, flexibility, and the potential in terms of handling unseen natural and social changes (Broch, 2022; Broch, 2013). His application of the concept of cultural resilience in a small fishing-based community in Northern Norway leads to focus on complex processes in a future perspective where economic growth cannot overrule biological sustainability and thus in a broad sense concerned with both survival within and how to secure healthy environments in areas and societies that (often) is dependent on primary industries and usage of natural resources from the coast. Thus, sustainability-related issues in small coastal communities are often acute due to for example changing weather patterns, biodiversity loss, and changing or declining fish stocks (Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming). As discussed in chapter 2, traditional fishing communities were characterized by mutual dependencies between the fishing fleet and their local communities (Sønvisen et al., 2011; Wadel & Jentoft, 1984), and thus researchers have suggested that both sustainability and sustainable development needs to consider the impact and the importance of the cultural (and social) ecosystem (Acott and Urquhart, 2014, In Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming).

3.3.2 Belonging in a Changing World.

Additionally to being a familiar term and used in daily speech, belonging as a concept in social sciences is often treated as self-explanatory and under-theorized and, therefore, often without a clear definition and explanations (Antonsich, 2010; May, 2013). In some cases, the concept of belonging is used interchangeably with aspects of or as a synonym to identity (i.e., national identity and citizenship). The concept of belonging as a relational metaphor in youth studies has been argued to be helpful in terms of understanding the conditions and connections between young people and their social worlds (Cuervo & Wyn, 2014). The concept of belonging provides a complex, person-centered, and dynamic approach to the mutual influence between self and society. May (2013) defines belonging "[…] as the process of creating a sense of identification with, or connection to, cultures, people, places, and material objects […]" (2013, p. 3). As highlighted by this quote:

"To find our self, as we might typically say of belonging, is to find a self that is not a singular separate identity progressing through life's stages, but a self in connection. A sense of "feeling solid within ourselves' comes with neither a turning in nor shutting out of the world, but with openness" (Game, 2001, p.228 In May, 2013, p. 78).

May (2013) indicates that a sense of belonging is *relational* because it requires openness and a sense of connection between the self and the broader society and the world. In other words, belonging could be understood as a person's feeling of ease with one's social, cultural, physical, and material surroundings which connects individuals and societal aspects (May, 2011). Significant changes in our places/contexts could thus, rupture or cause fluctuation in our sense of belonging. Furthermore, taking a relational standpoint or perspective aims at understanding the development and construction of self as relational and develops in relation to and in interaction with others, and is partly constructed through feelings of similarity or difference with others. One could say that the construction of "who we are" is thus part of who we feel that we belong to or not belong to.

An important argument put forward by May (2013) is that belonging is not something that is accomplished at one point and then something that we possess. How people and the world, for that matter, constantly is in a mode of change affects the concept of belonging. Thus, belonging is something that needs to be understood as an active process where the individual need to keep achieving aspects of belonging. "Belonging offers an apt window into studying the interconnectedness of social change and the self – as the world around us changes, so does our relationship to it" (May, 2013, p. 90). As an analytical tool, belonging creates opportunities for considering the influence of relations, places, social change, and generational features which shapes individuals' experience of being and belonging/not belonging in their everyday lives of individuals.

3.3.2.1 Socio-Relational Belonging.

Belonging emphasizes the relational aspects which are created in interaction with others. Put in a simple way: we understand ourselves partly based on whom we feel we belong/do not belong with (May, 2013). Looking at these dynamics could potentially bring the nature and quality of social connections and relationships into focus (Cuervo & Wyn, 2014). Relational belonging is a metaphor for the relations and interactions with people that matters to us (i.e., to family, friends, neighbors, or communities) that potentially could shape a sense of belonging and impact the individual choices and decisions (Cuervo & Wyn, 2014; May, 2013). As relationships on the one side can be a source of a sense of belonging, they can additionally have the power to exclude individuals or groups socially and actively construct them as "others." Thus, our sense of relational belonging must be seen as a continuum of relationships that stretches from intimate to strangers and that emerges based on our individual experience and knowledge of others, as well as being closely related to a person's experience of inclusion and exclusion (May, 2013). Our sense of relational belonging is then, both a process where we experience similarity – a sense of being familiar with some people and a sense of difference with others (i.e., "one of us" or "one of them"). This process happens both consciously or unconsciously, and a sense of community emerges as a result of this in-and-out grouping process (May, 2013).

3.3.2.2 Place-Belongingness.

The conceptualization of a sense of belonging to (a) sense of place, or as referred to by Antonsich (2010), "place-belongingness", aims at understanding individual and personal

attachment to particular places. Belonging as feeling "at home" does not mean "the domestic(ated) material space" but rather a "symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment" (Antonsich, 2010, p. 646). Place-belongingness then is the experience of feeling "at home" in a particular place and, in that way, emphasizes locality and feelings of rootedness in places. Antonsich (2010) has identified five factors that contribute to the feeling of place-belongingness and being "at home". The five factors are: 1) Auto-biographical factors such as past history, personal experience, relations, and memories that attach an individual to a particular place, 2) relational factors such as personal and social ties stretching from close ties (i.e., family and friends) to weak ties (i.e., strangers that we share public spaces with), 3) cultural factors such as shared language, cultural expressions and practices, and traditions and rituals, 4) economic factors (e.g., material conditions which leads to feelings of stableness and safety for the individual and/or his/her family) and 5) legal factors which are viewed as essential for producing security (2010, pp. 646-648). Of special interest for this thesis, which is closely related to choices of methodology, are auto-biographical factors that are connected to aspects of past history and how memories of childhood attach individuals to any given place.

3.3.2.3 Belonging in and through time.

The three-generational methodological approach implies moving back and forth in time and space through the recollection of childhood memories. A sense of belonging might be assumed to be experienced in the present, but could as well be experienced as a form of *belonging from afar* (May, 2017): "[…] where it is memories from the past that evoke a sense of past belonging that brings pleasure (and pain) in the present" May (2017, p. 411). This could mean that people experience a connection to a time in the past than in the present and it involves being aware of the differences between then and now. In Cuervo and Cook (2019) study they explore the role of nostalgia in terms of shaping participant's experiences of belonging and place and argue that "[…] memory and nostalgia also form part of the broad constellation of relational and affective factors that generate a sense of belonging" (2019, p. 2).

Nostalgia as a term (Greek: nostos [home] and algia [pain/sorrow] was originally used to describe a pathological longing or yearning for one's home country but is more often used as a way to describe a sense of loss, mourning or regret (Cuervo & Cook, 2019; May, 2017). However, a more nuanced understanding of the term nostalgia can be useful to explore as part of this master thesis project. Nostalgia can be used as a concept and analytical tool to understand how "[…] people engage with changes brought on by the passage of time" (May, 2017, p. 404). As shown by Cuervo and Cook (2019), a particular form of nostalgia emerged often through recollection of childhood memories, which contributed to formations of belonging. Even if participants' experiences often were reflected in terms of losses or regrets, their reflections were mostly positive and provided bridges between past memories with present choices and future aspirations.

3.3.3 Place and Sense of Place.

As with the concept of belonging, place is often used in everyday language and with different meanings. Additionally, the concept of place is often used interchangeably with the term space, and, it is, therefore, difficult to theorize and differentiate the meanings of space and place (Anderson, 2015). The often agreed-upon difference is that place equals space plus meaning. Places are "the medium and the message of cultural life" and where cultures, communities, and people define and root themselves (2015, p. 51). In other

words: Place is understood as *a meaningful location* (Cresswell, 2004, p. 7) to which humans attach themselves and give meaning in various ways. Therefore, "[…] places come by their meanings and identities as a result of the complex intersections of culture and context that occur whin that specific location" (Anderson, 2015, p. 6). In addition to this, a need to consider and be aware of how places are both impacted by humans and non-human actors/environments in terms of taking and making place, and therefore how places can be influenced and impacted and changed by traces left by un/intentional actions (2015, pp. 52-53). Places are represented in certain ways and are closely connected to history, traditions, and people's perceptions of them (Cresswell, 2004); therefore, places must be understood as dynamic and subject to change across time.

According to Agnew and Duncan (1989), the concept of place has three integrated parts: *location*, *locale,* and *sense of place*. *Location* refers to place as an "objective" point in space (i.e., where in space the place is located), *locale* understands place as the material setting for social interactions, and, lastly, *sense of place* could be understood as an umbrella term which refers to place as the subjective experience of a place (I.e., emotional attachment, place identity, belonging and identification with place).

As this thesis is interested in people's subjective experience of "island living" it is necessary to discuss the concept of sense of place in more detail. A sense of place is often related to emotional attachment to place and identity-laden aspects and could be viewed as important in terms of defining our connections to geographical locations, how these have changed over time, and in what ways these have become important to our individual sense of who we are (Anderson, 2015). These three integrated parts or dimensions of place indicate not only where we are but also who we are and if we *feel* that we belong or not belong in a particular place. And therefore a "Sense of belonging to particular places is thus created by a variety of traces [of location, locale and sense of place]" (Anderson, 2015, p. 62) which regulates who is able to enjoy (or not) this sense of belonging. An analysis of place implies notions of belonging, as a relational metaphor, belonging is often interrelated. As I have tried to illustrate, belonging as a relational metaphor is interconnected with topographical as well as social relations (i.e., people, spaces, and places (Cuervo & Wyn, 2014, 2017).

3.3.4 SUMMARY: Intergenerational Approach to Studying Childhood.

This chapter has provided an overview of the theoretical basis of this master thesis, which explores coastal childhood(s) in transition in a North Norwegian context and emphasizes that children and childhood is viewed as a social, structural, and relational phenomenon impacted by broader social change across historical times. An intergenerational approach was chosen and places individuals both within changing relations and generations and aims at enhancing our understanding of the dynamic complexities across the life course and, in this case, gain a better understanding of how childhood experiences, identity formation, and sense of belonging are shaped by the costal environment across time (Spyrou et al., 2021). A particular focus is given to the concepts of belonging and place to explore how these interrelated concepts are narrated across generations through the recollection of childhood memories in this particular context.

4 METHODOLOGY & METHODS.

4.1 Methodological Considerations.

In this chapter, I will elaborate on the way in which I intend to answer my research aim and questions. My methodological approach aims at situating children's and young peoples' views and experiences in relation to the lived lives of other generations. In this way, I'm aiming for insights into how childhood(s), place, and belonging is connected to broader societal change over historical times and generations (Nilsen, 2021). This master thesis project has followed the methodological design used in the *Valuing the past, sustaining the future* research project (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015), which is based on the design developed by Brannen (2008) with colleagues. The methodological approach situates children and young people's experiences in relation to the older generation's lives to understand how childhood, placemaking, and belonging are related to broader structures of social change across historical periods (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015). The intersection between generational positions, identities, belonging, and intergenerational relations must be understood as socially constructed and part of a contextualized social, generational order (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021). Semi-structured life-biographical interviews were used to collect participants' narratives, focusing on childhood memories that emphasized aspects of "island living," everyday life, relations to other generations, a sense of belonging/place, and the physical environment. Through these interviews I'm seeking to understand participants' narratives as part of changing relations across and within generations. This is a relational and dynamic approach that aims towards researching children, youth and childhood(s) as situated in individual experiences embedded within, and stretches through historical time, geographical contexts, and changing (environmental) circumstances

Additionally, an ethnographic approach was used to supplement the semi-structured life biographies to better understand the nuances of "island living" and participants' narratives, perspectives, views, and experiences. This included observation in different island areas such as the local store, the ferry-landing area, spending time in the local kindergarten, and having informal conversations with other community members such as teachers, parents, cabin owners, and local business owners. With the situational combination of techniques used in the field, I chose to plan for a multi-method approach to ensure that the methods were open enough to adapt to real-life situations and participants' wishes. Being open to changes and aware that research is not a straightforward, step-by-step process but rather a fluid and unstructured one is important (Thomas & Hodges, 2010).

4.2 Researcher's Position within the Field.

Qualitative research implies that the researcher is part of all phases and uses themselves as a research instrument to access, collect, and process data afterward. Therefore, I will elaborate on my position within the field, some site-specific challenges, and opportunities as well as some ethical considerations. Due to my position as a frequent leisure guest on the island, researching in a familiar context requires a high degree of reflexivity. "Reflexivity is commonly viewed as the process of a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of researcher's positionality and active acknowledgment and

explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcome" (Berger, 2015, p. 220). Assessing my position within the field started during the first rounds of planning the master thesis project. It included thinking through my own experiences and previously established relations with members of the island community and, in other words, being aware of how the researcher's different identities (i.e., gender, age, ethnicity, etc.) impact the process of research (Gelir, 2021). Before entering the field, I thought of myself as a kind of a "semi-insider" with advantages such as contextual knowledge and a network of relations. Still, I quickly realized that this was not precisely the case. Assessing my position was not as straightforward as I first had assumed.

My family bought a dilapidated house located in the area where most locals live and spent 10 + years on renovations. During this time, and especially during my youth, we spent a lot of time on the island, which also meant interacting with and getting to know the locals over the years. The assumed researcher's "insider" position (in my case) became adjusted and negotiated in several ways. Firstly, most of the youth I interacted with before did not live there anymore; therefore, my contacts/network was much more limited than I anticipated. Secondly, I haven't spent as much time there during the past 5-6 years since I have studied/lived in another town in Norway. Therefore, some of the island inhabitants didn't recognize me before I told them who I was (related to and/or where our cabin is located). Thirdly, my "insiderness" was not acknowledged through my presence alone but rather through my parents' positioning in the local community, which became more apparent during the weeks I spent there. To exemplify, my stepfather is a board member of the local water utilities on the island and takes part in running, repairing, and maintaining the water access throughout the year with other locals. Additionally, he has contributed with his practical skills such as carpeting and his experience of working as a constructional engineer in voluntary communal work (Norwegian: "Dugnad") initiated by the island community. Hence, he is a well-known person in the local community based on his initiative to cooperate with the locals. Another example is how island inhabitants tended to start a conversation with me about our cabin or start a conversation by asking about my parents. In terms of gaining access to participants and their willingness to partake, my stepfather basically worked as a gatekeeper in terms of introducing me to locals, which was very helpful throughout the fieldwork process. It is a potential risk that some of the participants said yes to partake in my project based on their relations with my parents and, in ways, felt obligated to help me out. However, I tried to ask all participants if they had questions or concerns related to the project before I started with data collection, and in most cases (when I didn't forget), I asked them about how they felt it was to share their childhood stories with me.

Insider research refers to research where the researcher is also a member of the community/population that are studied and therefore "[…] shares an identity, language, and experiential base with the study participants." (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 58). However, I would argue that my positionality was characterized by some degree of "insiderness" or rather "in-between-ness". According to Berger (2015) there are both potential and challenges related to being an "insider" studying the familiar; access to participants through previously established relations, having knowledge about the context or topic and understanding of or shared similarities with participants can be considered as positive aspects with conducting research in familiar settings (Berger, 2015, p. 223). As a person born and raised in the same county and spending time in the specific island context (as a leisure-guest), I share some characteristics with the community members based on knowledge related to the environment, knowing some of

the islanders and speaking the same language and dialect as them. However, an insider position or being familiar with the research topic/context might include risks of blurring boundaries and the researcher imposing their values, beliefs, and perceptions on the process (Berger, 2015). The practice of reflexivity needs to be contextualized and adapted in terms of the research topic, research questions, and the researcher's acknowledgment of how their actions might potentially impact the explored theme. During the fieldwork and through formal and informal conversations, I became aware of my romanticized perception of the island through my memories of spending weekends and summer holidays there. However, as the fieldwork progressed (and the seasons changed from late summer to fall), the island "felt" different, and my romanticized version of the island was challenged.

The insider VS outsider dichotomy and the presentation of these concepts in a dualistic way do not consider "the space between." As for qualitative research, the researcher cannot separate themselves from the ones we are studying. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) highlight that *the space between* consists of a circle of impact, and as they put it: "The intimacy of qualitative research no longer allows us to remain true outsiders to the experience under study and, because of our role as researchers, it does not qualify us as complete insiders. We now occupy the space between, with the costs and benefits this status affords" (2009, p. 61).

4.3 Data collection

4.3.1 Ethnographic Fieldwork.

Within the field of childhood studies, there are various methods and tools that can be used to study children, childhoods, and their communities and therefore I chose to include an ethnographic approach to my project. As Prout and James (2015) pointed out that ethnography is a useful methodology for studying childhood and understanding it as a social, generational, and cultural phenomenon. Ethnography is an umbrella term for different sets of research tools that aim to discover participants' understanding of their social and symbolic worlds (Lange & Mierendorff, 2009) and basically means "writing about people" (Corsaro, 2003; James, 2001). The ethnographic approach implies producing knowledge through social interactions with participants, preferably over a longer period and with the use of different methods (Christensen, 2004; Thomas & Hodges, 2010). However, as the timeframe for the master thesis project is limited this affected the length of the time spent in the field. As described by Geertz (1973) doing ethnography involve the interpretive act of "thick descriptions" which aims at making sense of participant's "structures of signification" which they maneuver throughout their lives within their specific context, which means that the ethnographic method implies that the researcher enters the field, is accepted by the people, and take part in their lives (Corsaro, 2003, p. 8). As mentioned, the "new" paradigm of children and childhood changed the main objects of sociological childhood research and included reflections and discussions related to research strategies and methodology when implementing, at that time, the new research agendas (Lange & Mierendorff, 2009). Therefore, an elaboration on the different methods and the combination of them used in this master thesis project will be given in the following paragraphs

4.3.2 Recruitment of Participants & Gaining Access.

Recruitment of participants was essential to be able to do this project. As the inclusion criteria for the study were 1) to recruit participants from three generations (preferably

from the same family) and 2) participants that had experienced their childhood on the island, I needed to think through a strategy to gain access to specific participants.

In the project's planning phase, I sketched two entry strategies to recruit participants and gain access to the field:

1) through educational institutions (school/kindergarten) or,
2) through different stakeholders in the local community.

I reflected upon what strategy would give me the best access to informants from different generations and decided on trying to get into the educational institutions where I would get an opportunity to get to know both children and their families and potentially could gain access to grandparents within the same family. However, as I experienced early on, the research process does not necessarily go as planned, and the need to be open and flexible became evident (Thomas & Hodges, 2010). It was first when I arrived there that I heard from community members that the local school with pupils from 1st to 4th grade was decided to be closed during the academic year of 2021/2022 and that the pupils would commute to the mainland to attend school throughout the year of 2021/22. Hence, gaining access to educational institutions did not work out the way I had planned, so I needed to find another path.

The second strategy for gaining access to participants was through different stakeholders in the local community. In the planning phase of the project, I noticed how stakeholders and other community members were raising their voices in the local newspaper and highlighted different challenges faced during the last year in this island community, and thus thought that they most likely were open to discussing these things with me. As a result, the recruitment process was done by using my stepfather as a local stakeholder in the community in addition to the snowball-sampling method. The recruitment of participants for this master thesis project was done through a combination of:

1. My own/family's network and previous interactions with locals.
2. Meeting people out whilst walking, in the local store, in the ferry landing area, or on the ferry itself.
3. Asking participants if they knew someone that they thought would like to partake in the project.

4.4 Methods & Tools.

4.4.1 Semi-Structured Life-Biography Interviews.

I adopted a biographical narrative approach inspired by Brannen (2008) and colleagues to create spaces where participants were invited to tell their life stories while emphasizing childhood memories and everyday aspects of growing up in a coastal community. The qualitative research interview aims to understand interviewees' subjective perception of the world through exploring their experiences as human beings in this world (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The act of narrating or telling a life story is to "make present" experiences of life and to gain insights into life experiences in time and space which highlights the fact that life stories or narratives can't be treated as only personal but are embedded in and reflects collective cultural conventions through time within shared social and historical contexts (Atkinson, 2005, In Brannen, 2013). The selected sample consists of participants divided into three generations: children and youth (aged 10-25), parents (35-50 ish), and grandparents (65+). There is a need to point out that generation 1 was extended several times and ended up including young

adults (without own children) because of lack and difficulties recruiting participants in this generation. In addition, I spent two days in the local kindergarten to observe and take part in their daily routines.

Following a three-generational and biographical approach inspired by Brannen (2008) and colleagues, I invited participants to share their childhood narratives as freely as possible. I had prepared interview guides which were used as a help to structure the conversations if needed. The interview guide was structured around central themes that I wanted to explore; childhood and/or memories of childhood with an emphasis on routines, rituals, activities, and relations to parents and grandparents (or other significant family or community members), The environment, sense of belonging, and aspects of sustainability (social, cultural, economic, or environmental). These were not strictly used but rather as prepared categories and broad and open-ended questions, which could be helpful if the conversations stagnated in any way. Eight interviews were conducted using a sound recorder and were transcribed as soon as possible after it was held. The interviews emphasized childhood memories as a point of departure. For some of the participants, their narratives were partly based on them remembering back several decades and therefore, not always told in chronological order (Brannen, 2013). However, as I always had a copy of the interview guide with me, I most of the time looked over it to ensure that I hadn't forgotten something, and therefore, some of the transcriptions jumped back and forth between different topics.

4.4.2 Research Diary & Fieldnotes.

As a part of the methods and tools used to generate data, research diary/ field notes were used every day to help me remember how I felt during different phases of the data collection. I carried this pocket-sized notebook everywhere I went during the fieldwork phase. The research diary consisted of observations, reflections after semi-structured interviews, and notes from informal conversations during fieldwork. Additionally, the research diary was used to reflect upon my own presence in the field and to map my own experience of staying there over a longer period of time (which I have never done before). As a result, I was able to both get an understanding of my own pre-established view of the island as well as how this changed across the fieldwork.

To ensure that the participants understood what I was doing, I asked them before writing down notes related to my thesis. As part of this conversation, I also explained that all information would be anonymized and that I would leave out their personal information in my notes to protect their privacy. In some of the informal conversations with central community members, I asked them if they would allow me to take notes during our conversations to avoid losing important information about different topics since I didn't use the sound recorder in those conversations.

4.4.3 Observation.

Participant observation is a method closely connected to ethnography and focuses on observing and gaining knowledge directly from others. This method was used throughout the fieldwork and consisted of observations in the local community. This method was mainly used to understand how the local community interacted with each other. Things don't necessarily go as planned, and I needed to rethink how to use participant observation when it wasn't possible to spend as much time in educational institutions as I had hoped. However, I observed how people interacted with each other on the ferry, in the local store, and in other areas where people met during their everyday lives. In

addition, one of the local businesses involved in land-based fisheries lacked people and had heard from one of my participants that I was there and that I potentially had the time to help them out. I worked there for one week, which enabled me to gain insights and experience with this form of land-based fish farming, gain new relations, and have informal conversations with the workers at the same time as working there.

4.5 Challenges Related to Methods & Fieldwork.

As part of the fieldwork, I knew that I probably would meet different challenges throughout the fieldwork period and at different stages of the process. However, I was surprised by how many things I needed to look at several times and discuss with my supervisor. Firstly, entering the field was an awkward process where I needed to figure out how to establish a balance between my role as a leisure guest and a master's student conducting a project there. In my research diary, I can see that I have written paragraphs about this awkwardness and questioning how to behave, when and whom to tell what I was there to do, and how to protect privacy and confidentiality in terms of letting people know that I was writing my thesis about island communities and that I wanted to talk to different people about their everyday lives. These feelings of insecurity and responsibility were complicated in the beginning. As the project proceeded, I felt more and more secure than I was able to maintain participants' privacy, confidentiality, and protect their personal data in line with the guidelines given by the Norwegian centre for research data (NSD) and maneuver people's expectations.

Secondly, the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions and regulations didn't make things easier. During the first week of fieldwork, the number of cases of infection increased in the area, and therefore social events were canceled or postponed. Several reminders related to keeping distance were published on the ferry and on social media (the island has its own Facebook group that I have been a member of for several years). Even if I would have wanted to attend these social events, the few that were planned during the fieldwork period were canceled, so it is possible that the fieldwork should have been conducted during another time of the year or divided up in some ways to be able to attend social (community) events/gain insights into other aspects of everyday life. In conversations with locals, it hadn't, at that time, been any local cases of infections, and therefore the need to be cautious in terms of approaching people was a concern for a while. However, as the project proceeded, it seemed like the community took its precautions but lived their lives relatively normally and that interacting with "strangers" wasn't a problem.

Thirdly, conducting the semi-structured life-biography interviews was also a task that had its challenges. Some went well, but others didn't work out as I had expected or hoped for. I was faced with a diversity of challenges related to the interview processes; firstly, I tried to respect people's homes, relations, leisure time, etc. I ended up in several situations where a research interview was disrupted in different ways; couples wanting to have their interviews together or people saying they had the time but suddenly needed to go to work meetings. In retrospect, I should have been clearer in my communication of what I wanted from the interviews, but at the same time, I wanted to let it be up to the participant to decide what to share and not and in what ways. I also encouraged my participants to engage in several methods such as "walk-a-longs" or "photovoice." Still, I didn't find any participants who wanted to do several "research" meetings, which I felt I needed to respect. However, I visited several of them two or three times to catch up, "staying close," and ask if they had any questions or concerns about what we had talked about when I used the sound recorder. So, even if the participants didn't want to take

part in other research-based situations, several of them clearly stated that they appreciated my visits and said it was *hyggelig* (cozy, nice) to talk to me about their past lived lives and share their local stories.

4.6 Ethical Island Research.

Ensuring that research with communities, adults, and/or children is ethical, rights-based, and voluntary is a central concern throughout the research process (Abebe & Bessell, 2014; Ennew et al., 2009). Research ethics can be defined as a moral principle for ensuring that the research process does no harm or wrongdoing to participants or others that can be impacted by the research (Morrow, 2008). *The right to be properly researched* (Ennew et al., 2009) was developed as an alternative to ethics statements and guidelines originated in minority world settings and provided development in theory and practice around ethical research with participating children (Abebe & Bessell, 2014). Humans – children and adults - are entitled to respect for their human dignity and human rights – and need to be the foundation for ethical engagement in research processes. As part of the ethical strategy, the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) and my supervisor have given me clearance to conduct this master thesis project.

When we are researching small communities and places, as in this case- a small island community, thinking through the ethical approach was essential. Matheson et al. (2020) pointed out that studying tiny islands and (semi) bounded communities could be problematic because others, insiders, and outsiders, could recognize and identify the participant's or their life stories and narratives. This could potentially result in participants being faced with or feeling that they might face reactions from the overall community where they live or that the island itself may be impacted in any way negatively by the research findings. These things could potentially end up with community members (or others which know the community) being unwilling to tell "their truth" and, in that way resulting in counter-narratives that might not be appropriately explored (2020, p. 720). Therefore, the use of ethnographic methods, in addition to the semi-structured life-biographies interviews, was useful to interact and collect other "truths" and counter-narratives from persons that not necessarily was born and raised in this island community.

4.6.1 Informed Consent & Voluntary Participation.

To ensure that the project is both right-based and ethical, the principle of informed consent is fundamental. As a part of the ethical strategy and the NSD agreement for ethical research, I provided each participant with an information letter approved by NSD and my supervisor. The information letter with an attached consent form was given to the participants and needed to be signed before we started and was based on a template provided by the NSD. The information letter aimed at providing clear and easily read information about the project in addition to participants' rights. A copy of the information letter will be added to the appendix.

However, challenges were faced during the data collection phase of the project. As described in the paragraph about the researcher's position within the field, some of my participants were my own or my parent's acquaintances. Hence, someone I have been greeting and talking to over the years. In some cases, when I approached participants with the information letter, they told me that they could just sign the document and that they trusted me, even if I emphasized that they needed to understand the provided

information before signing it to ensure "informed consent." This made me take alternative approaches.

In my field notes, I see how I have reflected upon this session and whether it would be ethical for me to use it in the thesis. In some cases, I read the information letter aloud and went through the main points to ensure that the participants understood the information. However, I felt that a balance was needed not to make participants feel bad. Therefore, in some cases, when we agreed on a date for conducting the interview, I gave them the information letter and consent form in advance so that they could read it at home. When we met again, I asked if they had any questions and reminded them of their rights listed in the information letter. Consenting to partake in research is more than just signing a form, and I tried to ensure that this was an ongoing process rather than a one-off event (Morrow, 2008). To exemplify, during one of the interviews (they had read the information letter and signed the consent form) became very nervous during the interview and didn't know where to start their narrative or what kind of information I wanted to have. I tried to say that it didn't matter, that they could start wherever they wanted, suggesting that they could start by telling me about their experiences with going to school. When reflecting back, I am not sure if this participant actually had read the information letter and that this might have been a reason why he/she felt unsure about where to start their narrative. However, as a researcher, I should have gone through some of the main points in the information letter just to be sure/repeat the main points before starting the conversation. I chose to visit this participant two times to try to understand if the participant was still "consenting" to participate or if they wanted to withdraw from it all. In the case described above, for instance, I started asking more specific questions that enabled the participant to remember their past and aimed at avoiding the nervousness. During the second visit, some of the conversations were related to different things that we had talked about in the interview session (which clarified some things), but mostly just regular conversation about everyday-life-stuff, which in some ways confirmed that the participant continued actively consent to partake in the project.

4.6.2 Confidentiality & privacy.

Confidentiality and privacy are fundamental parts of conducting ethical research with children, adults, and communities. In general terms, confidentiality could be understood as the measures taken to ensure that the information shared by participants remains private and anonymized and cannot be linked to specific individuals. Four steps were taken to ensure participant's privacy and confidentiality:

- *Anonymizing the island in general*: I have chosen not to specifically say where the island is located and, therefore, will not mention the municipality within which it is located.
- *Participants are categorized in terms of generations and age-bulks:* I have chosen to avoid specific ages, which potentially could make participants recognizable to others.
- *Third persons were anonymized when transcribing the data material*: this goes for all methods used (field notes and diary, transcribed interviews, observations).
- *All information gathered will be deleted* after the thesis is submitted.

4.7 Producing and interpreting data.

4.7.1 Transcription of Interviews.

All recorded interviews were transcribed and anonymized by me as soon as possible to ensure as many details as I could remember about our interactions. The interviews were planned to take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour, but several of them ended up taking almost 1,5 hours, and therefore, transcribing the interviews was more time-consuming than anticipated. Re-listening to the recordings made me aware of several aspects of my own "interview-style" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), and it became clear that there is room for approvement. Listening to the recordings whilst transcribing made me aware of how I should have asked more follow-up questions in addition to explicitly asking participants to elaborate on the meaning behind some of their statements. Based on my limited experience with conducting interviews, I chose to transcribe them as accurately as possible (i.e., in the local Norwegian dialect) and chose to include as much detail in the transcriptions as possible; emotions, pauses, interruptions, etc. to better could "remember" how the interviews went. However, transcribing the interviews as accurately as possible made the process of translating quotes more difficult in terms of trying to translate a local Norwegian dialect into English. As transcriptions mean to transform, in this context from verbal language to a written form (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018), words, terms, and ways of speaking could be said to have lost some of their "meaning" in the translation process. Therefore, some Norwegian terms are used, but explained in English, as well as some place-specific words are replaced or anonymized to ensure participant's anonymity and confidentiality, and therefore I have chosen to anonymize the names of third persons and places by marking them with * and an explanation (****, city in neighboring municipality) to ensure that the information still was intact and understandable for myself, but anonymized. Through this initial phase of transcribing, I read and reread the material several times to get an overview of the data collected and to start familiarizing myself with it (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.7.2 Thematic Qualitative Data Analysis.

The six phases of thematic analysis provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) were used as a guide and a starting point for my analysis. Thematic analysis is a method to identify, analyze, and find "patterns" within my data. Since my material consists of recorded and transcribed semi-structured life biography interviews, fieldwork notes, observations, and summaries of informal conversations, which were collected through different methods, I continuously converted it all to a form of written text throughout my fieldwork. The first step is to familiarize myself with my data through reading and re-reading, paying attention to reoccurring themes, topics, and patterns. The second step of my analysis was to begin to code the material. This was done by re-reading it at the same time as I took notes (I.e., generating initial codes) to identify central and reemerging themes in the material related to aspects of "island living." Afterward, I chose to use The NVivo software to organize my data and analysis through the 2nd round of initial coding to get a better overview of the initial codes. The third step is to search for linkage and connections between the codes and data material and to look for broader themes. This process was done in NVivo because you have the option to change, go back, edit, and add new codes as you go. This process was to combine and organize several codes into broader themes. The 4th and 5th steps were done at the same time, going through the codes, themes, and the amount of data on each of them. I have chosen to use the themes that I had the most data on. The final step is to conduct the final analysis and

write it. Before I did this, I re-read the data material to explore the identified themes and codes that correspond with my data material.

To focus my analysis of the empirical material gathered, I developed four themes that I attempt to explore throughout this master thesis: (a) aspects of everyday life, (b) knowledge and learning, (c) the coastal environment, and (d) sense of place/belonging. The main aim and focus of the analysis are to shed light on 1) the structural forces and changing circumstances of childhoods across time, space, and generations, and 2) the participant's personal experiences related to childhood. The childhood narratives will be used to gain an understanding of how broader societal processes have happened and how these have been experienced in this island community across generations (Nilsen, 2021; Nilsen & Brannen, 2014).

4.8 SUMMARY: Methodology and Methods.

The methodological approach is a combination of semi-structured life biography interviews and the use of an ethnographic approach to collect empirical data. The fieldwork was conducted on a small island located in Nordland County in Northern Norway. As the fieldwork and recruitment of participants didn't go exactly as planned (or hoped for), I needed to take a step back and reconsider my approach. As my pre-planned entry strategies did not work, I ended up with a combination of using my stepfather as a stakeholder (i.e., introducing me to people) and snowballing method, which included having informal conversations when I was out walking, greeting people, and be open about why I was there. In addition to the semi-structured life biography interviews, informal conversations with teachers, stakeholders, and other locals complemented the interviews and helped in terms of a more complex understanding of my research questions. The chapter discusses issues of entry and negotiations with participants and other stakeholders. Reflexivity throughout the process is discussed and emphasized based on my own position within the field. Suggesting that I had a somewhat "in-between" position rather than a completely insider or outsider. Due to the characteristics of the island, ethical considerations were a concern throughout the process. As described in the chapter, it was important to ensure participants' voluntary participation, confidentiality, and privacy throughout the process.

5 CHILDHOOD(S) AND "ISLAND LIVING".

In this and the following chapter, I will present and discuss the empirical findings gathered through my fieldwork. The analysis is divided into two interconnected chapters. The first analysis chapter will elaborate on participant's narratives of "island living" with a spesific focus on childhood memories across generations. An emphasis is put on aspects of everyday life, identity, and belonging in this island context. The second chapter will discuss how notions of childhoods have transformed over time and will provide an elaboration of the structural forces that constantly (re) structure aspects of everyday life in an island community in Northern Norway.

5.1 Coastal Identities and Belonging in an Island Community.

A central theme emerging from the thematic analysis of the participant's narratives of childhood is a strong sense of identity as an *islander – øyværing* in North-Norwegian - as a person living on and off the coast. Childhood narratives of "island living" was emphasized as important and rooted in childhood experiences of living on the coast, and more specifically on an island. However, some emphasized that they were *coastal people* or *people from the coast* (i.e., *kystfolk*). Constructions of identities are complex processes that often involve the categorization of people, through processes of inclusion and exclusion, and in that way identifying me or us, from you or them, also called "othering" (Canosa et al., 2018; May, 2013; Paulgaard, 2002). As highlighted by some, their identity as islanders or coastal people was explained through a distinction between themselves and those that live on the mainland by describing themselves as "others". There is a need to call attention to the fact that the Norwegian parliamentary elections (September 2021) were held during the period I was conducting the fieldwork and, in most cases, were of great interest to the participants.

Statements such as *"you know, the municipality does not care about what happens beyond the pier"* or "*one could wonder if they [politicians] want people living out on the islands"* reflected a kind of disconnection and dissatisfaction with the municipality (and the nation-state), in addition to feelings of not being of value or left behind. Northern Norway is argued to exist within a center-peripheral relationship (Stein, 2019) and is shown to matter in terms of levels of trust in politicians related to the spatial dimension (i.e., the distance from the political centre or capitol) (Stein et al., 2021). The statements given by the participants above could reflect the concept of *rural consciousness* which includes a sense of being routinely ignored by decision-makers in rural places, that rural communities aren't given their fair share of resources in addition to a sense of the difference between rurality and urbanity related to values, work ethic and preferred lifestyles (Cramer, 2016, In Stein et al., 2022, p. 4). According to participants, their island community is facing challenges, and a growing feeling of not being heard, prioritized, or understood has emerged across generations. In a way, this has strengthened their sense of collective identity as *islanders* or *coastal people* (e.g., sharing the same challenges and problems, in addition to aspects of everyday life and preferred lifestyle), and thus a feeling of "being in the same boat".

5.1.1 Belonging to the Coast and being an *Øyværing*.

The participants partaking in this project highlighted a strong sense of local identity as an *øyværing - islander* or *coastal people* from an early age across three generations. To many, a connection to the coastal environment, nature, and the ocean were narrated as an essential part of who they are and emphasized across three generations' childhood memories. In Norway, as I have elaborated on in the background chapter, the values related to nature and outdoor life, are important traits of the notions of a "good" childhood in Norwegian culture (Gullestad, 1996a), and are closely connected to early nation-building processes and collective national identity. The concept "weathered" is used to reveal the importance of climate is used to reflect aspects of identity and belonging. Hulme (2017b) argues: "[…] the idea of climate emerges at the interaction between the human experience of weather and cultural practice. It is, therefore, necessary to ground any investigation into how people "live with" climate in specific places" (2017b, p. 57). Places are important and contribute to making climate both personal and meaningful, and thus an elaboration on the empirical findings related to how climate or weather was narrated by participants will be done in the following paragraphs.

How identities, social and cultural practices, and memories are shaped by growing up on an island was highlighted by participants in different ways. As one of the participants stated, *"I like seeing the ocean… how it acts… watching the weather… makes me calm" (female1, generation2),* or as stated by a retired fisherman, *"The ocean is all I know" (male3, generation2)* reflecting their connection to the coastal and maritime environment as both a source of fascination and calmness, looking at it from a distance or being a fisher, closely connected to "a way of life" and constantly interacting with, learning from and working with the ocean. *"Living here, you need to keep an eye on the weather… you never know, suddenly the weather changes fast" (Male1, generation3).* As stated by this young person, keeping an eye on the weather was an important trait of their coastal identity as an *islander* or *coastal people,* being attentive to the forecast, an awareness of the weather and the environment, therefore, implies taking care of the things that need to be taken care of before a storm hits. As narrated through childhood memories, living in an island context in Northern Norway implies fast-changing weather conditions during some of the seasons and, as shown in the quote below, indicates learning and knowing how to live with the weather:

"I remember it vividly… how my grandmother quickly took out tables and chairs from the storehouse when the sun was out. She knew to enjoy the sun when we had it because living here, you know that the weather could turn quickly and only ten minutes later it could pour down" (Female3, generation1).

Interestingly, as described by this participant from the grandparent generation, she learned early that one should enjoy the sunny weather when it first came due to the local and personal knowledge her grandmother had collected over the years of living on this island. There is no doubt that the coastal environment could be a harsh place to live at times. As explained by one of the participants: *"Everything needs to be secured, especially during the winter. Just a small breath of wind could potentially be very dangerous. These things you learn by living in this place" (male1, generation2*).

Spending a lifetime in this coastal context has facilitated local and personal knowledge of the weather and the environment and was collected over many years, beginning already in his early years of childhood as it is an essential aspect of "island living". Changing weather conditions, winds from the north, watching the coastal environment and the sea,

and taking care of things were described as parts of "who they are" as coastal people or islanders. Another aspect of "island living" that was pointed out across generations is how living on an island at times could imply being closed off from the mainland if the weather is too bad. Traveling with private boats or the ferry is sometimes not possible, and one must *stå han av* – to be weather-bound implies waiting and delaying for example errands or commitments until the weather conditions are better suited to travel.

"Living here means that you need to plan ahead. Sometimes you need to leave for example work an hour earlier because of the expected weather forecast which could potentially delay or even cancel the ferry departures. But this is something we are used to. It's not a problem." (female1, generation2).

According to many of the islanders, this is an essential characteristic of "island living" which they have no control over whatsoever. Perceptions of climate or weather conditions are first and foremost known through repeated experiences as part of everyday life, and in many cases connected with places, bodies, past memories, and cultural and social practices (e.g., farming, fishing, gardening, and/or recreation) (Hulme, 2017a) and therefore, impacting the way we perceive weather for example as "good" or "bad" in different contexts and places (Hulme, 2017b). The personal knowledge of climate and weather, therefore, must be seen in relation to memories of past experiences with climate and weather and socio-cultural practices.

5.1.2 The past as Living Presence.

For many of the participants, remembering back and referencing past lived lives of ancestors was highlighted as part of their life stories. Remembering back can be connected to cultural practices in western cultures, based on the tendency to view the self as continuous and embedded in the past (May, 2017). Across participants' childhood narratives, especially highlighted across grandparent and parent generations were the presence of active professional fishers during their childhoods. Several highlighted the fact that *"there is no single [active] fisher left"* and pointed out that when the fishers vanished so did boats – *sjarken* - and things and activities associated with fishing and the fishery. Grandparents, as well as parents, expressed a kind of nostalgia for something that is lost in time but at the same time something that continued to be an important part of the island's history and their ancestors' lives. Several of my interviewees brought attention to the local harbor as an exciting area during their childhood, bustling with life, people, fish, boats, etc. This is a stark contrast to the harbor of today, which mostly consists of ferry – transport a few times a day.

Another example of how local incidents in the past, even happening before the participant's own lifetime, continues to be part of the present: *"[…] back in the days, there were a few accidents arising out of using the ocean as the main travel route" (male1, generation2).* Remembering past events of people drowning at sea was according to participants something that happened in the past and long before their own time but worked as a form of collective social memory which still is very much present in the formation of identity as an *islander* or as *coastal people*. However, those that have worked either as a fisher, as a young sailor on a ship – often abroad and in foreign trade – *på langfart*- as ferry crew or on Hurtigruten – all expressed an awareness of the potential dangers of working out on the sea. As one of the participants told me:

"I have spent all my working life on the ocean, in one way or another. And after all of that, one thing is for sure… you learn to respect the ocean […] bad weather has never bothered me, but…" (male2, generation1).

Spending a lifetime out on the sea, as the quoted participant above, reflects first-hand and personal knowledge about the ways the sea and the weather can behave and act, and in many ways has lived the life of his own father and ancestors. When I started this project and was looking for participants, many people told me that I needed to talk to this person due to his knowledge of the place and the fact that he was one of the last professional fishers that have had a base on the island. When I approached this person, I found him in his cellar preparing *lutefisk* – a traditional preservation method of dried cod fish which is prepared in lye, and in a way made me feel that I myself traveled back in time and observing a cultural practice from the past.

The statements above are interesting in terms of how local happenings in the past are still highlighted as part of the present, in a way bridging past and present events (Cuervo & Cook, 2019) in participant's lives as local and collective social memory (Connerton, 2012, In Broch, 2022, p. 4). As found in a study conducted in a community of islands in Mid-Norway, the past, as lived lives of ancestors, was thus mobilized as cultural heritage and as collective social memory that attaches present identity formations to the past, even if traditional livelihoods such as fishing is not an economic activity anymore (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021). Interestingly, past memories of previous ancestors continue to be part of the present and contemporary youth and young people (especially those that have had families living on the island for generations) narrated the past as an essential part of their present. During their lifetime the number of people involved in traditional livelihoods and their related activities has been very low and continues to decline but, at the same time continues to be part of their collective story of who the people living on the island are in the present

5.1.3 Shared Experiences: Knowledge and Learning through Intergenerational Relations.

Community connectedness was often highlighted in participants' narratives of childhood (especially across generation 1) as *growing up in intergenerational communities of work* (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021). The process of belonging is not only an individual feeling, a sense of familiarity with people, or something that can be achieved alone. It is embedded in a temporal process of collectivity that is negotiated in relation to and with other people and, therefore, belonging involves being accepted by people as a part of a community or society (May, 2013). Among the current grandparent generation, there was somewhat of a consensus related to the importance of their intergenerational relations in terms of transferring local knowledge and learning collectively. *"We were together. Watching them… wanting to take part in what they were doing and eager to learn" (male1, generation1).* As illustrated by the quote below:

"[…] helping my dad casting a fishing line, from an early age, I think I was 11 or 12 years of age. Helping my dad and was out on the sea with him and such. We loved spending time with him out at sea. Learning about everything. How to catch different fish species, what kind of bate to use, and how to prepare the fish afterward. Yea, we learned a lot" (Male2, generation1).

Spending time with parents, grandparents, and others included learning practical skills that would be beneficial for them in the future (Abebe & kjørholt, 2013). As illustrated by the quote above, being involved in fishing from an early age facilitated the learning of skills and how to maneuver the sea through intergenerational relations. The shared activity enabled the transfer of knowledge and values related to, in this case, specific places such as the boat, the fisheries, the harbor, etc., and related skills. As described by Spyrou et al. (2021) in their study of a coastal community in Cyprus, these

intergenerational practices could be viewed as a form of apprenticeship where knowledge and skills were transferred from generation to generation through being exposed to this kind of work through practices of learning by doing. As another participant narrated:

"[…] and we had a small farm. Just a couple of cows and some sheep. I loved being with my mom and grandmother on the farm. Helping them with different things such as milking the cows, collecting peat, and hay-drying. […] when autumn came, we slaughtered a couple of animals to prepare food from. Making sausages, lamb-roll, curing meat… using the whole animal. One of my tasks was to sew some kind of bags to store the sausages in while salted and dried ... that was our [the children's] task to make sure that mom had something to put the sausages in" (Female1, generation1).

Among grandparents, growing up meant being positioned as important contributors to the family household, taking part and being valued for their contributions from an early age and was described as important aspects of their relation to (extended) family members as well as other community members. Thus, children were placed in an intergenerational social order which needs to be understood as a "[…] socially constructed system of relationships among social positions in which children and adults are the holders of specific social positions defined in relation to each other and constituting, in turn, specific social (and in this case generational) structures" (Alanen, 2001, p. 12). As I have mentioned, in traditional Norwegian communities, livelihoods were often related to practices of fish-farming – *fiskarbonden* - which meant a combination of farming and fishing to secure full-time employment. Studies have shown that work in Norwegian small-scale fishing villages was often associated with more than just doing a job, but rather as a "way of life" and structured both the households, community practices, and relationships (Gerrard, 2008). This entailed seasonal shifts in work-related priorities and involvement of the households and responsibilities were often divided in terms of genders: men (and boys) were responsible for fishing, while women (and girls) took care of the farm, children, and other households tasks, in addition to handling the fish after landing (Broch, 2013; Gerrard, 2008; Jentoft, 2020a; Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Wadel & Jentoft, 1984). These tendencies, as shown through the participant's narratives above, were essentially gendered and reflected the traditional characteristics of practices related to the social household system of fish farming - *fiskarbonden*.

The transfer of knowledge between generations was an important part of being socialized into and belonging in traditional fishing communities in the context of Norway (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021). Scholars have noted that women are underrepresented both within fisheries, in policy, and in academic research, and thus recent studies conducted have aimed at understanding how aspects of everyday life in fisheries and fishing-related communities are gendered. In a case study conducted in Llŷn Peninsula, Wales (UK), the idea of "gendered capitals" was used and aimed at a fresh understanding of the gender(ed) spaces within a smaller-scale fishery and finds that practices and spaces were gendered, and thus "[…] limits the extent to which women are able to accrue and exhibit the capital which would allow them equal standing to their fishing men within the fishing occupation and community" (Gustavsson & Riley, 2018, p. 230). However, the roles of women in everyday life are often "hidden" (i.e., emotional capital), but as shown, their activities are central in terms of facilitating capital development and circulation within the fishing family businesses and thus in a way a prerequisite for generation of economic capital. Studies have shown "[…] a strict gender regime and a high degree of gendered work, with women's work being mostly on or close to land and men's work at sea, often far out" (Frangoudes & Gerrard, 2018, p. 122). Furthermore, the role of women, as well

as children or other household members, was and still is important, as supporters of their husband's fishing activities, taking part in fishing-related family businesses in different ways, and their (in some cases less visible) central contribution in the home (taking care of children, homemaking activities and sacrifices in terms of leisure activities and holidays). Which is shown to facilitate men's fishing-related work and thus contributes to the generation of household income (Gustavsson & Riley, 2018; Pettersen, 2019; Salmi & Sonck-Rautio, 2018). It is clear that for the grandparent generation, growing up meant taking part in the day-to-day activities, helping out on the farm, fishing, and learning about the coastal environment and the sea– being *encultured* into fish-farming families through shared intergenerational communities of work, and in a way learning skills that enabled a way of living in a coastal context (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Spyrou et al., 2021).

Parents and children and youth generations didn't narrate childhood as taking part in intergenerational income-generating activities the same way as grandparents. Rather, parents and children/young people were invited into these activities by older generations, but it was not necessarily something that they felt was expected or needed of them. As one participant growing up on the island pointed out:

"My parents had a farm with sheep. We also produced potatoes. We [siblings] helped with planting and harvesting potatoes. We didn't have to take part in work related to the farm, but we helped out with different household tasks such as going out with the garbage and stuff. I was the youngest… so I don't remember if it was different for my siblings. […] When I was young, I wanted to either become a farmer or a hairdresser". (Female1, generation2).

Children taking part in activities related to seasonal activities such as planting and harvesting, thus continue to be part of their childhood memories. However, choosing to transfer the knowledge related to farming or fishing by older generations clearly contribute to shaping their aspirations during childhood as shown in the quote above. For contemporary children, youth, and young people, intergenerational relations were highlighted as an important and essential part of growing up on an island, but often described in a different way: in most cases they highlighted growing up close to extended family, being known and know others, childhood memories of spending time (often weekends or holidays) out on boats or in nature with family members, fishing (for fun) or harvesting from nature (picking berries, mushrooms, etc.). Others (mostly males) highlighted learning practical skills from other generations such as reparations of cars or boats, spending time in the garage with fathers or grandfathers, and, for example learning carpentry skills. In addition, one young person transitioning into adulthood told me of his experience of growing up in an island context and that becoming an adult also made him realize how special the community actually is.

"There is always someone you could ask… if you need help with your car, need some materials or something… when I got older, I realized how important it is to be involved and take part in dugnad (voluntary community work). Helping each other with different stuff. Living here, you cannot just call someone to get it fixed the same day as in other places." (Male1, generation3).

This young person, (who actively has chosen to continue living on the island), reflects upon important aspects of "island living" and being part of this small island community. According to the island residents, there is a lot of stuff that they maintain on their own even if some of it is actually the municipality's responsibility. Several examples were highlighted throughout informal conversations during fieldwork: taking care of the school and kindergarten buildings (apparently there is some trouble with the electrical systems) in addition to taking care of outdoor areas connected to educational institutions, the

islanders and related businesses fixed parts of the roads leading to their workplaces through *dugnad* with their own or businesses money and materials. These things of course were seen and viewed differently by different community members. Many of them expressed a certain dissatisfaction with the municipality and feelings of being left to themselves. However, it also seemed to strengthen their sense of belonging in terms of shared experiences, challenges, and struggles for the island inhabitants.

5.1.4 Childhood, Freedom and the Coast.

Childhood memories and a sense of a coastal/islander identity were closely connected to the coastal environment, and spending time in nature was narrated through a sense of freedom and belonging, which is associated with rural childhood (Canosa et al., 2018). *"We were always out doing stuff"* was a statement often given by participants from generations 1 and 2. Roaming the island as they wished on their bikes, boats, and motorbikes with peers. Spending time in nature, both in the coastal environment and in the mountains, with others or by oneself. Freedom as an intrinsic island value was highlighted across all generations. When I asked if they could describe what they liked about growing up in this island context, several highlighted *freedom* as an important trait of their childhood.

"Freedom. It all was very free. No one that asked questions or told us we were not allowed to be in certain places. But of course, we were all together, young and old. We looked out for each other." (Male1, Generation2).

Here, the freedom he experienced during his childhood is clearly connected to aspects of Norwegian discourses of childhood as connected to nature and outdoor life (Kjørholt, 2003; Nilsen, 2008). However, what's interesting was his emphasis on the structure of the peer relations emerging during his childhood: being younger and older children together (Holt et al., 2015), and knowing that they needed to look after each other was an important aspect and highlighted especially across grandparents and parents' narratives (Generation 1 and 2). Being a mixed peer group was described in terms of being *good* and *safe* and as taking responsibility for each other. Freedom, seen as freedom of movement and lack of adult control during their childhood, was clearly something that was appreciated across generations (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021) and could be said to be mediated through trust and feelings of safety. As one participant reflected upon it, a form of responsibility emerged:

"We knew very well what we were allowed to and not, you could say. But, at the same time, we also knew that we needed to be careful, that if something happened up in the mountains, we needed to take care of it ourselves" (Female1, Generation2).

As described in this quote, aspects of responsibility following the kind of freedom they experienced during their childhood as she compared her own memories of childhood to a recent situation where some young boys ended up being stuck on a local mountain shelf and needed to be helped down by others. She continued: *"when we were young, no one would come to save you like that. We didn't have access to cellphones and stuff".* It is clear that the times are changing, and technology such as cellphones was not part of childhood(s) across grandparent's and parents' generations in the same way as among children, youth, and young people growing up today. Therefore, a need to consciously avoid or evaluate potentially dangerous situations was part of the childhood experience and connections to the freedom given in this context across generations of grandparents and parents. But as one participant reflected upon: *"I have been thinking about this. I*

don't know, I think people were watching us… I have given it a bit of a thought, but I think people were watching us, just in case." (Female2, Generation2).

I asked her to elaborate on why she thought that this was the case, and she told me that it was not before she was raising her own children that she noticed how people were keeping an eye on them without necessarily interfering directly. As reflected upon by this participant, as she had grown up and raised her own children on the island made her notice how the community as a collective took care of each other and, in that way, could provide or at least facilitate the same sense of freedom as they themselves had experienced during their childhoods.

The notion of freedom is still present throughout the narratives from an early age. *"It's very free here, you can go about your own things and do whatever you want, kind of..." (Male1, generation3).* Being allowed to go about your own things and explore the island and use small boats and motorbikes was highlighted as important for his feeling of freedom. As found by Holt et al. (2015), children playing in groups, as described by grandparents and parents, seems to have changed across generations. Additionally, it seems that the perception of the freedom of movement potentially changes across the life course: *"People are too curious, always keeping an eye on what is happening" (male1, generation3).* The island community in itself is small, and thus its inhabitants know each other in one way or another, and thus it could be difficult for youth or young people to find places to explore and spend time away from the community gaze.

"We used to spend a lot of time in the mountains… all alone. Building huts, making fires and stuff. One time we were building huts up in the mountains, cutting and collecting trees to build tepees, finding bushes to make the roof… we even made fires in the huts afterward. This was something that we were not allowed to do and would be yelled at if anyone noticed" (female1, generation2).

As described by Bessell (2021), being part of a small coastal close-knit community were expressed across all generation as a sense of growing up under the *watchful eye of the community* and was similarly described as being cared for, feelings of safety, and "being at home" (2021, p. 8). However, as illustrated above, children and youth across generations are aware of what they are allowed to and not, and therefore also actively seek out places to spend time outside of community members' gaze in different ways. The close-knit community could enhance feelings of safety and being taken care of during childhood but could be perceived differently (i.e., people being too curious) when transitioning into adolescence (Bessell, 2021). Interestingly, the grandparent's generation did not mention the "watchful eye of the community" as expressed, in some cases vaguely as in the quote above, across parent and children/youth generations which may point to changes in perceptions of intergenerational positions happening over time.

5.2 Socio-Relational Belonging & Place-Belongingness.

A sense of belonging and connection to place was another theme coming out of the analysis of the participants' childhood memories. In Norway, what people consider their "home place" is the place of birth which is associated with childhood, rootedness, and belonging (Gullestad, 1996a) and as described by one participant:

"It is something special about this place. Even if it's not the same house as when I was little. This was the place, you know, this is where I grew up and have my roots… so you get a bit attached, not exactly attached, but you have a place you long to come back to you could say" (Female1, generation 1).

In the qoute above, an emphasis is put on her emotional attachment to the island as the place where she experienced her childhood and a sense of rootedness over generations of family relations and shared past history (Antonsich, 2010). Rural mobility and processes of migration is an aspect of rural life (Aure et al., 2018) that needs to be considered since all participants across all three generations, in some way or another, have needed to be mobile or move away periodically during their life course. When asked to elaborate on what she meant by *long for*, it was explained through her experience of periodically being away from her family, childhood home, and the island. As argued by Cuervo and Cook (2019), childhood memories and forms of nostalgia could partly enhance the affective and relational aspects, which generates a sense of belonging to particular places, or as in this case, a feeling of longing through memories of the past and its places. Childhood narratives from all three generations emphasized experiences of childhood and growing up here, "knowing everyone," and feelings of safety and comfort when they talked about their connection to the island. Family, as a strong mode of relational belonging (May, 2013), was expressed throughout the narratives across generations.

As highlighted by another participant: "*I guess you like the place you live and have grown up because you know it...the people and the place… you understand it in some way. It is home." (Male3, generation 1),* reflecting the importance of familiarity in addition to feelings of being at ease with their social, cultural, and physical environment or as "knowing the rules of the game" (May, 2013, p. 81). As pointed out by May (2013), it is relatively common in western cultures to connect a person's identity with family relations and history in terms of understanding "who I am" and "where I come from." *"My family has lived here for generations, farming the land and fishing. Now, I want to do the same" (male1, generation3),* illustrating the importance of family relations and shared history for a sense of belonging as well as forming life choices or aspirations in this particular place (May, 2013)

If we follow the five factors of place-belongingness as described by Antonsich (2010), the statements above reflect the auto-biographical, relational, and cultural factors. These factors are brought to light by participants across generations as important for their sense of being at ease and sense of belonging in this island community. As illustrated by the statement given by a young islander, his sense of belonging to the island was closely connected to his ancestor's lived lives, his family's past history living on the island, as well as choosing to continue with this kind of life which the island has facilitated for generations. A strong sense of socio-relational place-belongingness was expressed across generations and emphasized both relational aspects (a continuum of relations stretching from family and friends to strangers), connection to place and the coastal environment as well as "knowing the place and the people", which reflects cultural factors such as language. "A particular language stands for a particular way of constructing and conveying meaning, a certain way of interpreting and defining situations" (Therborn, 1991 In Antonsich, 2010, p. 648). Sharing the same semiotic universe could mean that we understand the subtle forms of local codes, signs, and gestures without actually uttering them but just understanding the meaning behind them (Antonsich, 2010), furthering the feeling of being "at home." As discussed above, shared experiences and the transfer of local knowledge through intergenerational relations is one example of cultural expressions that could enhance the feeling of "knowing" the place (Antonsich, 2010; May, 2013). In this case, language and/or practical "local knowledge" refers to aspects of the everyday, practical, and tacit knowledge and implies practices that are viewed as necessary to work and live your life within any given society (Abebe & kjørholt,

2013, p. 26). The participants quoted in this paragraph narrate their experience of growing up on the island as important for their construction of a coastal identity as well as for their sense of belonging to both place and the people in the past and the present. As Anderson (2015) states: places are "the medium and the message of cultural life" (p. 51), and therefore, places are where people, communities, and cultures find meaning, define, root, or attach themselves (Cresswell, 2004).

5.2.1 Exclusion/Inclusion in Connected Communities.

A sense of belonging and connectedness to the people, as well as the place, was a central theme within the participants' narratives of "island living" across generations. Identifying as coastal people and/or an islander seems very much tied to relationships with other people of the same identity as – *øyværing*. The identity as an *øyværing* is often connected to a specific geographical location and says something about where you are from. In participants' narratives of "island living,» it becomes clear that this identity as an *øyværing* is related to both identifications within the island community as well as differentiation between different islands in the area as well as between "island living" and living on the mainland. Most of the islands in the area have their own named identity based on geographical location. Knowing and being known were (and are) important aspects of their shared identity and sense of place-belongingness. This correlates with international studies conducted within coastal communities whereas the same dynamic was found (Bessell, 2021; Crummy & Devine, 2021; Gaini & Sleire, 2022; Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Spyrou et al., 2021). As previously discussed, relational belonging needs to be understood as a continuum that stretches from a sense of close and intimate relations (family and friends) to strangers based on a sense of differentiation me and us from "others" (i.e., tourists, new community members, migrants, or as a result of social exclusion) (May, 2013). Being part of small communities, in general, involve processes of inclusion and exclusion. As described by one participant:

"I was bullied at school, or in those days, it wasn't considered bullying, but teasing. If it had happened today, it would have been considered bullying. Anyways, I kept to myself. There was always someone that was better than you". (Female1, Generation1).

This experience of bullying or description of difficult relationships was present in some of the childhood narratives across generations. However, interestingly, when participants from grandparent's and parent's generations (1 and 2 generations) remembered back, they often described the bullying as teasing, something that you needed to not be viewed as touchy, sensitive, or easily offended, in short; to be accepted. However, they described the experience of being left out or excluded as very difficult and painful, as well as something that was done secretly or undisclosed and out of sight by adults. A grandparent described an example of bullying that was related to growing up in a time characterized by economic hardships in which the acquisition of new clothes and other goods were rare occurrences:

"I had gotten, or my aunt had sewed me a pair of trousers with this kind of trouser cuff that was very popular at that time. People were teasing me because of this… it made me very conscious about what I put on… even today…" (Female1, generation1).

During her adult years, she received an apology and learned that the one teasing her was simply jealous and thus excluded her. The freedom described and discussed above was viewed as a positive trait, also of her childhood experience. However, as pointed out, it also, in a way, facilitated spaces where children and youth could bully each other without adults or parents knowing. Being excluded resulted in long-lasting feelings of

vulnerability and exclusion, and she described this as the main reason for leaving the island community early during her youth.

Bullying, teasing, or exclusion was also present in generation 3's narratives of childhood. However, they described this as a shorter and less extensive experience due to the fact that most of them only partly attended school on the island (the school's presence adapts in terms of children and families' needs), and therefore friends and new relations were made when they started school on the mainland. Additionally, even if not representative of all experiences of exclusion, the people I talked to described what one could say is a shift in attitudes and/or values. Participants across generations 1 and 2 described this as something that was hidden and done in secret, out of adult control. However, across generation 3, it seems like this was a concern both for teachers and parents and something that was taken care of if they were made aware of such practices. *«I don't remember exactly, but I think my parents talked to the teacher and such. It kind of stopped" (female1, generation3).*

As many of the participants taking part in this project also have raised children themselves on the island, this was one of their concerns when their children were growing up, and they talked about their fear of things like this happening out of their control. At the same time, as one mother said: *"but what could one do? You know… they need to learn how to take care of themselves. I cannot be there all the time" (female1, generation2).* In studies conducted in the US, they have found that parents (of younger children) were most likely to advise their children to report the bullying to an adult or a teacher or to try to avoid the bully altogether and take action if they saw someone being bullied (Stives et al., 2019). However, in a more recent study, they found differences in the advice given by parents to their children based on their age. As found by Stives et al. (2021), parents (of middle or high school children) were much more willing to intervene directly on their child's behalf due to long-lasting struggles with the school administration not doing enough to stop the bullying of their children, and the statement given by a mother raising her children on this island highlights an individualistic tendency that emphasizes the fact that children and young people in Norway are generally expected to be able to take care of themselves at some point. It's easy to imagine the differences between small communities (with smaller schools), and larger, centralized school environments, when it comes to bullying. There's no easy way to "ignore" a bully in school situations where classes consist of less than 10 pupils.

Competing images or representations of the rural are found in Norway – the "rural idyll" and the "rural dull" (Lægran, 2002, In Powell et al., 2013, p. 123). Rye (2006) questions the usefulness of viewing these two images of the rural as mutually exclusive as rural youth participating in a study about living in a Norwegian rural mountain area did "[…] not conceptualise the rural as exclusively "idyllic" *or* in terms of "dullness" (p. 419) but rather two interrelated images co-existing at the same time and, therefore, the rural could be viewed as idyllic and boring at the same time. As discussed in this section, participants pointed out how rural communities, in some cases and for some people, are characterized by features such as exclusion and powerlessness. Which could be seen as "contributing to the rural gender division, negative perceptions of rural communities as intrusive, constraining and controlling have been highlighted more strongly for girls and young women than for boys and young men" (Powell et al., 2013). My participant's descriptions of their experiences of being excluded (in a community often described as close-knit and connected), highlight the different strategies children and youth put forward to manage their peer conflicts in different sociohistorical contexts. Some of them

left the island for a period to get away and improve their situation (this was described by grandparents and parents), but others (contemporary youth) involved their parents and thus initiated conversations with the school and teachers (who is responsible for protecting their children in the school environment). Thus, we observe a change in how such exclusions are tackled across generations in this island context.

5.2.2 Community and Rural mobilities.

Throughout this chapter, the focus has been on narratives of childhood and aspects of "island living". But as things change, potentially so does our sense of belonging. Today, the island is much more diverse than before and stretches from newly established families, people that have lived there for a couple of years, to people with long-lasting ties through lived lives of ancestors in the past, in addition to cabin owners, workers, and tourists. This section might seem like a detour, but to me, equally important to understand how societal changes impact local communities over time, and thus looking at people's sense of belonging implies being aware of the dynamic nature and the way it is sensitive to change. Rural mobilities have often been left out and under-researched but should be seen as a central element of rural life (Aure et al., 2018). Many rural areas and coastal communities within Norway struggle with depopulation, and especially that youth and young people leave their communities. Some rural places are increasingly dependent on migration processes to sustain their communities which again changes and diversifies the local population.

Community "[…] seems to embody a sense of local belonging […] (May, 2013, p. 122) which implies the structuring of everyday life practices and an important source of collective identification. The term community, like many others, is often used without much clarification but rather as "[…] a matter of convenience to draw boundaries around people and link them to a specific location or territory" (Scherzer et al., 2020, p. 152). However, conceptions and theorizations of community vary, and the term can be viewed either as a "geographical area", a "social and relational entity", "collective action", and/or as a "symbolic and socially constructed idea". These understandings of the term must be seen as complementary or at least partly overlapping (Scherzer et al., 2020, pp. 153-155). In Scherzer's (et al.) study, Norwegian *lokalsamfunn* (local communities) were described by participants as "(1) geographical area or place, filled with (2) people who seek to (3) belong, (4) interact, and (5) go about their daily lives" (Scherzer et al., 2020, p. 163). In a study made by Broch (2022) on a small fishing community in Northern Norway, he found the participant's view of the community as "[…] a place geographically and culturally separated from the neighboring communities" (2022, p. 4). This view was similarly expressed by participants in my case study as well, but rather to distinguish between the island and mainland.

"We that live here [permanently] belong here", one of the locals stated during one of our informal conversations. This reflects that (from this perspective) the island community is viewed as a geographical area whereas all of the inhabitants living there share some everyday habits, routines, and ordinary or mundane activities (i.e., shopping at the same local store, being flexible and adaptable in terms of the car-ferry, etc.). Belonging, therefore, can be understood in terms of sharing aspects of the everyday and the mundane and being able to go about your life without paying attention to how you do it (May, 2011). Additionally, people moving in permanently seems to be included in the definition of the "we" due to sharing of everyday life routines and rituals.

As this island community has been an object of broad structural changes and rapid transformations related to economies, working life, education, and livelihood that potentially have affected the local sense of belonging in various ways over time. Forms of mobility have manifested themselves in different ways across history (i.e., decreasing fish stocks, migrant workers and pupils, adjustment to weather and ecological conditions) (Aure et al., 2018). Throughout the participants' childhood narratives, being away from the island (mostly due to educational reasons, or in some cases work for grandparents) was described as a shared experience of "island living" across generations, except for the youngest children still going to kindergarten. Grandparents described this experience as living away-from-home during weekdays when going to "youth school", parents as commuting and having their school week divided between the island and the mainland, as well as moving away (for 2-3 years) to go to upper secondary school elsewhere. This experience was shared by young adults, and we see that the youngest children today commute daily back and forth.

Another case study conducted in Nordland County revealed that work migrants were important in terms of maintaining a "[…] certain stability in the rural community" (Aure et al., 2018, p. 58), emphasizing that work migrants partly help secure local industries and services, such as educational institutions, local stores, and cafes, generating an optimism that further makes the community more attractive. Others have found that work migrants were needed to keep up local economic growth in a community of islands in Mid-Norway (Rye, 2018). This correlates with some of the perspectives put forward by participants. Migration processes, in addition to an increase in people owning cabins located on the island, had partly helped secure services provided. Rural (and coastal) communities and areas face various types of migration (i.e., asylum and refugee migration, labor and lifestyle migration, marriage migration, and educational migration) which is changing the composition of the population across time in these communities (Aure et al., 2018). Processes of migration (in and out), and especially of transnational migration, could potentially influence local understandings of self, belonging, and identity for both the inhabitants in the receiving country/location and for the migrating party (May, 2013). In my study, being part of the community was geographically defined, everyone living permanently on the island, and the people that chose to become permanent residents were included in the definition of who belongs within the local community. However, this does not say anything about the reasons or the experience of moving into a small island community or their sense of belonging in the new environment. One of the local teachers that had migrated herself told me:

"We wanted to move to Norway due to the situation back home and had heard a lot of good things about Norway from others migrating here [from the same country]. We were welcomed by the community. We got a lot of help from another person from [the same country of origin] and her network. She helped us understand the community, took care of us, and we became close friends during the first years living here" (female migrantt1).

The help received from this person was highly appreciated and something that helped enable her to integrate into the community. Practicalities such as being introduced to other community members, support and explanations, the opportunity to borrow a car, help with finding work and a house to live in, etc. were highlighted as important factors for what she called "a successful integration". However, transnational migration is not an easy or straightforward process. In her description of her own process of migrating to Norway, she highlighted several challenges: language barriers, misunderstandings, and broad learning curves during the first six months.

"It wasn't easy, you could say. How could I know that we must not lock our doors [when leaving the house] just in case a neighbor or someone needed something… coffee or salt" (female immigrant1).

Having a person that knew the place and the people and that was able to share her local socio-cultural knowledge and practices became very important, providing a feeling of comfort in the new context. Throughout the empirical material, people talked about other individuals and families over the years that tried "island living" but ended up moving away again (reasons are not clear to me since I haven't talked to them personally). I asked if she could elaborate: *"living here, in a place like this, is not for everyone... it's all about priorities" (female migrant1)*. She said that she and her husband reflected upon their preferences, what they could manage without, and so on, prior to moving out to the island: *"For us, the calmness provided by beautiful nature and a good and close-knit community was what we wanted" (female migrantt1).*

Another immigrant woman pointed out that living on the island was not that different from her own experience of growing up in a small and rural village elsewhere, and hence, it was never considered a challenge or a problem. For both of these migrant women, relations were already established on the island before arriving, and both of them said that their process of being integrated into the community was successful (from their point of view). When asked about their feelings or thoughts on living here, they stressed that the island provided good living conditions for them: work opportunities, a good place for children to grow up, and a community where they felt they were appreciated for their contributions. Another immigrant woman told me about her experience of living and working in the fish farming industry South in Norway: *"I decided to move here because I had heard that north Norwegians were open people" (female migrantt2)* and pointed out that it was difficult to find her place in the previous place. There is a need to point out that in a small island community with approximately 100 inhabitants, many of them are related to each other and, thus maybe not be that surprising that many establish romantic relations off the island or with people coming from outside their local community.

Across the empirical material, work opportunities were mostly cited as the main reason for migrating to the island, and for many the main reason for continuing to stay there. A sense of place-belongingness thus can for these people be reflected in factors such as economic stability and safety through material conditions provided by the island (Antonsich, 2010), but in most cases needs to be understood as related to economic conditions in their countries of origin. Some of these people said that they would choose to be mobile again if their work opportunities disappeared on the island. The experience of moving to the island was described as a process, where time was an essential part of it. Learning the language as well as understanding context-specific cultural and social norms and values made them feel more at ease in their new homes. Another young person highlighted that he had decided to move here to complete his 2-year needed apprenticeship within aquaculture as a part of completing his education. However, as time passed, he continued to and still work within the same place but had decided to move to the mainland and preferred to daily commute to the island for work but has to a large degree kept the relations established on the island. As another participant expressed the value of the lifestyle provided by an island context like this:

"I applied for work as a manager at [a land-based fish farm]. Then I started to think about what I wanted, how often did I use the services provided in town [where he was previously living], and then I realized that I had only seen one movie in the cinema over a four-year period. Here I get

beautiful nature, mountains to climb, a close-knit community, and I can be out in my kayak in only 10 minutes" (male, migrant1).

According to this male, he wanted to move to the island for work opportunities, but mostly because of the daily lifestyle "island living" could provide in his life. The nature and the coastal environment were again highlighted as important aspects for choosing to migrate to the island from the town he previously lived in. As this person describes, seeking out the rural idyll through a combination of lifestyle and work migration-related choices was connected factors (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009) identifies as especially important for lifestyle-migrators, such as new work opportunities, the rural-idyllic, simple life, closeness to nature, as well as a close-knit community. For this person, migrating to the island wasn't that big of a transition, and as he highlighted, he could always move back to the city he came from if things didn't work out in the new location.

Island inhabitants often expressed an awareness related to migration as a necessity and important for their local community, both in terms of sustaining services such as the local store, the number of departures on the car-ferry as well as the kindergarten and the school as well as employees and workers within the local industries. Furthermore, they expressed a kind of dependency on people moving in due to the tendency of locals moving out either due to old age, or educational/lifestyle choices across generations. The participant that has narrated childhood as a time where they developed a strong identity as an *øyværing* and a sense of belonging to the coast, place, and the people living there, did not say anything about experiencing social changes as something that ruptured their sense of belonging to the island. However, as the sample (of semi-structured interviews) of participants at the beginning aimed at getting participants from three generations preferably within the same family, no interviews were conducted with children of migrants currently growing up there. But one can imagine that in a community that actively connects their identity and sense of belonging to place, people, and the coast – in the present and in the past – those children who do not share the relational and collective social memories, potentially could experience different degrees of belonging and identity in this island context.

5.3 SUMMARY: Identity, Belonging, and Connectedness in Coastal Childhood(s) in transition.

As shown in this chapter, the analysis reveals a strong sense of identity as an *øyværing* was present in the narratives of childhood across generations and in many ways was closely linked to aspects of "island living" and a kind of differentiation between the island and the mainland. "Island living" was described by the participants as learning to live with the weather and described as being aware and attentive to the changing conditions and implied specific practical orientations such as securing loose objects that potentially could do harm to people or properties. The same was said about using the sea as the main traveling route which in some cases meant being flexible and adaptive to the coastal environment. Furthermore, besides experiencing rougher weather, "island living" was described as a calmer, quieter, and good life which often reflects aspects of the "rural idyll". These aspects of "island living" does also attract people from elsewhere and were described as providing good living conditions (often compared to their own countries of origin) for raising children. As in most cases, the rural isn't always perceived the same way by the inhabitants or over time and different life phases (Powell et al., 2013; Rye, 2006), and thus some reflections of the "dull" and challenging sides of rural and "island living" were highlighted such as waking up early to commute to school,

lacking local friends to play with on the island or experiences of being excluded in a relatively small community.

Memories of childhood were narrated as important for their sense of belonging to people, place, and social collective memories of lived lives of ancestors. Spending time in nature and in the coastal environment – playing and learning – alone or with peers or family members was shared across generations and often described their childhoods as very free. Freedom, understood as freedom of movement (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021), to spend time and roam the island as they wished on boats, bikes, motorbikes, or by foot was narrated in their childhood as an intrinsic island value. Throughout the grandparents' and parents' childhood narratives, they grew up in a relatively homogeneous and traditional community, compared to contemporary children and young people. Being encultured into *intergenerational communities of work* (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Spyrou et al., 2021) was remembered by grandparents as an important and essential part of their childhood memories. Despite economic hardships, these experiences facilitated the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, learning, and close intergenerational relations between generations over time. For parents and children, youth, and young people their childhood narratives in many ways were more balanced between close intergenerational relations as well as the importance of peers for the construction of their social worlds. All in all, the participants described their childhood period as growing up in a close-knit community, characterized by togetherness, being known, and knowing others, freedom (of movement), and a strong sense of belonging to place, people, and the way of life that "island living" provides.

As the community has evolved, new businesses and livelihoods have emerged, thus impacting the composition of people living and are attached in some way or another to the island. Today, the community has developed into a more heterogeneous community with people from different parts of the world, mostly due to the establishment of aquaculture and fish-farming businesses in the mid-1980s. However, participants across three generations continue to narrate childhood as a period where a strong sense of belonging within and to nature, the coastal environment, and place despite changing societal circumstances, which correlates with international research findings on the topic of coastal childhood(s) (Bessell, 2021; Canosa et al., 2018; Crummy & Devine, 2021; Gaini & Sleire, 2022; Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Spyrou et al., 2021).

Aspects of belonging and place-belongingness emerge in different forms for the inhabitants currently living there today. Inhabitants that have a long-lasting connection to the island over generations emphasize childhood memories as important for their construction of an identity as *øyværing* - islander or coastal people, which often was described as connected to aspects of the analytical concept of place-belongingness such as relational, auto-biographical, and cultural factors. As the coastal context has changed and transformed over time, processes of mobility and (in/out/transnational) migration could potentially impact aspects of the inhabitant's sense of belonging to a specific place (May, 2013). However, as shown and discussed in this chapter, mobilities have been and still are an important trait of coastal culture (Aure et al., 2018; Gerrard, 2013) and are to a large degree a shared experience across generations in this study in various ways. All of the participants taking part pointed at childhood memories, ancestors, places, and people as important for their sense of belonging in the past and in the present.

The composition of the island population is much more diversified than in the past in addition to changing reasons and motivations to stay and live in this island context.

People migrating into Norway and the community often highlighted the material conditions, work opportunities, economic stability, and safety as the most important factors for their motivation to stay and raise their own children in this context. These aspects reflect the economic and legal factors of the concept of place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010). However, as reported by immigrants that have lived on the island community over a period of time, time itself was actually an essential part of feeling at ease with the place and people, as well as their relatively new physical, cultural and social surroundings and changing values. As argued by May (2013): "Belonging is not something we accomplish once and for all. Because the world and the people in it, including ourselves, are constantly undergoing change, belonging is [therefore] something we have to keep achieving or doing through an active process" (p. 90).

6 CHILDHOOD(S) ACROSS TIME.

As we have explored in chapter 5, the sense of having a coastal identity as an *øyværing - islander* or as *coastal people* – remains consistent across all participant's narratives. All three generations described a strong sense of belonging, generated through childhood memories where cultural, relational, place-specific, and auto-biographical factors were seen as essential for their feeling of being "at home" (Antonsich, 2010). In this chapter, I will discuss the empirical findings related to how participants narrate the role that children and young people play (and have played) in the past, present, and future. Since notions and practices of childhood and everyday life have changed drastically over time, it will be of interest to take a closer look specifically at how changes and transformations are narrated through participant's memories of (and current perspectives) on, childhood and the roles children play in sustaining the community, maintaining its viability into the future. Work, play leisure-time, education, and family are all aspects impacted by structural forces that have had a major influence on children and childhood (Leonard, 2016). This chapter will explore these historical and social circumstances, through childhood memories shared by the three generations, to try and understand how life choices and perceptions are contextualized, and how they change and transform over time.

6.1 Changing Notions of Everyday Life and "Island Living" across Generations.

Experiences of childhood and of growing up have clearly changed. Amongst other things, the themes emerging in grandparent's narratives were not as prevalent in the reflections and stories told by parents, children, or young people. In grandparent's narratives of their childhood memories, children back in the days were seen to have grown up in connected communities, characterized by a close-knittedness in which everyone on the island knew each other, and the relationships between generations were very much characteristic of *intergenerational communities of work*, as described by Kjørholt & Bunting (2021). As told through grandparent's descriptions of their early childhood memories, they grew up in a relatively traditional community characterized by combinational livelihood practices – *fiskarbonden* –, a gender-divided society where responsibilities were shared between the household members. Children's contributions to the household were valued, appreciated, and to some extent expected, allowing for a strong sense of belonging through relational, cultural, and auto-biographical factors connected to the analytical concept of place-belongingness.

Generation 1's memory narrations confirm Gullestad (1991) findings, that in the past, family life, work, leisure, and place were closely linked. But as Norway was exposed to (global and national) restructuring processes that led to changes in cultural, social, and economic aspects, the connectedness within local communities was affected as well. As we saw in our contextual chapter, changes in Norwegian national policies in the mid-1970s influenced everyday life and livelihoods in a variety of ways (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021). The decline in small-scale fishing led to a loss of traditional livelihoods and employment opportunities, which changed the dependency between the fishers, the fishing fleet, and their respective communities (Jentoft, 2020; Sønvisen et al., 2011;

Wadel & Jentoft, 1984). Other, broader national developments in the 20th century (i.e., demographic changes and investments in the public sector and welfare services) further contributed to these changes (Johnsen & Vik, 2013). As modern technological developments rose throughout the 80s, 90s, and 2000's, coastal communities that used to be characterized by close connections between families, farms, fishers, and fisheries, saw an increase in profit and industrial productivity, doubled by a decrease in employment opportunities, which caused rapid demographic changes (Sønvisen et al., 2011). As pointed out, the loss of young people in coastal areas is a significant issue (Gerrard, 2008) that has an impact the on local island community in a diversity of ways.

For contemporary children, youth, and young people today, growing up implies a double-edged problem, dealing with rapid transition(s), uncertainties, processes of individualization, and risk (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), as well as the problem of transitioning into adulthood. These problems are of course related to economies, working life, education, and choices of livelihoods (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021), and as we're living in an era in which the social order of the national state is being compromised by globalization; traditional understandings of ethnicity and the traditional family is in decline. Furthermore, "The ethic of individual self-fulfillment and achievements is the most powerful current in modern society" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 22), which doesn't make this structural territory any easier to maneuver. Globally, education and schooling are viewed as key to ensuring individual welfare, success, and a "good life" in the future, and securing education could be viewed as an important strategy for the sustainable development of national economies (Kjørholt, 2013). As argued by Kjørholt, "[…] the market-oriented politics and "global images" of childhood are connected to particular ideological notions of what it means to be a human being, and an increasing individualization, putting children in a particular place in an intergenerational social order" (2013, p. 245).

Additionally, in industrial countries such as Norway, rural communities have experienced losing their local schools at a steady pace during the last decades. Concerns are raised about whether changes in school structure will compromise the conditions for place-based learning and locally relevant curriculums (Villa et al., 2021). In a diversity of ways, children and young people's lives are affected by changes happening due to being part of a globalized world. These changes, including increased academization of school curriculums, assessments, and national tests, as well as an increased pressure to perform well in school, could be viewed as a disruption between the academic curriculum and knowledge on the one hand, and contemporary life and identity formation on the other (Kjørholt, 2013; Villa et al., 2021).

6.1.1 Grandparent Generation: Experiencing Socio-economic Change and Transformations.

"We had no abundance when we grew up, but we were not cold, and neither did we starve. We had a good home with caring parents. I think that was what saved us... that we felt that we had a good childhood. We learned a lot and was curious… many of these things I still appreciate today" (Female1, generation1).

Among grandparents' childhood narratives, material deprivation and taking part in physical work were highlighted as components of their experience of growing up in this island community. Similarly, Bessell (2021) described her study conducted in coastal communities in Tasmania, where grandparents told of a time when they did not buy or purchase toys, things, or clothes unnecessarily. They were made mainly by hand or

handed down from siblings or community members. As stated by another of my participants: *"The economy wasn't good, but there was no need to worry" (male, generation1).* As might be expected considering the rapid growth of the economy from WWII up until today, economic hardships were narrated across the grandparent generation, but not in the narratives of parent and children/youth generations. Grandparents talked about taking part in both paid and unpaid work activities during their childhood, to be able to access goods parents couldn't provide for them:

"We didn't have to join [dad at sea], but we earned a little bit of cash doing it. Among other things, the first bike I ever got came from casting the fishing line for a whole winter. It costed me 650 NOK. I remember it was very expensive" (male2, generation1).

Interestingly, none of the grandparents narrated these experiences as something that was expected of them, but rather something that was exciting, something that triggered their curiousness and eagerness to learn, as well as generating a form of togetherness (i.e., being allowed to follow their parents, taking part in activities, etc.), which they appreciated during their youth. Children, in some ways, shared their places and experiences with adults: interacting, playing, working, and learning through intergenerational and peer relationships.

For many, remembering back, their descriptions of the coastal landscape were often narrated through memories centered around the practical activities in the community itself, with daily interactions, the combination of fishing and farming-related activities, and other socially centered activities happening outdoors. Grandparents spoke of the harbor area as very important during their childhood, they described it as a bustling place where multiple activities went on simultaneously. The harbor was where the local store, the post office, and the fishery were located, which attracted people both from the island and other places, making it an exciting area for both children and youths. One participant highlighted the time of the year when boats returned from the annual winter fishing in Lofoten, which they usually got time off from school to watch: *"It was a big happening, you could say… many in my class had fathers that left during the winter to fish. It was something we looked forward to." (Female1, generation1).* As this person describes it, the homecoming of the Lofoten fishers really was an event with a capital E. This type of "eventness" is not nearly as prevalent in the narratives of generations 2 and 3, which reminds us of the fact that the more cyclical, seasons-based social organization of the past has been substituted for a more temporally homogenous, all-year structure.

Amongst the more important developments highlighted in the narratives given by the grandparent generation is how the physical coastal landscape of the island has changed drastically between then and now. The harbor of their childhoods, which was located close to where most of the island's population lived, has been closed and moved to another, a less central part of the island, and today it is mostly used for ferry transportation. Livelihood combinations such as *fiskarbonden* have nearly disappeared over the past decades. Farms have transitioned into bigger and fewer, and fishing is now more of a leisure activity rather than a professional occupation. The combinatory work of *fiskarbonden* was still present during the early childhood of some of the participants from the parent generation, one of whom stated that *"When I grew up there were at least 5-6 fishers here, they had their boats just down here [pointing]" (male1, generation2).* When participants were asked to talk about their experience of changes in their community during their childhood, many participants across grandparent and parent generations pointed out the fact that *"there isn't a single [active] fisher left".* This is most likely due to the closure of the fishery on the island, which meant that fishermen had to travel to

other stations along the coast to load off their bounty. During their childhoods, the fishers, with their practices and the small-scale fishery, were important social arenas for the transfer of local and intergenerational knowledge and skills, especially for boys and young men (Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Spyrou et al., 2021), and this was in some ways disrupted when the labor markets transformed. The youngest generations amongst my participants speak more of an indirect, unpaid, or leisurely way of partaking in local-practical activities, whereas the grandparents were more directly embedded in daily (work-related) activities.

"Big changes have happened during the time I have been here [since the early 60s]. It has in many ways gotten better…electricity, running water in the sink, there's no need to think through if I should flush the toilet or wash clothes, and yes, the ferry goes many times a day" (female2, generation1).

The year 1960 can be regarded as a point in history when notions of Norwegian society changed in different ways, not only in terms of the organization of labor. This is the time in which television was introduced, and most households, also in rural areas, got running water, electricity, and the first modern household appliances (Gullestad, 1996a). This "revolution," as called by one participant, changed the way in which things were done in her childhood home: *"I remember it, coming back home to visit [she had moved away for employment] mom had thrown away all of these old things" (female1, generation1).* As described (mostly by females), life became much easier, and in terms of household tasks, processing food and other things that previously had been time-consuming were now easily and quickly done. Additionally, throughout the late 1960s, a coastal transport revolution took place along the Norwegian coast, and this is presented in the narratives of generation 1. Transportation of people and goods changed rapidly and significantly, transitioning from sea-based to land-based transportation infrastructures (Christensen, 2017b). This was highlighted by my participants as a development that made everyday life on the island easier in many ways: "*Before we got the ferry landing area and the road, traveling to the mainland took a whole day and wasn't as easy as today" (female2, generation1).* The newly established connection to the mainland made traveling to and from the island easier and less time-consuming than before. Before the transport revolution, grandparents started primary school on the island and got their formal education throughout 7th grade on the island. However, middle school implied moving to the mainland and living away from home five to six days a week. This corresponds to Solstad and Andrews (2020) study, in which they examined 300 years of Norwegian educational history, and as one of my participants stated:

"[…] we left for middle school away from home and lived in a dormitory throughout the week except for Sundays. Then we traveled home, just to stay for one night and a couple of hours the next day... it was a life I didn't like". (female1, generation1).

Going to school away from home was described in different ways by the participants. To some, this experience was uncomfortable and turbulent, especially during nighttime, having to share living spaces with mixed peer groups. Others described it as "ok" and, at times, fun and exciting, but did not elaborate much on the experience. Homesickness was something all of them said they had felt at times during this period. At this time in history, technological developments such as cellphones or other means of communication were limited to non-existent:

"[…] *being away from my family for a whole week… we couldn't talk to them… there were no cellphones or any connection at all. Still today, I don't like being on the mainland. I think it has something to do with this." (female1, generation1).*

This cohort of children could not choose to live at home and travel the distance every morning to attend school, due to the obvious limitations in means of transportation. For them, attending lower secondary school meant that they had to leave their home for a whole week before they could return home. In addition, the lack of communication possibilities also made this experience more difficult for some. It is quite interesting, looking closer at the quote above, that this situation has affected her long-term relationship with the experience of staying on the mainland. She later told me, *"if I'm there, I prefer staying only one night at a time"*, which speaks to the difficulty some children experience under such conditions. In this case, it seems to have strengthened her emotional attachment to the island.

According to Solstad and Andrews (2020), processes of urbanizing rural schools and education happened through an expansion of compulsory education that took place during the '60s, as municipalities were invited to try out nine years of compulsory education (7-9th grade referred to as "youth school," i.e., *ungdomsskole*). One of the conditions was to "improve" their primary schools by closing down as many small schools as possible. It was viewed as necessary to at least have 60 pupils in every grade. The possibility of meeting these requirements meant that sparsely populated municipalities needed to plan for one strategically placed and shared "youth school", to minimize transportation needs and away-from-home lodging as much as possible during the week. This reduction of primary schools in rural municipalities resulted in an increase in children that were entitled to school transportation (from 6,5 % in 1950 to 22,4 % in 1970) (Solstad & Andrews, 2020, p. 296 In Solstad, 1978). But the question remains whether forms of centralized school organization are in the best interest of children living in similar (small) communities.

Through the childhood narratives of generation 1, we witness the traces of a time that was. Large-scale changes in all societal dimensions affected the everyday lives of this generation in many ways. A gradually diffusing gender divide is observable where women emphasize the automation of domestic work (which partly allowed women more access to the labor market), as well as the process of a changing relationship between the people and the island, such as schools and fisheries, are outsourced or closed. The close-knit interconnectedness - of mixed work, family-life, childhood play, and participation - is gradually dispersed, and many look back at the time with feelings of nostalgia. At the same time, many daily tasks have become much easier to perform, and the general standard of living has exponentially increased, which makes for a mixed perspective in terms of childhood and children's place in the community. There is, in other words, a push-and-pull effect to be observed here, through which a parallel development of opportunities and limitations occur, where people are in many ways encouraged (or even forced) to interact more with the mainland and surrounding coast, at the same time as their sense of belonging to the island remains.

6.1.2 Parent Generation: Increased Investment in and Value of Formal Education.

One of the most influential social transformations happening within Norway and elsewhere was the expansion of formal education (Elstad, 2021), which changed the way children's everyday lives are balanced. Shifting and competing forms of knowledge, in addition to the stress on formal education as a key to securing future (working) life were highlighted among the parent generation, unlike the grandparents, who to a large extent emphasized *growing up in intergenerational communities of work.* In parents' childhood

memory narratives, the emphasis is less on intergenerational (and familial) relationships between children/youth and adults, but rather on mixed-aged peer groups playing, learning, and doing things together, roaming the island. Similar findings by Holt et al. (2015), also shows a parent generation that talked about friends and peer groups (during their own childhoods) as a source of safety, facilitating outdoor play, as well as feelings of being taken care of, also knowing that other adult community members (not only their own parents) would help or assist if need be.

This does not mean that children didn't have close relations with adults in their community, but this shift in communal centrality could be related to, e.g., the rise of female employment outside the home, the growth of formal education, and the continued development of the Norwegian welfare state and public sector (Gullestad, 1991). As the parent generation grew up, they witnessed and were subject to, changes in their local labor markets, the economy, technology, communication, and a more institutionalized childhood. Thus, they experienced a weakening of traditional norms and values and a more inter/ intranational and interconnected world than their parents. Their emphasis on the importance of their peer relations reflects changes elsewhere observed, within the structure of childhood, taking place in Norway during the same period (See: Gullestad, 1996b). Peer relations seem to be central to the construction of the social worlds among the parent's generation, more so than for generation 1.

The parent group reached adolescence in the 1980s, and they completed 1st -10th grade on the island. One of them reports: *"[We] had one school day on the mainland every week. For me, that was a good solution. We got to know some of the people that we potentially would meet at upper secondary school… socializing and stuff. I think it was good for us" (female1, generation2).* Commuting daily between the island and the mainland was made possible due to the transport revolution (Christensen, 2017b), through which the island had acquired both a car-ferry connecting the island to the mainland, in addition to proper road connections around the island itself. Because of this, they avoided living away from home for longer periods like the older generations did, and at the same time, it helped them establish relations with other children and youth living on the mainland. Away-from-home school, therefore, was not perceived in the same way between generations 1 and 2.

As the parent generation narrates it, the importance of getting a formal education was by many also combined with the value of *"seeing and experiencing something different"* than the island. Many of those who chose an upper secondary education, moved away at the age of 15 or 16 to attend it, which meant they lived in other municipalities for two or three years. This may, in addition to formal education encouragement, reflect the large-scale societal shift from an emphasis on family values to a more individualistic focus on self-realization. However, some did not attend upper secondary school but chose to pursue work within one of the industries located on the island. As stated by one of the participants that have worked for a long time within the aquaculture business which was established in the mid-1980s:

"I don't know what I would have done if it had not been for the salmon. One thing is for sure, I couldn't have continued living here. This we can observe in other places as well… people would have had to move if it wasn't for the salmon" (Male1, generation2).

This participant further explained how, when aquatic regulations were implemented in the aftermath of the crisis during the 1990s (Christensen, 2017a), the company invested in its employees, which were often locals, giving them the opportunity to acquire the

needed qualifications and requirements to be able to continue their work within the aquaculture industry. The restructuring and decline of fishing and farming, in addition to changes in the labor market, have challenged this island community in different ways but have also opened for local initiative and creative solutions. As highlighted in the quote above, these solutions were essential for this participant to be able to continue living on the island and reflect both changes and continuity: on the one hand, industries and employment opportunities on the island have changed from more traditional livelihoods to aquaculture and stone quarrying, while continuously depending on natural resources. This quote also highlights the differentiation of life-choices characteristic of the parent generation's time. New forms of independence emerged as this generation grew up, both during childhood and as they entered working life. Where generation 1 remembers learning and participation happening within the intergenerational work construct, generation 2 remembers a more peer- and educationally centered territory of choice and activity.

"[…] they [their parents] didn't know about it […] We were hiking up there [in the mountains] all alone and got yelled at a lot for it if we were caught. But that [getting caught] didn't happen too often. We were biking around quite a lot really […] It wasn't like anybody drove us anywhere. So, if you wanted to go somewhere, you had to take matters into your own hands […] it took me about 14-15 minutes to get to [the most densely populated part of the island]" (Female1, generation2).

Through the narratives of childhood memories among the parent generation, we observe a larger degree of independence, at least in terms of day-to-day activities. The grandparents remember learning and becoming independent through locally centered practical work and knowledge transmission, whereas the parents, on the other hand, spent more time on their own or with other kids around their age. Interestingly, the participant quoted above had parents who ran a farm on the island, much like many from generation 1. Despite this, she recollects more of a leisurely centered childhood time on the island, where children were less integrated into the work habits of their parents. Also, we may draw from the statement above, new ways for children to negotiate (hierarchical) family power relations. As discussed by Leonard (2016), the relationships between parents and children constitute an unequal power distribution, where children are largely subordinated to parents (who themselves negotiate larger networks of power and social expectation). As formal education and female work opportunities arose during the 80s, the gap between children and parents' daily activities also grew. This may account for the implied challenge of parental control reflected in the quote above, and the gradual democratization of the family, from the 80's up until today.

6.1.3 Children and Youth Generation: Growing up in the 21st century.

As explained in the methodology chapter, the sample from generation 3 stretches from young people, youth, and children currently growing up, experiencing their teenage years, or being in the transition towards adulthood. As mentioned above, their socio-historic context must be seen in terms of macro-level structural changes such as uncertainty, risk, and, individualization (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Formal education and qualifications are structuring children and youth's lives to a greater extent than the earlier generations, but as has been found by others, young people do not necessarily embrace these changes. As (Bessell, 2021) describes, many of the Tasmanian youth she interviewed didn't necessarily see the point of formal education in terms of their rural lifestyles. This is something I also observe happening amongst some of the youth on this island in the North of Norway. It is often assumed that contemporary childhoods are structured and highly individualized through adult-driven activities,

school, and after-school care. However, this was not necessarily reflected in their narratives. Rather, they emphasized a sense of freedom of movement, roaming the island, being in nature, and playing with peers as important sources of their sense of belonging. Additionally, for the children growing up in this community, structured leisure activities such as being part of a football team or playing in a band aren't necessarily available for them in the same way as children in the municipality center or towns. However, those that grew up during the early 2000s, said that they had been part of the archery club, which was described as fun partly because many – young and old – had participated and shared this local activity.

Despite their emphasis on closeness to nature and freedom of movement, the role of compulsory formal education has a more dominant place across generation 3's narratives. Educational institutions are now the key sites for learning and qualifying for future employment (Bessell, 2021; Kjørholt, 2013). The local school in this community has been closed and reopened several times over the years based on the number of school-age children in the community. The rural school structure has, historically, been subject to transformations since the 19th century (Solstad & Andrews, 2020) and, as pointed out, the presence of local schools could be both an educational question and an important factor for sustaining rural areas (Šūpule & Søholt, 2019). The combination of schools both on the mainland and on the island has continued in different forms over time. Young adults attending school during the early 2000s had most of their early schooling on the island before starting to commute to the mainland part-time during the week (for lower secondary school). Additionally, all the young people I talked to had also attended upper secondary education in a nearby town or on the mainland, depending on what educational course they aimed at. According to these people, many of the kids they grew up with have moved away from the island, for unclear reasons (I haven't talked to young people that moved away), though one could assume it's often grounded in individual aspirations such as choosing higher-level education, more work opportunities, or significant relations to others outside their local (childhood) community (i.e., "seeing and experiencing something different"). As Broch (2022) reminds us; we should not romanticize everyday life in small coastal communities; the community members do not necessarily agree or have the same aspirations for their communities. Working within limited local labor markets is not for everyone, and "There are neither space enough nor adequate job opportunities available if all born into the community chose to stay" (2022, pp. 9-10). Amongst the older youths, I talked to, the ones choosing to stay on the island reflected strong personal ties, to the natural environment, the local community, as well as to the more traditional work practices available on the island as reasons for staying. Staying shouldn't be viewed as grounded in a lack of ambitions, but rather as a choice of preference and an act of agency, connected to specific contexts, aspirations, and differing sense(s) of belonging.

Families and children currently attending compulsory school have been given the opportunity to choose if they want to combine part-time schooling on the island with mainland commuting (as was also described by the parent generation). According to one family, they preferred to commute 45 minutes (each way) daily to the mainland, despite a certain dissatisfaction amongst the children with waking up early and coming home late, giving them less time to interact with peers after school. This particular family (the children of which are siblings) aspired to move to the mainland permanently but found it challenging to find employment there, and hence they still live on the island. Considering the low (and shrinking) population of the island, kindergarten children (aged 5-6) also reflected on this fact. Looking ahead to the next school year, they hoped to be reunited

with their friends (i.e., children attending primary school on the mainland) and were looking forward to commuting together.

During my 2 days stay in the local kindergarten, spending time with the staff and the children, I became aware of how much these children talked about shared activities with adults, often with grandparents. They spoke of quiet days, especially the ones living in more isolated parts of the island, and even more so during the pandemic. Cabin owners that often spend their weekends and holidays on the island, were narrated as important for these children, who otherwise don't have many peers to interact with during their spare time. Families with children having cabins on the island were pointed out as sources of friendships for some of the children currently living on the island. As more parents commute daily now than before, and as the number of children in the 6-7 age group is very low, one can only imagine the eagerness these children experience when it comes to socializing. One of the local teachers remembered back to before the pandemic when organized social activities between mainland and island inhabitants were arranged regularly. These structured gatherings were put on hold while I was staying there, and they constantly depend on weather conditions and ferry access to take place.

Noting the importance expressed by generation 2 when it comes to peer interaction during their childhoods, this lack of similarly aged children could potentially affect contemporary children's sense of belonging, as well as their future choices when it comes to staying/not staying on the island. The centralizing-driven dispersing of parents' workplaces and the inconvenience of commuting – which, as we saw above, made one of the families I spoke to want to move permanently to the mainland - could also add exponentially to this problem, compromising the viability of the community. The presence of children and the prioritizing and accommodating of childhoods must therefore be seen as essential for sustaining these small island communities into the future. This of course includes access to means of transportation and education, as well as arenas for social interaction. It should also be noted that through generations 1 and 2's narratives and perspectives, children, childhood, and the presence of younger families are all emphasized as important elements for the continuation of the community, and they see the dwindling presence of such age groups as a major challenge. One of the immigrant women I informally talked to, for instance, talked about the one and only bar on the island (which was closed not many years ago) as an important social arena for younger people. When the bar closed, so did, to a certain extent, the sense of *"something happening"*, which certainly affected her feelings about the week-to-week life on the island. The stakeholders I talked to – the fish factory director and the storeowner – also highlighted the lack of arenas for social gatherings as a major challenge in terms of getting younger people and families to permanently reside on the island.

6.2 Comparing Past and Present.

Across generations, and especially in grandparent and parent's narratives, reflecting upon changes occurring across their life course emerged as a dominant theme. Being asked about their childhood memories seemed to evoke a fondness of the past in addition to highlighting contrasts, changes, and differences between the perception of their own and of the contemporary generation's childhoods.

"*It's very different from before… these days you can buy everything in the store, all year around. When we were young, we kind of had these seasons… picking berries during the summer and autumn, processing food that we needed to wait for. I remember it very vividly… […] it is, of*

course, easier today, but it wouldn't hurt if children and youth had the opportunity to try... or at least experience how it was back then" (female2, generation1).

Many grandparents had fond memories of taking part in and learning from older generations during their childhoods. As illustrated by the quote above, an emphasis is put on the fact that, for many, these traditions started disappearing with their generation. Gilliam and Gulløv (2022) argue that children and youth are essential in terms of maintaining cultural norms, values, and practices as these need to "[…] pass through children and their social world to persist through time and generations […]" (2022, p. 321). As discussed in chapter 5, traditions and other cultural aspects were important for a sense of belonging and, for some, important for their feeling of being at ease in the island context. However, as described by this participant, the need to be at least to some degree self-sufficient, has also changed due to aspects of globalization, the economy, and the availability of different types of goods. Through the recollection of childhood memories, one of the participants elaborated on her appreciation in terms of *growing up in intergenerational communities of work* and felt positive toward younger generations expressing a desire to learn from her, as she had learned from her mother and grandmother:

"[..] processing of food. We do not have animals anymore, but it's one of the traditions that I have continued with. Making lamb rolls and other traditional foods, it wouldn't feel like Christmas without these traditions… first I taught my daughter… And then my grandchild asked if she could help me, then I taught her how to separate milk the traditional way, make sausages from scratch, knitting. […] it's very enjoyable seeing my granddaughter wanting to learn, and I have tried my best to continue these traditions from my past and share them" (female1, generation1).

Younger generations thus have the potential to reproduce, refigure and change communities and societies over time and therefore, children's partaking in experiences and practices are important aspects of society (Gilliam & Gulløv, 2022). As described by the participant above, cultural practices such as traditional ways of processing food were picked up by both the daughter and her granddaughter, potentially contributing to the transmission of these practices. Some of the young people participating in this project uttered a desire to continue living and being on the island, not in the same way as former generations of relatives had (*fiskarbonden*), but by trying out new constellations of combinatory work, marking their presence on the island. Furthermore, participants pointed out several changes happening over a lifetime, many of them highlighted the fact that *"[…] the population numbers are going down… that's not good. One could wonder where this will end… with the districts" (female, generation1).* Changes in the population number have, according to participants, been characterized by periods of increase and decrease, but compared to before, the population number is still generally declining, and the island has been experiencing waves of instability over the years due to fluctuating population numbers.

«There are fewer people [living here], and while we're getting older and such, it's like we're spending more time at home. Back in the days, we [people] went around visiting each other… the youngsters, I saw that they spent time together… now, you are mostly watching TV. Tired when returning from work and have stuff to do at home". (Male1, generation2).

As reflected by this participant through a comparison between past and present, he acknowledges that things have changed and that he himself also spends more time at home than before. Another participant states: *"I think people were better at it in the past… visiting each other and interacting on a daily basis." (Female, generation2).* Changes happening over time, as a result of processes of technological development,

globalization, and neo-liberal policies, could impact local discourses, intimate and personal relationships, and other aspects of everyday life (Giddens, 2011). However, the participants didn't reflect much upon this, but as one of them highlighted, the TV (and social media) has potentially replaced some of the daily face-to-face interactions happening between community members. He also pointed out changes in everyday life such as the opportunity for employment elsewhere, partly enabled by the establishment of the car-ferry. However, working and commuting to the mainland implies being away and spending increased time elsewhere than on the island which again could impact how often community members on the island see or spend time with each other, compared to the past when leaving the island was much rarer and more time-consuming.

Changes in cultural practices, employment opportunities, accessibility, fluctuating population numbers, as well as the (non)presence of educational institutions and social arenas have been highlighted by all three generations. These fluctuating processes of change affect people's sense of belonging in various ways. As we have noted, the grandparents very often contribute their belongingness to childhood memories of intergenerational relational practices and closeness to the coastal environment, and as these aspects are currently challenged, the role of children in the reproduction and maintenance of the community and its traditions is viewed by participants as even more precarious today than in the past.

6.2.1 The Value of Younger Generations.

The value of younger generations was highlighted as a central theme in conversation with locals and seen as central in terms of sustaining the community into the future. As grandparents grew up in intergenerational communities of work, they were to a larger extent encultured into fish-farming practices, but as the current case study shows, a decline in traditional industries and changes in employment patterns has changed the way inhabitants live and work on the island. For many grandparents, this implied moving away and settling elsewhere for work. As narrated by one of the summer guests, who has been spending 2-3 months on the island almost every year for the last 30 years:

"I lived here for a small period during my childhood, before we moved away. I inherited the house from my grandparents; my grandmother got the house as a "payment" for moving back and taking care of her parents at that time. But it wasn't easy, and they needed to seek out other opportunities for work, as well as having a wish to be nearer family members further north in Norway. The house was then only used 3-4 months, mostly during the summer" (female leisure guest, 65+).

The process of moving away from the island seems to have happened in different ways across all generations. In the past, young people were valuable as a "security net" when people reached old age and the dependency between generational categories. The expansion of the welfare state has in many ways replaced this dependency between generational categories, and old people are more likely to move into elderly homes at some point. However, as one of my participants told me, his mother had tried staying in a home on the mainland but didn't like it and thus he encouraged her to move back into his childhood home.

"In a place like this… we need to take care of each other. Let's say that you haven't seen or heard from one of the elders in a couple of days, then you might go by to find out if everything is ok." (Male1, generation2).

Many families kept their properties within the family and thus, as in the example above, continue to spend time on the island. For this person, she has had her own children and

grandchildren visiting and spending time there as well over the years, and the island itself continues to be an important place for them as a family, generating shared memories and experiences.

"My children and grandchildren love to be here. The people are so friendly, the island so beautiful, and all the activities it provides for us as a family. Fishing, climbing mountains, picking berries" (female leisure guest, 65+).

For this person, close relations to the island population have evolved over time mostly through repeated visits, in addition to the shared knowledge of and collective social memory of the island in the past. Intergenerational relations were also highlighted as important for this participant in terms of passing her own traditions, knowledge, and skills to younger generations (i.e., her own children and grandchildren).

Similarly, as described by the summer guest, returning to the island to take care of relatives on the island was an important factor for moving back, this was true for many participants, especially across grandparent and parent generations. *"I moved back to take care of my mother when she got sick. My brother was working at sea and thus, was far away at that time" (female1, generation1).* As described by this participant as well as others across generations 1 and 2, it implied moving back to the farm where she grew up and as she explained, this was a common practice for her generation. This was, to some extent, confirmed by the parent generation as well:

"You know, we lived nearer our parents and our grandparents. It was kind of a mutual relationship where we helped them with practical and physical tasks, and they helped us with childcare and stuff like that when our children were young. Today, children do not necessarily live near their parents. I think it could be difficult at times. You know, for us as parents, it's important to spend time with our children and grandchildren [who live in a nearby municipality]" (male1, generation2).

Thus, they spent many weekends traveling the distance to be with their children's families. One participant reflected upon her own relationship with her grandparents compared to the relationship she has established with her grandchildren:

"When I was young, we were mostly together with other children and friends… I think grandparents today are spending more time with the children… this might be something I just assume…" (female, generation2).

When I asked her to elaborate on this statement, she said that the difference was that adults were busy in the past, always working and doing stuff that needed to be done, and that the relations she had with her grandparents (which was described as very old during her childhood) were mostly through helping her mother helping them. Intergenerational dependency was emphasized in both the past, the present, and the future.

"Today, many of the youngsters and newcomers are taking an active part in the community. For many of us, we have done this for a long time. It is good to see that the youth is taking over and trying to make this a good place to live for us, themselves and children, and the youth. For example, I have been in charge of the "knitting club" for 7-8 years now." (Female, generation2).

All participants taking part in semi-structured interviews were asked to reflect upon what they consider essential to sustain this island community into the future. Interestingly, children, youth, and young people were highlighted as important or essential for sustaining the community into the future. Throughout the interviews, younger generations were narrated as important in terms of sustaining the local school structure, as actors for community-based initiatives such as planning for social gatherings, being involved and active within the local *bygdelag* (regional society), and of course, bringing

children into the community. At the time of the fieldwork, the number of children aged between 1-3 years living on the island was higher than it has been in a long time, as well as more children were expected to be born in the near future.

"It is so much fun. It is good that children are born into the community again. You know, in a way, this is important for our future. Now, we need to make sure that the children will thrive and have a good childhood here" (female1, generation2).

Many emphasized that the current "baby boom" on the island was perceived as very positive by community members from different age groups and that they want to make sure that the conditions would be as good as possible for them.

"I don't like the fact that the school is closing down… of course, when there are only one or two children of school age, it isn't possible to sustain. But the traveling route is long… and these days we do not even know if the ferry will depart. The other day, the ferry couldn't even land at the ferry-doc… this is what happens when the equipment is old and in bad condition. I wonder how this will go during the winter" (female1, generation2).

Similarly, as described in the quote above, many coastal (often rural) areas struggle with depopulation, decreasing numbers of children, and aspects of centralization which, in this case, challenge the local school structure. In a study conducted in a fishing village in Cyprus, school closures were described as something that could challenge the very existence of some coastal communities (Spyrou et al., 2021). Related themes that were highlighted by participants, in terms of sustaining this community into the future were, firstly, housing and second, work opportunities:

"There are too many cabins! Your [my parents'] house, for example, had been standing there for years without anyone taking care of it. You could say it is a bit different, the house belongs here. […] and for us [the locals] it is good to see that someone is taking care of it. It [cabins] also brings people and such which is good. But building big houses… you live in the city and live like that there, and then you build a cabin to live the same way here as well. (male1, generation2).

Or as argued by another:

"It isn't like cabin-folk take the houses from anyone, but it becomes a bit problematic when people find work on the island and does not find a place to live. Then you have to commute [with the car-ferry] every day. […] and if you, let's say, wanted to build a new house to live in – you also know that you will never be able to sell it for the same amount you have invested in it" (female2, generation 2).

The participants' views and evaluation of the second home phenomenon are viewed as positive in terms of contributing to maintaining some of the services provided on the island such as the local store and the car-ferry. Housing problematics, however, are seen as a challenge, and thus for some, the positive associations of second homeowners fade. In a Norwegian survey, the population of rural municipalities was asked about their viewpoints related to second home development and found that most of them viewed it as contributing positively to their local communities, however, a small minority consider the cons have outweighed the pros (Rye, 2011). Another important point put forward by Rye (2011) is that those in the most marginal positions in Norwegian rural communities (the youngest adults, women, and other lower-income groups) are also the ones that are most negative towards second home practices. Not surprisingly, the ones that are mostly positive are often landowners providing plots for new second homes, and others benefiting directly from the second home development. This correlates with the viewpoints of some of the community members highlighted in this section. In conversations with young people who uttered a desire to build a new house (due to lack

of available housing) on some land they had inherited, said they had met a lot of challenges when dealing with the bank. The loan they were able to get wasn't enough to build what they wanted due to overall increased prices on materials, regulations, and standards for new builds as well as the location (i.e., on a rural island). *"It's very difficult getting a loan to build something new here. We tried but the bank wouldn't give it to us" (female/male, generation3).* In conversations with community members, many highlighted housing as a broad and complex problem. A lot of the older houses on the island are inherited down through families and continue to be used, often as summer houses during limited periods of the year. But according to some, many are not willing to rent them out or sell them, and thus people getting jobs on the island have trouble finding available housing and are forced to the mainland or some of the other sparsely inhabited islands in the area, which either way implies commuting daily back and forth.

Work opportunities were pointed at as the third challenge faced in this community. Answering my questions related to what is needed to make sure that this community is sustained into the future, statements such as "*Work. People need work*" or "*one cannot live here without work*" in many cases reflects economic sustainability for the individuals as well as their families. For parent generations, the rise of new industries such as salmon farming and stone quarrying were emphasized as essential in terms of continuing to live on the island during the 1980- 90s, and it is still where most of the inhabitants work. However, in an informal conversation with a young couple, they told me about how they are in the process of establishing alternative ways (compared to the contemporary norm) to sustain themselves through small-scale production of eggs and animal husbandry. However, as they pointed out, this is a process, so one of them is currently working within the fish farming industry and the other takes on different "odd jobs" (carpentry, fixing things for people such as boats, cars, etc.) to make ends meet. Interestingly, these young people (which have chosen to stay despite the challenges) seem closer to living life in the way of their ancestors, wanting to be involved in the primary industries and find new and creative solutions to sustain themselves on the island.

6.2.2 Transformation of Children's Engagement with the Coastal Environment?

Another aspect highlighted by parents and grandparents is how contemporary children and youth are spending their time differently than they did themselves. *"[…] it's very different. Today, they [children] are not even outside… only pushing those buttons… we were outside all the time, always finding something to do. "(female1, generation1).*

These statements could, on the one hand, reflect aspects of Norwegian cultural ideas and local discourses, which emphasize constructions of a "good" and "proper" childhood as "in nature" and through self-initiated play, without adult supervision (Kjørholt, 2003; Nilsen, 2008). On the other hand, technology and media both "hold out the promise of a better future, while simultaneously provoking anxieties about a fundamental break with the past" (Buckingham, 2009, p. 124). Social norms related to children's outdoor activities that emphasize independence, self-sufficiency, and connection to nature, are found to change towards norms that stress the importance of protective parents (Skår & Krogh, 2009). As illustrated by the quote below:

"You know, these days children aren't allowed. For example, if you see a child on the pier or on the harbor, people get hysterical. We were not on the dock; we were under it! Balancing on the logs,

falling into the ocean. Then we had to walk back home to change our clothes, get yelled at a bit… but it was natural that you should [be yelled at]" (male2, generation1).

The comparison given by the participant above illustrates some of the changes happening over time. The research found that Norwegian children spend an increased amount of their time in institutions such as kindergartens, school, and before- and after-school care, in addition to the structuring of their free time through organized, planned, and adult-controlled activities (Skår & Krogh, 2009). As pointed out by Skar et al. (2016), the quality and availability of outdoor spaces, and children's engagement and interaction with nature depend on, and are interrelated, with diverse aspects of their everyday life, and the intersections between cultural, social, political, and economic aspects influences and changes local discourses and practices. As the statement above illustrates, an emphasis is put on the fact that "children aren't allowed" to experience and interact with nature in the same way as previous generations. This shows how nostalgic comparisons between childhood memories of spending time in nature form the basis for parental or adult concerns about how contemporary children spend their free time (i.e., lack of engagement with nature) (Waller et al., 2010). Findings suggest that adults report experiencing significant freedom during their childhoods, to roam and play freely in their outdoor environments, in addition to a belief that this kind of freedom has been reduced for contemporary children. However, emphasis on "the reduction of freedom" mostly comes from parents themselves, which substantially draws on the argument of a cultural shift, anxiety about risks, and a loss of sense of community, essential for the previous generation's experiences of freedom (Holt et al., 2015; Rixon et al., 2019). Changes and transformations have clearly shaped and changed parenting practices in a diversity of ways, and changing parental practices are reported to be one of the barriers to children's engagement with free play and nature, due to concerns about children's safety, and changing expectations of parents' supervision and monitoring of children's lives (Pynn et al., 2019). However, as discussed in chapter 5, *all three* generations of participants narrated freedom as an important trait of their childhood memories and experience.

According to some of the participants from generation 3, a sense of freedom, spending time in the coastal environment, playing in the woods or on the beach, was described as important for their sense of belonging in this island community. Additionally, parents raising children in the '90s and 2000s emphasized the fact that *"[…] we could just send the children out, knowing that they would be safe" (female1, generation2).* The sense of community at that time was an important factor for these parental practices, and as discussed in chapter 5, some of them realized that they "were under the watchful eye of the community," and feelings of togetherness and safety emerged out of it. Overall, positive everyday interactions between children and adult community members were highlighted as important by all generations, as a source of safety and feelings of togetherness; everyone knows everyone, and people help each other in various ways. As one of the teachers pointed out, all of the inhabitants know or have some kind of relation to the island's children, parents, or educational institutions, and thus drive carefully by the school/kindergarten.

However, for the children between 6 and 10 years of age currently living on the island, the peer group is small and there are fewer to interact or play with, and as one of them stated: *"there aren't any children here, only teenagers" (female, generation3).* This clearly shows the impact of a declining and aging population, as a result of social mobility processes on the island. Several people I talked to during this project brought attention to the fact that several families that had tried to live and work on the island ended up

moving away again, often because their children lacked friends and playmates in their age group, which reflects the importance, centrality, and value of peer relations for the construction of contemporary children's social worlds (Gullestad, 1996b).

Furthermore, children playing freely outside in nature and in public places on the island might be viewed differently by grandparents and parents that grew up at a time in history when the island had a higher population number and a larger peer group for children to interact with and spend time with. It has been argued in one study as important for children's free play to engage with nearby nature and to be connected to a sense of safety in terms of being together (Holt et al., 2015). Some of the statements quoted in these sections made me wonder if children no longer spend time outside these days, but through an analysis of narratives from generation 3, nature and the coastal environment as a place to spend time, play, and interact with others, is still an important and very much present factor (as described in chapter 5). However, it was not clear if these statements reflect aspects of nostalgia (as described by May, 2017) or socio-cultural changes in terms of how the community as a whole uses their public places. Parents have different work habits now than before and might therefore not be able or present enough to observe children's outdoor activities.

Children from the earlier generations grew up in a community with close access to, and general day-to-day use of nature and green spaces, which most likely has impacted the evaluation of the space in terms of risks, safety, and the perceived value of outdoor experiences for children. It seems like contemporary children have fewer nature-based experiences and that these have changed from being spontaneous and self-initiated to being organized and more adult-controlled, and therefore a link between and dependency on adults' own interests, time schedules, and priorities affects the forms of children's outdoor activities (Skår & Krogh, 2009). However, as few organized activities are available on the island, this isn't representative in the same way in this context. According to a Norwegian national survey conducted by Skar et al. (2016), boys spend more time in nearby nature than girls, but today both genders have more barriers between indoor- and outdoor activities, such as homework, screen time, lack of initiative and company, and for this specific context, barriers such as commuting taking up leisure time, or the lack of engagement with traditional fish-farm-work taking place outdoors on the island itself, further limits the amount of time for outdoor activities.

Through a comparative analysis between previous and current generations, it becomes clear that the way people have used the coastal environment has changed due to broader societal developments happening within Norway. Aspects of everyday life, values, and norms have changed across generations, thus impacting parental practices in a diversity of ways. Parents' concerns in terms of children's outdoor free play are often related to two main issues: stranger danger and road safety (Holt et al., 2015; Mayall, 2009), but this was not pointed out by parents as an issue in this island community. Participants taking part in this study pointed at changes and transformations happening across generations and highlighted the contrasts between traditional and contemporary images of Norwegian childhoods. According to Nilsen (2008), (post)modern childhoods are associated with and located within a discourse of worry, due to a decline in traditional outdoor engagement. Increased child participation in activities related to global market developments and the use of new technology and communications, stands in contrast to the traditional images of childhood as an active, happy, and healthy period spent outdoors in (preferably unspoiled) nature. However, as discussed in more detail in chapter 5, children and youth narrated a strong sense of identity as an *islander* or *coastal*

people and a strong sense of belonging to the coastal environment even if living in a time characterized by transitions, changes, and uncertainty in terms of education, work opportunities and aspects of everyday life.

Here we observe multiple overlapping perceptions concerning children and childhoods across time. On the one hand, societal changes have influenced the way children (are able to) engage with the local natural environment (they spend less time outdoors now than before) but on the other hand, generation 3 still clearly senses a deep connection to the island through such engagement with nature and the coastal environment. This challenges parents' and grandparents' perceptions of contemporary childhoods (as lacking in connection to the island and its natural environment) and may potentially become an important component of sustaining the island in the future.

6.3 SUMMARY.

The analytical focus in this chapter has been to explore perspectives on the role children, youth and young people play in terms of maintaining and further developing this island community. Through looking at how changes, transformations, and continuities are narrated through childhood memories across three generations, we get a picture of participants' views and perceptions of the role of children and youth in this context. Norway has in general experienced broad social, cultural, and economic transformations during the 1960s-70s, and it becomes clear that aspects of everyday life have changed drastically over time due to processes of modernization, globalization, global restructuring of the economy, and neo-liberal policies implemented during the '80s and forward, which is shown to interfere with social, cultural, economic, and political aspects in different contexts around the world. Findings from this case study confirm that the social, cultural, economic, and political conditions of childhood have changed between grandparents, parents, and children youth and young people growing up or transitioning into adulthood.

Another difference highlighted in a past/present comparison was the way in which children and youth across generations spend their time. Across grandparent and parent generations, childhood was a time when they did not have access to technological devices in the same way contemporary children, youth, and young people do, and therefore their childhood memories were often related to spending time in nature and in the coastal environment, either alone or with peers or adults. This reflects in many ways the Norwegian value of children spending time outdoors and engaging in self-initiated play without adult supervision (Gullestad, 1996a; Kjørholt, 2003; Nilsen, 2008). Contemporary children, youth, and young people also narrated experiences of spending time in nature or in the coastal environment, in addition to more time spent in institutions such as kindergarten, school, and after-school care.

In grandparents' and to some extent parents' childhood narratives, an emphasis was put on different generations being together. Watching and being actively involved in different household tasks was described as meaningful and educational. In the sample used in this thesis, there is a clear gender dimension emerging from grandparents' childhood narratives: grandmothers narrated taking part in household activities related to farming such as processing food, and grandfathers narrated taking part and learning the craft of fishing and related practices. Among grandparents' childhood memories, being actively involved in income-generating activities was highlighted as a way of contributing to the household and was in that way valuable economically for their parents. In the past, younger generations were also important in terms of taking care of and helping older

generations with tasks they couldn't manage themselves. As traditional livelihood practices such as *fiskarbonden* and small-scale fishing declined, changes in local labor markets and conditions for the parent generation occurred. These changes and the increased value of formal education in coastal communities are confirmed in international studies conducted in different countries as a way to escape the uncertainty of small-scale fishing or other traditional livelihoods (Bessell, 2021; Crummy & Devine, 2021; Spyrou et al., 2021). Parents, children, and youth grew up in a time where an increased value was put on formal education and learning, and thus increasingly placed in an institutionalized age-segregated generational social order for a longer period of time. This is in many ways true for both generations of parents and children and youth, reflecting a historical period characterized by rapid transitions related to economies, working life, education, and individual choices related to future life (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015).

Today, the way older generations talked about younger generations was interesting, emphasizing the role children and youth play in terms of maintaining and future developing this island community. As in the example described by a grandmother, being asked to learn her daughter and granddaughter to make traditional foods and doing things the "old way" was something she appreciated herself. As shown through the example of how younger generations initiated and took part in traditional food processing practices as well as being helpful, children, youth, and young people are essential in terms of maintaining local cultural norms, values, and practices, and have the potential to reproduce, refigure and change communities and aspects of society across time (Gilliam & Gulløv, 2022). Additionally, children, youth, and young people were viewed as essential agents in the community and were emphasized as important in terms of sustaining local services such as the school and kindergarten in the community, as well as continuing with "island living" into the future.

7 DISCUSSION & CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In this master thesis project, I have explored childhood and "island living" across three generations with a particular focus on aspects of everyday life, belonging, and sustainability in an island context in northern Norway. The first section summarizes the key research findings, before going into a discussion to answer the two research questions: 1) *How is childhood narrated across generations in a North Norwegian Island community?* and 2) *What are the perceptions among the participants of the role children and young people play – in past, present, and future perspectives in order to maintain viable and further develop this island community?*

7.1 Summarizing Findings.

7.1.1 Coastal Childhood(s) and "island living": Identity and Belonging across Generations.

Through an exploration of childhood and "island living", belonging and a strong sense of local identity as an *øyværing* - islander or coastal people across three generations despite broad societal changes and transformations of childhoods over time and emphasized the weather, the coastal environment, and the ocean as an important element of their identity. Being aware and attentive to the weather was highlighted across generations as something you learn by living in a place like this. Freedom (of movement) was similarly described by the participants as an intrinsic island value that they all had appreciated during their childhoods, being allowed to roam the island in different ways, either alone, with friends, or with family members. Growing up and having their childhood experience on the island was described as safe and within a close-knit community, spending time outdoors and in nature (including on boats, in sea houses, the pier and harbor, and being involved in related socio-cultural practices), and being known and knowing others were pointed at as important traits within this community. Traditional livelihoods such as *fiskarbonden* as a way of life are mobilized as cultural heritage and perceived as lived experiences, that form a collective social memory as a part of their relational histories, and in a way bridge the past with the present (Cuervo & Cook, 2019; May, 2017).

In Norway, it is usual to consider "home" as the place where one was born and it is often associated with roots, ancestors, and connections to childhood (Gullestad, 1996b). This was very much confirmed by the participants. The coast as "home" was described as a sense of belonging to place, people, nature, and the coastal environment, and they emphasized being at ease with one's surroundings. For many, this was described through contrasting experiences of being elsewhere, where they did not feel as much at ease. The analytical concept of belonging has been argued to provide a complex, person-centered, and dynamic approach to mutual influence between society and self and is viewed as the process of making identifications with cultures, people, places, and material objects (May, 2013). But as the analysis revealed, aspects of belonging and place-belongingness emerged in different forms for the current island population, which is much more diversified than before. For participants with long-lasting ties, their sense of belonging

was often narrated through relational, auto-biographical, and cultural factors, compared to immigrants who often highlighted work opportunities, and economic or material safety as the main aspects of their sense of place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010).

Today, the island attracts different kinds of people, and a continuum of relations emerges, ranging from close ties to strangers. The relational nature of the concept of belonging highlights how our sense of belonging can be interrupted or changed due to broader societal changes in our places or contexts and thus could cause ruptures or fluctuations in our sense of belonging over time. For people moving into the island community, time was essential in terms of how a sense of belonging emerged out of getting to know the people, practices, and place, which confirms that belonging is not something you acquire, but something that is an active process and develops continuously in relation to people, materials, and places. As society changes, our experiences, and thus our sense of belonging change accordingly. Therefore, a sense of belonging needs to be understood as a dynamic and complex process (May, 2013) stretching over time. Furthermore, as put forward by many of the people participating in this project, living here is not for everyone and you have to prioritize. The two competing images of the rural as idyllic or dull, seem to be two co-existing images rather than mutually exclusive and might be the reason why many of the youths across generations at some point or another left their island community for a shorter or longer period of time (for work, education or to simply explore something different), and of course, some don't return as permanent residents again which reflects the complexities of rural life and the way its inhabitants in many ways maneuver their everyday life.

7.1.2 "Island Living": Changes and Transformations over time.

A three-generational approach used in this study and through an analysis of changes, transformations, and continuities as they were narrated across generations, enable us to understand the socio-cultural and historical circumstances which form life experiences across generations. Being asked about their childhood memories and sharing their life biographies seemed to make them reflect upon things that have changed over the years. The grandparent generation experienced their childhoods in the 1950-60s, which was described as very different in terms of social, cultural, and economic aspects. At that time, family life, play, leisure, work, and place were closely connected, and children were viewed as important and valuable for their contributions to the households, as well as being allowed to take part in different activities which facilitated intergenerational learning and transfer of knowledge. Social (macro) structures, understood as social institutions and relations that together form society is always present and impact all aspects of the human experience (Leonard, 2016). The narrative mode and remembering their childhood made especially grandparents and parents reflect upon these changes and transformations happening in their community and everyday lives which relates to Norway being exposed to global restructuring processes. New national policies, technological developments, investment in the public sector and welfare services, in addition to an increased value is put on formal education as a way to secure future (working) life and economic development (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015), in many ways contributed to the restructuring of coastal communities and changing notions of everyday life in Norway.

Exploring childhood memories across generation have given us insights into how these broad structural changes and transformations have impacted their lives across generations. As many pointed out, things have in many ways become better, easier, and more available despite living and working on an island. However, some of the

participants expressed a kind of nostalgia – a sense of something lost in time. As previously discussed in the past section, the identity as an islander or coastal people is closely linked to living on and of the sea, and thus the traditional livelihood as *fiskarbonden* is mobilized as a collective social memory of "who they are" and in that way bridging past and present. Lived lives of ancestors were also present in youth and young people's narratives and evoked a sense of pride and belonging to place, people, and nature in the present. We witness a shift in socio-cultural values and increased investment in formal education among the narratives of the parent generation. As illustrated in chapter 6, peer relations, formal education, and learning as well as "seeing and experiencing something different" was narrated as important aspects of their childhoods.

The loss of young people is a challenge faced by many coastal communities around the world. But as stated by Bessell (2021) in a study conducted in a coastal community in Tasmania, it is not new that young people leave the coast to seek adventures, education, or employment elsewhere, which is also reflected in almost all narratives across generations in this master thesis. However, the grandparent and parent generation often narrated this as a period rather than something permanent, compared to youth and young people, where staying is seen as the exception. However, as argued by Broch (2022) in his study conducted in a (wild) fish-based community in Northern Norway "[…] all who grow up in the community are well informed about other lifeways than living in a fishing community not only by various media impressions but also by personal experience" (p. 10) and as he further the discussion, those who chose to stay are seen as important in terms of sustain community life in the future as well as carriers of cultural traditions, and not as lacking ambitions or outcome of circumstances. Interestingly, younger generations were viewed as important agents in the community and vital in terms of sustaining everyday life and socio-cultural aspects in the future through their contributions. For contemporary children, youth, and young people, growing up implies a double-edged problem: dealing with rapid transition(s), uncertainties, processes of individualization, and risk (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) when transitioning into adulthood and making individual choices related to education, livelihoods and where to settle down in the future at the same time as being tied through close and emotional dependency between intergenerational positions.

As we have seen through the analysis in chapter 6, societal transformations and developments, lifestyles, values, and expectations have changed across generations, and as pointed out by participants, life has in many ways become easier than before as well as acknowledging that many things potentially have been lost in time. Intergenerational relations are narrated as important for the transfer of traditional and local knowledge down generations, and in many ways, it is up to children, youth, and young people to gain this knowledge and maintain it. As argued by Gilliam and Gulløv (2022) children have the potential to maintain cultural norms, values, and practices as these more or less need to pass through children's social worlds to be maintained beyond time and generations. Many of these things were shown in chapter 5 to be of essential importance for a sense of belonging across generations. It is argued that sustainable development in coastal communities implies and demands giving attention to and recognizing cultural ecosystems such as aspects of identity, cultural heritage, and vitality as developed across generations (Acott and Urquhart, 2014, In Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming).

7.1.3 Coastal Sustainability and Resilience?

The concept of sustainability has not been used as the main concept in my analysis. But I would like to present some reflections related to the concepts of sustainability and resilience in coastal communities. The importance of local knowledge, practices, and children and young people in coastal communities is often overlooked, but as argued by Bessell and Kjørholt (2022, forthcoming), are essential elements that could potentially contribute to the conservation of seas, marine life and thus potentially be the basis for renewal in terms of ways of living and knowing in coastal societies around the world. Coastal communities are characterized by being in transition and have in many ways changed drastically over a couple of decades due to economic changes, aspects of globalization, social changes, and migration processes to mention some. In addition to this, for those coastal communities that have sustained themselves despite all of the changes and restructuring happening, environmental degradation, and changes represent a current and future challenge for coastal communities around the world (Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming).

The restructuring and decline of fishing in addition to changes in the labor market in general have impacted this island community in different ways but have also opened up for local initiative and creativity which led to the establishment of the utilization of new coastal resources such as land- and ocean-based fish farming companies providing new employment opportunities on the island and was highlighted as something that continues to enable life in this community. The aquaculture-related industries in addition to the stone quarry reflect both changes and continuity: on the one hand, industries and employment opportunities on the island have changed from more traditional livelihoods at the same time as continuously being dependent on natural resources and the ocean. However, as stated by Broch (2022):

"A community solely dependent on a single species like farmed salmon or other such specialized nice is vulnerable and not resilient. If the farmed salmon caught a hitherto unknown disease or the chemicals used to clean the fish from lice turned out to be devastating for surrounding marine life, the community would have to undergo complete readjustment, or it would face disintegration. Remember resilience is about a future further ahead than next year" (2022, p. 7).

It is argued that coastal resilience should be based on generalized niches to better be able to adjust to ecological changes (international conflicts, pollution, or climate change) and that one should try to avoid controlling nature to become more economically profitable, productive, and predictable (Berkes et. al., 2003, In Broch, 2022, p. 7). Economic sustainability has been an important concern in global narratives and policy discourses for decades (Adams, 2020), and aquaculture as a new coastal industry is a good example to discuss the tensions that small coastal communities, in some cases, face. In countries such as Norway and Australia, fish(salmon)-farming has created jobs and opportunities for people living in coastal communities, reflecting economic sustainability for the people that live by the sea; however, on the other hand, seen in terms of the way in which natural ocean habitats are impacted by persistent stress caused by fish farming activities among other factors and thus environmental degradation is viewed as a threat to local eco-systems (Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming). This issue has been addressed to some extent and it is suggested that the industry should aim at developing in terms of more adaptive fish farming practices to lower the ongoing concern and debates related to the potential damage caused by fish farms, at the same time as acknowledging the centrality in local development in many

coastal areas in Norway and elsewhere (Floysand et al. 2021, In Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming).

Findings from studies conducted in Northern Norway found that what local stakeholders with livelihoods practices associated with different ecological systems/primary industries considered as "sustainable living" didn't necessarily correspond with national policies for regional development but was rather viewed as a threat to their preferred way of living. Socioeconomic (e.g., politically driven national growth goals, see: Government's Marine Strategy, 2021) and environmental processes were perceived, at least to some degree, as interlinked by the participating fishers, farmers and aquaculture representatives represented in this sample (Rybråten et al., 2018). When a North Norwegian (wild) fishing-based community was asked what they considered as threats to their community, they pointed to persistent overfishing by large boats and trawlers, which they claimed catches vast amounts of small and young fish, fish fry, and ruining the bottom of the sea with their catching methods compared to their own practices and usage of smaller local owned vessels when catching wild fish in the same areas (Broch, 2022). Furthermore, aspects of place attachment, sense of belonging, community commitment, local values, etc., were found to be important drivers for facing challenges and (climate change) adaptation (Amundsen, 2015; Rybråten et al., 2018). Arguments related to responses to climate and environmental change emphasize the importance of cultural (and social) aspects and argue in favor of the need to consider the impact of culture in climate change adaptation research (Amundsen, 2015).

To aim for a more holistic understanding of the complexities related to sustainability (cultural, social, economic, and environmental) we need to acknowledge the intergenerational and relational nature of the concept. Participants highlighted different types of tensions occurring in their community due to different aspects of how to continuously sustain the community into the future, and interestingly, children, youth, and young people were narrated as essential agents in this process. In the paragraph above, the tension between the pillar of environmental and economic sustainability presents itself through the example of aquaculture but does not inform us of people's choices in terms of ways of life, being, and knowing which is part of socio-cultural values and practices (Bessell & Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming) which in many cases is closely connected to aspects of belonging and sense of place. Case studies conducted in Norwegian coastal communities highlight the connection between using and being dependent on the ocean not only for economic security and employment in these (often rural) places but is also closely connected to social and cultural dimensions spreading across past and present generations (Amundsen, 2015; Broch, 2022; Kjørholt & Bunting, 2021; Rybråten et al., 2018). Culture, as the fourth pillar of sustainability, refers to values connected to ways of living, being, and belonging (Kjørholt, 2022, forthcoming) and as I have illustrated in this master thesis, is narrated by participants as important aspects of "who they are" as an *øyværing* –that have lived and made a living on this island for many generations throughout historical times.

7.2 Strengths and Limitations.

In this section, an elaboration on the study's strengths and limitations will be given. The methodological approach implied situating children, youth, and young people's views and experiences in relation to older generations lived lives and aimed at understanding how childhood, placemaking, and belonging relate to broader structures of social change happening within and across specific historical periods (Kjørholt & Ursin, 2015). The

methodological approach and chosen methods, I will argue was a strength of this study. The usage of both semi-structured life-biographical interviews, inspired by Brannen (2008) and colleagues, in addition to an ethnographic approach, enabled a broader understanding of the nuances of "island living", narratives, perspectives, views, and experiences across generations. Additionally, fieldwork implied staying in the case study context for a period of time, using the same local store, traveling with the car-ferry, and interacting with locals over time enabled me to have informal conversations with more people, gaining a broader understanding of the complexities, and in some cases the contradictory and conflicting perspectives of this island community. However, research is not a linear process (Thomas & Hodges, 2010) and thus in retrospect, there are several things that could have been done differently.

The multi-method approach, however, helped in terms of using the strengths of one method to counter the weaknesses of another method. Being a novice, the process of planning for a fieldwork-based project as well as conducting semi-structured life-biography interviews was hard, and looking back at my transcriptions of the interviews there were several times that I should have asked the participants to elaborate and explain what they meant by their statements. Limitation of time and being one person conducting this project is an essential limitation. Preferably, follow-up interviews should have been conducted (with a sound recorder) to gain a more detailed and complex understanding of their narratives. Additionally, since the tendency is that youth and young people to move away from many coastal communities in Norway (Gerrard, 2008) and elsewhere, it would have been interesting to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons behind and what the process of leaving implies for these young person's sense of belonging.

7.3 Implications for Future Research and Practice.

Coastal childhoods in transition are a topic that requires more research in general. Within today's globalized world, coastal communities around the world struggle to find new ways of life in an era characterized by the restructuring of both national and global economies and demographic shifts (Kjørholt et al., 2022, forthcoming). Furthermore, coastal communities, way of life, and culture are often overlooked in terms of sustainability and thus under-researched. It would be beneficial to conduct similar studies and analyses in different coastal contexts to get more empirical data on the topic of coastal childhood(s) in transition, in addition, to getting a better understanding of how cultural (and social) sustainability can be beneficial (and potentially implemented) in terms of future sustainable development in coastal communities. Furthermore, an exploration of "leavers" perspectives, viewpoints, and potential sense of belonging could also enhance our understanding of the complex processes of being young today in a time characterized by rapid transformation and change. Additionally, children, youth, and young people should be of a particular focus due to the fact that they hold a central position in terms of civilizing efforts and in processes of change and continuity and an acknowledgment of how intergenerational relations is essential in terms of transfer local knowledge, cultural values, norms and practices that need to go through children and their social worlds to be maintained into the future (Gilliam & Gulløv, 2022).

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Appendices

Assessment

Date
27.08.2021

Type
Standard

Reference number
568975

Project title
Childhood and "island living." Narratives of everday life, belonging, and sustainability across generations in a small island.

Data controller (institution responsible for the project)
Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet / Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring

Project leader
Anne Trine Kjørholt

Student
Malin Arnesen

Project period
01.08.2021 - 01.08.2022

Notification Form

Comment
Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, so long as it is carried out in accordance with what is documented in the Notification Form and attachments, dated 27.08.2021, as well as in correspondence with NSD. Everything is in place for the processing to begin.

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION
The project will process general categories of personal data until 01.08.2022.

LEGAL BASIS – SAMPLES 1 AND 2
The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data, and from parents to the processing of personal data about their children. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn.

The legal basis for processing general categories of personal data is therefore consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a).

LEGAL BASIS – THIRD PERSONS
The scientific purpose of the project is to explore children's and adult's perspectives and experiences of everyday life and growing up on an island in Northern Norway. During interviews, the informants may give some identifying information about individual relatives, friends or peers, i.e. personal data relating to third persons. No special categories of personal data will be registered about third persons, the amount of data registered will be limited, the duration of the project is short and no identifying information about third persons will be published. We find that the public interest in processing of personal data clearly outweighs the disadvantage for third persons.

Our assessment is that the processing meets the requirement of scientific research, and therefore constitutes a task in the public interest.

The project will process general categories of personal data on the legal basis that processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 e), and for scientific research purposes, cf. art. 6.3 b), cf. the Personal Data Act § 8.

The processing is in accordance with appropriate safeguards for the rights and freedoms of the data subject, cf. art. 89.1.

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA
NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:

• lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent/that processing is in accordance with appropriate safeguards
• purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
• data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
• storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS – SAMPLES 1 AND 2
NSD finds that the information that will be given to data subjects/parents about the processing of their/their children's personal data will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13.

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19) and data portability (art. 20). These rights apply so long as the data subject can be identified in the collected data.

We remind you that if a data subject/parent contacts you about their/their children's rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS – THIRD PERSONS
The duration of processing of personal data about third persons is short, and the amount of data being processed is limited. We find that an exemption from the data subject's right to information can be made on the grounds that giving information will involve a disproportionate effort, seen in relation to the benefit of data subjects receiving the information, cf. art. 14.5 b).

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18) and protest (art. 21). These rights apply so long as the data subject can be identified in the collected data.

We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES
NSD presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data.

To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

NOTIFY CHANGES
If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify NSD. This is done by updating the information registered in the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT
NSD will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded.

Good luck with the project!
Contact person at NSD: Marita Ådnanes Helleland

Appendix 2: Information letter and consent form (adults)

Interested in taking part in my master thesis project:

«Childhood and "island living." Narratives of everyday life, belonging, and sustainability across generations in a small island"?

Purpose of the project:
In this master project, I want to explore children's and adults' experiences of childhood and growing up on an island. The main themes are childhood and "island-living" with a focus on narratives of everyday life over two-three generations. I am hoping to find 3-4 participants aged between 25-40, 3-4 participants aged between 45-60, and/ or 3-4 participants aged 65 + to cover parent and grandparent generations. The aim of the project is to explore narratives of childhood from a generational perspective with an emphasis on participants' viewpoints and experiences over time (past, present, and future perspectives).

Master student and supervisor:
My name is Malin, and I am a student at The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in the department for Education and Lifelong learning in Trondheim. The master thesis is connected to the research project: *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the future. Education, Knowledge, and identities across three generations*, founded by Research Council Norway and led by my supervisor, Anne Trine Kjørholt.

Why are you asked to participate?
To understand how narratives of childhood change over time, I preferably need participants from different generations. I will ask you to participate if you have grown up and lived your childhood years on the island. I will approach you myself but might need to talk to members of the island community to figure out how to reach you.

What does participation involve for you?
The method chosen for this project is an ethnographic approach with an emphasis on narrative methods such as informal conversations and semi-structured interviews. I will be living in my parents' cabin during this period and will be available for conversations and questions during the period from August to the end of September/mid-October. During this period, I would like to have semi-structured interviews that I preferably want to tape-record and take notes from if the participants agree with it. We could potentially do other participatory techniques to deepen our conversations and my understanding of childhood on an island/ coastal community if this is wanted by the participants. This is something I will discuss with you if you want to participate in my project. The interviews

will approximately take around 45 minutes to 1 hour and will focus on things related to your childhood. Questions asked will be connected to knowledge and education, views, experiences, relations, and impact of other generations, island living, and the coast as an environment. Your answers will be recorded and transcribed. Your personal information will be continuously anonymized during the transcription process to ensure that no personal data will be stored on my personal devices.

Participation is voluntary:
Participation in this project is voluntary. If you want to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw during the process. The information collected will only be used to explore how narratives of childhood change over time and will only be shared between me and my supervisor. All personal data will continuously be anonymized, and all information is confidential. Sound-recorded interviews will be deleted when it is transcribed, and transcriptions will be deleted after submitting the master thesis (August 2022).

Your rights:
NTNU is the institution responsible for the processing of personal data and the data controller. So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- Access the personal data that is being processed about you
- Request that your personal data be deleted or corrected
- Receive a copy of your personal data, and
- Send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data.

Based on the agreement with NTNU and the department of Education and lifelong learning, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Contact information:
If you have questions about the project, please contact:

- **Supervisor**: Professor Anne Trine Kjørholt.
  E-mail: anne.trine.kjorholt@ntnu.no
  Phone: +47 91897607
- **Master student**: Malin Arnesen Nilsen.
  E-Mail: Malinani@stud.ntnu.no
  Phone: +47 99353441

If you want to exercise your rights:

- **Our Data Protection Officer**: Thomas Helgesen
  E-mail: Thomas.Helgesen@ntnu.no
  Phone: +47 93079038
- **NSD- The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS**
  E-Mail: Personverntjenester@nsd.no
  Phone: +47 55582117

Best wishes,
Malin Arnesen Nilsen

Consent form:

I have received and understood information about the project *Childhood and "island living." Narratives of everyday life, belonging, and sustainability across generations on a small island*, and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- ☐ to participate in a semi-structured interview.
- ☐ to participate in participatory techniques (photovoice and/or neighborhood walk).

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. August 2022

(Signed by participant, date)

Appendix 3: informasjonsskriv og samtykkeskjema (voksne)

Har du lyst til å være deltaker i mitt masterprosjekt:

«Barndom og «øylivet». Fortellinger om hverdagsliv, tilhørighet og bærekraft over generasjoner i et lite øysamfunn»?

Formål med prosjektet:

I dette masterprosjektet ønsker jeg å utforske barn og voksnes erfaringer av barndom og å vokse opp i et øysamfunn. Sentrale temaer er barndom og «øylivet» med et fokus på fortellinger om hverdagsliv. Jeg ønsker flere perspektiver fra to eller tre generasjoner. Jeg håper å finne 3-4 deltakere i alderen 25-40, 3-4 deltakere i alderen 45-60 og/eller 3-4 deltakere ca. 65 + for å dekke flere generasjoners perspektiver.

Student og veileder:

Jeg heter Malin og er masterstudent ved Norges Tekniske Naturvitenskapelige Universitet (NTNU) ved instituttet for pedagogikk og livslang læring. Masterprosjektet mitt er knyttet til forskningsprosjektet: *Valuing the past, Sustaining the future. Education, Knowledge, and identities across three generations,* finansiert av Norges forskningsråd og er ledet av Anne Trine Kjørholt.

Hvorfor blir du sport om å delta?

Jeg ønsker å gjennomføre intervjuer og samtaler om hverdagsliv, «øylivet» og barndom med mennesker fra ulike generasjoner for å få et bilde av hvordan hverdagslivet på en øy har endret seg over tid. Jeg vil ta kontakt med deg fordi du enten bor på øyen permanent eller fordi jeg har fått vite at du har vokst opp her tidligere.

Hva innebærer deltakelse for deg?

Metoden valgt for dette prosjektet er en etnografisk tilnærming hvor narrative metoder som uformelle samtaler og semi-strukturerte intervjuer vil bli vektlagt. I denne perioden kommer jeg til å bo på min families hytte på øyen (August til slutten av september) og håper å involvere meg mest mulig i ting som er relatert til barndom og øylivet. Intervjuene vil ta 45 min til 1 time å gjennomføre, og vil sette søkelys på barndomsminner, kunnskap og utdanning, synspunkter, erfaringer og forholdet mellom generasjonene, «øylivet» og kysten som miljø. Jeg vi fortløpende gå gjennom lydopptakene for å transkribere dem og da samtidig anonymisere for å forsikre meg om at ingen personlig informasjon vil bli lagret på min PC eller mobiltelefon.

Deltakelse er frivillig:

Deltakelse i dette prosjektet er frivillig. Hvis du samtykker til å delta, vil du kunne trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi grunn underveis i prosessen om du skulle ønske det. All informasjon vil bli anonymisert, og jeg vil ikke samle inn noen form for personopplysninger. All informasjon gitt til meg er konfidensiell. Lydopptak fra intervju vil bli slettet etter at de er transkriberte og disse transkripsjonene vil bli slettet etter levering av master oppgaven (senest august 2022). Samtykke-skjema er knyttet til dette informasjonsskrivet. Vennligst signer for å samtykke til å delta i mitt masterprosjekt.

Dine rettigheter:

NTNU er institusjonen som er ansvarlig for å prosesseringen av dine personlig data. Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- Få innsyn og en kopi av de opplysninger vi behandler om deg
- Få rettet eller slettet opplysninger som er feil eller misvisende
- Sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandling av dine personopplysninger

Kontakt informasjon:

Hvis du har noen spørsmål om prosjektet, vennligst kontakt:

- **Veileder:** Professor Anne Trine Kjørholt-

  E-post: Anne.Trine.Kjørholt@ntnu.no
  Telefon: +47 91897607
- **Master student:** Malin Arnesen Nilsen

  E-post: Malinani@stud.ntnu.no
  Telefon: +47 99353441

Hvis du ønsker å bruke dine rettigheter, vennligst kontakt:

- **Personvernombudet ved NTNU**: Thomas Helgesen

  E-mail: Thomas.Helgesen@ntnu.no
  Telefon: +47 93079038
- **NSD – Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata AS.**

  E-Mail: Personverntjenester@nsd.no
  Telefon: +47 55582117

Vennlig hilsen,

Malin Arnesen Nilsen

Samtykkeskjema:

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet *Barndom og «øylivet». Fortellinger om hverdagsliv, tilhørighet og bærekraft over generasjoner i et lite øysamfunn* , og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i semi-strukturert intervju
- ☐ å delta i deltakende teknikker (photovoice and/or neighbourhood walk)

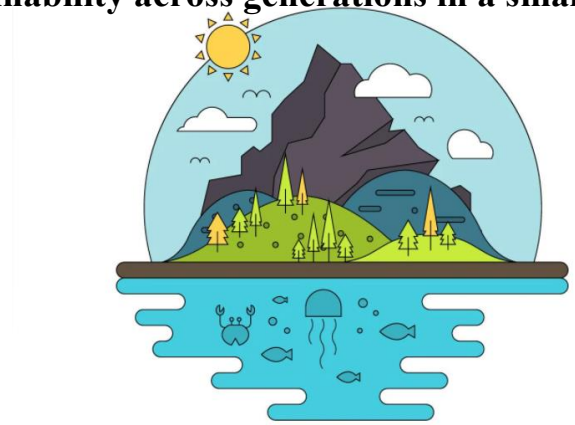
Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet august 2022.

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 4: information letter and consent form (youth)

Interested in taking part in my master thesis project:

«Childhood and "island living." Narratives of everyday life, belonging, and sustainability across generations in a small island"?



Purpose of the project:
In this master project I want to explore children's and adults' experiences of childhood and growing up on an island. The main themes are childhood and "island-living" with a focus on narratives of everyday life over two-three generations. As a part of the data collection, I would like to talk to children and youth aged between 10-16 to get insight into how they are experiencing growing up and living on an island today.

Master student and supervisor:
My name is Malin, and I am a student at The Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in the department for Education and Lifelong learning in Trondheim. The master thesis is connected to the research project: *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the future. Education, Knowledge, and identities across three generations,* founded by Research council Norway, and led by my supervisor, Anne Trine Kjørholt.

Why are you asked to participate?
I am looking for child and youth participants for my project to better understand how they are experiencing their current childhood. This is to get children and youth's perspectives on different aspects of island living and childhood to compare with the data collected from older generations and to understand how childhood potentially has changed over time.

What does participation involve?
Participation in this project will involve an interview/ conversation where I will ask children and youth different questions about childhood and experiences of living and growing up on an island. Questions asked will be connected to views, relations to parents and grandparents, island living, and the coast. The student, Malin, will be the one having the interview/conversation and would like to tape-record the interview. The interview will approx. take 45 minutes to 1 hour. We could also do other participatory techniques such as neighborhood walk or photovoice if this is interesting for you. I will explain this in more detail if they want to participate in my project. The information presented in this letter will be given to the child/youth orally adjusted to their age. I will inform the child/youth that they themselves can choose not to participate in the project.

Participation is voluntary:
Participation in this project is voluntary. If you consent to child/youth participating in my project, you/they can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about them will be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for them or yourself if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw during the process. The information collected will only be used to explore how narratives of childhood change over time and will only be shared between me and my supervisor. All personal data will continuously be anonymized, and all information is confidential. Sound-recorded interviews will be deleted when it is transcribed, and transcriptions will be deleted after submitting the master thesis (August 2022).

If the child is under the age of 16, I will need parents/guardians' consent before conducting the interviews. Therefore, I kindly ask you to sign a consent-from that is attached to this information letter. As a parent/guardian, you may request to see the interview guide in advance.

Your rights:
NTNU is the institution responsible for the processing of personal data and the data controller. So long as your child/youth can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- Access the personal data that is being processed about them
- Request that their personal data will be deleted or corrected
- Receive a copy of their personal data, and
- Send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of their personal data.

Based on the agreement with NTNU and the department of Education and lifelong learning, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Contact information:
If you have questions about the project, please contact:

- **Supervisor**: Professor Anne Trine Kjørholt.
  E-mail: anne.trine.kjorholt@ntnu.no
  Phone: +47 91897607
- **Master student**: Malin Arnesen Nilsen.
  E-Mail: Malinani@stud.ntnu.no
  Phone: +47 99353441

If you want to exercise your rights:

- **Our Data Protection Officer**: Thomas Helgesen.
  E-mail: Thomas.Helgesen@ntnu.no
  Phone: +47 93079038
- **NSD- The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS**
  E-Mail: Personverntjenester@nsd.no
  Phone: +47 55582117

Best wishes,
Malin Arnesen Nilsen

Consent form:

I have received and understood information about the project *Childhood and "island living." Narratives of everyday life, belonging, and sustainability across generations on a small island*, and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- ☐ to participate in a semi-structured interview.
- ☐ to participate in participatory techniques (photovoice and/or neighborhood walk).

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. August 2022

(Signed by participant, date)

(Signed by parent/guardian, date)

Appendix 5: informasjonsskriv og samtykkeskjema (barn/ungdom)

Har du lyst til å være deltaker i mitt masterprosjekt:

«Barndom og «øylivet». Fortellinger om hverdagsliv, tilhørighet og bærekraft over generasjoner i et lite øysamfunn»?

Om prosjektet:

I dette masterprosjektet ønsker jeg å utforske barn og voksnes erfaringer av barndom og å vokse opp i et øysamfunn. Sentrale temaer er barndom og «øylivet» med et fokus på hverdagsliv. Jeg ønsker flere perspektiver fra to eller tre generasjoner og håper også å snakke med barn og ungdom som en del av prosjektet. Jeg leter etter 3-4 barn og ungdom i alderen 10-16 år som vil delta i prosjektet. Temaene for prosjektet er barndom og «øylivet» hvor fortellinger om hverdagsliv over to eller tre generasjoner er vektlagt. Jeg ønsker å finne ut hvordan opplevelsen av barndom har endret seg over tid, altså fra gamledager til i dag.

Student og veileder:

Jeg heter Malin Arnesen Nilsen og er masterstudent ved Norges Tekniske Naturvitenskapelige Universitet (NTNU) ved instituttet for pedagogikk og livslang læring. Masterprosjektet er knyttet til forskningsprosjektet: *Valuing the past, Sustaining the future. Education, Knowledge, and identities across three generations*, som er finansiert av Norges forskningsråd og er ledet av min veileder Anne Trine Kjørholt.

Hvorfor blir du sport om å delta?

Jeg ønsker å snakke med barn for å finne ut hva du tenker og mener om å vokse opp og bo på en øy/i et øysamfunn. Disse samtalene vil bli brukt som en del av min masteroppgave.

Hva innebærer deltakelse for deg?

Hvis du lar ditt barn delta vil dette innebære en samtale/intervju som vil tas lydopptak av. Denne samtalen vil ta ca. 30 minutter til 1 time og vil handle om barndomsminner, erfaringer, ting de liker/ ikke liker, kysten som sted å bo mm.

Deltakelse er frivillig:

Deltakelse i dette prosjektet er frivillig. Hvis du lar ditt barn delta, kan du trekke tilbake ditt samtykke når som helst uten å oppgi noen grunn. All informasjon om barnet ditt og andre vil

bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke være noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke ønsker å delta eller ønsker å trekke ditt samtykke underveis. Alle personopplysninger vil bli anonymisert, og all informasjon gitt til meg er vil ikke fortelles eller gis til andre. Lydopptak fra intervju vil bli slettet etter at de er transkriberte og disse transkripsjonene vil bli slettet etter levering av master oppgaven (senest august 2022). Siden barnet er under 16 år, trenger jeg å få samtykke fra foreldre før samtalen gjennomføres. Jeg ønsker at begge skal signere et samtykke-skjema som er festet til dette informasjonsbrevet.

Dine rettigheter:

NTNU er institusjonen som er ansvarlig for å prosesseringen av dine personlig data. Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- Få innsyn og en kopi av de opplysninger vi behandler om barnet ditt
- Få rettet eller slettet opplysninger som er feil eller misvisende
- Sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandling av personopplysninger

Kontakt informasjon:

Hvis du har noen spørsmål om prosjektet, vennligst kontakt:

- **Veileder:** Professor Anne Trine Kjørholt-

  E-post: Anne.Trine.Kjørholt@ntnu.no
  Telefon: +47 91897607
- **Master student:** Malin Arnesen Nilsen

  E-post: Malinani@stud.ntnu.no
  Telefon: +47 99353441

Hvis du ønsker å bruke dine rettigheter, vennligst kontakt:

- **Personvernombudet ved NTNU**: Thomas Helgesen

  E-mail: Thomas.Helgesen@ntnu.no
  Telefon: +47 93079038
- **NSD – Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata AS.**

  E-Mail: Personverntjenester@nsd.no
  Telefon: +47 55582117

Vennlig hilsen,

Malin Arnesen Nilsen

Samtykkeskjema:

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet *Barndom og «øylivet». Fortellinger om hverdagsliv, tilhørighet og bærekraft over generasjoner i et lite øysamfunn*, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å delta i semi-strukturert intervju
- ☐ å delta i deltakende teknikker («photovoice» og/eller «Neighbourhood walk»)

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

---

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

_____

(signert av foresatte/foreldre, dato)

Appendix 6: Interview guide (parents and grandparents)

Interview Guide

Parent and grandparent generation.

General: describe yourself.

1. Are you born on this island?

   1.1 Tell me about your overall experience of growing up on this island/ coastal community.

2. Do you have relatives on this island? (Parents, grandparents, etc.)

Childhood:

3. Please tell me about your childhood.

   3.1 Good and/and bad memories/experiences?

   3.2 Could you tell me about any play-related memories from your childhood?

4. Can you tell me about a typical day during your childhood? (Monday-Friday AND/OR weekends).

   4.1 How was everyday life structured? (ex. routines, rituals)

   4.2 What kind of activities did you do as a child?

   4.3 Who did you do these activities with?

5. Could you tell me something about places on the island?

   5.1 Your favorite place as a child?

   5.2 Were there places that you perceived as "good"?

   5.3 Were there places that you were afraid of? If yes, please elaborate.

   5.4 Did you share these places with someone? With whom/alone?

6. Did you have any form of responsibility during your childhood?

   6.1 Did you have specific tasks/chores? Please elaborate.

   6.2 What did you feel about these tasks/chores?

   6.3 Were these tasks/chores shared with anyone?

   6.4 Did you experience any challenges when performing your tasks/chores?

7. Were there any expectations from your family, relatives, or the community at large that you were expected to meet?

8. What kind of relationship did you have with your family?

   8.1 Relations to Grandparents, parents, or peers?

Environment:

9. Could you describe your relation to nature, the island environment/ the coast, and the ocean? Please elaborate.

10. How did you use your (physical) environment during your childhood?

10.1 In what ways did you explore different areas of the island?

10.2 Were there specific places you used with your peers?

10.3 What places did you use as play areas?

11. Please tell me about your relationship with your grandmother/father and/or mom/dad.

Knowledge and learning:

12. Tell me about your experiences with formal schooling and education?

12.1 Were schooling and education offered on the island?

12.2 What was your overall experience and views on schooling and education during your childhood?

13. What kind of knowledge or skills was valued the most?

13.1 By the community, families, and/or yourself?

Sustainability: (economic, environmental, social, and cultural aspects)

14. Do you want to continue to live on this island in the future?

15. What do you consider essential to sustain a good life in this island community?

15.1 Present perspective?

15.2 Future perspective?

16. What do you see as the most critical factors for you to continue to live in this island community?

16.1 If you have children, what do you think will be important factors for them to continue living on the island in the future?

OR

16.2 In your opinion, do you have any thoughts about how to ensure that youth or young families will continue living on the island?

17. Do you have any thoughts about environmental sustainability in this island community?

17.1 What do you think is important in terms of ensuring and sustaining the local environment in the now and in the future?

"Childhood memory"

18. Please share a childhood memory of significance.

Appendix 7: Intervju guide (besteforeldre og foreldre)

Intervju guide

Foreldre og besteforeldre

Generelt: beskriv deg selv.

1. Er du født på denne øya?
   1.1 Fortell meg om din generelle opplevelse av å vokse opp på denne øya/ i dette samfunnet.
2. Har du slektninger på øya? (Foreldre, besteforeldre osv.)

Barndom:

3. Fortell meg om barndommen din.
   3.1 Gode og/eller Dårlige minner/opplevelser?
   3.2 Kan du fortelle meg om lek-relaterte minner fra din barndom?

4. Kan du fortelle meg om en typisk dag fra din barndom? (man-fre og/eller helger).
   4.1 Hvordan var hverdagslivet strukturert? (rutiner, ritualer osv.)
   4.2 Hvilke aktiviteter gjorde du som barn?
   4.3 Hvem gjorde du disse aktivitetene med?

5. Kan du fortelle meg om steder på øya?
   5.1 Hadde du noen favoritt steder som barn?
   5.2 Var det steder som ble tenkt på som «gode»/ «bra»?
   5.3 Var det steder du var redd for? Hvis ja, vennligst utdyp.
   5.4 Delte du disse stedene med noen? Med hvem og/ eller alene?

6. Hadde du en eller annen form for ansvar i løpet av din barndom?
   6.1 Hadde du spesifikke oppgaver eller gjøremål? Vennligst utdyp.
   6.2 Hva følte du om disse oppgavene og/eller gjøremålene?
   6.3 Ble disse oppgavene/ gjøremålene delt med noen?
   6.4 Opplevde du utfordringer når du skulle gjøre disse oppgavene/ gjøremålene?

7. Var det noen forventninger fra familie, slektninger eller samfunnet ellers som du var forventet å møte?

8. Kan du beskrive hvilken relasjon du hadde til familien din?
   8.1 relasjoner til besteforeldre, foreldre eller jevnaldrende.

Miljø:

9. Kan du beskrive din relasjon til kystmiljøet?
   9.1 Naturen, øya, kysten og havet. Vennligst utdype.

10. Hvordan brukte du (det fysiske) miljøet gjennom barndommen din?
    10.1 På hvilke måter utforsket du ulike områder på øyen?
    10.2 Var det spesifikke plasser du brukte sammen med jevnaldrende?
    10.3 Hvilke steder ble brukt som leke-områder?

11. Fortell meg om ditt forhold til din bestemor/far og mor/far.

Kunnskap og læring:

12. Fortell med om din opplevelse av formell skolegang
    12.1 Var skole og utdanning tilbudt på øya?
    12.2 Hva var din totalopplevelse og synspunkter på skole og utdanning i din barndom?

13. Hvilke kunnskaper eller ferdigheter ble verdsatt mest?
    13.1 Av lokalsamfunnets medlemmer, familiene, og/eller deg selv?

Bærekraft: (økonomisk, miljø, sosial og kulturelle aspekter).

14. Ønsker du å fortsette å leve/bo på denne øya i fremtiden?

15. Hva tenker du er viktig for å opprettholde et godt liv i dette øysamfunnet?
    15.1 I dag?
    15.2 Fremtiden?

16. Hva mener du er de mest kritiske faktorene for at mennesker skal fortsette å bo i dette øysamfunnet?
    16.1 For barn, hva tenker du vil være de viktigste faktorene som gjør at de fortsetter livet på øya i fremtiden?
    16.2 Har du noen tanker om hvordan man skal sørge for at ungdom eller unge familier skal fortsette å bo på øya?
    16.3 Hvilke faktorer er avgjørende for din egen del?

17. Har du noen tanker om miljømessig-bærekraft i dette øy-samfunnet?
    17.1 Hva tenker du er viktig for å sikre og opprettholde lokalsamfunnet nå og i fremtiden?

Barndomsminne:

18. Vennligst del et barndomsminne du husker godt.

Appendix 8: interview guide (youth)

Interview Guide

Children/youth

General: describe yourself.

1. Are you born on this island?

   1.1 Tell me about your overall experience of growing up on this island/ coastal community.

2. Do you have relatives on this island? (Parents, grandparents, etc.)

Childhood:

3. Please tell me about your childhood.

   3.1 Good and/and bad memories/experiences?

   3.2 Could you tell me about any play-related memories from your childhood?

4. Can you tell me about a typical day during your childhood? (Monday-Friday AND/OR weekends).

   4.1 How is everyday life structured? (ex. routines, rituals)

   4.2 What kind of activities do you like/dislike to do?

   4.3 Who do you do these activities with?

5. Could you tell me something about places on the island?

   5.1 Your favorite place on the island?

   5.2 Are there places that are categorized as "good"?

   5.3 Are there places that you are afraid of? If yes, please elaborate.

   5.4 Do you share these places with someone? With whom/alone?

6. Do you have any form for responsibilities? (Chores or tasks that you do?)

   6.1 Do you have specific tasks/chores? Please elaborate.

   6.2 What do you feel about these tasks/chores?

   6.3 Do you share these tasks/chores with anyone?

   6.4 Do you experience any challenges when performing your tasks/chores?

7. Are there any expectations from your family, relatives, or the community at large that you are expected to meet?

8. What kind of relationship do you have with your family?

   5.1 Relations to Grandparents, parents, or peers?

Environment:

9. Could you describe your relation to nature, the island environment, and the ocean?

   9.1 In what ways do you explore different areas of the island?

9.2 Are there specific places you use with your peers?

9.3 What places do you play in?

10. Please tell me about your relationship with your grandmother/father and/or mom/dad.

Knowledge and learning:

11. Tell me about your experiences with formal schooling and education?

    11.1 Do you receive education on the island?

    11.2 What do you think about school?

12. What kind of knowledge or skills, in your opinion, is valued the most?

    12.1 By the community, families, and/or yourself?

Sustainability: (economic, environmental, social, and cultural aspects).

13. Do you think that you will continue to live on this island in the future/ when you become an adult?

    13.1 In your opinion, what are important factors for you to continue living on this island?

14. What do you think is essential to sustain a good life in this island community?

15. What do you think about environmental sustainability?

    15.1 Is this of importance to you?

    15.2 (Do you know what environmental sustainability is? // have you heard about the term sustainability?)

"Childhood memory"

16. Please share a childhood memory of significance.

Appendix 9: Intervju-guide (ungdommer)

Intervju guide

Barn/ungdom

Generelt:

1. Er du født på denne øya?
   1.1 Fortell med om din opplevelse av å vokse opp på denne øya/ kystsamfunnet.
2. Har du slektninger på øya? (foreldre, besteforeldre osv).

Barndom:

3. Fortell meg om barndommen din.
   3.1 Gode og/eller dårlige minner/opplevelser?
   3.2 Kan du fortelle meg om leke-relaterte minner fra oppveksten din?

4. Kan du fortelle med om en typisk dag? (Mandag til fredag og/eller helger).
   4.1 Hvordan er hverdagslivet strukturert? (rutiner, ritualer osv).
   4.2 Hvilke aktiviteter liker/misliker du å gjøre?
   4.3 Hvem gjør du disse aktivitetene med?

5. Kan du fortelle meg om steder på øya?
   5.1 Hva er ditt favoritt sted på øya?
   5.2 Gode/ bra steder?
   5.3 Er det noen steder/plasser du er redd for? Hvis ja, vennligst utdyp.
   5.4 Deler du disse stedene med noen? Med hvem/ eller alene?

6. Har du noen form for ansvar? (oppgaver eller gjøremål som du gjør?)
   6.1 Har du spesifikke oppgaver/ gjøremål? Vennligst utdyp.
   6.2 Hva føler du om disse oppgavene/gjøremålene?
   6.3 Deler du disse oppgavene/gjøremålene med noen?
   6.4 Opplever du noen utfordringer når du gjennomfører oppgavene/gjøremålene?

7. Er det noen forventninger fra familie, slektninger eller lokalsamfunnet som du er forventet å møte?

8. Hvordan relasjon har du med familien din?
   8.1 besteforeldre, foreldre eller jevnaldrende?

Miljø:

9. Kan du beskrive din relasjon til kystmiljøet?
   9.1 til Naturen, øya, kysten og havet. Vennligst utdype.
   9.2 På hvilke måter har du/utforsker du ulike områder av øya?
   9.3 Finnes det spesifikke steder du bruker sammen med jevnaldrende?
   9.4 Hvilke steder leker du på?

10. Fortell meg om relasjonen din til bestemor/far og mor/ far.

Kunnskap og læring:

11. Fortell med om dine opplevelser med formell skolegang.
    11.1 Hva tenker du om skole?
    11.2 Har du gått på skole på øya?

12. Hvilke kunnskaper eller ferdigheter, fra ditt synspunkt, er verdsatt mest?
    12.1 Av lokalsamfunnet og familier?

Bærekraft:

13. Tror du at du kommer til å fortsette å bo på denne øya i fremtiden/ når du blir voksen?
    13.1 Hvilke faktorer er viktige for deg for å fortsette å leve på denne øya?
    13.2 Hva tenker du er viktig for å opprettholde et godt liv på denne øya? (i dag og/ eller i fremtiden).

14. Har du hørt om begrepet bærekraft?
    14.1 Hvilke tanker har du om miljømessig bærekraft?
    14.2 Er dette viktig for deg? Gjerne utdyp.

Barndomsminne:

15. Vennligst del et barndomsminne du husker godt.