Negotiating parenting culture, identity, and belonging

The experiences of Southern European parents raising their children in Norway

Raquel Herrero-Arias

Thesis for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)
University of Bergen, Norway
2021

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN

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Date of defense: 18.06.2021

Year: 2021

Title: Negotiating parenting culture, identity, and belonging

Name: Raquel Herrero-Arias

Print: Skipnes Kommunikasjon / University of Bergen

Scientific environment

The Faculty of psychology and Department of Health Promotion and Development (HEMIL centre) at the University of Bergen made this PhD project possible by providing me with a position as a university PhD candidate. The project was placed within the Child welfare, equality and inclusion (BLI) research group at the HEMIL centre. I was enrolled in the Graduate School for Human Interaction and Growth (GHIG) for the training component of the PhD programme.

Acknowledgements

I cannot find words to express my gratitude and appreciation to all the people who supported, guided, and inspired me during one of the most enriching experiences of my life. I am especially grateful to Ragnhild Hollekim for her knowledge, wise guidance, professionalism, compassion, and sense of humour, all combined to make her an incredible supervisor and discussion partner. It has been a privilege and a pleasure to be her student. To Åse Vagli and Haldis Haukanes (co-supervisors), who were extraordinarily supportive and generous, and whose inputs were very inspiring and helpful, please accept my heartfelt gratitude.

Many thanks to Ellie Lee and Anouk de Koning, who welcomed me warmly into their research groups during my research stays at Radboud and Kent Universities. Having the opportunity to learn from you and the people you work with and to sharing our knowledge and experiences with one another was professionally and personally enriching for me. I am grateful to the Meltzer Research Fund for funding both stays.

To the parents who participated in this study: Despite your extremely busy schedules, you found the time to share your valuable insights with me and did so enthusiastically and warmly. I will always be extremely grateful for that. I thank Zubia Willmann for lending a much appreciated helping hand during the focus group discussions and for her support throughout the whole PhD research process.

I am very thankful to the former and current leadership, administrative and academic staff at the HEMIL-Centre. Special thanks go to Benedicte Carlsen and Ragnhild Bjørknes for their warm support. I feel very grateful and privileged to have been able to do my PhD in such a caring and supportive work environment. My deepest gratitude is owed to Gaby Ortiz-Barreda who has been much more than a colleague, and indeed has been my compass and shipmate while I navigated uncharted waters. Special thanks to my former colleagues and students in the master's programme in child welfare. Teaching and supervising students has been a precious gift during these years. The discussions we had were deeply rewarding and I feel we have learned much from each

other and, together, have challenged a number of taken-for-granted assumptions. Heartfelt thanks go to the BLI research group for academic support. I appreciate having had the opportunity to present my work on various occasions and to get valuable feedback. Thanks to the IMER-network for a supportive space in which to share academic work.

Thanks to my former and current fellow PhDs in the Graduate School for Interaction and Growth for sharing the journey, for many good times, support, and advice; in particular Helga, Milfrid, Padmaja, Lill Susann, Jan, Frida, Olin, Ernest, Maggie, Elisabeth, Marit, and Sara Madeline. I thank Marte for insightful conversations, Gloria for her kindness, and Samuel for making me laugh until I cried in any situation.

Finally, to my friends who have become my family in Norway and who reminded me that there is a life outside the PhD. Heartfelt thanks to my friends and family from elsewhere for always being supportive and present despite the physical distance. To my parents, sister, and grandmother, whose patience, hard work, perseverance, and faith have always been an inspiration that gave me the foundation I needed. To my husband, thanks from the bottom of my heart for cheering me up, for being there for me in good times and bad, for emotional and technical support, and for listening to my countless stories of stress and joy during this journey.

Dedication

A Germán, que me enseñó que amar es cuidar y sin cuyo apoyo la culminación de esta tesis hubiera sido un largo y arduo camino.

Abstract

Background and aim: In the current environment of globalization, notions of parenting and childhood travel across borders and interact with local understandings pertaining to childrearing. Likewise, families are increasingly on the move, negotiating parenting cultures in diverse arenas like institutions, household, and workplaces. The overarching research question in this dissertation was: *How do Southern European migrant parents experience raising their children in Norway?* The question is addressed through specific questions in each of the three publications.

Methodology: The study followed a qualitative research design. Empirical data were collected in three Norwegian municipalities from September 2017 to January 2018. Study participants were 15 mothers and 5 fathers from Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain who were living and raising their children in Norway. Two focus group discussions were conducted with 10 migrant mothers, and 14 interviews (12 individual, 2 couple interviews) were conducted with 16 migrant parents. In the focus group discussions, questions addressed experiences and opinions regarding mothering in Norway and meeting other parents and professionals in this context. Interviews followed a narrative approach and key topics addressed were family background, life prior to migrating, migration, and life and parenting in Norway. The data were analysed thematically and narratively.

Research questions and findings: The research questions explored in Article I were: *What are Southern European mothers' reflections about mothering in Norway? What is the role of emotions in the context of motherhood in migration?* We conducted thematic analyses of the focus group discussions and interviews carried out with the mothers. When talking about experiences of mothering in migration, the mothers reflected on their emotions in relation to dialogue-based and child-centred mothering ideals; and cultural differences in social interactions, eating, and drinking patterns. Drawing on Hochschild's framework on emotions, the article shows that the migrant mothers encountered contrasting rules about how they should feel about raising their children in both host and origin countries ("feeling rules"). Through "emotion work"

(techniques through which individuals regulate and direct their feelings to establish or maintain relationships with others), like idealizing family life in Norway and stressing positive values of their cultures of origin, they managed the contrasting "feeling rules", negotiating, in this way, their belonging to host and origin countries.

Article II explored the migration narratives of Southern European migrant parents. The research questions were: *How do Southern European migrant parents narrate their migration to Norway? What do they aim to accomplish through their storytelling?* The interview data were analysed narratively. Storytellers articulated their stories of migration to Norway around their aspiration to build a family and be involved in their children's upbringing. Framed by the lens of aspirations and narrative analysis, the article discusses migrant parents' family aspirations as self-legitimation strategies. By telling stories of migration to Norway articulated around their family aspirations, the migrant parents legitimated their migration to and parenthood in Norway and distanced themselves from discourses on labour migration and migrant parenting that position them as "the Others" in the host society.

The research questions addressed in Article III were: *How do Southern European migrant parents experience professional advice on family leisure and outdoor play in their encounters with welfare state professionals in Norway? How do they navigate discourses of risk in this context?* Three themes were identified: contesting discourses of risk; feigning cooperation; and accepting professional intervention in collaborative or compliant relationships. Drawing on Bateson's concept of the double bind, the article discusses how migrant parents encountered contrasting demands on their role as "risk managers" within the imperatives of intensive parenting. This double-bind position emerged also due to tensions in cultural framings of risk and of childhood from host and origin countries. A central pattern was that the parents experienced expert-knowledge as implying individual responsibility for lifestyle choices associated with Southern European cultures.

Discussion and conclusions: The discussion chapter discusses overreaching patterns across the articles. A discussion of methodological choices and implications for practice and theory is also included.

Raising their children in a cross-cultural context, the migrant parents negotiated contrasting demands on their parenting framed by cultural and value-laden understandings of parenting, childhood, risk, belonging, and self. This situation also provided migrant parents with opportunities for re-defining their identities and parenting in light of the new demands of the post-migration context and the challenges this posed to the wellbeing of their children and families. In negotiating their own parenting, the migrant parents responded to notions of "good" parenting within the ideology of intensive parenting. In this regard, the findings illustrate that intensive parenting prevails as the ideal by which migrant parents and others in the respective host and origin countries assess parenting.

In their interactions with professionals and other parents in Norway, the migrant parents encountered middle-class Norwegian ways of conceptualizing childhood and parenting. When these contrasted with ideals from their cultures of origin, they found themselves in a double-bind position that they coped with by responding to legitimated notions about how "good" parents should manage risks to their children's wellbeing. Due to gendered roles within parenting ideals, the mothers perceived that moral judgements were made about their mothering. To respond to such judgements and to the contrasting rules about the way they should feel about their mothering in the host and origin countries, they engaged in emotion work, and, in so doing, negotiated their belonging to both communities.

The tensions experienced between conflicting parenting norms and expectations reinforced migrant parents' feelings of being 'Othered' in public, media, institutional, and professional discourses in Norway. In negotiating their parenting (resisting, rejecting, embracing, accommodating, developing, and considering parenting and cultural ideals), engaging in emotion and boundary work, and telling stories of

migration around their family aspirations, the migrant parents responded to being ‘Othered’ and negotiated their identity and sense of belonging to Norway.

List of Publications

Article I

Herrero-Arias, R., Hollekim, R., Haukanes, H., & Vagli, Å. (2020). The emotional journey of motherhood in migration. The case of Southern European mothers in Norway. *Migration Studies*. mnaa006, https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnaa006

Article II

Herrero-Arias, R., Hollekim, R., & Haukanes, H. (2020). Self-legitimation and sense-making of Southern European parents' migration to Norway: The role of family aspirations. *Population, Space and Place*, *26*(8), e2362.

Article III

Herrero-Arias, R., Lee, E., & Hollekim, R. (2020). "The more you go to the mountains, the better parent you are". Migrant parents in Norway navigating risk discourses in professional advice on family leisure and outdoor play. *Health, Risk & Society*, 22 (7-8), 403-420.

Contents

1. Introduction

In an increasingly globalized world, a constant sense of flux shapes everyday lives, nations, and communities (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Migration is increasingly present, shaping human existence, including identity, belonging and socio-cultural expressions (Halfacree, 2012, p.211) and fostering new opportunities for identity formation (Appadurai, 1996). Not only are families increasingly on the move, but western constructions of "good" parenting and childhood deriving from the attachment paradigm, the notion of children as individuals with own rights, and intensive parenting ideals are also circulating globally (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010b). Inherent to these processes of globalization of childhood and parenting are power structures and moral tensions (Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013).

For migrant parents, crossing political and cultural borders provides them opportunities for reconstructing their identities and requires that they negotiate cultural practices and ideals pertaining to childrearing in diverse ways, such as resistances and reconstruction (Bailey, 2011; de Haan, 2011). Raising their children in a new country, migrant parents negotiate cultural systems and values and face diverse challenges in meeting their own and dominant parenting ideals (Berry, 2013; Jaysane-Darr, 2013). They encounter, as parents, notions of ideally "good" citizens and belonging to the host society, especially in their meetings with welfare professionals (De Koning et al., 2018), and negotiate these and their own sense of belonging through which they maintain their families' stability within a context of mobility.

This study aims to explore the experiences of Southern European migrant parents raising their children in Norway. By exploring the narratives of migrant parents and their reflections about parenting[1] in migration, the study can potentially deepen our understanding of negotiations of parenting cultures, identity, and belonging. This knowledge will shed light on parenting cultures in contemporary Norway and Southern

[1] This dissertation uses the gender-neutral term of "parenting" to refer to both mothers and fathers' experiences in raising children. Yet, as it will be discussed, parenting experiences and ideologies are heavily gendered.

Europe and the tensions that emerge at the intersection between parenting ideals, expert-knowledge, and cultural framings and practices around childrearing. Exploring parenting in a cross-cultural context can expand our knowledge of how parenting is linked with notions of childrearing, self, politics, and citizenship. More knowledge about this is also important to understand the structural conditions that hinder parents to meet notions of "good" parenting.

1.1 The context of parenting in Norway

Norway provides an interesting context for the exploration of experiences of parenting among migrant parents due to contemporary discourses on children and parenting, and the important role the state plays in family life. Norway is an example of the social-democratic welfare state regime, characterized by the promotion of equality, state responsibility for citizens' wellbeing, and high levels of de-commodification and of social trust (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Fukuyama, 1995). The state's involvement in family life is accepted (Leira, 2008) and children's wellbeing and protection are considered a societal responsibility (Eydal & Satka, 2006).

Discourses on children's rights are "particularly strong in Norway" highlighting the status that children have in the society as individuals having their own rights and legal protection (Gullestad, 1997, p.33). Parents are positioned as responsible for ensuring that their children acquire skills like self-direction and autonomy, which are deemed necessary to thrive in modernity (Hollekim, 2016). Following this, the focus is on training parents into "good" parenting, assuming that this is the key to preventing and solving social problems (Hennum, 2014). This is reflected in the increase in programmes focusing on parents' skills as compared to other measures that address parents' socio-economic situations (Christiansen et al., 2015).

These trends have been seen as promoting processes of standardization and homogenization of parenting and the labelling some groups of parents as deficient (Hennum, 2014). Particularly, parents with migrant backgrounds may find it difficult to meet the parenting standards due to socio-economic challenges and different cultural norms (Fylkesnes, Iversen, & Nygren, 2018). Furthermore, recently, the meeting

between migrant parents and the Norwegian Child Welfare Services (NCWS) has been portrayed as problematic in discourses that promote a hierarchy of knowledge whereby Norwegian parenting is constructed as the ideal with a "higher moral standing" (Hollekim, Anderssen, & Daniel, 2016, p. 57). In this context, migrant parents become the Other who performs inappropriate parenting practices and are expected to be trained in Norwegian parenting (Ylvisaker, Rugkåsa, & Eide, 2015).

1.2 The Southern European context: welfare state and migration to Northern Europe

Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain have been considered an entity for analytical purposes in studies on welfare state, family, and migration. Naldini (2003) described the Southern European welfare state as "a family/kinship solidarity model" where family members, mostly women, and not the state nor the market, are seen as the main providers of care due to social norms about family relations and roles. Research has shown the interaction between cultural values, gender roles, macro-structures, like housing and labour markets, religion, and welfare state configurations in Southern Europe. In particular, the strong family ties have been identified as a causal factor for and an outcome of the low involvement of the state in welfare provision (Gal, 2010; Kougioumoutzaki, 2020). Late emancipation of youth and spatial proximity between generations are living arrangements as a response to unemployment and the failure of the housing market, and these aspects illustrate and partially explain the centrality of families in Southern Europe (Moreno & Marí-Klose, 2013).

The financial recession of 2008 dealt a heavy blow to Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, and was followed by high unemployment, austerity policies, and a deterioration of the living conditions of their populations (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017)[2]. In the aftermath of the economic recession, emigration to Central and Northern Europe became a response to such a hopeless situation for many Southern Europeans, especially for

[2] Between 2008 and 2013 the rates of unemployment in Greece and Spain tripled to 27.8% and 26.3% respectively. In Italy and Portugal, unemployment rates rose to 11.5% and 17.5% respectively (Eurostat, 2013). Youth unemployment rates reached dramatic proportions in 2015: 48.3% in Greece; 48.8% in Spain; 40.7% in Italy, and 31.8% in Portugal (Eurostat, 2015).

male, young, and highly educated people (Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2014; Jauer et al., 2014). Spain was the country with the largest emigration flow in Europe between 2008 and 2012 with around 700,000 nationals leaving the country (González-Ferrer, 2013).

Although the financial consequences of the recession were important motivators for post-2008 intra-European migration, research has shown that Southern Europeans' decision to migrate also has political dimensions such as political dissatisfaction related to corruption, bad governance, and distrust in politicians (Bygnes, 2017; Enriquez & Romera, 2014; Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2014). Career prospects, emancipation from the parents' home, social mobility and achieving a better quality of life have been other relevant motivations for Southern Europeans to leave their countries of origin (Bartolini, Gropas, & Triandafyllidou, 2017; Bonizzoni, 2018; Pratsinakis et al., 2019; Varriale, 2020). Because non-economic drivers play an important role in this migration, Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2014) suggested that Southern European countries make up a similar tendency regarding drivers for post-2008 intra-European mobility.

In this regard, researchers have claimed a need for studies that provide a more nuanced understanding of intra-European mobility by exploring non-economic drivers for this migration (Bygnes, 2017). By bringing together parenting and migration, we argue that it is possible to shed light on aspects of South-to-North intra-European mobility that do not necessarily emerge in most discussions of this migration in the literature. This knowledge will also challenge economic perspectives that have been dominant in the field of migration studies and that portray migrants primarily as male economic actors (Ryan et al., 2009).

2. Research questions

This study's main research question is: *How do Southern European migrant parents experience raising their children in Norway?* In addressing this broad question, the study aims to explore negotiations of parenting cultures, identity, and belonging in a cross-cultural context. The study seeks to get knowledge of the experience migrant parents have handling the tensions that surround notions of "good" parenting and, in so doing, affirming their identity and belonging to host and origin communities. To achieve these aims, these research questions were developed:

What are Southern European mothers' reflections about mothering in Norway? What is the role of emotions in the context of motherhood in migration? (Article I).

How do Southern European migrant parents narrate their migration to Norway? What do they aim to accomplish through their storytelling? (Article II).

How do Southern European migrant parents experience professional advice on family leisure and outdoor play in their encounters with welfare state professionals in Norway? How do they navigate discourses of risk in this context? (Article III).

"Negotiating" is a term that has been used in studies on parenting and migration to refer to the process through which individuals handle parenting ideals, re-construct their identities, or maintain and create a sense of belonging (e.g., De Koning, et al., 2018; Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013; Raffaetà, 2015; Ryan, 2018). This dissertation uses this term to emphasize the relational nature of experiences and meaning making relating to parenting, identity formation, and belonging. Yet, I do not imply that migrant parents find themselves in relationships where there is a power balance between the parties aiming to find a compromise. As it will be discussed, negotiations around parenting take place in a context characterized by a power imbalance between actors and parenting cultures. Inspired by Fylkesnes and colleagues (2018), I understand that "negotiating" is a term that can be used to unpack "multiple agencies and power relationships" (p.3).

3. Conceptual and theoretical framework

In this chapter, I will discuss the theoretical perspectives and concepts this dissertation has drawn on for the exploration of important aspects of parenting in migration. I problematize the research topic from a cultural translation perspective, which has been the theoretical umbrella with which this study has understood migration and the transformations in parenting in this context. Aspirations will be presented as a lens that sheds light on the interaction between structural factors and individuals' agency in processes of migration (Article II). Drawing on sociological accounts of the term parenting, I discuss the links between parenting, risk society, identity formation, and politics. These insights have been used to understand participants' negotiations of parenting cultures, belonging, and identity. Intensive parenting will be presented as the ideology influencing contemporary notions of "good" parenting. Within this ideology, parents are constructed as "risk managers" who need to manage a double-bind position, in which they are expected both to protect their children from multiple threats to their wellbeing and to expose them to risk (Article III). "Mother-blame" will be presented as a concept that unveils the emotions of guilt that emerge from the image of the "good" mother within the gendered expectations of intensive parenting. To investigate the functions that emotions play in the context of motherhood in migration, I have drawn on Hochschild's socio-constructivist framework on emotions (Article I). Finally, I present the concepts of "Othering" and "boundary work" that have been used to capture and analyse overarching aspects concerning navigations around parenting that appeared across the three publications.

3.1 Theorizing migration

3.1.1 Cultural translation

Scholars have discussed the influence on traditional research about migration of a functionalist and individualist framework according to which migration is seen as a strategy through which migrants aim to maximize their utility (de Haas, 2011). Likewise, it has been argued that traditional research drew on an understanding of

migration as a linear movement from a country of origin to a host country (Halfacree, 2012). Such "sendentarist and nomadic conceptualisations of place and movement" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 214) have been argued to be unable to capture the complex dynamics of change and acknowledge "stability within movement and movement within stability" (Halfacree, 2012, p. 210). Conceptualizing migration as a linear movement does not recognize the interactivity between cultural systems and the transformative processes this entails (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1998). This is because such an understanding of migration starts from a view on culture as static and on acculturation as a linear process depending on two variables: taking contact with a new culture and keeping one's culture. This thinking overlooks the interactionist and hybrid nature of identities (Bhabha, 1994; Mannheim & Tedlock, 1995).

Authors have acknowledged that cultural change is more complex, especially in a globalized world with high interactivity between cultural systems (Kwak & Berry, 2001). Aiming to contribute with alternative ways of framing migration, scholars have focused on connectivity between cultures and the transformative processes that take place in this context. The "transnational turn" in migration studies in the 1990s (Vertovec, 2004) focused on the multiple and complex connections between "here" and "there" (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004, p. 1177) and acknowledged that migrants' lives are simultaneously influenced by connections and relationships across places (Basch, Glick Shiller, & Szanton-Blanc, 1994). Within this turn, the model of cultural translation arose as an alternative framework towards a more nuanced understanding of migration. Papastergiadis (2000) defined cultural translation "neither as the appropriation of a foreign culture (where the original is treated as an inferior source that needs correction), nor as a reproduction which totally reflects the world-view of the other (where the translation aims to be identical with the original), but rather as a dynamic interaction within which conceptual boundaries are expanded and residual differences respected" (p.131). This model challenges a linear understanding of cultural change and a static perspective on culture, and recognizes that the encounters

between cultural systems entail transformations for all of them and the development of hybrid identities.

Framed by cultural translation as a theoretical umbrella for understanding transformations and identities, this study has explored the experiences of parents raising their children in a new country. I have been inspired by de Haan (2011) who proposed the application of Papastergiadis' model of cultural translation to the study of parenting in migration. As an act of cultural translation, parenting in migration entails the development of new practices to respond successfully to the demands of the new environment. A central argument within this perspective is that the confrontation between cultural systems results in the reassessment and transformation of both old and new practices (de Haan, 2011). Cultural translation acknowledges the multiple sociocultural contexts in which migrant parents raise their children and the dynamic conceptual categories they encounter, for instance, that of childhood (Papastergiadis, 2000). It also recognizes that translation takes place in a context characterized by a power imbalance between actors and cultures that have unequal positions (Pratt, 1992). Yet, de Haan pointed out that a limitation of this model is that it overlooks the role of agency, that is, the role and positions of the individuals in the translation processes understood as collective production of meaning (2011, p. 395).

3.1.2 Aspirations in migration

Migrants' aspirations have been considered a framework for the study of how individuals make decisions regarding migration and interpret their experiences across places. In this field, Carling's work has been a very influential contribution to a nuanced understanding of the drivers and experiences of migration. He understood that aspirations to migrate are functional to realizing broader life-making projects and suggested that a distinction should be made between the study of aspiration and the ability to migrate (2014). As a result, his model frames migration as a wish to move and an ability to realize that wish (2002). Aspirations are embedded in sociocultural contexts that shape individuals' interpretations of the life they have and the life they potentially could live elsewhere (Bal & Willems, 2014). I have been inspired by this theoretical framework for the analysis of the narratives of migration (Article II). The

lens of aspirations was relevant for the exploration of migrants' experiences and meaning making of migration because attention is then focused on migrants' agency and the ways in which this interacts with structural factors. Moreover, the aspiration to migrate can be considered a moral claim about the migrant's identity, therefore, the study of aspirations recognizes the moral dimension of migration (Carling, 2002; Frye, 2012). This framework is in line with the model of cultural translation because it transcends economic rationality and linear explanations of push-pull factors for migration by acknowledging that individuals migrate based on their interpretations of those factors and the meanings that a society ascribes to migration.

3.2 Sociological perspectives on parenting

3.2.1 Parenting

This study is framed by sociological perspectives that situate parenting as a social construct (Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013; Hays, 1996; Lee, 2014b). As such, I understand that parenting involves the articulation of claims by various actors, including experts, media discourses, public responses, and policymaking (Best, 1993). Parenting is a term that was not commonly used or recognized until the 1950s (Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013; Furedi, 2001). Before then, childrearing was the word that referred to the process of upbringing and the practices associated with it. Unlike childrearing, "parenting" puts the emphasis on the role of parents as people who are responsible for ensuring that their children have a "successful life" by using their parenting skills (Lee, 2014b). A reference to childrearing using the term "parenting" shifts the focus from the children to the parents, something that is related to an understanding of parenting as an experience through which adults develop their identities (Cassidy, 2010). This comes through strongly in contemporary parenting literature that addresses parents' behaviour "by attempting to give meaning to adult life through experience with children" (Furedi, 2008, p. 105). Similarly, the verb "to parent" is another quite recent term employed to refer to the behaviour parents have in relation to their children (Furedi, 2008). Notions of parenting are linked to changing understandings about children and childhood (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010b). As

Faircloth and colleagues (2013, p. 1) noted, parenting can be seen "as a particular historically and socially situated form of childrearing, a product of late twentieth century ideological shifts around family, kinship, risk and social morality".

Being considered a culturally and historically situated activity, sociological, anthropological, and historical studies have looked at the conditions that influenced ideological shifts around family, risk, children, and morality (see, e.g., Ariès, 1962; Elias, 1998; Kagan, 1998). The separation of public/domestic spheres, industrialization and urbanization, and the rise of evolutionary thinking were key factors influencing a focus on the nuclear family as the "site through which competent personhood is cultivated" (Edwards & Gillies, 2013, p. 33). This resulted in an emphasis on children's wellbeing and parents' learning and performance of parenting practices so that their children can acquire the skills needed to thrive in post-industrial societies. Authors talk about "parental determinism" within contemporary notions of parenting, or the idea that parents' parenting determines the future of children and society (Lee, 2014b). Claims about parental determinism are particularly common in policymaking wherein policies target parenting as a means to address social problems (Gillies, 2008; 2012). Consonant with neoliberal ideals of individual responsibility, family policies are characterized by a growing focus on parents' skills and behaviour rather than on the structural conditions they face when raising their children (King, 2018).

Intensive parenting is the term that has been coined to refer to the dominant contemporary ideology of childrearing in Western society (Faircloth, 2014; Lee, 2014b). Hays[3] (1996) described this ideology according to which "the methods of appropriate child rearing are constructed as child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor intensive, and financially expensive" (p. 8). Raising children encompasses a growing range of activities and responsibilities that were not considered as inherent to the task before. Framed by this ideology, parents should organize their lives around the child, and there is a construction of children's emotions as objects of

[3] Hays coined the term "intensive motherhood" to refer to contemporary ideals about motherhood in America. I discuss the gendered expectations within the contemporary parenting culture in the section *3.2.3*.

parental work, which makes parenting more demanding and emotionally absorbing (Furedi, 2008). Parenting is constructed as a set of skills parents need to learn from experts, based on the assumption that what parents do is too important to be carried out merely by trusting their instincts and common knowledge (Lee, 2014a). Researchers have discussed that intensive parenting is guided by middle-class values and that the time and economic demands this ideology puts on parents makes it difficult for some groups of parents, like migrants and working-class, to live up to it (Gillies, 2005; Raffaetà, 2015; Romagnoli & Wall, 2012). Class also shapes parents' engagement with intensive parenting, particularly the values they instill to their children and the practices they perform to ensure that their children thrive in quite different contexts (Lareau, 2011). In any case, intensive parenting operates as "the normative standard" by which parenting practices are assessed (Arendell, 2000, p. 1195). This means that intensive parenting is not a parenting style all parents necessarily follow, but parents are encouraged and expected to choose from a variety of expert-led practices to raise their children (Faircloth, 2013a; 2014). Likewise, the intensification of parenting in a time when children are facing fewer threats to their health and safety is parallel to contemporary notions of children as innocent and vulnerable, and risk-consciousness (Faircloth, 2014; Furedi, 2008).

3.2.2 Parents as risk managers and the double bind of intensive parenting

The work of Furedi has significantly contributed to an understanding of how contemporary risk consciousness has had an impact on a great range of phenomena, among them, parenting and childhood. In a context of generalized anxiety about safety and preoccupation with hypothetical threats, the notion of "children at risk" mirrors a view on childhood characterized by vulnerability and fear (Furedi, 2001; James & James, 2008). Risk consciousness underpins the notion of parental determinism within which parental management and minimisation of risks to children's wellbeing carries strong moralizing connotations (Lee, 2014b). This becomes especially evident in the context of public intervention where discourses of risk portray parents as "having a moral and social responsibility to be risk conscious" (Knaak, 2010, p. 345), but being unable to manage risks to their children's wellbeing without the guidance of experts

(Furedi, 2008; Lee, Macvarish, & Bristow, 2010, p. 295). The labelling of families and children "at risk" is based on categories dominated by middle-class values and is consonant with neoliberal governance through moralization and the principles of individual responsibility and self-management of risks (Brown, 2009; Henwood, Shirani, & Colart, 2010; Romagnoli & Wall, 2012). Thus, the construction of risks to children's wellbeing within intensive parenting operates as the "new moral code" (Montelius & Nygren, 2014, p. 431) differentiating between responsible/irresponsible parents and citizens, and legitimating state intervention (Aamann & Dybbroe, 2018; Macvarish, 2010).

The construction of parents as risk managers draws attention to the contradictory demands the ideology of intensive parenting puts on parents, which are underpinned by a view of childhood around both an emphasis on protection and resilience. Bateson's concept of the "double bind" (1972) has been used to refer to such a situation in which the successful response to one demand would imply a failed response to the other (Bateson et al., 1956). Parents are constantly managing this double-bind position as they are expected to both protect their children from multiple aspects of the adult world, and to expose them to risks so they become resilient (Bristow, 2014). In the last decades, there have been claims about the negative effects of over-protection for children. Parents who over-protect their children are criticized for being "helicopter parents" whose "cotton-wool kids" cannot manage risks (Gill, 2007; Skenazy, 2009). Therefore, rather than criticizing intensive parenting, on which parents' risk-aversion is grounded, these claims reproduce the notion of parental determinism, which is central to the ideology of parenting, as helicopter parents are blamed for putting the future of our society at risk (Bristow, 2014, p. 200; Lee, Macvarish, & Bristow, 2010).

3.2.3 Mother-blame

The construction of parental roles is gendered and "part of the broader system of gender within a given society" (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010a, p. 12). Several authors have pointed out the focus on motherhood in the literature on parenting, expert advice, and family polices as a result of psychological discourses focused on attachment and the emotional needs of the child (Lee, 2014a; Lee, 2014b; Thelen & Haukanes, 2010a).

Mothers are expected to build a secure bond with their children so the children have successful lives (Kanieski, 2010) and the mother is therefore considered the parent primarily responsible for her children's wellbeing (mother determinism). At the same time, too much maternal attention to children is also constructed as potentially damaging for children (Hays, 1996, p. 48), which puts mothers in a double-bind position.

Consequently, claims of irresponsible parenting include a closer scrutiny and monitoring of mothering (Böök & Perälää-Littunen, 2008; Kanieski, 2010; Thelen & Haukanes, 2010a). Scholarship has stressed that mothering is continually blamed for social problems ("mother-blaming"; Lee, 2014b). Moreover, inherent in the ideology of intensive mothering, there is a construction of motherhood as an experience that "completes" a woman (Douglas & Michaels, 2005). Such an idealistic and romanticized representation of motherhood, known as "new momism" (Douglas & Michaels, 2005), brings feelings of blame and failure when mothers experience this is an ideal that cannot be realized (Faircloth, 2014). Construction of the "good" mother within the ideology of intensive mothering implies the expectation that mothers should feel happiness about raising their children and guilt when they do not meet the mothering ideal (Caplan, 1989; Chase & Rogers, 2001; Jackson & Mannix, 2004).

The "new momism" and its intrinsic "mother-blame" have implications for mothers' self-constructions because motherhood is central to women's identities. In Göknar's words, "complete adulthood or womanhood entails mothering and all of its implications" (2013, p. 210). Likewise, it has been argued that mothers need to perform identity work to respond to labels of "bad" mothering and to defend their identities as "good" mothers (Lee, 2008). The ideal of the "good" mother within intensive mothering influences mothers' notions of selfhood, behaviours, and feelings (Hays, 1996). Researchers have drawn attention to mothers' emotions as an important aspect that should not be overlooked if we want to understand how mothers experience mothering and engage with intensive mothering (Huppatz, 2018). To analyse the role of emotions in motherhood in migration (Article I), I have drawn on Hochschild's work. I turn now to a presentation and discussion of this framework.

3.3 Sociology of emotions

Framed by a socio-constructivist framework on emotions, researchers have recognized the role of emotions in shaping how individuals experience their life-worlds (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Svašek, 2008, p. 219). Particularly, rather than conceptualizing emotions as unconscious "natural" responses, symbolic interactionists explored how these are influenced by social norms (Fields, Copp, & Kleinman, 2014, p.156). Among them, Goffman (1963) theorized the interactionist dimensions of emotions. He understood emotions as sociological phenomena resulting from how individuals manage others' impressions.

Hochschild (1979) expanded Goffman's theory adding the "inner voice" of individuals as actors who use techniques to manage their emotions (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 37). She developed a theoretical framework for the exploration of how individuals "work on" their feelings so that these harmonize with what they are expected to feel in a particular situation. Understanding emotions as dependent on social norms, like other behaviours (Lively, 2006, p. 570), Hochschild acknowledged the existence of a set of ideas about what individuals should feel in certain situations. This "emotion culture" is composed of "framing rules", "feeling rules", and "display rules". "Framing rules" are rules that indicate the meanings through which individuals should interpret a situation. "Feeling rules" define the emotions that an individual should feel in a certain situation, particularly, the intensity, direction and duration of the emotional response (Peterson, 2006, p. 118), and "display rules" dictate how an individual should express an emotion. Hochschild's analysis of emotions focused on how social interactions shape emotions and how individuals take actions to reconcile their emotional responses with their emotion culture. With "emotion work", she referred to the techniques that individuals use to direct their emotions towards the feeling rules, such as bodywork (trying to modify a physiological response), surface acting (controlling how to express these), deep acting (manipulating thoughts), and cognitive work (using thoughts and memories about an emotion).

In her exploration of the emotion culture associated with gender ideologies, Hochschild (1989) concluded that men and women encounter different feeling and display rules. Regarding parenting, attention has been drawn to gendered feeling rules derived from intensive parenting. Following Hochschild, intensive mothering is the framing rule through which women are expected to interpret their mothering experiences and construct their identities. Within this, there is an image of the "good" mother associated with feeling rules like fulfilment, dedication to one's child, and blame when one fails in meeting the mothering ideal (Bristow, 2014; Hays, 1996). Because motherhood has strong moral connotations and the bond mothers establish with children is seen as determinant of children's wellbeing, there are differences in responses to notions of "good" parenting within intensive parenting based on gender (Faircloth, 2014). For instance, fathers are more critical to expert-knowledge on parenting (Shirani, Henwood, & Colart, 2012), and mothers engage in a more demanding emotional adjustment than fathers do (Erickson, 1993; Veazey, 2018). Research has shown the negative emotional implications of trying to live up to intensive mothering like guilt and frustration, even for mothers who are critical of this mothering ideology (Henderson, Harmon, & Newman, 2016; Huppatz, 2018).

Migration adds more complexity to the emotion work mothers engage in because migrant mothers interact with different feeling rules from several communities (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007, p. 46). They also encounter feeling rules associated with gendered caregiving roles and migration, like longing, guilt, and loneliness (Baldassar, 2015; Ryan, 2007, 2008; Svašek, 2008; Vermot, 2015). Scholars have highlighted the importance of studying the emotional components of migration to get a nuanced understanding of this human experience (Svašek, 2010). In this regard, Hochschild's framework arises as a framework that sheds light on the functions of emotions in migration, especially, regarding the managing of culturally shaped feeling and framing rules and the emotional relatedness of individuals to places (Albrecht, 2016).

3.4 Othering and boundary work

An overarching finding across the data was that migrant parents negotiate their identity and belonging to host and origin countries through their parenting. In this regard, the concepts of Othering and boundary work have been found to be relevant to capture this important aspect of experiences of parenting in migration.

Othering was first coined as a theoretical concept by postcolonial writer Spivak (1985) to refer to the discursive production of the Other. Power asymmetries are inherent in Othering discourses since powerful people, who own knowledge and technology, construct the Other as subordinate and morally inferior. Thus, Othering entails "hierarchical and stereotypical thinking" (Bendixsen, 2013), where the Other is represented as a deviation from the normative standard. Othering is a relevant concept to interpret discursive processes that position migrants and some groups of parents (e.g., migrant parents, working-class parents) in a fixed and homogenous group not belonging to "us" (e.g., ethnic majority, ethnic majority parents, middle-class parents). As already presented (section *3.2.2*), a central aspect of expert knowledge on childrearing is an Othering discourse grounded in class distinctions between morally worthwhile and, conversely, irresponsible parents (Aamann & Dybbroe, 2018). This Otherness can be reinforced in contexts of migration due to political, media, institutional, and public discourses that represent migrants as outsiders in relation to the host society. As Faircloth and colleagues argued (2013), migrant parents "grapple with the hegemony of national and state visions of best parenting that often position them as "other" and simultaneously as deficient" (p. 15). Moreover, because Othering discourses "condition identity formation among the subordinate" (Jensen, 2011, p.65), the concept of Othering has been used to explore the process through which migrants constitute their identities influenced by how they perceive that the host society positions them (Bendixsen, 2013). Inspired by Jensen (2011), I will draw on Othering to analyse how power structures and symbolic meanings shape migrant parents' constitution of their identity as they negotiate their parenting and respond to marginalization.

The second concept that I have drawn upon to analyse migrant parents' experiences of negotiating identity and belonging is boundary work. Drawing on Lamont's work, I claim that this concept can be useful for discussing how migrant parents "construct groups as similar and different and how it shapes their understanding of their responsibilities toward such groups" (Lamont 2000 in Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 87). When engaging in boundary work, individuals draw on "common categorization systems to differentiate between insiders and outsiders and common vocabularies and symbols through which they create a shared identity" (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 182). Symbolic boundaries are "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space" (p. 168). While people "agree upon definitions of reality" through symbolic boundaries, social boundaries are "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources and social opportunities" (p. 168).

Boundary work is intrinsic to identity formation, cultural membership, and social interaction. In the research field of migration, boundary work has also been used to understand how migrants talk about their motivations for migrating to a new country (see e.g., Bygnes, 2017). Migration brings the risk of being Othered and of losing resources like social capital, status, and material resources. In this context, boundaries emerge as relevant tools for migrants to position themselves as different from stereotypical images of economic migrants and to understand themselves and their migration in alternative ways that stress their agency and resourcefulness. Looking at how migrant parents draw boundaries between themselves and other groups, therefore, can shed light on how they respond to Othering discourses, constitute their group identity, and interact with others.

4. Literature review

I present an overview of the relevant literature for the study because it illuminates important issues concerning parenting in migration. First, I discuss the literature on emotions and migration. Then, I present an overview of international studies on parenting in migration, moving on to a discussion of the literature on parenting among migrant parents in Norway.

During the research process, I have conducted literature searches by author and keyword in several databases and have identified articles via references in the reviewed publications. Furthermore, for the purpose of this dissertation, I carried out semi-structured literature searches through the databases of Web of Sciences, Psych Info and ProQuest. These searches were the fields of emotions and migration, and parenting in migration. Both searches were delimited to a seven-year period (2013–2020). The search strategy included terms based on key words and synonyms[4]. Keywords were also identified in titles and abstracts of the identified publications. To be included, the publications had to be peer-reviewed articles written in English and the search was not limited to specific geographical locations.

Another literature search was conducted to get an overview of the research conducted in Norway on parenting among migrants. I searched for literature through relevant databases (e.g., Idunn and ProQuest), websites of Norwegian research institutes (e.g., Norwegian Social Research, NOVA) and of the Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs. I was guided by reference lists of empirical articles and reports of relevance to my study[5]. Articles that were published in English or Norwegian from 2013 to 2020 were included. Studies on parenting among migrants raising their

[4] Search terms: parents OR mothers OR fathers OR parenthood OR motherhood OR fatherhood OR parenting OR mothering OR fathering OR upbringing OR childrearing OR “child-raising” OR "parent-child relationship" OR "childcare" OR "parental practices" OR family; migration OR "transnational parenting" OR immigration OR emigration OR "transcultural parenting" OR mobility OR migrant; qualitative OR phenomenology OR phenomenological OR interviews OR FGD OR narrative; emotions OR feelings OR emotional.

[5] Search terms: barneoppdragelse, oppdragelse, foreldrerolle, morsrolle, farsrolle, innvandrere, migranter, flerkulturell, etnisk minoritet, innvandring.

children in Norway that had been previously identified with the previous literature searches were also included.

4.1 Emotions and migration

The literature stresses the centrality of emotions in the study of migration and migrant families (Albrecht, 2016; Baldassar, 2008, 2015; Svašek, 2008; Svašek & Skrbiš, 2007). As Svašek stated, emotions shape migration and migration shapes emotional processes (2010). For instance, a study on Spaniards and Italians living in Mexico found that love and emotional intimacy play a role in decisions to migrate, to stay in a host country and to return to a country of origin (Ortiz Guitart, 2018). In addition to providing insights on drivers of migration, the study of emotions offers an understanding of how migrants experience, contest, and negotiate power relations (Svašek, 2010). As Gallo discussed in her study on the use of irony and control of emotions among Malayali migrants (2015), emotions play an important role in migrants' identity formation processes and are "influenced by the socio-economic, political and cultural conditions of migration" (p. 109).

In her study on Italian transnational families, Baldassar (2015) discussed how guilt acted as a culturally legitimated response to the impossibility of meeting moral obligations to take care of elderly parents back in Italy. Missing and longing allowed the Italian migrants to confirm a sense of closeness to their families, one that mirrors culturally constructed notions of wellbeing in Italy (2008). Scholars have also stressed the gendered dimensions of migrants' emotional experiences. In her study on Salvadoran parents living in the USA and their children who stayed in Salvador, Abrego (2014) discussed guilt in relation to gendered family responsibilities that identify women as the main caregiver for children and elderly family members. This is in line with the findings from Vermot's study on Argentinians in the USA and Spain (2015). Not only did the migrant women feel guilty due to expectations in conjunction with their caregiver role, but expressing guilt also allowed these women to perform such gender roles in front of the researcher and their relatives back in Argentina. Ryan (2008) found that gendered roles and expectations on women made it difficult for Irish

migrant women living in Britain to express negative feelings. When the women deviated from gendered social norms, for instance regarding marriage, they experienced rejection from their families and felt blame for bringing shame on them.

The study of emotions offers significant insights into how migrants build a sense of belonging. For instance, nostalgia has been discussed as a marker of migrants' belonging to their countries of origin (Brown, 2011; Vertovec, 1997). Likewise, emotional attachment to several cultures has been found to contribute to migrants' sense of identity. Lau's ethnography (2010) showed that Tibetans in India engage emotionally with Tibetan moral notions of harmony and Indian cultural representations of romantic love, which become central to their identity construction. Migrants encounter different culturally accepted codes to express emotions in a certain situation (Brown, 2011). This may bring tensions and the need to manage own emotions to avoid "emotional dissonance" with the origin and/or host communities (Maehara, 2010). In her narrative study with Japanese migrant women in Ireland, Maehara found that emotional management was a strategy through which the migrant women established and maintained relationships "here" and "there", thereby negotiating their belonging. She concluded that parenting in migration provides a context in which subjectivities and complex emotional experiences emerge, as individuals manage their emotions in relation to several rules and multiple belongings.

4.2 Parenting in migration

4.2.1 Transformation in parenting practices in contexts of migration

As Raffaetà (2016) discussed in her literature review on studies of migration and parenting, studies have traditionally drawn on psychological and biomedical perspectives to explore parenting practices among parents coming from non-Western countries who raise their children in a Western society. The focus has been on the tensions resulting from the conflicting child-rearing beliefs and practices due to divergent cultural values and ideals around childhood, family, and gender between host and origin communities.

Studies have also focused on the stress and loss of control over children. Migrant parents experience raising their children in a context where practices commonly used in their communities of origin, such as physical punishment, are seen as inappropriate. An example is a study from Garcia and de Guzman (2017) interviewing Filipino mothers in the USA. The study found that the mothers experienced mothering as stressful because of discrepancies between mothering practices and a sense of loss of control over their children. The Filipino mothers avoided disclosing their opinions about the upbringing practices they considered appropriate because they were concerned about being judged negatively by the host community. Likewise, using interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD), Mugadza et al. (2019, 2020) showed that sub-Saharan African migrant parents perceived that the Australian parenting ideal is rooted in individualistic values that are opposed to their collectivist beliefs and values. These parents experienced that the Australian laws posed some limitations on raising their children in a way the African migrants deemed appropriate. In line with these studies, Bose (2016) found that Bangladeshi parents in the UK find it challenging to inculcate traditional values in their children and to exert disciplinary authority because they perceive that these practices are disapproved of in the host country. Feelings of being judged and not trusted in relation to their parenting were also found in interviews with Southeast Asian mothers in Taiwan (Liang et al., 2020).

Yet studies have also argued that raising children in a new country can be an opportunity for parents to learn parenting practices that they may come to consider more appropriate than those of their countries of origin (Zhu, 2020). In her study on Moroccan and Ecuadorian mothers in Italy, Raffaetà (2015) found that migrant mothers compared their mothering practices to those observed in the host country, and this reinforced their internalization of a negative self-image. However, as Raffaetà showed, migrant mothers' idealization of western parenting ideals comes with criticisms of some practices and middle-class values. Based on their experiences of injustice in the host country, migrants may question whether raising their children with egalitarian ideals will prepare them for success and happiness.

An example of experiences of parenting in a cross-cultural context widely illustrated by the literature is migrant parents' development of hybrid parenting resulting from mixing elements from both cultures and the reasons that motivate parents to take this approach. Alaazi and colleagues (2018) interviewed African parents in Canada and found that this group of parents incorporate both African and Western practices depending on the age of their children and the potential consequences of their choices, like legal prosecution by Child Welfare Services (CWS). Studies have also shown that migrant parents actively balance old and new parenting practices (Cheah, Leung, & Zhou, 2013; Nguyen, Chang, & Loh, 2014). In her ethnographic study with Polish parents in Northern Ireland, Kempny-Mazur (2017) discussed that migrant parents adapt their parenting in relation to their children's needs and changing demands of the situation. This results in the co-existence of assimilation and transnational approaches to children's upbringing.

Authors have focused attention on class, gender, and unequal power relations in contexts of migration as relevant factors shaping parents' willingness to incorporate some values and parenting practices (Zhu, 2020). The experiences prior to migration that parents had with educational systems, family policies, and urban/rural living were also found to play an important role in their engagement with parenting ideals in the host country (Bossong & Keller, 2018; Zheng, de Haan, & Koops, 2019b). Moreover, research has claimed that negotiations around parenting are located in a transnational context in which global discourses on childhood and parenting are imparted through several channels, such as the media, policies, and expert-knowledge and influence parenting beliefs and practices across borders (Mugadza et al. 2019; Raffaetà, 2015). Parents, therefore, are active participants who look for and use several resources from diverse countries when seeking advice on parenting. This challenges a static view of culture as it recognizes that local understandings and experiences are also influenced by global trends like the attachment paradigm and child's rights.

Mostly, studies have looked at changes in parenting to assess the level of acculturation of parents and have emphasized the challenges parents experience raising their children in a new country (Raffaetà, 2016). Understanding transformation in parenting in terms

of assimilation runs the risk of reproducing essentialism because it is based on an understanding of culture as static and of change as a gradual process that migrant parents go through from traditional parenting practices to modern ones. However, researchers have adopted a new theoretical lens to explore transformations in parenting in contexts of migration. Cultural translation and social networks have been particularly influential frameworks offering a more nuanced understanding of the complex changes that migrant parents experience in their parenting. Framed by the cultural translation model and drawing on interviews and observational data, van Beurden and de Haan (2019) showed that Moroccan parents in the Netherlands reconstruct their parenting practices by contesting both traditional and modern upbringing beliefs and practices. Changes in parenting practices in contexts of migration, therefore, are more complex than simply adopting new practices and rejecting old ones, because raising children in "contact zones", where several meaning-making systems interact, offers the possibility for the development of new practices (de Haan, 2011).

The literature has acknowledged the relevant role that migrant parents' social networks play in their reconstruction of their parenting. de Haan and colleagues (2020) found that professionals and the media are important resources for migrant parents when considering alternative parenting norms, reconstructing their parenting, and developing new practices. The composition of social networks and type of resources parents count on to develop their parenting is also shaped by contextual factors. A comparative study between two groups of Chinese migrant mothers in the Netherlands (Zheng, de Haan, & Koops, 2019a) found that economic-migrant mothers counted on their families for practical help to raise their children and on expert-knowledge for considering parenting beliefs. Knowledge-migrant mothers, who lacked a family nearby and whose working schedules gave them more freedom to organize their time, used the Internet and books to consider parenting practices and develop their own.

It is important to note the gender bias in the literature on parenting in migration as most studies have explored the parenting experiences among migrant mothers. Regarding the few studies on fathering among migrant fathers, Kilkey and colleagues (2014)

challenged the dominant representation of migrant fathers as economic actors who migrate to fulfil their breadwinner roles at the cost of involvement in their children's upbringing that can be found in the literature. Drawing on interviews with Polish fathers in London, the study found that the migrant men stressed their wishes to meet normative expectations about their involved fathering.

4.2.2 Parenting, cultural socialization, and citizenship

The literature has pointed out the role that migrant parents play in the socialization of their children and construction of their cultural identity. In line with studies that understand parenting as a citizenship practice (e. g, Erel, 2011, 2013), van Beurden and de Haan (2020) understood parenting among Moroccan parents in the Netherlands as a practice of socio-political participation through which the migrant parents negotiated their own and their children's belonging to the Dutch society. In a context of increasing discourses questioning Muslim parents' ability to raise citizens of a western nation, Moroccan parents stressed their contribution to the host society and challenged hegemonic notions of belonging.

Understanding parenting as cultural work, studies have explored the experiences of migrant parents inculcating in their children the cultural values from their communities of origin and thereby contributing to the development of their ethnic identity. An example is Ayón and colleagues' study (2018) on the strategies that Latino parents use to socialize their children in their cultural heritage in the USA. Drawing on interviews, this study found that sharing their culture with their children was important for these parents so they would promote critical thinking about negative stereotypes about Latinos and more knowledge about their family and personal identities. As other studies have shown (Aldoney & Cabrera, 2016; Chan, 2018; Zhu, 2020), migrant parents may also incorporate practices and values from the host community. Through integrating both cultures, they aim to promote the bicultural socialization of their children, which they deem as a positive contribution towards their children's integration in the host country and their successful future in a globalized world. Yet Ganapathy-Colema's study on Indian parents in the USA (2013) showed that the interaction between parenting and cultural identity is more complex than fostering a

dual cultural identity. The migrant parents in this study incorporated elements from both cultures to construct a new "Indian" identity. This is, therefore, another example of the complex transformations that take place in contexts of migration.

4.2.3 Challenges and opportunities faced by migrant parents

Another strand of the literature has illustrated the challenges migrants encounter in raising their children, pointing out, especially, the stressful and negative side of parenting in migration and the impact that this experience has on parents' mental health. This work concentrates on the vulnerability associated with being a migrant parent; that is, the exhaustion of raising children in a new country without the support of family and social networks, and the stress and sense of losing parental control resulting from the cultural clash in parenting practices (Babatunde-Sowole et al., 2016; Mugadza et al., 2019; Park, Patil, & Norr, 2016). Economic and time constraints have been also pointed out as obstacles that complicate the ability of migrant parents to raise their children (Bennet, 2018).

In addition to the challenges migrant parents encounter, some studies have shown the opportunities that living in a new country brings to them and their families. A study by Berrocal (2020) is a good example of this; she interviewed Latin American migrant mothers living in Spain and found that these women encounter economic challenges, racism, and labour discrimination in this country, whereas at the same time they find more personal benefits for themselves and their children than in their countries of origin, such as safety and personal independence. Studies have discussed that the absence of extended family is a challenge for migrant parents, but it can be also an opportunity for positive change. Leigh (2016) showed that, for skilled migrants in Canada, this translated into more stress. However, being away from family and cultural expectations, the migrant parents had the opportunity to reorganize and negotiate the gender dynamics of their families towards more egalitarian roles. Likewise, the Latino parents interviewed in Ansion and Merali's study (2018) felt overwhelmed raising their children in Canada without their extended families, but they also recognized that this brought positive outcomes: father involvement and closeness among nuclear family members.

Authors have also identified opportunities that migrants encounter in building their families and raising their children at the macro level. For instance, Giorgio (2015) argued that the working conditions and family-friendly policies Italian women encounter in New Zealand give them the opportunity to fulfil their desire to become mothers. Ryan and colleagues (2009) interviewed Polish migrants living in London and showed that migration could mean new opportunities to achieve a desired lifestyle, for instance being full-time mothers. Migration entails losses, gains, and "multifaceted processes of negotiation" (p.74) through which family dynamics of care, support and obligation are reconfigured.

4.3 The experiences of migrant parents raising their children in Norway

4.*3.1 Transformations in parenting among migrant parents in Norway*

In Norway, the literature on parenting among parents with migrant background has focused on the experiences of this group of parents navigating a new culture and the challenges and opportunities they face in the Nordic country. An example is Kabatanya and Vagli's study on the experiences of Ugandan parents raising their children in Norway (2019). The authors argued that the parents were in a complex situation in which they tried to manage conflicting parenting norms from host and origin communities. Such a feeling of being assessed against different standards makes the experience of raising children more challenging, as reported by NOVA (Smette & Rosten, 2019). In this context, hybrid parenting is an approach migrant parents may take to manage an experience of dualism and to foster their children's cultural identities, so they are prepared for navigating complex multicultural societies and reintegration in case of return (Hoel, 2014; Kabatanya & Vagli, 2019).

The literature has shown the different positions migrant parents adopt while navigating parenting cultures. Migrant parents may decide to transmit and explain to their children values from their communities of origin, so that the children will be proud to adopt these. They may also recognize that if the gap between the norms and values of the host and origin communities is too large, their children should adapt to Norwegian ones (Smette & Rosten, 2019). A third position is that of migrant parents who understand

that teaching their children about origin and host cultures is an important task within their role as parents. On this subject, the fathers interviewed in Hoel's study (2014) saw themselves as responsible for mixing elements from both cultures to foster their children's identities that go beyond "Norwegian" and "Pakistani", for example. Through cultural hybrid fathering, these fathers resisted racialization by the Norwegian society and drew on elements from their cultures of origin, like strong family ties and respect for elders, and from the Norwegian culture, like gender equality, which they deemed a positive contribution to their children's upbringing. In her study on evolving parenting practices among refugee parents in Norway, Bergset (2020) also claimed that rather than an adaptation to a host culture, the process of change in parenting in cross-cultural contexts entails an evolution of "personal ideologies". Drawing on interview data, she found that refugee parents actively construct their parenting by critically evaluating familiar and unfamiliar practices, selectively incorporating some and transforming their own practices. Change in parenting after migration to Norway has been also theorized to be the result of a process of trial and error in which parents realize that the parenting practices from their countries of origin do not work to raise their children in Norway (Friberg & Bjørnset, 2019).

To interpret differences in parenting, some of the refugee parents participating in Bergset's study (2020) pointed out historical time and parents' educational background as important elements shaping parenting practices. They also referred to nationality and culture when drawing boundaries between parenting cultures (Bergset, 2020). However, as Odden (2016) argued, to better understand the experiences of parenting in the context of migration, it is important to look at the cultural, structural, and individual aspects, and to acknowledge that these are interrelated. In her study on Polish mothers in Norway, change in mothering was motivated by length of stay in the host country, challenges associated with migration (like their children's wishes to return to Poland) and opportunities faced in Norway (economic security). Besides cultural norms and practices, the socio-economic context that migrant parents encounter in Norway contributes decisively in the transformation of their parenting.

4.3.2 The meeting between migrant parents and the Norwegian welfare state

Another strand of the literature has explored the experiences migrant parents have encountering parenting ideals in their meeting with Norwegian welfare state institutions. For instance, studies have found that Polish parents challenge, negotiate and embrace some practices they encounter in Norwegian educational institutions (Bubikova-Moan, 2017; Ślusarczyk & Pustułka, 2016). Factors like length of stay in Norway, composition of social networks and having a foreign partner influence the negotiations of parenting ideals in a context of public intervention. Particularly, the parents whose social networks were heterogeneous and who had lived longer in the country were more likely to accept the practices of Norwegian schools, like outdoor play and meeting the emotional needs of the child, and to recognize its advantages in relation to their children's upbringing (Ślusarczyk & Pustułka, 2016).

The literature has stressed the perceptions migrant parents have on the role of Norwegian welfare institutions as intrusive to their family lives (Friberg & Bjørnset, 2019). This has been explained in relation to parents' experiences in their countries of origin where state intervention is more limited and CWS has a higher threshold for intervention (Aure & Daukšas, 2020; Tembo, Studsrød, & Young, 2020). A lack of awareness about state involvement in the family raises more challenges regarding parenting. For instance, Sønsthagen (2018) conducted interviews with Somali mothers and educators. She found that the mothers go through a process of adaptation to the Norwegian kindergarten that is particularly challenging and emotional due to their lack of experience with early childhood education institutions.

Studies have emphasized that migrant parents experience being positioned as deficient parents in their meeting with the Norwegian welfare state and fear that this position may justify intervention from the NCWS (Aure & Daukšas, 2020; Fylkesnes et al., 2015; Fylkesnes, Iversen, & Nygren, 2018; Johannesen & Appoh, 2016; Tembo, Stundsrød, & Young, 2020). While raising their children in Norway gives migrant parents opportunities to interact with other (Norwegian) parents and professionals, it also reinforces their feelings of social exclusion because the parents experience suspicion about their parenting capabilities because of their migrant background

(Kabatanya & Vagli, 2019). In this context, migrant parents feel they need to justify their decisions regarding their children's upbringing if they fail to meet the Norwegian parenting standards and want to avoid a referral to the NCWS (Johannesen & Appoh, 2016). Because the parenting norms are shaped by western-middle-class values (Ylvisaker, Rugkåsa, & Eide, 2015), working-class migrant parents find their encounters with Norwegian institutions more confusing, controlling, and frightening (Aure & Daukšas, 2020). To handle this situation and prevent potential reports to NCWS, migrant parents may carefully plan their interactions with professionals and neighbours and monitor what their children disclose about them (Tembo, Studsrød, & Young, 2020).

The literature has pointed out that the lack of knowledge migrant parents have about the parenting practices that are expected of them and about how the Norwegian welfare system works is an obstacle to their participation in institutions (Kabatanya & Vagli, 2019; Tembo, Studsrød, & Young, 2020). This, together with other factors like social networks and language, determine to a great extent migrant parents' participation and use of public services (Fylkesnes, Iversen, & Nygren, 2018).

Other factors come into play in the meeting between migrant parents and the Norwegian welfare state. For instance, van der Weele and Fiecko (2020) showed that cross-cultural communication challenges arise when professionals assess migrant parents' parenting based on an ethnocentric worldview of how parents should interact with their children. The authors highlighted the relevance of cultural sensitivity over taken-for-granted ideas around parenting to provide quality services to migrant parents. Yet researchers have warned against misapplying cultural explanatory models to understand the experiences migrant parents have when they meet parenting ideals in institutional contexts (Fylkesnes, Iversen, & Nygren, 2018; Rugkåsa, Eide, & Ylvisaker, 2015; Ylvisaker, Rugkåsa, & Eide, 2015). As Bråten, Gustafsson and Sønsterudbråten (2020) argued in their analysis of parenting programmes in Norway, a focus on culture to describe experiences related to difference involves a risk of racializing migrant parents, which, in turn, can reinforce their oppression. When professionals identify migrant parents' culture as an explanation for their inability to

meet the parenting ideal of Norway, structural factors like race, class, poverty, and power relations are overlooked and migrant parents are blamed for the situations in which their families find themselves (Ylvisaker, Rugkåsa, & Eide, 2015). Such structural factors are important in relation to the overrepresentation of migrant parents in some measures implemented by the NCWS (Berg & Paulsen, 2015).

The focus on culture to explain differences in parenting has been argued to legitimate welfare intervention towards migrant parents who are constructed as a target group in parenting programmes in Norway (Ylvisaker, Rugkåsa, & Eide, 2015). Welfare intervention is seen as necessary and positive for the migrant parents and their children in terms of their wellbeing and social integration (Bråten, Gustafsson, & Sønsterudbråten, 2020). To better understand constructions of migrant parents as being in need of intervention, it is important to look at the status children are granted in Norway as rights holders. In her study on contemporary discourses on children and parenting, Hollekim and colleagues (2016) identified a rights and a risk discourse informing two positions for the child: as subjects of rights and as subjects of risks. Both positions legitimate the role of the state as a guarantor for children's wellbeing with a mandate to intervene when parents fail to ensure their "proper" development (Fylkesnes et al., 2015). Researchers have argued that this context may reinforce migrant parents' powerlessness in both their families and the public sphere, because they feel that their children's rights are prioritized over their authority and parenting goals (Tembo, Stundsrød & Young, 2020).

Summary

The literature provides insights into the complex processes of transformation in parenting that migrant parents, mostly mothers, experience, and the approaches they take to navigate expectations made to their parenting, to promote their children's wellbeing, and to contribute to their own and their children's cultural identities. Studies have also shown the challenges and opportunities for parents and children that accompany the experience of raising children in a new country. Due to processes of globalization of childhood and parenting, Western middle-class norms are crossing

international borders and are presented as scientific, modern, and appropriate for raising children. Migrant parents navigate these in the interplay of cultural understandings of childrearing, structural and individual factors. Among these, social (working) class status and power asymmetries related to migration (Otherness) can reinforce migrant parents' experiences of being positioned as deficient parents who do not meet parenting standards and who are therefore in need of state intervention.

5. Methodology

In this chapter, I present the design of the study and the research process, and I describe the procedures for selection and recruitment of participants, the characteristics of the study population, and the processes of data generation and analysis. Considerations regarding ethics are also included, but further considerations of methodological issues concerning trustworthiness of research are addressed as part of Chapter 7 (section 7.2).

5.1 The ontological, epistemological, and axiological underpinnings of the study

Social-constructivism and relativism are the epistemological and ontological foundations of this study. A "researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology), which are then examined (methodology, analysis) in specific ways" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 21). The framework (ontology) is concerned with the nature of reality and the nature of the human being in the world (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22). My study, following a qualitative design, lies in a relativist ontology that acknowledges the notion of multiple realities (Yilmaz, 2013). I understood reality as multiple, subjective, and actively constructed by the participants, who give subjective meanings to their experiences in their interactions with their social, cultural, material, and historical contexts. Participants constructed multiple realities of migration to Norway and of raising children in the context of migration. Data from multiple realities, thus, produced the knowledge that this dissertation presents.

Because I understood that individuals construct multiple realities, I place my study within the socio-constructivist epistemological framework. Epistemology refers to "the theory of knowledge" that is, what we can know and how we can know it (Willig, 2001, p. 2). Framed by the socio-constructivist paradigm, my study sees knowledge as actively constructed through the interaction of subjective meanings between the researcher and the participant under the influence of the context they are part of (Carter & Little, 2007). According to this, knowledge in this study has been constructed through participants' perceptions, opinions, and meaning making of their experiences,

and my own observations and interpretations. I have focused, then, on identifying the available ways of constructing reality and their implications for human experience and practices (Willig, 2001, p. 7). The socio-constructivist paradigm has also framed my understanding of and approach towards "parenting" and "childhood" as socially constructed phenomena. Rather than assuming that what it means to be a child and to be a parent is "natural", I understood that the meanings given to these phenomena are context-dependent. The participants gave meaning to their experiences of parenting influenced by the practices and meanings attributed to parenting and childhood in their historical, social, and cultural contexts. In this regard, sociological perspectives that situate parenting and childhood as social problems helped me to critically reflect on the ideologies that underpin contemporary connotations ascribed to children and parents and the nuances and complexities of these (see section 3.2). Drawing on these perspectives, I was able to explore the links between theories of risk, identity formation, family policing (public/private divide), and parenting.

A narrative approach facilitated a closer exploration of storytelling as a process of co-construction of knowledge. I understood that participants constructed meaning influenced by the narrative context (e. g., the questions I asked and my position as a researcher) and the wider context that provides storytellers with available resources to understand themselves and their experiences (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009).

Finally, Creswell (2007) adds axiology as another philosophical underpinning of qualitative research design. Axiology refers to the role of values in the process of knowledge production and the researcher's "awareness of own values, attitudes, and biases" having an impact on the different stages of the research process (Hesse-Biber & Griffin, 2015, p. 79). In my study, I openly recognized and discussed the values shaping my own interpretations and that of my participants. Adopting a narrative approach allowed deep reflections about my values and role in the research process, and an awareness of the context-dependent character of the processes of meaning making and knowledge production. This reflexivity will be presented on Chapter 7.

5.2 Getting to know the field

Three Norwegian municipalities that consisted of both rural and urban areas, including three larger cities, were chosen as study sites because of their high concentration of migrants due to the tourism and oil industries. To get a better understanding of the field, in the spring of 2017, I visited some parents from Spain, Chile, and Rumania who are part of my personal network and live with their families in Norway. The time spent with them enhanced my knowledge of the research topic. It taught me about the everyday life of migrant parents in Norway, the challenges, and opportunities they encounter, and topics that are a matter of concern for them. This information was useful in the processes of formulating the research questions, defining a recruitment strategy and in the development of the interview guide and FGD questioning route.

Since September 2017, I have been part of Facebook groups[6] in which prospective migrants and migrants coming from Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, and Norwegians interact and exchange information. The members of these groups post advertisements (room rentals, job vacancies, and buy-sell new or used items), and post announcements about relevant events happening in Norway and Southern Europe, as well as about gatherings they hold. Generally, they share a common interest in Norway and Southern Europe; most of them are Southern Europeans who migrated or are planning to migrate to Norway and who differ in terms of reasons for migration, gender, age, social class, and family backgrounds. Their participation in the online community can support their integration in Norway and connection to their countries of origin (Al-Rawi, 2019). The Facebook groups provided me with background knowledge about the Southern European community in Norway. Being part of these platforms allowed me to develop an awareness of relevant discussion topics for migrant parents in Norway, like the NCWS and out-of-home placement of children in this context. I observed that the members of these groups often asked for information and advice on the functioning of Norwegian welfare institutions.

[6] E.g., Norway Expats, Bergen Expats, Italiani in Norvegia, Españoles en Oslo, Españoles en Bergen, Norge Grekerne, Greeks in Bergen, Stavanger International Parents, and Portugueses na Noruega.

The administrators of the groups act as centralized gatekeepers managing the group settings, approving or denying membership requests and content to be disseminated (Al-Rawi, 2019). I navigated access to the Facebook groups through them, introducing the research project and myself to them. This resulted in invitations to three social events involving eating and drinking that were arranged by one Southern European community in Norway. A briefing on my research for the director of a cultural centre resulted in another invitation to a gathering organized by another Southern European group. Overall, I attended two social events prior to data generation and another two once all data had been generated.

My experiences with the Facebook groups and gatherings provided me with knowledge that was valuable for the development of the research questions, the design of the recruitment strategy, development of an interview guide and FGD questioning route, and contextualization and interpretation of the data. For instance, I observed that migrants, drawing especially on their experiences with welfare professionals, showed an awareness of the hegemonic Norwegian public discourses that portray children as individuals with own rights and that acknowledge the state involvement in family life. These experiences also prompted my reflections about migrants' length of stay in the host country as a factor shaping how they interact with other migrants. I observed that in conversations about aspects of living in Norway, migrants who had lived in the country for a shorter period were silenced by those who had migrated longer ago, with the assumption that the latter have more knowledge of the Norwegian culture, society, and functioning of welfare institutions. I also realized that I needed to pay attention to the gendered character of parenting when designing my study because mostly mothers showed an interest in my study and the fathers whom I approached referred me to their wives assuming the latter could give me more information about the research topic. These reflections were also relevant for the design of the focus group discussions.

5.3 Participants

5.3.1 Selection and recruitment of study participants

I engaged in purposive sampling, meaning that participants were selected "because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study" (Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003, p.78). The selection and recruitment of participants were informed by my experiences with the Southern European groups in Norway, access to the research setting, participants' availability, interest in and knowledge about the research topic, and time and material resources within the study.

The following criteria were set for the recruitment of participants: they should be natives of Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, parents, migrants, and should reside in Norway. These criteria were assessed as suitable because they allowed the informants that could illustrate the research topic to be identified.

Several factors motivated my decision to approach migrants coming from Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. First, as presented in Chapter 1, there are some similarities regarding the welfare state systems and family arrangements between these countries (Naldini, 2003). These were interpreted as factors that could shape participants' meaning making of their family responsibilities, of their experiences with welfare institutions and of the role that these should play in family life. Besides this, the Southern European community in Norway has grown noticeably since 2008, but it has remained under-researched compared to groups who had resided in the country longer (Bygnes, 2017).

Regarding the criterion of country of residence, it was appropriate to recruit migrant parents who had lived in Norway for varying periods of time to capture diversity that could better shed light on the nuances of the phenomenon under study. "Being a parent" is a criterion that refers to people who would identify themselves as mothers or fathers. I decided to address parents of children aged 6 months to 18 years assuming that, because of their children's age, they would have relevant experiences with welfare institutions that work with families and children in Norway. Participants should be

raising their children and living with them on a regular basis in Norway. This criterion was thought to contribute to the generation of rich data because the parents would be greatly involved in their children's upbringing and engage with discourses on parenting and professional advice in this context. Thus, I excluded seasonal migrants doing transnational parenting and parents who were not living with their children.

Biological parenthood and sexual orientation were not problematized in the recruitment criteria. As for civil status, I decided to recruit parents who were single, divorced, or in a relationship (married or de facto) with a Southern European or Norwegian. Although the focus of the analysis was not on comparing parenting experiences based on the nationality of the parents and their partners, the inclusion of parents who had children with a Norwegian partner was thought to contribute towards capturing diversity in experiences of negotiating parenting cultures. For the same reason and considering the gendered character of parenting, I recruited both mothers and fathers. Moreover, considering the literature that has pointed out to class as an important aspect influencing parenting experiences, norms, and practices (e.g., Lareau, 2011), I recruited parents belonging to various social classes. This multi-voice approach was considered appropriate for the study because it would bring to light nuances in experiences of parenting in migration.

Regarding the sample size, in qualitative research, the emphasis is on depth rather than breadth (Fossey et al., 2002). Following the qualitative method, my objective was to have a sample that would allow the generation of rich and detailed accounts of experiences and meaning making so that I could achieve my aim of acquiring a deep understanding of the research topic. I was flexible and reflective along the research process and gauged my final sample size based on the challenges I faced in recruiting participants, time and material resources, and the quality of the data generated. Twenty participants were considered an adequate sample because it provided thick descriptions to achieve richness in narrative and thematic analysis (O' Reilly & Parker, 2013). Moreover, regarding the former, a smaller sample is commonly preferred over a larger one because it allows a deeper exploration of storytellers' detailed accounts (Riessman, 2008).

The recruitment of participants took place from August 2017 to January 2018. First, I printed some flyers in English, Portuguese, and Spanish that introduced the project topic and aim, the participants I aimed to recruit and what their participation in the study involved (Appendix 2). The flyers were distributed in three Norwegian large cities, in libraries, kindergartens, schools, churches, big companies, cultural centres and other organizations that provide support to migrants. The distribution of flyers in these organizations was an opportunity to interact and observe migrant parents in their day-to-day life. Unfortunately, no one meeting the recruitment criteria contacted me based on the announcement in the recruitment flyers.

My personal network of migrants living in Norway also helped me with the recruitment of participants. I introduced the study to them and asked them to spread the word among migrant parents who might be interested in participating. This resulted in the recruitment of five participants who agreed to be contacted via telephone to get more information about the study. Third, my attendance at the events organized by two Southern European communities resulted in the recruitment of four participants. In the gatherings, I distributed flyers, introduced the project and myself, and answered questions about what participating in the study involved. Having informal conversations with participants in these events facilitated trust building.

Finally, posting advertisements on Facebook groups was the most successful recruiting strategy I took (eight participants recruited). Existing Facebook groups were used as platforms to sample a population in a non-random way. The members of these groups who were interested in participating in the study would either reply to the post or send me a private message. In any case, I would approach them via private messages to initiate a conversation to provide information about the study and ask for their consent to participate. Recruiting participants through Facebook is a strategy frequently used by social scientists (Pötzschke & Braun, 2017), who usually combine it with snowballing (Crush et al., 2012). I also used snowballing, that is, I asked participants to recommend others who fit the recruitment criteria (Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003). This resulted in the recruitment of three informants. Recruitment was unsuccessful for

five parents who were initially interested in participating in the study but cancelled our interview appointment at the last minute or discontinued contact with me.

5.3.2 *Characteristics of participants*

Twenty parents participated in the study. These consisted of 15 mothers and 5 fathers from Greece (2), Italy (2), Portugal (1), and Spain (15). At the time of data generation, participants were between 30 to 46 years and had lived from three to 14 years in Norway. Most of them had resided in Norway from four to six years and, aside from two living in a rural area, all of them were living in larger cities.

Regarding family structure, participants had one to three children from 8 months to 17 years of age. Most participants were parents to two children and most children were between 3 and 9 years old. Nineteen participants were married or cohabiting (registered partnership) with a partner from Southern Europe (11), Norway (7) or another Nordic country (1), and one of them was single. The study population was diverse in terms of education level from completed primary school (2), completed upper secondary school or vocational education (4), to university-level education (14). However, five participants who had a university degree had not succeeded in finding a job suited to their education after migration but were unemployed (1) or held working-class jobs (4). Regarding the latter group, one informant was also studying for a degree in a Norwegian University aiming to maximize her/his possibilities to get a job for which he/she was qualified. Research, architecture, education, health, tourism, housekeeping, delivery, logistic, finances, and engineering were the sectors in which participants were employed.

5.4 Data generation

5.4.1 Focus Groups Discussions (FGD)

FGD is a method of data collection that explicitly uses interaction within a group with a view "to better understand how people feel or think about an issue, idea, product, or service" (Krueger & Casey, 2015, p. 2). This method is used to study predominant social norms, values, and experiences within a group about an issue regarding their

everyday lives (Malterud, 2012; Wilkinson, 1999). The interaction within the group represents a discussion in a controlled setting that allows the exploration of consensus and dissent (Smithson, 2000, p. 105). In the research field of migration, focus group discussions arise as forums for "public thinking" (Frisina, 2018, p. 191) because it is a method that facilitates a space for questioning and negotiating hegemonic ideas and for listening and producing alternative discourses. Likewise, feminist researchers (Wilkinson, 1999) have considered FGD a suitable method to bring out the voices of silent groups. Although FGD is an adequate method to explore opinions and experiences about controversial issues, they should not be considered for exploring sensitive topics because of ethical challenges regarding risk of harm (Krueger & Casey, 2015). In any case, it is important to find the balance between not asking for sensitive information that can bring distress and silencing the group members who may find it positive to have such discussions (Sim & Waterfield, 2019).

In focus group discussions, the participants are selected through purposive sampling with the aim to bring together people who "are similar to each other in a way that is important to the researcher" (Krueger & Casey, 2015, p.6). Having in mind that each participant should have the opportunity to interact and that the discussion should reflect diversity of perceptions, the group should not be too small nor too large. Between five and eight participants is recommended (Krueger & Casey, 2015).

I arranged two FGD with migrant mothers during September and October 2017. The reason why I decided not to have mixed-gender FGD was my reflection around the gendered nature of notions of "good" parenting within intensive parenting and family policies (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010b). Mothers are usually constructed as the key figures in their children's lives, something that came strongly during recruitment. Thus, conducting FGD with mothers promoted an atmosphere in which participants would feel comfortable to share common experiences of mothering in migration. Including both genders would have had an impact on the group dynamics because males tend to be more dominant in conversations ("the peacock effect"; Krueger & Casey, 2015, p. 81). Yet, based on my experiences during recruitment, I considered that fathers could feel they had fewer experiences to contribute to the discussion than mothers do, which

could have negatively affected their participation in a mixed-gender FGD. Because the purpose of the study was not to compare parenting experiences based on gender, I did not consider it necessary to have a FGD with fathers. Furthermore, of the five male participants, only two lived in the same city. Conducting a FGD with fathers was, therefore, assessed as not possible within the time and material resources of the study.

I asked participants about the time and place for the focus group discussion and realized that a factor that might prevent their attendance was their responsibility as caregivers. Consequently, to ensure a high level of attendance, I offered to hire a babysitter to look after the participants' children in a room on the same floor where the FGD was going to be held. A mother who participated in the first FGD gladly accepted the offer. Because the babysitter could meet the participants and even identify some of them, she signed a working contract that included a confidentiality clause. As Putcha and Potter (2004) discussed, in FGD, the physical space plays a role, and it should look more like "a living room rather than an office" (p.39). I booked a meeting room at the university, decorated it, and served food and drinks, which helped to promote a relaxed atmosphere. I considered that this venue offered a safe space where the mothers could talk freely.

In spring 2017, I developed a questioning route (Appendix 5) in cooperation with my supervisors as a document to help me to address the members of the group, primarily to keep them on topic and to encourage engaged discussions about particular topics. A questioning route was chosen instead of a topic guide because it required careful formulation of the questions to be asked, thereby giving a more realistic idea about how the sessions were going to be carried out and ensuring consistency between them (Krueger & Casey, 2015). It was important to develop a question sequence that would encourage a logical and natural discussion flow. Following Krueger and Casey (2015), we arranged general questions before specific ones, and positive questions before negative ones. To promote group insights, questions were posed to a plural subject and we included two questions asking participants to think about cases that could have occurred to them. The final version of the questioning route included an opening question, an introductory question, two transition questions, seven key questions, and

an ending question. Questions covered experiences and opinions regarding raising children in Norway and meeting other parents and professionals in this context. The group sessions were planned to last a maximum of two hours from start to finish.

Each FGD started with a briefing providing information about the purpose of the study, explaining what the participation of each member involved, and answering any questions they had. I also asked participants for their written informed consent (Appendix 3). At this point, some participants handed over the mini questionnaire about basic demographic information that I had already sent all of them via Facebook or email together with a letter of invitation to the FGD (Appendix 4). Others filled in the mini questionnaire before getting started with the group session. I also offered participants for a refund for travel costs in the amount of a 100 NOK banknote in an envelope. In the briefing, I invited participants to introduce themselves; specifically, to say their names, the country they came from, how long they had lived in Norway, and the number and age of their children. After this, I offered them some lunch with a view to promoting communication within the group and to enable each participant to meet one another before the group discussion began. In both sessions, participants agreed to eat some food after the FGD. Yet offering lunch created a relaxed atmosphere because it prompted some humour among the participants, who joked about differences between Norway and Southern Europe regarding lunchtimes and the types of food served. Participants also refused to take a break in the middle of the session.

Following the questioning route, I posed open-ended, conversational questions so that the participants would engage in a conversation as they do in everyday life (Wilkinson, 1999). Each focus group discussion lasted 2 hours and was tape-recorded. The first FGD was conducted in English with a group of six mothers from Greece (2), Italy (2), and Spain (2) who had lived in Norway for more than five years[7]. The second one was

[7] Although the impact that the length of stay in a new country has on experiences in that country differs among individual migrants, I considered five years a suitable period in which the participants could become familiar to some extent with their new life situations in Norway.

conducted in Spanish with four mothers who migrated from Spain to Norway less than 5 years ago. All the mothers who had been invited attended the FGDs.

I had the main responsibility for moderating the discussion and for facilitating participation and sharing of diverse opinions. I also relied on a second researcher who acted as a co-moderator. Her tasks entailed taking notes, observing non-verbal interactions, and assisting in facilitating the discussion. She was also responsible for placing the audio recording in the middle of the table and making sure it was in working order. Because, as moderator, I shared some identity characteristics with the participants and this was beneficial for the discussion (Krueger & Casey, 2015), I reflected on the need to have a co-moderator whose identity would not negatively affect the group dynamics. I decided, for instance, not to have an ethnic-Norwegian co-moderator because this might have inhibited participants about disclosing some opinions or experiences about the host society. Based on these reflections, I considered that having a young female Spanish co-moderator who shared many identity characteristics with me would facilitate the mothers' discussions. The fact that she was doing ethnographic research with women seeking asylum in Norway was considered an asset for her co-moderation task because of the topics to be discussed in the FGD. Prior to the focus group discussions, I gave the co-moderator detailed information about the study and the procedure for conducting the FGD. We also went through the questioning route so she would be familiar with the questions, and she signed a working contract that included a confidentiality clause.

Participants were encouraged to talk about common experiences regarding mothering in migration. To facilitate the disclosure of different points of view, I asked for diverse opinions and experiences. An informal and comfortable environment characterized the FGDs, during which participants seemed to enjoy conversing. They laughed, asked each other questions, and interacted by sharing experiences and opinions. They agreed and disagreed with each other and tried to make sense of differences in their experiences (length of stay in Norway, and having Norwegian in-laws were mentioned as factors that could explain some divergent experiences).

5.4.2 Semi-structured interviews: a narrative approach

Qualitative interviews as a method of data generation produce detailed descriptions of the human experience (Finlay, 2012). In-depth interviews bring rich insights into people's opinions, feelings, emotions, and experiences told with their own words and language (Byrne, 2012). I chose to have semi-structured, in-depth interviews because this style of interviewing allowed me to be flexible regarding the order in which the topics were to be addressed. Semi-structured interviews are usually used in experience-centre narrative research (Squire, 2013), as they allow the interviewee to develop points of interest and own ideas regarding the topics raised (Denscombe, 2010). I considered this method to be adequate for my study because it aims "to understand themes of the lived everyday world from the subjects' own perspectives" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.27).

A narrative approach to interviewing was also assessed as beneficial to the study because it "necessitates following participants down their trails" (Riessman, 2008, p. 24). Narrative interviews focus on the stories the interviewees tell (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2013), which are seen as "social artefacts, telling us as much about society and culture as they do about a person or a group" (Riessman, 2008, p. 105). A narrative approach allowed me to get knowledge of informants' identity construction and meaning making processes (Chase, 2008), as well as the narrative and socio-historical contexts in which their stories are embedded (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). Following a narrative approach, I asked interviewees to share "their story" (Squire, 2013). I was a listener and a co-producer of their stories through silences, nods, and requests for clarification or further elaboration (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2013, p. 180).

The interviews also allowed a deeper exploration of topics that came up during the focus group discussions. Six mothers participating in the FGD had unique positions as mothers who were raising their children with their Norwegian partners or who were single. Because I was interested in further exploring how their experiences of mothering in migration were shaped by their unique situations, these mothers were invited to be interviewed individually after the FGD.

An interview guide was developed in Spring 2017 focusing on certain themes and including open and exploratory questions (Appendix 6). With a view to acquiring rich data that allowed a contextualization of the participants' storytelling, the questions we posed covered the interviewees' family backgrounds, life prior to migration, life transitions[8], life in Norway and future prospects. In the interview guide, specific questions were organized around the following topics: family background and life before migration, migration to Norway, parenting, welfare institutions and parenting, and future plans. The flexibility of this guide enabled us to explore topics raised by interviewees and to confirm my interpretation of their accounts (Vandermause & Fleming, 2011).

Fourteen parents agreed to be interviewed individually. However, on two occasions, the partner of the interviewee, who was present at their home where the interview took place, asked if she/he could join. I agreed to this proposition because a couple interview would produce richer data due to the interaction between both partners (Mavhandu-Mudzusi, 2018). In total, 14 interviews (12 individuals, 2 with couples) were conducted with 16 migrant parents (11 mothers and 5 fathers) from September 2017 to January 2018. They were carried out in Spanish (10) and English (4), lasted from 75 to 120 minutes, and were audio-recorded. To create a comfortable environment, I asked participants for a place where we could have the interview. The interviews were conducted in a café (3), at my office at the University (3), at informants' workplaces (3), and in their homes (4). In addition, one interview was conducted via Skype, and the informant and I were each in our own home. Tea or coffee was served during all the interviews, which helped to encourage a relaxed atmosphere that promoted storytelling. Conducting interviews in participants' home or via Skype offered the opportunity to observe how the migrant parents interacted with their families and gave me access to relevant aspects of their lives.

In the process of interviewing, I first informed the interviewee about the aims of the study, its methodology, what participation entailed, and asked for written consent. I

[8] Like emancipation, getting married, becoming a parent, getting an Erasmus grant, and job loss.

explained the narrative approach to interviewing and stressed that to understand better how it is for them to raise a child in Norway, I needed knowledge of the wider context framing their meaning making and experiences. I also emphasized that the interviewee was the expert on the research topic and, therefore, they would decide what was important for me to know about that topic. This helped me to emphasize interviewees' agency and manage the power imbalance in research interviews. When I introduced myself, I briefly shared my story of migration to Norway and answered interviewees' questions about my life. I believe this helped to establish a relaxed atmosphere as well as personal rapport and mutual trust.

Regarding the structure of the narratives, many interviewees started their stories with the events that motivated their decision to move to Norway. This has to do with my presentation of the research topic (parenting in migration). When this happened, and using the interview guide, I let the interviewees present their own story and what they considered relevant about it. I also asked them some questions about their life prior to migration to contextualize their stories. All the topics included in the interview guide were addressed in all the interviews to a different degree in terms of depth, and I got rich data about past and present experiences. Interviews were concluded after referring to the aim of the study and asking the interviewee whether they thought anything had been left out that they had not mentioned in their story. I asked for feedback on the interview. Interviewees shared that they had felt comfortable and that sharing their story had been a positive experience for them. This is consistent with literature pointing out that a research interview can be a positive experience (Kvale, 2008).

5.5 Analysis

Qualitative analysis is an ongoing process of reflection on the research topic. Data is often analysed simultaneously as it is being generated (Gobo, 2008). In my study, an initial analysis took place as I conducted the interviews and focus group discussions, had informal conversations with migrants in the events, observed some discussions migrants had in these gatherings and the Facebook groups, had conversations with the

FGD co-moderator, supervisors, co-authors and other researchers, read literature, and transcribed the data.

5.5.1 Transcribing

I transcribed verbatim the audio-recordings of FGD and interviews myself and assume that this enhanced the accuracy and good quality of the data. This was an opportunity for me to get immersed in the data and to conduct a preliminary analysis. I decided to translate the data that had been collected in Spanish into written English because neither the supervisors nor the co-authors of the articles could read Spanish. To promote readability, sounds of less relevance to the interview were included in the manuscript to a small extent (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Expressions and sounds like "ok" and "mmm" were present in the transcriptions when they had an impact on the storytelling; for instance, if they motivated the interviewee to explain something further. The first interview was transcribed on the same day it was conducted. Taking a reflexive approach, I examined the interaction between the interviewee (a Spanish father) and myself as the interviewer. I realized that the interviewee frequently referred to my Spanish background with statements like "you know how the Spanish education system works". This made me aware, for example, of the need to include more follow-up questions asking the interviewee to develop further a topic that he/she might assume I did not need more detail about because of my Spanish background.

Regarding the transcriptions of the FGD, the notes taken by the co-moderator helped me to identify who was talking when this was not clear because participants talked simultaneously, or the recording had poor audio quality. In a few cases, I could not hear clearly what was said, and this was noted in the transcript.

5.5.2 *Thematic Analysis (Articles I, III)*

I immersed myself in the data by re-reading the transcripts for the purpose of familiarizing myself with the material and getting an overview of its content in its entirety. At this early stage, I saw that emotions, while not directly addressed in the questioning route and interview guide, were key elements in migrant mothers' accounts of their mothering experiences, particularly, when attempting to give meaning to their

own mothering and their encounters with host and origin societies and institutions. Therefore, I realized that to get a better understanding of mothering in migration, I needed to look at mothers' reflections on their emotions.

Article I explored migrant mothers' reflections on their emotions regarding raising their children in the context of migration. For the purpose of this article, I identified and selected extracts from the data that were relevant to the research topic (mothers' reflections on their emotions) and the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Article I draws on data from the FGD and the interviews with mothers (individual and couple interviews). This decision was motivated by the extensive literature that draws attention to the gendered patterns of blame and disapproval within dominant conceptions of parenthood (Caplan, 1989; Jackson & Mannix, 2004).

I used thematic analysis inspired by the model proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), because of its flexibility and because it allows patterns to be identified and analysed across the dataset. As Braun and Clarke stated, thematic analysis is used for "identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns within the data" (p. 79). First, while I re-read the selected data, I took notes focusing on patterns across the data that were relevant to address the research topic. I also ticked off some data extracts that could be grouped under a code. Second, I produced initial codes by rereading the material and my notes. These codes were descriptive and generated from terms taken directly from the transcripts. In the third phase, I put together the codes related to the topic of "mothers' reflections on emotions regarding raising their children in the context of migration" in preliminary categories that allowed additional levels of interpretation. I then combined these categories to develop initial themes that involved broader patterns of meaning. In the process of generating themes, I also considered the latent content, that is, the concepts underpinning the data. In the fourth stage, the initial themes were checked against the dataset to verify that they contained a shared meaning underpinned by a relevant idea related to the research topic. Next, I defined and named the themes (phase 5), which referred to two areas in relation to which migrant mothers reflected on their emotions: a) dialogue-based and child-centred mothering ideals, and b) cultural differences in social interactions, eating, and drinking patterns (Appendix 7). Relevant

theories and theoretical concepts of mother-blame, emotion work, and framing and feeling rules were combined with the themes resulting in a final report that included theoretical explanations and data extracts (phase 6).

Article III explores the experiences of Southern European migrant parents having had professional advice about family leisure and outdoor play, and with a focus on how they respond to discourses of risk in this context. Instead of analysing the whole dataset, I focused on the parts of the FGD and interview transcripts that included parents' experiences with Norwegian welfare professionals. Following Braun and Clarke's six steps (2006), I reread the transcripts looking for parents' experiences with welfare professionals who work with families in Norway. These especially included detailed accounts of encounters with two professionals: community health nurses and kindergarten professionals. I decided to extract the data about parents' experiences with these two kinds of professionals aiming to be able to have a closer look at negotiations around parenting and risk discourses in these encounters.

The coding followed an inductive approach, meaning that the content of the data directed codes formation. However, it is important to acknowledge that it is not possible to be completely free of pre-existing understandings (Finlay, 2012; Holroyd, 2007; Malterud, 2001) and that my pre-understandings from reading literature may have influenced coding and themes formation. I analysed the data for Article III during my research stay at Kent University where I participated in the post-graduate module titled "The family, parenting culture and parenting policy" taught by Professor Lee, co-author of Article III. This course draws on sociological perspectives on parenting, childhood, family policies, and risk society that helped me to develop my coding frame. Therefore, the analysis in Article III followed an abductive approach.

Codes were organized and gathered into initial themes and subthemes focusing on how parents navigated constructions of risk in the professional encounters. The analysis and definition of these resulted in the following final themes: a) contesting discourses of risk: disputing professional advice or looking for a compromise; b) feigning cooperation; and c) accepting discourses of risk: collaborative or compliant

relationships (Appendix 7). The article has more elements of descriptions because it focuses on how participants described their encounters with the professionals regarding advice on family leisure and outdoor play.

In Articles I and III, NVivo12 software for qualitative analysis helped me organize the material. Some of the selected material that was most thematically relevant for the articles was also examined by the co-authors. The notes I took in the meetings that I had with them guided my further analysis of the material related to each of the articles.

5.5.3 Narrative Analysis (Article II)

Article II draws on the 14 interviews with migrant parents and is inspired by narrative analysis. Narrative research is an interdisciplinary field that includes different approaches to knowing a phenomenon (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013; Riessman, 2008). These require a "close reading" of texts to address how events and experiences are given meaning and are told through processes of narrative co-construction (Riessman, 2013, p. 257). In general, narrative methods pay attention to intention and language (Riessman, 2008, p. 11), that is, to how and why experiences and events are told, and to what a person aims to accomplish with their storytelling. This entails interest in the context that influences the storytelling regarding what is told and how this is told, and what remains silent (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009).

I was inspired by both thematic and structural approaches to narrative analysis. Bruner (1986) differentiated between "life as lived", the events in someone's life, "life as experienced", the meanings someone give to those events, and "life as told", how the experience is articulated in a context and to an audience. Drawing on this distinction, my analysis of the narratives was particularly concerned with how informants made sense of their migration experiences (life as experienced) and how they articulated these (life as told). As for the theoretical orientation of my analysis, I was influenced by an experience-centred narrative approach (Squire, 2013) that sees narratives "as stories of experience, rather than events" (p. 47), constructed from embodied, gendered, and unequal positions within the social world. Following these approaches, I reread the interview transcripts paying particular attention to the content ("the told")

and identified patterns across them. While reading each narrative, I asked myself "what is this story about?" to describe the narratives thematically. I found that the parents were constructing and telling their stories of migration from Southern Europe to Norway. A detail that helped me to identify this was that many interviewees started their storytelling with the event that motivated their decision to leave their country of origin.

Next, I focused on how the themes developed and how they were arranged in sequences. Looking for an interpretative frame, I moved back and forth between the transcripts to test arguments that could explain the narratives (Squire, 2013). At this stage, I looked at the structure of the narratives ("the telling"). I was concerned with both the way the storyteller narrated their story ("how is the storyteller putting the story together?") and what the storyteller aimed to accomplish with the storytelling ("why is she/he doing so in a certain way?"). The lens of sense making and storytelling (Maclean, Harvey, & Chia, 2012) helped me to explore what participants aimed to accomplish with their storytelling.

Looking at the narrative structure also allowed me to go beyond the narration of events and to pay attention to processes of identity formation within the co-production of stories. It facilitated the identification of similarities and differences in the meaning making of certain events for storytellers and the exploration of the functions of sequences in the overall narrative, something I would have missed if I had conducted only thematic narrative analysis (Riessman, 2008). The quest for being involved in their children's upbringing came up as a theme that structured the narratives of migration regardless of the circumstances surrounding the decision to migrate, such as becoming unemployed or falling in love with an ethnic-Norwegian. Storytellers gave meaning to their experiences of migration through their storytelling around their family aspirations, and by doing so, they positioned themselves in relation to hegemonic discourses on parenting, citizenship, and immigration.

5.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues apply to all stages of research (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). These are especially relevant for social scientists who are in close contact with participants and face issues that may have not been anticipated in the planning of the study and that involve questions regarding personal disclosure, privacy, and the role of the researcher in cross-cultural settings (Israel & Hay, 2006; Lewis, 2003). In this section, I present the ethical concerns I encountered during my study and the decisions I made to address these.

5.6.1 Ethical clearance

Ethical clearance for the study was obtained from the Norwegian Social Sciences Data Services (NSD) on 3 July 2017 (Appendix 1). The recruitment of participants and data generation were conducted in line with the ethical guidelines developed by these services. However, obtaining ethical clearance and following ethical guidelines are not the only steps needed to ensure ethical research (Wood, 2006), and researchers face many dilemmas over the different stages of the research process.

5.6.2 Consent to participate in the study

Consent is a central component of research ethics safeguarding participants' decision-making capacity (Beauchamp, 2009). Participants need to receive and understand the information relevant to the decision to participate in the study and the possible consequences of this. Considering this information is an essential stage of the decision-making process. Thus, researchers must provide potential participants with information about the aim of the study, methods, what participation involves, and any potential risks related to it, and how the data will be used (Israel, 2014). This should be done in a comprehensible way to ensure participants understand the provided information (Silverman, 2011). For consent to be a volunteer, there should be no coercion, meaning that participants should not feel they are under any pressure to participate.

In my study, potential participants were given detailed information about the study purpose, the research process, methodology, how the data would be used, and what their participation would mean. They were also informed about the possibility to

withdraw from the study at any time. This was done in written format (flyers, Facebook posts, emails, and Messenger) or verbally (face-to-face or telephone communication) either by myself or by someone from my personal network or from a participant. To make sure that participants who were recruited via peer-to-peer recruitment or snowballing were well informed about the study, I contacted them by telephone prior to data generation. Moreover, at the start of the FGD and interviews, I repeated the information about the study and went through the informed consent forms that had been sent to participants via email or Messenger. All participants signed this document before the FGD or interviews started (Appendix 3). Yet, obtaining written consent may give a false impression that the research is going to be conducted ethically, whereas consent is a process that should be negotiated during the entire course of the research.

An example of an ethical question I faced regarding consent was the case of a father who agreed to participate in the study after his wife, who had participated in an FGD, told him that I was interested in male perspectives, but had not yet succeeded in recruiting a father. Although I had already met him in an event and told him about the study, he only agreed to participate through his wife. This raised a dilemma: "was he participating because he felt pressure from his wife to do so? How could I be sure his participation was informed and free? How could I build a relationship based on trust so that he could withdraw his participation if he did not want to participate?" I decided to contact him via telephone and provided him with detailed information about the study. With indirect questions and an informal conversation, I sought an explanation for why he did not agree to participate in the study when we first met. He said that he was interested in participating but he thought that because his wife agreed to join the FGD, sharing his experience of raising his child would be redundant. This conversation was very relevant to set the stage for the interview because I was able to clarify for the participant what the aims of the study were and the reasons why I was interested in his experiences and meaning making.

Ethical dilemmas related to consent came up in the interviews with couples. I had agreed to interview an individual (a father, and a mother) in their homes, and their partner asked if they could join the interview. On both occasions, I needed to make

sure that the participation of both interviewees was informed and voluntary. I considered that the partners consented to participate voluntarily because they expressed a will to be interviewed when their participation was not expected. On the first occasion, I was invited to go to a separate room to interview the mother, and her husband personally offered to join the interview. On the second one, I was interviewing the father when his wife arrived home and the interviewee asked her about some details he had not been able to remember when he was talking with me. She asked if she could join the interview. When the partners proposed to join the interview, I provided them with detailed information about the study and asked for their informed consent. The parents who had agreed to be interviewed in the first place had already signed the informed consent form but since the interview context had changed (the partner wanted to join), I needed to remind them about this and ask again for their consent to have a couple interview. Both said they preferred a couple interview because their partners could provide information that they might not remember. These experiences exemplify that obtaining consent is not an event but a process (Alderson & Morrow, 2011).

Having obtained consent on the grounds of exploring participants' opinions, I was responsible, as a researcher, to ensure that all FGD participants had the opportunity to share their views (Sim & Waterfield, 2019). Yet, I also needed to ensure that no one felt forced to contribute in a particular discussion. Finding this balance was important so that the expectations formed in the consent process would be met. In the FGD, this required that I would be a competent moderator who would implement some strategies to stimulate conversation, engage participants, and ask questions to ascertain whether they were comfortable with the discussion when sensitive issues came up.

Finally, regarding the revocability of consent concerning focus group discussions, participants were informed in the consent form and at the briefing that they could withdraw from the study at any time and what this meant. In particular, I explained that if anyone withdrew from the FGD, their data would not be quoted in any publication; however, I could not guarantee that all their data would be entirely withdrawn because of difficulties in identifying each informant in the audio recording. Moreover, their contributions to the FGD would not be deleted until the data had been analysed.

5.6.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality involves the decisions the researcher makes to disclose or restrict the access of others to the information given by the participant. Anonymity relates to what is done so participants cannot be identified in the information collected and disseminated. Researchers take steps to assure that participants' personal information would not be disclosed in such a way that others can identify them. Personal information includes age, religion, and personal background like education.

In my study, participants were informed that the data would be stored and reported in anonymized form. However, I did not ensure data confidentiality because I reported some chunks of data directly in the form of quotations (Sim & Waterfield, 2019). Furthermore, FGDs are not compatible with complete confidentiality because I am unable to guarantee that one or more participants would not disclose what they heard from others outside the group (Krueger & Casey, 2015). For this reason, participants consented to the possibility that their participation in the FGD might entail certain risks (Tolich, 2009). Moreover, in the briefing, I urged them to have these risks in mind when they were going to disclose personal information to the group. To promote a safe space and emphasize the importance of not revealing anything that was going to be shared in the discussion, I asked FGD participants, the babysitter, and the co-moderator to sign a non-disclosure agreement. Likewise, in the briefing, I highlighted how important it was to respect others' views and keep the content of the discussion within the group to create a good atmosphere in which everyone felt comfortable about sharing their experiences and viewpoints. To maintain anonymity and avoid disclosure of information about other participants, it has been recommended that FGD participants should not know one another (Sim & Waterfield, 2019). Yet, in each of the FGDs conducted for my study, two mothers already knew each other. For this reason, I also emphasized in the briefing that participants could disclose own experiences and opinions and ask each other questions without revealing or referring to others' experiences. I was prepared to moderate the discussion if someone disclosed information about another participant she knew from before without consent. However,

none of the members of the group did this; in fact, the pre-existing relationships of some mothers created a comfortable atmosphere for the discussion.

As for anonymity, I did not write participants' names in any document. These were only present in their signatures on the informed consent forms and FGD non-disclosure agreements. Following NSD recommendations, these documents, together with the audio recordings, were deleted and the transcripts were anonymized by using pseudonyms. The advertisements posted on Facebook groups were deleted after data generation. This ensured confidentiality because some participants had replied to the posts saying that they would be interested in participating.

Personal information was collected for my study because it was important to be able to contextualize the data. In this regard, I replaced FGD participants' names with pseudonyms in the mini questionnaire they filled in with socio-demographic information and stored separately from the FGD transcripts. To ensure informants' anonymity and at the same time provide contextual information, I anonymized the interview transcripts by changing names of places and using pseudonyms. I omitted the exact work position participants had and replaced it with the name of the professional field. Age and years lived in Norway were also presented at intervals. This was especially important regarding the interview data, because following a narrative approach, I collected contextual information that would help me to understand interviewees' storytelling. In the articles, I omitted some personal characteristics and information about participants' situations that could have identified them. Nevertheless, I decided to include some personal information to provide more context and verifiability when the potential harm in losing anonymity was assessed to be minimal.

FGD and interview audio files were kept in password secured folders on my computer, which is also protected with a password. They were deleted once the data were analysed. I was the only person with access to raw data. Once I anonymized the data, they were kept in a secure location (a computer protected with a password to which only I had access). Co-authors had access to this anonymized form of the data.

5.6.4 Risk of harm and relational ethics of categorization

The FGD questioning route was designed with caution to avoid words or questions that might cause informants' emotional distress. I asked open and exploratory questions about topics that were not sensitive. However, I knew that the discussion could become more emotional and that this would require skilful moderation so as to offer informants a secure and supportive environment, to redirect the conversation, and to avoid any risk of psychological harm. In the briefing that was part of the consent process, I explained that although the topic of discussion was not sensitive, participants might experience distress depending on how the discussion developed (Sim & Waterfield, 2019). However, what I experienced was that the FGDs provided participants with a secure and supportive space to disclose their views, experiences, and even emotions. When a mother reflected on unpleasant feelings (blame, fear, remorse), the rest of the group supported her with words of comfort before I moderated the discussion and offered emotional support. After each session, I had lunch with participants, and they stressed how positive it was to share their opinions and feelings with others who were in a similar situation. This is in line with Ybarra et al. (2014) who found out that FGD can bring a positive contribution to participants rather than harm. In any case, when unpleasant feelings are disclosed, it is important to reflect whether the discussion may involve harm. My attendance at the events organized by the migrant communities along with observations of informal conversations in the Facebook groups helped me to distinguish the risk of harm from other experiences migrant parents often disclose to each other. I observed that migrant parents commonly express feelings they have regarding raising their children in the context of migration, and these involved stress, fear, and shame. This helped me to identify the risk of harm in the FGD because I realized that not all unpleasant feelings were necessarily harmful (Sim & Waterfield, 2019, p. 12).

It is important to disseminate the research findings to audiences that can benefit from such knowledge (Iphofen, 2011). I have presented my study and the knowledge produced in different research groups at the University of Bergen such as The Child Welfare, Equality and Social Inclusion Research Group, Graduate School of Human

Interaction and Growth, and The International Migration and Ethnic Relations Research Unit. My two research stays abroad were great opportunities to disseminate the findings in different institutions and groups at the Universities of Radboud and Kent (Reproducing Europe Research Project and Centre for Parenting Culture Studies). I also presented a draft of Article I to the international academic community in a conference organized by EUSARF (European Scientific Association on Residential and Family Care for Children and Adolescents). Moreover, the publications have been disseminated through the academic research website Researchgate.

Finally, it is relevant to reflect on the categories used to represent participants and the ethical challenges this categorizing implies. Social categories may overlook differences within groups, reproduce dominant deficit discourses, and reinforce Othering (Stride, 2014; Thorjussen & Wilhelmsen, 2020). This is especially the risk involved in studies that focus on an aspect of the experiences of a group of people like ethnicity. At the same time, social categories can be used to recognize power structures and inequality (Gunaratnam, 2003).

Migrant families are represented in the media through categories that emphasize their Otherness and that reflect the political discourse (migrants' unwillingness to integrate) (Lewis, 2006; Sadowski, 2015). Regarding research on migration, Juozeliūnienė and colleagues (2020) explored how Lithuanian researchers represent the change of family relations within global migration and found that they are influenced by institutionalized discourses and normative family ideologies. Consequently, researchers use terms that reflect "images of how a family should be" (p. 73) and portray transnational families as vulnerable and troubling.

I have used the term "migrant parents" because, like Abrego (2014), I understand that "migrant" reflects movement and is therefore a term that is more suitable to my study because it is framed by a cultural translation perspective. "Immigrant", contrarily, is more a reflection of settlement in a host country and thus fails to capture the interactions through which practices and ideas are moving and in a process of transformation across places. Participants identified themselves by the term "migrant

parents" as illustrated by their response to the call for participation in which this term was used. They also used this term to position themselves in relation to other groups of parents. However, I am aware that I have employed a category used in media and political discourses with negative connotations, particularly associated with lacking skills and knowledge to meet the standard of "good" parenting (Raffaetà, 2016). To minimize the risk of reproducing Otherness and power asymmetries, a narrative approach and sociological perspectives on parenting promoted a nuanced understanding of the research topic, one that challenges dominant representations of migrant parents. The narrative lens helped me to explore how social categories shaped storytelling and how storytellers challenged or reproduced power relations by questioning or using such categories. Through their storytelling, participants challenged categories of the Other, constructed counter-narratives and capitalized on some elements present in public discourses to present themselves in alternative ways. Moreover, my study recognizes other issues, different from migration and culture, that shape negotiations involving parenting such as gender, class, and age. Thus, it acknowledges the wider context of experiences of parenting in migration that is often overlooked in media and professional discourses, as I will discuss in this dissertation.

6. Findings

This dissertation consists of three articles, each of which addresses a research question that aims to get knowledge about an important aspect related to parenting in migration.

	Article I	**Article II**	**Article III**
Title	The emotional journey of motherhood in migration. The case of Southern European mothers in Norway.	Self-legitimation and sense-making of Southern European parents' migration to Norway: The role of family aspirations.	"The more you go to the mountains, the better parent you are". Migrant parents in Norway navigating risk discourses in professional advice on family leisure and outdoor play.
Aim	To explore the reflections of migrant mothers regarding mothering in migration and the role of emotions in this context.	To explore how migrant parents narrate their migration to Norway and what may be accomplished through their storytelling.	To explore the experiences of migrant parents with professional advice on family leisure and outdoor play in Norway.
Data	2 FGD and 11 interviews	14 interviews	2 FGD and 14 interviews
Analysis	Thematic Analysis	Narrative Analysis	Thematic Analysis
Theoretical concepts/ perspectives	Feeling and framing rules; emotion work (Hochschild)	Narrative Theory; aspirations in migration (Carling)	Parents as risk managers (Furedi; Lee). Double bind (Bateson)
Findings	Themes: a) dialogued-based, child-centred mothering; b) cultural differences in social interactions, eating, drinking patterns.	Stories of satisfaction, disillusionment and sacrifice articulated around family aspirations.	Themes: a) contesting discourses of risk; b) feigning cooperation; c) accepting professional intervention and advice in either collaborative or compliant relationships.

6.1 Article I: The emotional journey of motherhood in migration. The case of Southern European mothers in Norway.

Drawing on the data generated through FGD and interviews with migrant mothers, this article explores Greek, Italian, and Spanish mothers' reflections about mothering in migration and the emotions they associate with this. In doing this, the paper provides knowledge about how it is to be a migrant mother negotiating mothering ideals and rules about how one should feel about one's mothering.

When talking about raising their children in the context of migration, the mothers reflected on the emotions they felt in relation to two themes: a) dialogue-based and child-centred mothering ideals; and b) cultural differences in social interactions, eating, and drinking patterns. The mothers encountered several mothering ideals in their meeting with others (professionals, other parents, friends, relatives, wider society), and this evoked emotions like guilt, pride, satisfaction, frustration, and blame. Norway was associated with a more dialogue-based and child-centred mothering that brought out positive emotions because it supported some mothering practices they aspired to embrace. At the same time, in negotiating notions of "good" mothering encountered in Norway, the mothers felt guilt for past mothering and blame and shame for failing to live up to the mothering ideal or for being judged by others for this. Furthermore, the cultural clashes the mothers experienced in aspects of their everyday lives like diet and sociability brought out ambivalent emotions about their mothering.

The sociological emotion-based perspective proposed by Hochschild provided grounds to support the interactional nature of emotions stressing that mothers are active agents managing their emotions through social interactions. Framed by the concepts of feeling and framing rules, and emotion work, the discussion draws attention to how migrant mothers managed contrasting rules about how they should feel about their mothering across countries. Although the mothers perceived that intensive mothering is the framing rule when thinking about mothering in both Norway and their countries of origin, they reflected on cultural values and understandings of childhood that inform different mothering practices in these countries. Through the management of their

emotions with techniques like idealizing family life in Norway, contextualizing their mothering, and stressing positive values of their cultures of origin, the mothers established and maintained relationships to host and origin countries and negotiated their belonging to both. The paper shows that a focus on emotions contributes to the exploration of how migrant mothers make sense of their experiences of mothering and construct their sense of belonging.

6.2 Article II: Self-legitimation and sense-making of Southern European parents' migration to Norway: The role of family aspirations.

Based on in-depth interviews with 16 Southern European parents living in Norway, this article explores how migrant parents narrated their migration to Norway. Following a thematic narrative approach, "the quest for a good family life" was identified as a thematic pattern across the narratives. Inspired by a structural approach to narrative analysis, attention was paid to how storytellers articulated their stories. In this regard, "the quest for a good family life" was found to be a theme that structured and gave unity and meaning to the narratives of migration.

The migrant parents framed their decision to migrate to Norway around their aspiration to be involved parents and build a nuclear, dual-earner/dual-carer family model. Through their storytelling, they portrayed Norway as a country where the public provisions and working conditions supported their family aspirations. They described this country as a good place in which to raise their children, also due to Norwegian discourses on parenting, children, gender equality, and citizenship that include moral values like equality, honesty, and participation. In contrast, storytellers emphasized how difficult it would be to achieve their family aspirations in their countries of origin characterized by family-unfriendly working conditions. Likewise, they pointed out corruption and nepotism in Southern Europe as signs of the decline of moral values experienced by these societies after 2008, which reinforced their views that they could not fulfil their family aspirations in these countries. Together with stories of satisfaction regarding their lives in Norway, the migrant parents told stories of disillusionment due to the difficulties experienced by some in accessing family-friendly public provisions

and obtaining a middle-class job. Distance from relatives and some social conventions encountered in Norway were also major demotivating factors in their family lives after migration.

Inspired by the lens of storytelling, the paper analyses what the migrant parents aimed to accomplish with their storytelling. Storytellers drew symbolic boundaries based on notions of parenting, childhood, and family life. The migrant parents positioned themselves closer to understandings of the role of the state in family life, and notions of "proper" childhood and parenting that are present in public discourses in Norway. By doing so, they claimed their membership in the host society and legitimated their migration, permanent stay and parenting in Norway. At the same time, they drew a line of distinction between themselves and the images of a "migrant parent" and "labour migrant" present in public discourses in Norway (as performing problematic parenting practices and as putting a strain on the Norwegian welfare state, respectively). Norwegian discourses on childhood, parenting, and citizenship were the narrative context in which the storytellers constructed and told their migration narratives. These discourses provided them with resources, for instance the notions of children's rights, child-centred parenting, and "good citizen", for understanding themselves and their migration, thereby accomplishing the task of legitimation. The paper shows that narrative lens is relevant for exploring self-legitimation processes, an exploration that can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of intra-European post-2008 migration.

6.3 Article III: "The more you go to the mountains, the better parent you are". Migrant parents in Norway navigating risk discourses in professional advice on family leisure and outdoor play.

The article explored how migrant parents responded to discourses of risk embedded in expert knowledge on children's outdoor play and family leisure in their encounters with community health nurses and kindergarten professionals in Norway. Thematic analysis was conducted with the entire dataset, and three themes were identified: a) contesting

discourses of risk; b) feigning cooperation; and c) accepting professional intervention and advice in either collaborative or compliant relationships.

The discussion was framed by the concepts of the double bind and parents as risk managers. The migrant parents perceived that professionals regarded them as responsible/irresponsible parents depending on how well they managed what professionals constructed as risks to their children's wellbeing, like late bedtimes or adult alcohol consumption in front of children. These risks were related to parents' lifestyle choices associated with their countries of origin, for instance, including children in their free time with other adults. The parents experienced that their decisions about family leisure and outdoor play operated as a measure of their parenting and put them in a double-bind position, in which they were asked to protect their children from multiple risks to their wellbeing and to expose them to risks so they acquire important skills.

The double bind was easier to manage on the subject of outdoor play; the parents acknowledged the benefits of outdoor play for their children. They also felt they could contest discourses of risk on this topic because professionals would position them as over-protective rather than irresponsible parents. However, on the subject of family leisure, the migrant parents experienced more tension to navigate professional discourses of risk. This tension came up as a strong contrast in understandings of childhood and adult responsibility regarding children's socialization. In this context, meeting professionals' demands meant exclusion from relationships with their communities of origin. Fears of being categorized as poor risk managers and, consequently, being reported to the NCWS, and feelings of being marginalized in relation to the host society motivated migrant parents' decision to play along or comply with discourses of risk within professional advice. The paper contributes to studies of risk and parenting by exploring the workings of a double bind in the context of migration where particular tensions arise due to contrasting cultural framings of risk.

7. Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I will discuss four main themes that tie together the findings presented in the articles and that are relevant to building a nuanced understanding of the research topic. The first theme discusses how migrant parents exercise agency in negotiating parenting cultures and how this experience is influenced by gender, class, culture, and the structural conditions they encounter across countries. Second, I will discuss some findings that indicate that migrant parents are Othered in discourses that manifest unequal power relations and that have a moral dimension that implies how "good" parents and citizens should behave. The third theme presents the boundary-work through which migrant parents respond to Othering discourses and position themselves in relation to different groups of people. Fourth, I will discuss how the findings can illuminate the different ways through which migrant parents navigate their identities and belonging. Then, I will discuss some methodological aspects regarding trustworthiness of research, that is, the decisions I made to ensure the quality of the study and the limitations these may entail. Finally, a discussion of the implications of the study and a conclusion are included.

7.1 Discussion of findings

7.1.1 Agency and structure in migrant parents' negotiations around parenting

Migrant parents negotiate their parenting in relation to global and local parenting ideals through social interactions in diverse arenas like institutional, household, and local community in both the origin and host countries. In this negotiation, the individual situations of the parents, gender, class, and culture intersect in ways that shape their responses to such ideals. The voices of migrant parents, therefore, shed light on the experiences of handling frameworks around parenting, opportunities, and structural constraints to meeting notions of "good" parenting in a cross-cultural context. By using an actors' perspective and sociological approaches to parenting and emotions, I argue against representing parents as passive individuals who internalize parenting ideals and recognize the wider context that influences negotiations around parenting.

Drawing on insights from the literature on intensive parenting (Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013; Hays, 1996; Lee et al., 2014), I showed that migrant parents re-construct their parenting influenced by parenting ideologies. Intensive parenting was the standard against which parents assessed themselves and were assessed by others, and to which they responded in negotiating their parenting (Faircloth, 2014, p.31). Framed by this parenting ideology, there were expectations as to how one should feel about one's parenting that the parents encountered and managed through social interactions ("feeling rules"; Hochschild, 1979). Due to the gendered parenting roles in intensive parenting, mothers in particular reflected on expected emotions they should feel about their mothering and the emotional adjustment they performed to manage those (Erickson, 1993; Veazey, 2018). In this aspect, Hochschild's concept of emotion work helped unpack the strategies through which the mothers reframed their mothering and managed their emotions (Article I). Specifically, they idealized family life in Norway, reminded themselves about aspects of their culture of origin that contributed to their mothering, and pointed out structural constraints to justify their inability to perform mothering practices that experts and other parents deemed appropriate.

Framed by the model of cultural translation (van Beurden & de Haan, 2019) and consistent with previous literature (Kempny-Mazur, 2017), I claim that migrant parents negotiate parenting ideals and re-think and develop parenting practices to better address the challenges they and their children encounter in the post-migration context. Inspired by Ryan and colleagues (2009, p. 72) and their work on family strategies among Polish migrants in London, I argue that the multiple individuals' and families' situations, needs, and aspirations should be considered if we want to understand the experiences of parenting among migrants. Raising their children in "contact zones" (de Haan, 2011), migrant parents encounter and analyse diverse frameworks for thinking and feeling about their parenting ("feeling and framing rules"; Hochschild, 1979). This situation led participants to take a critical stance towards their parenting practices and to assess whether these can provide appropriate responses to the demands of their new realities. In line with Erstad's study on the socialization practices among Norwegian-Pakistani mothers (2015), participants took "pragmatic and reflexive approaches"

towards upbringing goals and parenting practices of the past and present, from their cultures of origin, from the Norwegian culture, and from globally circulating discourses. This negotiation illustrates the agency of the migrant parent, that is, their "capacity to act within as well as up against social structures" (Jensen, 2011, p. 66).

Inspired by Gedalof (2009), I understand that migrant parents re-construct their parenting in their attempts to ensure stability for their families and to continue to care for their children in the post-migration context. Continuity and change are interconnected because migrant parents raising their children in a changing environment need to re-think their parenting to achieve similar goals while adjusting to new societal structures. They may also consider the upbringing goals they had before migration and re-construct these, transforming, in this way, their ideas about what their parental role should entail. As shown in the articles, in negotiating parenting cultures, migrant parents may position themselves as learners. Yet, this positioning does not imply that parents are passively resigning themselves to new practices (Bergset, 2020). When participants described such a learning experience, they emphasized having agency in observing, selecting, rejecting, and testing out practices. This emerged when the parents considered some practices as beneficial for their children's upbringing, for the functioning of their families, or for themselves as these helped them become the parents they aspired to be and helped them avoid feelings of guilt. Moreover, like the South Sudanese parents in Jaysane-Darr's study (2013), participants embraced some "Norwegian" parenting practices because these would help them to ensure their children's success in Norway. This shows that they had a contextualized view of parenting and saw "Norwegian" parenting as part of the new culture they needed to become familiar with to succeed in the new socio-cultural context.

Reflexivity about the socio-cultural context of parenting also led to justifying their own approaches (Articles I, III). For instance, parents with working-class jobs were more critical towards children's participation rights based on the assumption that these values would not ensure what they understood as a "proper" upbringing. Despite living in a country with family-friendly policies, their employment situation did not necessarily provide economic stability nor access to state provisions facilitating the

work-family balance. For these parents, ideals like egalitarianism and work-life balance were "a predicament that is not realized into society's functioning" (Raffaetà, 2015, p. 1207). Criticisms about lack of competitiveness in practices of Norwegian educational institutions were found across the data regardless of participants' occupations and level of education (Articles I, II). This is linked to the migration-related challenges that participants faced. Even those with educational and occupational resources that could protect them from a precarious situation narrated experiences of unfair treatment in the workplace and having to face more challenges in building a family in an unfamiliar place than ethnic Norwegians. Based on this and their experiences with the labour market and welfare state of their countries of origin, participants questioned whether egalitarian values would prepare their children to succeed in a world they deemed unequal.

In Article II, narrative theory and the lens of aspirations (Carling, 2002) helped to provide an understanding of how migrant parents imagine family arrangements influenced by the socio-cultural context (Appadurai, 2004; Bal & Willems, 2014). My analysis showed storytellers' aspirations and ability to create own stories and to position themselves in relation to wider discourses. It acknowledged migrant parents' ability to "imagine, plan, strategize and think about their migration" ("cognitive agency"; Erel, 2009, p. 11) and about their parenting. This agency was exercised by migrant parents as they imagined and planned their futures and was constrained and supported by the wider context such as welfare state provisions, and educational and financial resources. Constructing counternarratives, participants gave alternative explanations for their migration and legitimized their decision to move to Norway and their parenthood in this country. In this way, they challenged stereotypical images that are present in public discourses in Norway of migrant parents as deficient parents and of labour migrants as welfare recipients (Gullestad, 2002; Hollekim, 2016).

Social class is of great relevance in shaping negotiations around parenting (e.g., Gillies, 2009; Lareau, 2011). My findings suggest that class has a fluid character in contexts of migration as some participants experienced a mismatch between their education (university degree) and working occupation (manual unskilled-semiskilled job), and a

change in their class status after migration (from middle to working-class). The findings also illustrate that parenting experiences and family aspirations were shaped by the socio-economic status participants had before and after migration. Those with a university education and professional/managerial jobs, which could be considered middle-class, positioned themselves closer to notions of "good" parenting and childhood embedded in the ideology of intensive parenting (Article II). Not only did these parents have the time and financial resources needed to be more likely to meet the demands of intensive parenting, but they also identified with notions of children as individuals with own rights and parenting as dialogue-based. Already embracing such thinking prepared them to better present themselves as "good" parents in front of professionals, which I consider a reason why I found less fear of being reported to the NCWS among this group (Article III). These parents were thankful for living in Norway where they perceived that the working conditions, society, and welfare state supported their family aspirations (Articles II, III).

My analysis contributes to a body of literature that has shown the tensions between parenting cultures and parents' experiences (Bristow, 2014; Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013; Huppatz, 2018). The migrant parents engaged with intensive parenting in complex ways shaped by the structural constraints and cultural frameworks of origin and host countries. Before migrating, they faced challenges to achieve the work-family balance, such as unemployment, long working hours, and weak family policies. Influenced by these constraints and by the Southern European social imaginary that portrays Norway as a model of social policy (Marí-Klose, Fuentes, & del Pino Matute, 2015), participants constructed the host country as the ideal place where they could reconcile parenthood with their careers. However, in Norway, they did not experience shorter workdays and flexible working schedules as the solution to the work-family imbalance because the time they were exempt from work duty was still burdensome due to the countless demands on their parenting. In line with previous literature (Shaw, 2008; Shaw & Dawson, 2001), Article III showed that family leisure may be sometimes experienced as more burdensome than enjoyable because of the expectation on parents to ensure that their children acquire desirable skills and knowledge through activities.

Likewise, some social conventions encountered in Norway, such as *friluftsliv* (outdoor lifestyle), the expectation to live in residential areas on the outskirts of urban centres, and non-acceptance of moderate alcohol consumption in front of children, were experienced as constraints to social and family life. This brought ambivalent feelings and complex responses to demands of intensive parenting that they associated with Norway (Article I). It also brought stories of satisfaction because the parents aspired to live up to the parenting ideology and felt grateful for the policies, expert-knowledge, and working conditions that helped them to do so. However, they were disillusioned because of the sacrifices they had to make for their involved parenting (Articles II, III).

Parenting in a cross-cultural context also brought about tensions due to contrasting understandings of childhood and self[9]. We can assume that participants would be assessed against intensive parenting if they raised their children in their countries of origin (e.g., Bertran, 2010; Sedano, 2013); however, the middle-class Southern European way of understanding childhood and self differs from that of Norway. Framed by Southern European notions of socialization of children, participants criticized constructions of childhood encountered in Norway as a category separated from adulthood (Nilsen, 2008), and understood that, as parents, they were responsible for fostering their children's socialization into the adult world (Article III). This resulted in contestation of legitimated notions of risks that they were expected to protect their children from. At the same time, the migrant parents justified the decisions they made concerning their family leisure with notions of "good" parents as mangers of risks (e.g., protecting children from the risk of bad socialization).

The voices of migrant parents, who have experience with diverse cultural framings of social and family life, can contribute to reflections on the concept of family leisure within intensive parenting, by raising awareness about how parent-child interactions are instrumentalized as skills through which to ensure children's "proper" development (Hennum, 2014). These reflections can contribute to the debate on work-life balance. As Furedi (2008) discussed, policies have addressed the working conditions of parents

[9] Negotiations of notions of self will be discussed in the section *7.1.4*.

assuming that family-friendly working schedules would be the solution to the desired work-family balance, however, attention should be given to the expansion of the parental role and the demands this puts on parents' free time.

7.1.2 Power asymmetries and moral judgements

I discuss next how the migrant parents experienced and perceived that members of host and origin societies represented them in Othering discourses. This topic is of great relevance because participants felt they were being judged for their parenting and thereby Othered, and this experience shaped their negotiations around parenting as well as interactions with other people and welfare institutions across countries. Parenting under an evaluative gaze triggered unpleasant emotions (Article I) and shaped parents' responses to expectations about their parenting (Article III) and their migration stories (Article II).

For most participants, meeting kindergarten professionals and community health nurses was their first encounter with notions predominant in Norway about their parental role as risk managers. As presented earlier (section *3.2.2*), the categorizing of "good" parenting in the context of expert knowledge takes on a political aspect because it is tied "to the power of some to determine what is good and best for others and, by implication, what is to be deemed in need of repair or remediation" (Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013, p.15). However, presenting knowledge about children as "scientific truth" diverts the attention from power relations inherent to parenting norms and moral judgements of parenting (Raffaetà, 2015, p. 1202). In line with Hennum (2014), participants shared that the scientific jargon used by professionals to justify their parenting assessments (e.g., "the sleeping cycle", Article III) made it difficult to challenge institutionalized notions about the risks they were expected to manage regarding their children's wellbeing. Participants also experienced that professionals regarded them as responsible for their children's upbringing although they lacked proper parenting skills and, therefore, that they needed guidance from experts (Article III). This reflects notions of parental determinism, expert-led parenting, and risk management within intensive parenting (Furedi, 2008; Lee, Macvarish, & Bristow, 2010, p. 295). It also mirrors the neoliberal focus on self-governance and

professionalization of childrearing, as experts are thought to provide parents the guidance needed to fulfil their responsibility as "risk managers" (Furedi, 2001; Gillies, 2005; Hennum, 2014).

The moral narrative about "good" parenting triggered feelings of being Othered as well as divisions between groups of parents (Jensen, 2018). Participants found that professionals and the host society positioned them against ethnic-Norwegian parents who were considered "good" parents because their parenting was informed by Norwegian ideals of childhood, self, and lifestyle (Articles I, III). The division between parents was apparent in discourses that portrayed migrant parents as the Others who challenge Norwegian notions of "proper" parenting and perform inappropriate authoritarian upbringing practices implying force, discipline, and violence (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2019; Hollekim, Anderssen, & Daniel, 2016).

The Othering of migrant parents reinforced the power asymmetry in participants' encounters with professionals. Not only did contesting parenting norms mean, for migrant parents, to challenge professionals' advice, but it also entailed questioning values, ideals, and practices that they perceived as features of Norway (for the centrality of children in Norwegian national symbolism see Gullestad, 1997). Being Othered meant more than being considered deficient parents as it also was a reminder of their outsider position in relation to the society in which they and their children live. Inspired by Johansen (2019), in Article III, I discussed that the contestation of parenting norms in a cross-cultural context can reinforce marginality, that is, a process of Othering in which parents' "perspectives and practices are cast to the side or excluded" (Tsing, 1993, p. 5). Bateson's notion of the "double bind" (1972) was helpful to explore the situation in which the parents found themselves in relationships that could not be avoided, like with professionals, extended family, and friends, and in which they encountered contradictory demands on their parenting. Challenging the demands from professionals on their role as risk managers, for instance regarding children's sleep, implied their exclusion in relationships with their community of origin.

Although participants perceived that members of the Norwegian society would position them as the Others because they came from another country with a different culture (Articles I, III), it is relevant to acknowledge the role that class plays in Othering processes around parenting. In the context of professional advice, the assessment and identification of families and children "at risk" is based on class divisions (Aamann & Dybbroe, 2018). This was presented in Article III, which showed the experiences migrant parents have with health and educational institutions whose work is framed by a lifestyle ideal moulded by middle-class values. Parenting advice is, thus, "value-laden" (Berry, 2013, p. 97), and moral judgements of individuals' lifestyles involve Othering processes that draw a boundary between irresponsible (working-class) citizens, and responsible (middle-class) ones (Harrits & Møller, 2016). Rather than acknowledging the structural conditions that shape individuals' experiences and state responsibility for social problems, this neoliberal approach promotes parents' responsabilization (Castel, 1991; Gillies, 2008).

The role of the NCWS safeguarding children's wellbeing through legitimate intervention into family life also reinforced parents' feelings of disempowerment in their encounters with professionals. This came up more strongly in the accounts of parents with working-class positions who felt that professionals neither value nor recognize the parents' knowledge about childrearing. In this group, we found an awareness of the possibility of becoming targets for state intervention, which they perceived as controlling and intrusive. Because of these experiences and the high cost associated with potential intervention from the NCWS, these parents were discouraged from contesting some notions of risk management encountered in professional advice (Article III).

Both mothers and fathers experienced that they were expected to properly manage the legitimated risks to their children's upbringing. Yet, as frequently discussed in the literature (Faircloth, 2014; Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013; Hays, 1996; Shaw, 2008; Thelen & Haukanes, 2010a), contemporary parenting culture implies gendered parental roles where mothers are considered the main caregiver. This came out strongly in my study as it was mothers in particular who felt the moral responsibility of

childrearing and experienced being judged on their mothering, which influenced how they negotiated parenting (mothering) cultures (Doucet, 2006; Shirani, Henwood, & Colart, 2012). For this reason, Article I focused on mothers' experiences and reflections, and how they did emotion work to handle mother-blame and ambivalent feeling rules.

Although my analysis illustrates that power dynamics were embedded in parenting ideals, this does not mean that migrant parents were passive in the face of experiences of disempowerment and marginalization. As shown in the articles, the parents negotiated, re-constructed and contested their exclusion through their social interactions, self-reflections, and storytelling (Tsing, 1993). As I will discuss next, participants also engaged in boundary work through which they actively responded to Othering discourses, negotiating in this way their identities, and belonging.

7.1.3 Drawing boundaries between themselves and other groups of migrants and parents

This study has shown how social and symbolic boundaries are drawn between groups of people, and how individuals' identities are shaped and produced through boundary work. The migrant parents drew on common symbols and categories to draw lines of distinction between themselves and other groups. Article I illustrated that a socio-constructivist framework on emotions can be helpful for unpacking the role that emotions play in such a process of in-group identification. In the FGDs, the mothers drew boundaries between groups of parents (Norwegian parents, Southern European non-migrant parents, and Southern European migrant parents). They did so through sharing experiences with similar emotions (emotions as a "glue"; Turner & Stets, 2005, p.1), similar interpretations of feeling rules, and similar experiences of emotion work.

Article II, in line with Bygnes (2017), discussed the participants' objection to citing the financial crisis as the main reason for their migration in terms of boundary work. Family aspirations were a relevant resource through which the migrant parents drew boundaries between themselves and other migrants. Drawing on notions of parenting within intensive parenting, participants differentiated themselves from other migrant

groups regarding motivations for migration and understandings of the role of the Norwegian welfare state in family life. It is relevant to note that this boundary work was shaped by participants' socio-economic status and the discourses they had access to, as these provided them with material and nonmaterial resources to define their realities and present themselves in particular ways. Among participants with middle-class occupations, we found more accounts that pointed at their aspiration to embrace the ideal of intensive parenting as the main reason for their migration. As already discussed, middle-class parents had more knowledge about notions of "good" parenting within intensive parenting and time and financial resources to be able to meet these. Participants with working-class occupations mentioned the financial crisis among the motives for their migration. Yet, influenced by the dominant discourses defining what constitutes "good" parenting and "good" citizenship, they engaged in boundary work in similar ways as middle-class participants did. By drawing boundaries between themselves and the categories of labour migrants, other migrant parents, and Southern European (non-migrant) parents, participants fought against discourses that positioned them as the Other in Norway. They also fought against stigmatizing discourses that position them as victims of the 2008-economic recession in their societies of origin.

Engaging in boundary work was a way to meet Othering discourses with oppositional agency (McLaren, 1995), particularly, with what Jensen calls capitalization and refusal (2011). The former is a strategy through which participants "capitalized upon" elements of their Otherness to engage in boundary and emotion work (Article I). The migrant parents drew on stereotypical images of Southern European cultures to emphasize aspects they embraced in their cultures of origin. For instance, they perceived that stereotypical categories of Southern Europeans as the Others emphasized communicating with affection and spontaneity in social life. The parents considered these values and practices as positive resources for raising their children (Articles I, III). In this way, they rejected being positioned as morally inferior, at the same time as they reproduced cultural stereotypes.

However, to a greater extent, the migrant parents refused to inhabit the position of the Other. By doing so, they claimed normality about their parenting and appealing, in this

way, "for sympathy and understanding" (Sandberg & Pedersen, 2006, p. 237) (Articles I, III). In line with Jensen's study on ethnic minority men and Othering processes in Denmark (2011), participants' claims of normality did not always entail aspiring to "Norwegianness" (to be considered Norwegians), it also entailed challenging the dichotomy of being Norwegian vs. being Southern European and constructing a "thirdspace" beyond both categories (p. 74). Moreover, we found that when migrant parents insisted on being normal, they expressed their aspiration to embrace elements they associated with Norwegianness, like contributing to the welfare state, intensive parenting, and gender equality. Like the highly-skilled Spaniards in Bygnes' study (2017), for many participants, level of education (university) and type of occupation (middle-class) were resources through which they emphasized their cultural similarities with the host society or with ideals present in Norwegian discourses. Their family aspirations were also a resource to claim normality in a country where intensive parenting is highly valued, especially among middle-class citizens (Bygnes & Erdal, 2017; Sakslind & Skarpenes, 2014).

The articles showed that migrant parents placed great importance on place (Greece, Italy, Norway, Portugal, and Spain) when they attempted to explain differences in ideals regarding parenting (feeling and framing rules, and notions of risk management). Cultures of origin were usually identified as symbolic boundaries explaining variations in parenting. As Bergset (2020) found in the accounts of some of the refugee parents she interviewed, my participants seemed to understand "middle-class parenting as a feature of Norwegianness" (p. 539). Middle-class parenting norms, like dialogue-based practices, were considered outgrowths of the host country, while obedience-based practices were associated with Southern European cultures. This boundary work prompted critical appraisals of the claims made by Norwegian professionals on their parenting because, like the Dominican mothers in Sedano's study (2013), participants interpreted professional advice as framed by cultural framings of risks and childhood, rather than as a universal truth (Article III).

Drawing boundaries between themselves and the categories of Norwegian parents, and Southern European non-migrant parents, participants reproduced stereotypical images

of Norwegian and Southern European cultures and parenting. Yet, when the migrant parents reflected on their parenting practices, they located these in relation to the socio-cultural context they found themselves in, for instance, state provisions, working conditions and gender roles. Places were thus understood in a broad sense, as socio-cultural contexts. This means that while drawing boundaries between Norwegian and Southern European parenting, participants recognized the role of structural factors influencing a country's values and culture. In line with Odden's study on Polish mothers in Norway (2016), participants acknowledged the impact that opportunities encountered in Norway had on their parenting. For instance, they discussed that dialogue-based practices are time-consuming and, therefore, can be performed in contexts of economic and welfare security that give parents the possibility to spend more time with children and patiently explain things to them (Article I).

The findings illustrate that for migrant parents, it was apparent that parenting is contextual. Participants constructed parenting as a set of practices aiming to ensure children will thrive. Based on this understanding, they questioned whether a universal parenting ideology can guide all parents and help them teach their children the skills required to thrive in a particular context. This shaped their boundary work as they drew boundaries between themselves and other parents based on the specific demands of their contexts (Article I).

7.1.4 Negotiating identity and belonging

Negotiations of notions of "good" parenting from host and origin societies played an important role in parents' reconstructions of their identity and belonging to both communities. As pointed out in the literature (Faircloth, 2013b, 2014; Furedi, 2008; Hardyment, 1995; Lee, 2008; Villalobos, 2009), parenting has become a central element of adult identity. The decisions parents make regarding their children's upbringing are a source for adults' self-construction. In this sense, Article II discussed participants' family aspirations and sense-making in the process of storytelling as part of their identity formation (Eshraghi & Taffler, 2015; Frye, 2012). By telling stories of migration around their aspiration to be involved parents, participants made claims about their adult identity (the type of person they are). Framed by intensive parenting,

these assertions of identity were morally laden as they emphasized certain values about family life and childrearing.

Inspired by Jaysane-Darr and Berry (2013), I discuss that participants, in negotiating parenting cultures, also negotiated notions of selfhood informed by cultural values. In Norway, they encountered the notion of the individual child with his/her own needs and rights that can be found in public discourses (Hollekim, Anderssen, & Daniel, 2016). In their encounters with professionals, participants perceived an imposed expectation on them to raise self-sufficient children. At the same time, the migrant parents perceived that a more relational understanding of self predominates in their countries of origin, where relationships are considered central in forming children's own understanding of the world. Influenced by Southern European ideals of sociability and socialization, participants negotiated notions of self and risks to children's wellbeing in their encounters with professionals (Article III). Moreover, in line with Berry (2013), I consider that participants' migration, motivated by their family aspirations, also mirrors such a relational view of self.

Parenting against professional advice could jeopardize migrant parents' identities as "good" parents. This situation demanded that they perform "identity work" (Lee, 2008), that is, actions to defend their identities as "good" parents and fight against categories of "bad" parenting. As shown in Article III, the migrant parents established "alternative reference points" (Lee, 2008, p. 476) to justify practices like moderate alcohol consumption in front of children. Yet, to justify their practices, they referred to notions of "good" risk managers legitimated in their origin countries, emphasizing, in this way, that they were properly managing risks to their children's wellbeing. For mothers, who shared more experiences of judgements of "bad" mothering, emotion work was also a way through which they managed the feelings that arose due to tensions between mothering norms (Article I).

In negotiating parenting cultures, participants also negotiated their belonging to host and origin societies. This mirrors that migrant parents have a multiple sense of belonging as they acknowledged their connections to several communities (van

Beurden & de Haan, 2019). Engaging in boundary work and capitalization and refusal of Othering were processes through which migrant parents negotiated their belonging to different communities. Likewise, consistent with previous research (Lindqvist, 2013; Maehara, 2010; Ryan, 2008), emotion work was a technique through which to negotiate belonging to several places. For instance, by emphasizing positive aspects of their cultures, the migrant mothers engaged with feeling rules from their countries of origin and responded to being Othered in Southern Europe, negotiating, in this way, their belonging to these societies. They also negotiated belonging and Otherness in Norway by idealizing mothering in this country (Article I).

Embracing parenting practices and feeling and framing rules for parenting encountered in the host country was a way for participants to negotiate their belonging to Norway and legitimate their migration and life in this country. Idealizing family life in Norway was central to migrant parents' negotiation of their own and their children's belonging to the host society, as a way through which they claimed their position as subjects in Norwegian discourses on parenting and citizenship (Articles I, II). Participants' family aspirations were therefore central to their quest for belonging in the host society. I argue that if storytellers had solely cited economic drivers for their migration, they would have only justified their decision to move to Northern Europe. However, by telling stories of migration articulated around the aspiration to be involved parents, the migrant parents justified and legitimized their and their children's lives in Norway, as citizens whose values and family aspirations are in line with those presented in hegemonic public discourses in this country. As other scholars have argued (Longman, De Graeve, & Bouckaert, 2013; Raffaetà, 2015), parenting plays a role in migrant parents' negotiation of their belonging and citizenship. The wish to claim a rightful membership in the host society challenges notions of liquid migration as it emphasizes that migrants aim to belong to the community where they live and raise their children. However, this does not contradict the feeling, at the same time, that they are part of their communities of origin.

7.2 Discussion of methodological aspects

7.2.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the steps the researcher takes to ensure the accuracy of the findings from her standpoint as a researcher, but also from that of the participants and readers (Creswell & Miller, 2000). The use of well-established methods of data generation, methodological triangulation, familiarizing oneself with the socio-cultural context of the participants and having a sample that reflects diversity are examples of this (Shenton, 2004). Because of my own personal background, I had a good knowledge of the context of Southern European emigration to Norway, especially the Spanish situation. To complement this and to obtain more insights into the migration of the other Southern European communities, the Facebook groups and events provided me with contextual information that served to build a coherent interpretation of the findings.

As for the adequacy of my sample, it was important to capture a multiplicity of experiences of parenting in order to answer the research questions. Participants were then recruited based on categories that comprised individuals who were diverse in terms of employment, education, length of stay in Norway, civil status, and the nationality of their partners. Regarding the latter, I approached participants who were single, divorced, or whose partners were either Norwegian or Southern Europeans. Nevertheless, I decided to include one father whose wife was from another Nordic country and had lived in Southern Europe because she was familiar with contemporary discourses on children and parenting in both Nordic and Southern European countries. Concerning language, I recruited parents who were fluent in Spanish, Portuguese, or English, which were the languages I knew well at the time of data generation. This choice may imply limitations because it excluded Italians and Greeks who were fluent in Norwegian rather than English. However, my experiences with the events and the Facebook fora taught me that most people belonging to these groups felt comfortable having a conversation in English.

The use of several recruitment strategies promoted diversity among participants. Recruiting through my personal network with peer-to-peer recruitment was assessed as

an ethically sensible approach based on the assumption that the migrant parents would feel freer to refuse to participate if they were asked by friends rather than by an unknown researcher. I recruited participants through Facebook, a strategy frequently used by researchers (Crush et al., 2012) that may exclude people without Internet access, groups over 65, and uneducated individuals (Chan & Popov, 2015). Despite these limitations, I argue that this strategy was adequate because my target group is composed of individuals who are familiar with social networking sites (Dekker & Engbersen, 2014). Likewise, being parents to children aged from 6 months to 18 years, I expected that participants would be within the age range of most Facebook users.

Despite these steps towards the recruitment of a diverse study population, most participants were highly educated, Spanish, and women. I argue that this is related to the overrepresentation of highly educated youth in the Southern European emigrant community after 2008 (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017). The overrepresentation of Spanish migrants in my sample can be explained by my own identity, which facilitated the recruitment of parents coming from Spain, and by the fact that Spaniards are the largest Southern European community in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2017). Having only five fathers was not surprising considering the gendered expectations surrounding childrearing that may hinder men from participating in studies on parenting (Bjørnholt & Farstad, 2014). This became evident in the events I attended when mostly mothers responded to the call for participation. Rather than having a particular focus on gender, the study aimed to explore a breadth of experiences of parenting in migration, shaped by parents' experiences and situations. Therefore, I consider that having five fathers as informants added a nuanced dimension in understanding the research topic.

To increase the credibility during data generation I used well-established methods. FGD was an appropriate method to get access to shared meanings, values, experiences, perceptions, feelings and thinking about issues (Krueger & Casey, 2015), particularly, mothers' reflections on the emotions they feel regarding similar situations related to mothering in migration. Although the questioning route did not include questions that asked explicitly about feelings, the FGDs created an environment in which participants felt safe and comfortable to disclose their reflections on emotions (Krueger & Kasey,

2015, p. 5). Influenced by my experiences with the events and Facebook groups, I, as a moderator, anticipated that there might be displays of emotion. I was aware that I should be sensitive to how participants talked about feelings and consciously moderate when they shared sensitive issues (e.g., asking whether the conversation should move on). Some researchers problematize the collection of data about emotions through FGD due to the unpredictable group dynamics and the inability of this method to get access to feelings (Krueger & Kasey, 2015). To minimize limitations associated with focus group discussions, like the potential influence of group dynamics on the data (Gladwell, 2005), I complemented FGD-data with interviews. Interviewing six participants who had attended the FGD and whose personal situations differed from the rest of the group allowed me to follow-up experiences disclosed in the FGD and verify my interpretations (Morgan, 1997). In addition, other participants were interviewed. This methodological triangulation enhanced the credibility of the findings (Creswell, 2013).

I also took some steps to ensure that participants were honest and open (Shenton, 2004). For instance, I obtained informed consent from participants and built trust and rapport with them through my attendance at the events and by making contact prior to data generation. The group dynamics in a focus group discussion may challenge some participants to disclose alternative opinions (Brown, 2000). To overcome this limitation, I stressed the importance of respecting each other's views and conducted methodological triangulation.

The interview guide and questioning route were developed in cooperation with my supervisors. We reflected on the formulation and order of questions, and whether these were in line with ethical guidelines and were adequate to answer the research questions. I avoided leading questions and used confirmatory questions to make sure I had understood the meaning that participants gave to their experiences ("Do you mean that you felt awkward?"). Another step that contributed to the credibility of the study was the collaboration of migrant parents, who were in similar circumstances to the participants, in the design of the study. These migrant parents raised important issues I should have in mind in the different stages of the research.

The use of semi-structured interviews allowed me to gain access to the participants' own interpretation of their experiences (Yilmaz, 2013). To increase the credibility of the interview data was also crucial to follow a flexible design, meaning that I needed to adapt the research process to new situations that I faced along the way. As already presented, two interviews that were planned to be conducted individually ended up being couple interviews. On both occasions, I made sure that the participation of both partners was informed and voluntary. As Bjørnholt and Farstad (2014) showed, couple interviews are a suitable method by which to generate rich data for studies on childcare that facilitate the recruitment of fathers. Moreover, the interaction between the partners raised topics that I might not have thought of if I had interviewed each of them individually (Doucet, 2001; Mavhandu-Mudzusi, 2018). I experienced that this interaction promoted detailed accounts about the individual and shared experiences of parenting and migration. In line with Valentine (1999), I understood that the interaction between the partners contributed to the richness of the production of a story that included both parties' sides. Interviewees narrated their individual stories of their lives prior to migration and supported each other in the production of the story of their lives in Norway. Another strength of couple interviews was that I got access to "observational data" that was relevant in providing with background knowledge valuable for the analysis (Bjørnholt & Farstad, 2014, p. 17). I observed the communication between the partners and the wider interview context (which parent cared for their children, which parent prepared some food and offered something to drink). These observations helped me to get a more realistic picture of the interviewees' family dynamics. I also considered couple interviews an ethically sensitive method, especially regarding ethical dilemmas about consent and anonymity. Unlike individual interviews, where the researcher may get access to family sensitive information, interviewees have more control over the disclosure of both individually and jointly shared experiences in couple interviews (Bjørnholt & Farstad, 2014).

Another example of flexibility in research design is my decision to conduct an interview over Skype. The lack of availability of one participant challenged the organization of his interview. Following Janghorban and colleagues (2014), I

considered the strengths and weaknesses of using Skype and concluded that this approach to interviewing was a good alternative to a face-to-face interview. A limitation of this choice is that participants may not be familiar with this software (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014), but this did not apply to my participants who use communication technologies in their day-to-day life to maintain relationships across countries. Other disadvantages in using Skype are the possible problems with sound and video quality and difficulties building rapport with the interviewees (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014; Hay-Gibson, 2009). However, I had already established a good relationship with the participant via emails and phone conversations. No technological problems was encountered, and the video gave me access to non-verbal communication in the same way as a face-to-face interview would have done, and this too was seen as enhancing the quality of the study (Sullivan, 2012).

When reflecting on data credibility, it is important to consider the choice of language for data generation because this implied that one FGD and four interviews were not conducted in participants and researchers' (moderator and co-moderator) mother tongues. Nevertheless, I did not experience at any time that participants appeared to be unable to express their views because of a language problem. The six mothers who used English spoke this language either in their workplaces (3) or/and at home (3). Moreover, I made decisions to ensure the data were generated in a language with which participants were comfortable. For instance, a Greek mother would be able to attend the second FGD if it was in English. However, one of the Spanish mothers who could attend made it clear that she would only participate if we spoke in Spanish. Since the rest of the group were Spanish mothers, I decided to exclude the Greek mother and conduct the discussion in Spanish. Having a FGD in the native language of all attendees facilitated group interaction and the task of moderating the discussion.

I transcribed and translated the data that had been generated in Spanish into English. This decision was aimed at making the data available to the researchers involved in the study who have different native languages. Yet, I encountered some challenges transposing meanings into a language in which I do not have native speaker competence, which may have somewhat affected the quality of the transcripts. To

minimize these, I was supported by a Spanish native speaker who had an education in English language and literature, and I kept the audio recordings until all data were analysed so that I could check the translations' accuracy if needed. To enhance the transparency of my translations, I took notes with questions about possible meanings and included the original expression when this was an idiom, in this aspect, my cultural background was a resource to better interpret meanings. Translating the material myself facilitated my immersion in the data, which was beneficial for the analysis (Ho, Holloway, & Stenhouse, 2019).

Researcher triangulation was another decision that strengthened the quality of the research. Having several researchers with different backgrounds involved in the design of the study, data generation and analysis, and external reviewers evaluating the accuracy of the study (journal reviewers) increased the credibility of the study (Yilmaz, 2013). Providing quotations from the interviews and FGDs, thick descriptions of the study's setting and following the procedures of thematic and narrative analysis also enhanced the credibility of the analysis. Finally, I argue that narrative analysis enhanced the contextualization of participants' storytelling. Moreover, this facilitated the production of nuanced knowledge about parenting in migration.

7.2.2 Dependability

Dependability refers to the process of accurately and consistently selecting, using, and arguing for the application of research methods and research strategies (Yilmaz, 2013). Researchers should provide sufficient information about the study design and the procedure by which it is conducted so that future researchers can repeat the same study (Shenton, 2004). However, in qualitative research, this cannot entail repeatability and reproducibility because the findings are dependent on a changing context (Florio-Ruane, 1991).

Some of the steps taken to enhance credibility, like peer-debriefing (Creswell & Miller, 2000) also contributed to the dependability of my study (Shenton, 2004). Moreover, I have provided information about the study design, selection of participants and methods used. Regarding the latter, I documented the decisions made during coding

and theme formation in the reports that were discussed with the co-authors. Using a questioning route and interview guide also promoted transparency about the data and ensured that participants were asked about the same topics. Moreover, conducting a pilot interview facilitated dependability as it provided me with the opportunity to try out the interview guide. Likewise, having previous experiences with conducting narrative interviews with migrant mothers living in Norway for my master's thesis (Herrero-Arias, 2016) was an advantage for designing and conducting the interviews. As for the process of transcribing, this was carried out soon after the FGDs and the interviews had been conducted so that I was still able to remember most of the things that were said and thereby ensure a good quality transcript. This was especially important with the FGD data because of difficulties in identifying each participant in the recording, particularly when several people were talking at the same time.

7.2.3 Transferability

Qualitative research aims to develop an in-depth understanding of some aspects of human experience and recognizes the possibility that this may be a shared human experience. Transferability refers to the extent to which the findings can be transferable to other settings (Shenton, 2004). This may be challenging to achieve for a study that has generated knowledge which is contextually situated and based on a sample that can be considered relatively small.

To facilitate transferability through maximizing "the range of information uncovered" (Guba, 1981, p. 86), I recruited participants with different backgrounds. I have also provided thick descriptions of the research setting and topic to help readers to determine whether the findings might be transferable to other settings (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Yilmaz, 2013). My aim was to provide a contextualized understanding of migrant parents' experiences and meaning making about parenting in a context of migration. This knowledge can contribute to the existing literature on parenting in migration, as a body of scholarship that can provide broader generalizations (Kvale, 1996; Yin, 2009).

7.2.4 Reflexivity and Multi-Positionalities

This study understands knowledge as contextual, intersubjective, and co-produced in the relationships established between the researcher and participants. Based on this, I claim that it is crucial to reflect on positionality, that is, how the researcher's characteristics influenced the study.

Participants position researchers in relation to themselves and to specific groups through the identification of some markers including age, gender, class, parenthood, language, physical appearance, occupation, religion, and migration, among others (Carling, Erdal, & Ezzati, 2014; Ryan, 2015). Positionalities are contextually and relationally re-constructed. In this context, reflexivity arises as a strategy to ensure quality in qualitative research (Berger, 2015), contributing to "the credibility of the findings by accounting for researcher values, beliefs, knowledge, and biases" (Cutcliffe, 2003, p. 137). Reflexivity refers to the researchers' self-evaluation of their own positionalities and understanding how these may affect knowledge production (Berger, 2015; Pillow, 2003; Stronach et al., 2007). This practice started at the first stage of my research when I reflected on the impact that my cultural, family, educational and professional backgrounds had on the formulation of the research questions and the design of the study. Having been raised in a working-class family and having completed higher educational degrees in social work and anthropology influenced my personal values and meaning making about parenting, parenthood, children, and childhood. Reflecting on this made me aware of how my own biography and personal circumstances could influence my interaction with participants, data generation and analysis. In this regard, confirmatory questions, triangulation, observations (Facebook groups and events), peer-review, discussions with supervisors, co-authors, and other researchers, and keeping a diary for self-reflection were actions taken to ensure reflexivity. Being framed by a narrative lens also promoted reflexivity about how storytellers positioned me.

The literature has pointed out the importance of considering how researchers negotiate differences and similarities in relation to participants (Berger, 2015). Likewise, awareness has been raised on the fluidity and dynamism of positionalities (Eppley,

2006). In traditional migration research, a researcher who shares nationality with the researched group would be identified as an "insider", whereas an "outsider" researcher belongs to the majority group in the host country. This understanding of an insider position on the basis of shared nationality is a result of exploring migration while positing ethnicity as a central aspect of identity (Ryan, 2015). Drawing on insights from multi-positionalities and "multidimensionality of reflexivity", migration scholars have questioned the fixed "insider/outsider" positions as being rooted in the dichotomy of "us/them" (Amelina & Faist, 2012; Ryan, 2015 ,Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). This critique becomes apparent in an article by Carling and colleagues (2014) that calls for reflection upon "the risk of reproducing essentialism" inherent in the "insider/outsider" divide. They argue that positionality involves several social categories (markers or characteristics) that are context-related and relational.

These insights have been particularly inspiring for my study as I attempted to pay attention to different markers of similarities and differences between my participants and myself. My interactions with participants reinforced my conviction that ethnicity and nationality are not the essential categories determining a group identity. As Carling et al. (2014) and Ryan (2015) discussed, there are additional complex layers constituting identity within migrant communities. Moreover, the sense of identification with an ethno-national group is fluid and reconstructed in the context of migration (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Ryan, 2015). As discussed in Article II, participants placed themselves in different positionalities depending on the topic of discussion and our interaction. Some of them refused to be positioned as belonging to an imagined national (Southern European) group in Norway. They highlighted that they were not like "a typical Spanish (person)", thereby challenging the notions of ethnonational identities. This created a sense of distance in our encounters due to the formulation of the research questions and the design of the study (addressing Southern Europeans). On these occasions, I negotiated rapport by clarifying that the purpose of the study was not to compare experiences based on nationalities, nor were the participants considered representatives of Greek, Italian, Portuguese, or Spanish populations. I emphasized that

I was interested in their meaning making and the experiences that could not be defined by the country they came from or they live in.

Inspired by Ryan (2015), I paid attention to how participants negotiated and co-constructed "assumptions about commonality and difference" (p.6). "Sustained commitment to the migrant group or their country of origin" (Carling, Erdal, & Ezzati, 2014), together with length of stay in Norway and parenthood were markers on which participants placed emphasis during our encounters. Although, I can only guess how I was positioned by them (Cassell, 2005), during the transcription process, I identified moments when participants positioned me in several ways through different markers of my identity. Ethnicity and nationality, gender, civil status, age, motherhood, language, migration experience, education, and occupation were relevant markers due to my own identity and the aims of the study. Yet my positionalities would vary depending on the participant, the topic of the conversation, and the wider context (place of the interview, temporal dimensions, predominant public discourses on migration and migrant parenting at the time of the research encounter, etc.). Through these markers, I negotiated empathy and a close/distant position with the participants (Ryan, 2015).

Drawing on the traditional "insider/outsider" dichotomy, I would have been positioned as an ethnonational insider in my research. However, I experienced that this marker (nationality) had a different impact during the research process. For instance, when I interviewed Greek, Italian, and Portuguese parents, my position might be considered that of an "insider by proxy" (Carling, Erdal, & Ezzati, 2014). Because I came from a different country than that of these participants, they explicitly explained aspects related to the societies, politics, and institutions of their countries of origin. At the same time, my position as a non-member of the ethnic (Norwegian) majority group helped to create a comfortable atmosphere in which participants could share some critical opinions about the host country because they assumed that I would not feel offended (Carling, Erdal, & Ezzati, 2014). Not being identified with a Norwegian identity was especially relevant when participants disclosed their experiences with welfare institutions. Moreover, because of my Southern European migrant background, participants assumed that I had an understanding of migration and knowledge of how

Southern European migrants have been represented in public discourses in Southern and Northern Europe.

My country of origin provided me with insider characteristics in my interactions with Spanish parents. Unlike an ethnic Norwegian researcher, I could perceive the irony in some comments that participants made thanks to my personal experiences and cultural background. Whereas this facilitated interaction with them, some participants occasionally took for granted my knowledge of aspects of the Spanish society as a basis for understanding whatever they were telling me. On these occasions, I negotiated my positionality by requesting further elaboration because I was interested in the participants' own experiences and opinions. It is important to note that participants could position me differently based on how they interpreted the same marker of nationality. For some, being a Spanish migrant in Norway was interpreted as being likely to question issues related to Spanish politics, culture, and society. For others, my nationality signalled that I would be critical towards several aspects of life in Norway. I negotiated both assumptions in the research encounter aiming to establish an atmosphere in which participants would feel comfortable sharing their own views.

The motivations for migration differentiated between students/working migrants, like myself, and those who had migrated because they fell in love with an ethnic Norwegian. This prompted moments of empathy when I interviewed a participant who came to Norway on an Erasmus scholarship. Emphasizing my "researcher" identity helped to downplay my national identity and get richer data. Yet, when my "researcher" identity put me in an "expert" position, I emphasized my "student" marker to accentuate the participants' expertise and authority on the topic (Carling, Erdal, & Ezzati, 2014). Length of stay in Norway was a marker that occasionally distanced the participant from me irrespective of our country of origin. This distance was more strongly present when the participants had migrated longer ago than I, and it seemed to require them to provide detailed accounts of their experiences of arriving in a Norway that they deemed was different from the country I know.

Age was not usually a salient marker framing participants' positionalities. However, being a young woman who has no children was a relevant position because of the research topic. This status, combined with my migrant identity, had an impact on power relations in the interviews. Participants positioned me as a person who would build a family in Norway and who could learn from their experiences as migrant parents. The participants would commonly explain to me, based on their experiences, the scenarios that I will face in my future as a migrant mother in Norway, and they would give me advice. This combination of positionalities facilitated the collection of rich data. At the same time, and given the normativity of parenting, this positioning may have challenged disclosures of negative experiences of parenting as participants may have assumed that I would judge them because I could not relate to such experiences.

The previous reflections are examples of how participants positioned me differently by placing emphasis on several markers and how this exercise was shaped by our relationship and different contexts. As a researcher, I was aware of the diverse positionalities and negotiated several markers of identity depending on the context and my interaction with the participant.

7.3 Implications and significance of the study

This study has made several contributions of relevance to theory and practice. First, the study contributes to the research field of migration by providing new insights into how migrants negotiate their identity and belonging through their parenting, emotion and boundary work, and their family aspirations. It also contributes to an emerging body of literature on non-economic drivers for South-to-North intra-European mobility. Second, a significant contribution of the study is the development of a nuanced understanding of the ways by which parents negotiate parenting ideals and institutionalized constructions of risk in the context of migration. Thus, the study contributes to critical studies of risk and of the contemporary parenting culture.

Based on the discussion, my suggestion to policymakers and professionals working with families is that they should acknowledge the structural context in which families

find themselves. To support and empower parents, the focus should shift from how well they raise their children to the challenges they face in their everyday lives. The recognition of the context in which diverse groups of parents raise their children challenges simplistic thinking about their parenting. It also involves a critique concerning the use of cultural explanatory models to interpret how migrants think and feel about their parenting and the decisions they make about their children's upbringing.

I suggest that professionals should develop active listening and adopt a dialogue-based approach in their meeting with parents. It is crucial to recognize migrant parents' own knowledge, so that they feel they are supported rather than judged. In this way, they may feel empowered to enter in debates on childrearing that will contribute to critical thinking in this field, something that would be of benefit to migrant parents but also to children and non-migrant parents. As Raffaetà claimed, "hegemonic parenting norms and how they enter into our more intimate spheres should be subject to a critical appraisal" (2015, p. 1208). The voices of migrant parents, as people with experiences of several cultural framings of risk, parenting, and childhood can increase visibility of the ambivalent emotions parents go through when they negotiate notions of "good" parenting. This knowledge can contribute to the necessary reflection on unrealistic and taken-for-granted notions of "good" parenting that have turned raising children into a demanding and stressful experience for many parents. Nowadays, parents may often find themselves in a "parents-against-parents situation" in which the decisions they make regarding their children's upbringing operate as a measure of their parenting and morality. In this context, it is important to reflect on parenting ideologies and to recognize the power relations and values inherent to them. This would contribute to promote solidarity between parents and other adults for finding ways to collaborate on raising children.

Finally, research on the experiences of parenting among parents who raise their children in diverse situations (like migration, poverty, and exile) would contribute to the acknowledgement of the context in which families live and the challenges this poses on parenting. Importantly, making the voices of parents with diverse cultural

backgrounds heard may also provide more knowledge about cultural variation in the understanding of childhood and parenting.

7.4 **Conclusion**

In an increasingly globalized world, migration involves complex transformations for families. Rather than simply adopting new parenting practices, migrant parents negotiate parenting cultures and consider the new demands that emerge in the post-migration context. This results in the re-definition of their parenting and, thereby, the negotiation of their identities and belonging.

The socio-economic context was relevant in shaping negotiations around parenting as it hindered or facilitated meeting the demands of intensive parenting, which was considered the ideal against which parenting practices were assessed. This context influenced values and upbringing goals too, since migrant parents re-defined their parenting based on the skills that they deemed necessary for their children to acquire to be able to cope with the challenges associated with their realities. Furthermore, the cross-cultural context in which migrant parents raise their children brought tensions in negotiations involving parenting due to contrasting cultural framings of childhood, self, and risk, especially in the context of professional advice on family life.

The institutionalized understandings of "good" parenting implied a form of individual responsibility for the decisions the parents made concerning family leisure and their children's upbringing. At the same time, meeting the demands from professionals implied exclusion in relationships with their communities of origin and the sacrifice of their social life and socialization of their children according to Southern European cultures. To handle this double-bind position, migrant parents engaged in identity work to justify their parenting with reference to notions of "good" risk managers. Due to the gendered character of parenting ideals, mothers in particular felt the moral responsibility of parenting and perceived that they were judged on how they should raise their children and how they should feel about their mothering. To manage contrasting feeling rules between host and origin countries in this context, migrant mothers engaged in emotion work, thus negotiating their belonging to both societies.

Tensions between parenting cultures reinforced the migrant parents' perception of being Othered in Norway. Although they were critical towards parenting ideals that they deemed to be context-dependent rather than universal truths, they found it challenging to contest expert knowledge on parenting and childhood due to power asymmetries inherent in notions of "good" parenting and their Otherness in the host society. At the same time, the migrant parents responded to Othering discourses by engaging in boundary work through which they positioned themselves in relation to other groups of parents and migrants. Their aspiration to be involved parents in harmony with the notions of "proper" parenting found in Norwegian discourses were also a resource for claiming their adult identities and belonging to the host community.

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Article I

I

The emotional journey of motherhood in migration. The case of Southern European mothers in Norway

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Abstract

Based on focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with Greek, Italian, and Spanish mothers living in Norway, this article contributes to an emerging body of literature on the role of emotions in migration by exploring migrant motherhood as an emotional journey. Drawing on the work of Arlie Hochschild on emotions and her theoretical concepts of framing rules, feeling rules, and emotion work, the article explores how migrant mothers reflect on their emotions when raising their children in the context of migration. Migrant mothers' accounts illustrate the ambivalent and contradictory emotional experiences they have when they manage rules about how they should make sense of, and feel about their mothering in both host and origin countries. Emotions of guilt, blame, remorse, pride, satisfaction, confidence, and happiness shaped mothers' experiences of motherhood and social interactions across countries. Through emotion work, migrant mothers managed interdependent emotions and related to different feeling rules establishing and maintaining relationships across places, and negotiating, in this way, their belonging to multiple contexts. Using an emotions-based sociological perspective, we look at motherhood as a field for studying the functions of emotions and their interactions in the context of migration.

Keywords: intensive mothering, migrant mothers, emotions, feeling rules, emotion work

doi:10.1093/migration/mnaa006

1. Introduction

Traditionally, emotions have been a major domain of psychology, however, sociological and anthropological research have recently recognized their centrality in shaping how we experience and construct the world (Anderson and Smith 2001; Davidson and Milligan 2004; Svašek 2010; Walsh 2012). A focus on emotions has been claimed to be necessary in studies on work, housing, public policy, and human geography (Anderson and Smith 2001).

The field of migration has acknowledged the central role that emotions play in the lives and social interactions that migrants have within and across borders (Svašek 2010: 866; Campos-Delgado 2019). Migrants engage emotionally with host and origin countries through conflicting emotions that are felt before, during, and after migration. These shape their experiences and influence the meaning-making process. In this regard, there has been growing interest in exploring how emotions and mobility are interrelated (Ryan 2008; Svašek 2010), and studies have found that migrants strengthen social bonds and create or maintain attachment to places through their emotions (Baldassar 2008, 2015; Maehara 2010; Vermot 2015).

This study is part of a larger project that explored Southern European migrant parents' experiences of parenting in Norway. Although we did not primarily contemplate motherhood in migration as an emotional journey, the first author observed that migrants often reflected on the emotions they associated with raising their children in the context of migration, and did so in various contexts. Emotions come across as key elements in migrants' accounts, especially when trying to interpret their own mothering experiences, and when positioning themselves in relation to other people and places. For example, migrants often discussed what they experienced as typical feelings when encountering local institutions and Norwegian parents. As researchers, we realized that emotions needed to be addressed in order to gain a fuller understanding of what it is like to be a migrant mother.

This article explores the reflections of Southern European mothers regarding doing mothering in the context of migration. Motherhood in migration is a field that allows for the exploration of interdependent emotional processes where individuals establish and maintain relationships across contexts, and which shape the way they make sense of, and engage with, hegemonic mothering ideals in host and origin countries. Emotions are central in framing how individuals construct and live in the world (Anderson and Smith 2001). Therefore, knowledge of the role of emotions in the context of migration is of relevance because it contributes to unpacking how migrant mothers interpret their experiences, and construct their identities as well as their sense of belonging to different places. Considering migrant mothers' accounts as a window into the emotional dimensions of human mobility, this study contributes to sociological approaches that seek to understand the interactive nature of emotional processes in migration (Milton and Svašek 2005). Scholarship has addressed the emotional dynamics of transnational families (Baldassar 2008; Abrego 2014), yet the emotional implications of mothering in a new country have remained unexplored. As such, we address this gap by offering an analysis of how migrant mothers reframe their realities through navigating different feeling rules, and how they make sense of their experiences and emotions as active agents. By challenging the

pathological perspective that has been dominant in studies of the functions of emotions in contexts of migration (Albrecht 2016), we focus on the analytical potential of a sociological emotion-based perspective for understanding human mobility instead of migrants' suffering.

2. The emotional journeys of motherhood and migration

Following a socio-constructivist framework (Brenneis 1990), we understand that migrant mothers' emotions are felt, constructed, and interpreted in interaction with others and within various contexts. In theorizing emotions as intrinsically relational, the work of Hochschild (1979) is especially useful because it brings together socio-cultural norms with individual embodied experiences of emotional responses. Rather than addressing how people unconsciously feel, as in psychoanalytical approaches, Hochschild theorized the way in which individuals actively manage their emotions through social interactions (1979: 560). Inspired by her work, we understand that emotion management has a relational nature and is actively exercised, as well as shaped by the meanings an individual has given to a situation and, simultaneously, influencing their perceptions of that situation.

Hochschild's theoretical concepts of 'framing rules' and 'feeling rules', which emphasize the social construction and social complexity of emotions, are central for our discussion. She defined 'framing rules' as 'the rules according to which we ascribe definitions or meanings to situations' (1979: 566) and that indicate 'what interpretations and meanings individuals should give to situations' (Turner and Stets 2005: 41). An example of these is the expectation that women should be stay-at-home mothers (Hochschild 2003: 127). Emotions are felt when individuals, delimited by the available 'framing rules', have interpreted and defined a situation (Hochschild 1979). Because feeling rules 'specify how people ought to feel in a situation given a particular interpretation demanded by framing rules' (Hochschild 1979: 565; Turner and Stets 2005: 41), framing rules act as the context for feeling rules (Tonkens 2012: 199). Together, they create the guidelines for assessing how appropriate it is to feel certain emotions in a given situation. Therefore, the norm that women should feel happy about being at home is a feeling rule (Hochschild 2003: 127). These feeling rules are learned through social interaction and compliance with them involves 'emotion work', which are techniques through which individuals try to direct their emotions (Hochschild's 'what I try to feel' 1979: 565). This shows how emotions are not just felt, but interpreted and actively managed (Tonkens 2012:196). Individuals try to avoid tensions that might emerge when there is a disassociation between feeling rules and an individual's lived experience of a situation through emotion work. By doing so, they are accepted as members of a particular social group (Ryan 2008; Maehara 2010).

Becoming a mother implies a journey of navigating cultural and gender norms, values, expectations, mothering practices, and emotions. Over the last decades, intensive mothering has prevailed as the framing rule for thinking about mothering in the western world. Guided by western, middle-class values about proper lifestyle, sexuality, maternal care, and order within an individualistic notion of personhood, intensive mothering includes

ideas, beliefs, and opinions about what upbringing involves, and why some mothering practices are more appropriate than others (Hays 1998: 21). This particular cultural norm prescribes that mothers should be their children's main caregiver and perform labor-intensive, child-centered, financially expensive, emotionally absorbing, and expert-guided practices (Hays 1998: 81). Underlying intensive mothering is a construction of the vulnerable child and of mothers as the responsible party for their children's well-being and, thereby, society's future (James and James 2008). These contemporary ideas of children's vulnerability and parental determinism underpin current developments of policies that approach families as a mechanism to solve societal problems (Furedi 2001; Gillies 2012). Family policies have led to an increasing professionalization of family relationships and monitoring of parenting practices, which have been transformed into an activity that cannot be performed naturally but that parents need to learn from experts (Gillies 2012). In this context, mothers face high expectations on their mothering and are the recipients of blame when their children do not turn into 'good' citizens.

The emotional dimensions of framing motherhood within intensive mothering are complex and ambivalent. Feminist scholars (Caplan 1989; Chase and Rogers 2001; Jackson and Mannix 2004) have argued that the image of 'good mother' within intensive mothering prompts women to feel guilty when they do not meet the ideal's demands. Moreover, research has found that the high standards and pressure to be perfect and a 'good mother' within intensive mothering leads to experiences of stress and anxiety for women that do not fully subscribe to this ideal (Henderson, Harmon, and Newman 2016). These feelings interact with the supposed sense of fulfillment, happiness, love, and devotion to their children that 'good mothers' are expected to within this framing rule (Huppatz 2018: 151). A mismatch between normative morally laden assumptions of motherhood and a mother's lived experiences brings tensions and complex emotional responses (Michaels and Kokanović 2018), which need to be managed through extensive emotion work (Maehara 2010).

Migration also implies an ongoing emotional journey (Ryan 2008) through hope, disillusion, fear, uncertainty, satisfaction, shame, guilt, pride, and nostalgia. Hochschild's concepts of feeling rules and emotion work have been relevant for studies on mobility and emotions. Belonging, longing, loneliness, shame, and guilt have been explored as 'feeling rules' within migration (Ryan 2008; Svašek 2008, 2010; Baldassar 2015; Vermot 2015). Because different feeling rules are dominant in particular times and places (Reddy 2001), the emotional dimensions of mobility are complex. In order to manage conflicting feeling rules, migrants engage in emotion work, which allows them to reframe the situations they are in, as well as establish and maintain relationships across places (Ryan 2008; Lau 2010; Maehara 2010; Lindqvist 2013). In this regard, research on transnational families has found that guilt is an emotion that helps women to feel attached to their parents or children back in their countries of origin (Baldassar 2008, 2015; Abrego 2014; Vermot 2015). Likewise, emotion work has been argued to be intrinsic to migrants' integration in the host society (Maehara 2010; Lindqvist 2013). The centrality of emotions and their role in navigating ideals around migration and mothering, as well as in interactions, identity, and belonging construction means we cannot overlook them when trying to understand motherhood in the context of migration.

2.1 Mothers' experiences of intensive mothering

Researchers view intensive mothering as the cultural script for mothering among Western middle-class mothers, one which places emphasis on the idea of spending time, resources, and energy on children (Faircloth, Hoffman and Layne 2013). However, it is important to note that intensive mothering includes ideas about child-rearing that 'are certainly not followed in practice by every mother, but they are, implicitly or explicitly, understood as the proper approach to the raising of a child by the majority of mothers' (Hays 1998: 9). Not all mothers perform the same mothering practices, but intensive mothering is the normative standard by which mothering is assessed (Arendell 2000). This supposes a hierarchy of knowledge about the proper approach for child-rearing within which mothers can choose from a variety of practices to 'intensively' raise a child (Faircloth 2013; (Jaysane-Darr, 2013)).

Recent studies framed by a global perspective have pointed out that there is no uniform interpretation nor performance of the ideal of intensive mothering (Faircloth, Hoffman and Layne 2013; Jaysane-Darr 2013). Factors like social class and culture influence how mothers navigate and internalize the ideology of mothering. Regarding the former, research has shown that the family circumstances and financial constraints of working-class mothers shape their experiences and meaning-making of mothering. This results in practices that promote less organized activities and instead include directives more often than, for example, providing explanations to children (Lareau 2002; Nelson 2010).

As for culture, variations regarding beliefs about gender roles, a child's needs, childhood, and child-rearing play a role when mothers engage with the framing rule of intensive mothering. Because of their cultural understandings of childhood and children, migrant mothers might perform mothering practices that differ from that of the society in which they live (Jaysane-Darr 2013). Furthermore, the migration-related challenges that this group of mothers faces may hinder them from meeting the time- and resource-demanding standards of intensive mothering (Berry 2013). Difficulties to live up to this ideal may also make migrant mothers more vulnerable to marginalization in the host society, and reinforce complex and ambivalent emotions about their mothering.

3. Data and methods

3.1 Participants and methods

Data were collected in three Norwegian municipalities in 2017, in the context of the aftermath of the 2008 economic recession. Southern Europe was one of the most crisis-stricken regions and suffered longstanding economic, political, and social consequences (Capucha et al. 2014; Lafleur, Stanek and Veira 2017). As a result, there was a rise in South-to-North intra-European mobility. This was not only economically driven migration. It was also motivated by Southern Europeans' desires for stability (Bygnes and Erdal, 2017). In Norway, the Spanish community grew from little more than 1,500 residents in 2004 to a population of 6,211 in 2017. Other growing groups include migrants from Italy (4,315) and Greece (2,828) (Statistics Norway 2004, 2017).

To recruit informants, information leaflets were distributed through organizations, churches, preschools, schools, and libraries, as well as online. Most participants were recruited via Facebook groups that acted as migrant fora through the use of the snowballing technique (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981). The study participants were 15 mothers, and included women from Greece (two), Italy (two), and Spain (11). Ten of them had lived in Norway for more than five years, with the rest having done so for less time. Our informants shared a recent macroeconomic history of financial recession, which shaped the experience of migration for the majority of them. Most informants had a university degree (10), but only six of them worked in their professional fields (oil, construction, consulting, and academia). Eight participants had manual jobs, such as housekeeping or preschool assistant, and one was unemployed at the time of data collection.

Because mothering norms and experiences are class-related, it is important to consider participants' social class. This is a challenging task given the fluid character of class in the context of migration, where mismatches between education and occupation, and between class positions in the host and origin countries, are experienced by many informants. Taking into account occupation and educational attainment as socioeconomic indicators (Stefansen and Farstad 2010), we can tentatively, group six of the mothers as middle-class, as they had both university degrees and typical middle-class jobs (professional/managerial positions in the public and private sectors). Five mothers could be classified as working class, given that they had no higher education and had typical working-class jobs (skilled/unskilled manual work or office work). Finally, exemplifying the complexity of class expression, four mothers could be placed between these categories (middle/working class) because they had university degrees but held working-class jobs (three), or were highly educated but unemployed (one).

Informants had one or two children, aged from eight months to 17 years, and most of them became mothers after migrating (nine). Nine of them had a Southern European partner, while five had a Norwegian one, and only one was a single mother. Reasons for migrating varied from career opportunities to marrying a Norwegian. Apart from one who lived in the countryside, study participants lived in three larger Norwegian cities. Most informants had daily experiences with ethnic Norwegian parents and welfare professionals. Eight participants had children enrolled in kindergarten, and three of them worked as assistants there. Others attended school meetings (nine), interacted with their Norwegian in-laws (five), or had experiences with neonatal and maternal care in Norway (nine).

Data were collected through two focus group discussions (FGDs) and 11 in-depth interviews. In the FGDs, participants were asked to reflect on being a mother in Norway and of meeting other parents and welfare professionals in the country. Informants were grouped based on the length of stay in Norway. Each FGD lasted 120 minutes. One was held in English, with six mothers who migrated more than five years ago; and another in Spanish with four mothers who had lived in Norway for less than five years. Individual in-depth interviews were conducted with nine mothers at a place of their choosing, either their home, workplace, university, or a café. Six of them had previously participated in the FGD. Moreover, two mothers were interviewed together with their partners. Interviews lasted 75–120 minutes and were conducted either in English (four) or Spanish (seven). They followed a narrative approach with exploratory questions aiming to collect

detailed pre- and post-migration experiences to contextualize the storytelling. Although emotions were not a topic expressly included in the interviews or FGDs guides, they emerged as an important theme.

In addition to the interviews and FDGs, the first author participated in events organized by the Spanish and Italian communities in Norway, such as a Christmas dinner, a Sunday lunch, and a barbeque. These were opportunities to get access to informal and 'naturally' occurring conversations among migrant parents, and to interact with the informants and other migrants in informal settings. The first author was part of Facebook fora where Southern Europeans living in Norway shared information, gave and asked for advice, and engaged in discussions which became additional windows into migrant mothers' reflections. In these settings, migrant mothers often discussed mothering and welfare interventions for families, showing self-awareness of the interventionist role of the Norwegian state in family life and the predominance of discourses in Norway that portray mothering as child-centered and dialogued-based. Emotions about raising children in the context of migration were often discussed in these informal gatherings or spaces, in which the first author also observed a sense of community among migrant parents.

Data were transcribed and translated into English verbatim and later imported to qualitative analysis software NVivo for coding. The FGDs and interview transcripts were thematically analyzed with particular attention to how mothers talked about doing mothering in a cross-cultural context. We followed Braun and Clarke's six steps for conducting thematic analysis (familiarization with the data, coding, generating initial themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and writing up). We did so because thematic analysis is a theoretically flexible method that focuses on identifying and analyzing patterns across the data, and it suits questions related to people's experiences, understandings, and perceptions (2006).

3.2 Reflexivity and the researcher's positionality

The FGDs were a collective meaning-making process in which the members of the group drew on the available discursive repertoires to talk about mothering in migration (Gedalof 2009). Participants constructed a group identity through sharing similar emotions about raising their children in Norway. Due to its interactionist character, emotions acted as a 'glue' (Turner and Stets 2005: 1) that bound the group members together and separated them from other groups of mothers.

Although the socially organized situation and controlled setting that FGDs entail may have had an impact on the research, we are convinced that the data collected through the FGDs were not just a result of FDG-related social dynamics. Following Goffman (1981 cited in Smithson 2000: 105), we saw 'natural' discussions as performances embedded in conversational situations. Migrant mothers engage in conversations about their children's upbringing, mothering, and migration in a variety of contexts that influence how they display their opinions and emotions. Based on the interviews and observations, we claim that migrants often engage in conversations about parenting in migration and its emotional implications in a similar way to that of the FGDs participants.

Important positionalities of the researchers, such as gender and age, may impact the study during its different stages (Berger 2015). Being a female immigrant from Spain, the

first author shared some identity categories with the informants, which, together with her personal network of Spaniards living in Norway, facilitated the recruitment of participants and her interaction with them. Her firsthand knowledge of migration helped her to identify and follow-up important topics related to the research questions. Likewise, it is relevant to highlight the researcher's unfamiliarity with motherhood, since she was not a mother herself, and to reflect on how the way that participants interpreted this may have influenced the study. In the interviews, the mothers positioned the interviewer in a familiar situation of young woman who would like to form a family in Norway. This prompted detailed descriptions of their experiences of motherhood through attempts to help the interviewer to understand an unknown reality for her, and through giving her advice based on their own experiences.

4. Findings

Two main themes emerged in the migrant mothers' discussions about raising their children in the context of migration: (a) dialogue-based and child-centered mothering ideals; and (b) cultural differences in social interactions, eating, and drinking patterns. Participants reflected on the emotions they felt in relation to both themes. In this section, we present such reflections showing how emotional responses are fluid, ambivalent, interrelated, and situated in temporal, spatial, socioeconomic, and cultural contexts.

4.1 Navigating emotions: dialogue-based and child-centered mothering ideals

In their discussions, participants stressed the different images of 'good mother' they perceived as hegemonic in both host and origin countries, giving great importance to national contexts in the construction of mothering ideals. Migrant mothers associated Norway with an ideal of 'good mother' that includes child-oriented and dialogue-based practices aiming to encourage children's autonomy and self-sufficiency. When they reflected on mothering in their countries of origin, they referred to more obedience-based and protectionist practices.

> Agnese (FGD1): I feel that they (Norwegians) . . . feel that a child knows what he can or can't do, of course, the adult is there to guide, but it isn't like in Italy, and probably in Spain and Greece, where "you can't do that, you can't do this"

This made the act of raising their children in Norway be seen as an opportunity to interact with dialogued-based and child-centered mothering ideals, and to learn practices that would help them to provide a 'good' childhood and upbringing for their children. Practices like listening to and engaging in conversations with children, as well as giving them space to make their own decisions were assessed as beneficial for their children. Mothers often associated such practices with Norway and the learning process that, according to them, they had experienced after migration. This brought emotions of pride and satisfaction because it promoted their liberation from practices they wanted to avoid.

> Sabrina: Agnese, I'm like you, I lose my temper. I'm like: "I've said it three times now!" ... but, I've tried to embrace the Norwegian way and it helps me, it's a good thing for my kids and for me.
>
> Agnese: Yeah, because as a parent you feel horrible when you scream to your children. You feel better when you are able to [speak calmly to them] (FGD1).

At the same time, encountering dialogued-based and child-centered mothering ideals in the host country brought on negative emotions. Mothers expressed that when they do not live up to these ideals, they feel judged by Norwegian parents, professionals, and community, which brings feelings of shame. Informants felt blamed by engaging in the common practice of approaching their children in an authoritarian way, which was described as a practice mothers were not blamed for in their countries of origin.

> Agnese: Norwegian parents never scream or lose their temper ... Sometimes I get really pissed off and I scream
>
> Marta: Me too
>
> Agnese: Of course I don't like when I lose my temper, it's horrible
>
> Vanessa: Imagine having a Norwegian husband ... He never screams, and then, you do, and he looks at you like: "what's wrong with you? Do you really think that this is gonna work?" That's everyday crisis.
>
> Agnese: Exactly ... sometimes, I get pissed off, I scream, and I think [that] in Italy, nobody would react to that. Nobody would say: "you are a bad mother because you scream to your children". They'd say: "I understand, you lose your temper." (FGD1)

As the previous quote shows, the informants who reported a reinforcement of their guilt through their interactions with their partners were those cohabitating with Norwegians. Contrary to mothers whose partners were Greeks, Italians, or Spaniards, they felt that their companions more often questioned their mothering when they performed practices they associated with their countries of origin.

The disclosures of feeling negative emotions for not living up to the mothering ideals encountered in the host society were accompanied by mothers' discussions of the socio-institutional context in which they raise their children and how it influences their mothering experiences. Lack of social capital, economic challenges, and instability was presented as migration-related stressors that hinder them from meeting the expectations set up by the mothering ideal in Norway. Mothers used their migrant status to handle negative emotions and absolve themselves from feeling guilty for not living up to that ideal.

> Sonia (FGD1): When I became a mother, I felt I didn't have time for anything and I wasn't good enough, ... my husband told me: "you cannot compare yourself with a Norwegian. Norwegians who go for strolls every day and they walk, and they do whatever they want but when they feel like doing something they want to do, they put the kid in their parents' house and they do whatever. You don't have that". Because we have more stress, don't have escape, don't have time for ourselves ... I've been unemployed for a year!

It is important to note that the mothers' navigation of dialogued-based and child-centered mothering ideals in their encounters with Norwegian professionals and parents brought both negative and positive emotions, which were interwoven in complex ways. For instance, informants criticized the child-led learning approaches and lack of competition within Norwegian primary schools, particularly the absence of a grading system based on exams, and they doubted the benefits of such practices for their children's future. Meanwhile, they expressed pride and confidence about adult-led approaches they associated with their cultures of origin like demanding more homework, and using discipline by setting clearer boundaries, rules about mealtimes or the use of electronics, and taking away activities or children's belongings. These were described in contrast with the more child-centered practices observed in Norway in public spaces or institutional encounters, like letting the child make decisions about what to wear. Another example of how positive and negative emotions were interrelated can be observed through Marta's experience of comparing the way she approaches her daughter to how Norwegian mothers who 'patiently explain things to children' do. She feels 'bad' and reminds herself that she 'probably hugs her children more than they do'. Referring to a practice she felt proud of, this showing of affection to her children, was a way to counterbalance negative emotions prompted by not living up to dialogued-based mothering ideals.

Participants' interactions with mothering ideals in Norway prompted reflections on their mothering prior to migration, which was accompanied by emotions of guilt for having raised their children in ways that could have a negative impact on their well-being, future, and development. Past mothering practices they felt guilty about included not being patient with their children, approaching them in an authoritarian manner, not spending time with them, or not giving them freedom. Mothers made sense of these practices by locating them in the past and in their countries of origin, not only in terms of geographical location but also in terms of cultural understandings, values, and socioeconomic and institutional contexts.

> Isabel (FGD2): Here [in Norway], I had the time to get to know my daughter, her needs and wishes, to spend time with her, to listen to her, and all these are valued and expected. I couldn't do all that with my first son, in Spain, where the maternity leave is ridiculous, and the working conditions aren't family-friendly at all.

Guilt for their past mothering was reinforced by the informants' comparisons between the child-rearing practices they engaged in the past and the practices they associated with Norway. For instance, Rocío (FGD2) disclosed the guilt she feels when she compares how she raised her children in Spain with how Norwegian mothers do.

> Rocío: I work in the [kindergarten's] department for children aged 1-3 years ... If a 1 year-old child says: "I'm already full, I don't want any more [food]", you don't force him ... Here you see that the child has his own personality! It's incredible!
>
> Isabel: Yes, it's so
>
> Rocío: sometimes it gives me nostalgia because I think I didn't give my daughters what I know now, the opportunity to express themselves when they were 1-3

> years. I didn't stop to see them as they were on the inside, and here you realize that a 1-3 year-old child has a personality of his own.
>
> Nieves: You must not feel remorse because you did what you thought was the best for them . . . You didn't know some things because of ignorance.
>
> Rocío: but here I see the parents who come to kindergarten and take their time with their children.

Rocío shared that she felt remorse, frustration, and guilt for not having raised her children using the practices observed in Norway. During the FGD, there was shared anguish because of the impossibility of undoing their mothering, and its potential negative consequences on their children's future. Guilt and remorse for the past were interwoven with pride and satisfaction for what participants described as their personal growth as mothers. Yet instead of pointing only at time as a key element in the process of becoming 'good mothers', they gave importance to place. Norway was seen as a place that gave them the opportunity to learn desired practices. Place also played an important role when informants justified their past mothering practices, particularly those they do not feel proud about doing. In this regard, mothers stressed their ignorance at that period because of living in a country where the practices, which they see today as adequate, were not common.

Disclosures of guilt for past mothering were accompanied by discussions on the structural challenges participants faced when they raised their children in their countries of origin. Migrant mothers reflected on how employers and policymakers make it difficult for parents to balance family and work in Greece, Italy, and Spain, unlike the family-friendly Norwegian environment. Reflecting on the context in which they raised their children helped informants to absolve themselves from guilt for not having been the ideal mothers.

> Rocío: I look at the parents, who come to the kindergarten and take their time with the children, speak with them and "Bye dad, bye mom". I left my daughter in the kindergarten, I had to run; "Bye" and the girl stayed crying. I didn't have time. It's also because of the work, the pace of life that we all have there [in Spain]
>
> Miriam: It's more stress there
>
> Rocío: How do I say to my boss that I'm going to be 10 minutes late because my daughter is crying in the kindergarten?
>
> Isabel: Yes, in Spain that's unthinkable. . . . I don't know if I'm the worst because sometimes you have that feeling of: "was it that bad how I raised the eldest [in Spain] compared to the way I'm doing it with this one [youngest child born in Norway]?"
>
> Rocío: I feel remorse when I think that I didn't give the eldest all the freedom in her moment. (FGD2)

4.2 Navigating emotions: cultural differences in social interactions, eating, and drinking patterns

Migrant mothers shared that they experience cultural clashes in different spheres of their daily lives and discussed them in connection with their mothering. They reflected on their

positions as migrants and how their cultural backgrounds bring complex and ambivalent emotions. Because they drew on a broader set of culturally informed practices to ensure their children 'proper' upbringing, mothers felt proud, grateful, and satisfied regarding their cultures of origin. For instance, having a Mediterranean diet was presented as a practice rooted in their culture of origin and promoting their children's well-being.

> Eva: At the kindergarten, I got shocked with the food, the *matpakke* (lunchbox); you say "they (children) can't eat bread every day". They (kindergarten staff) look at you "what have you cooked for her today?" like surprised because you have made something else than a sandwich .... My daughter is the only one with a proper diet, because I make pasta, salmon, a proper meal with many fruits. A proper meal for a child cannot be bread! I'm glad she has a Mediterranean diet.

As Eva, all mothers were critical of the dietary practices observed in Norway, which were consistently described as inadequate for their children's healthy development in contrast to those from their countries of origin. They showed resistance toward the Norwegian diet and felt proud and satisfied for keeping, and instilling, a Mediterranean one.

Informants' experiences of what they defined as cultural clashes also brought emotions of guilt, stress, and anxiety about their mothering. This was the case when mothers reflected on patterns of social interaction common in their countries of origin that differed from those encountered in Norway, like including children in the social activities that adults held in the evening or that involved social drinking. Performing these practices in Norway brought negative emotions when mothers perceived that Norwegians blamed them for such practices.

> Miriam: Imagine I'm going to visit somebody on a Friday and it gets late, 9pm, ..., you realize there is no child [on the bus], everyone goes with alcohol in the bags, and all look at you like: "what are you doing with a girl on a bus at 9?"
>
> Isabel: They give you a dirty look. In my case, once, the normal thing that you miss the bus, you have to wait for the next one, and you are late and say: "they're going to give me a dirty look", and they do
>
> Nieves: Yes, and they make you feel bad (FGD2).

Because the migrant mothers' feelings of guilt came up when they performed some practices either in Norway or in their countries of origin, they decided to be selective regarding the country in which they would perform them. An example was their decision to drink alcohol in public spaces with their children present only in their countries of origin in order to avoid the emotions of guilt and shame that this practice would bring in Norway. This shows the special importance that migrant mothers gave to national contexts in their reflections on the emotional implications of mothering in migration. Yet it is relevant to point out that negative emotions were again interrelated with positive ones. Participants' reflections on shame for their drinking practices came accompanied by descriptions of condescension, critique, and contestation of Norwegian ideals in this respect. Shame was, therefore, interwoven with pride and confidence about the drinking culture of their country of origin.

> Marta (FGD1): There is nothing wrong with drinking a glass of wine with food as we do in Spain. What is really bad is drinking to death on a Saturday, which is a very Scandinavian thing. So, please, don't judge me!

Finally, informants described the approaches toward their children's social life in both Norway and their countries of origin as culturally informed. In the next quote, Sabrina, an Italian mother, shares how she is fighting against her worry for her son's safety and her restrictive attitude toward him, which she described as 'learned in Italy', and how she tries to embrace the more 'relaxed' attitude that she has encountered in Norway. She describes this as a learning process that brings feelings of stress, anxiety, and satisfaction.

> I do worry, yesterday, he (son) was ten minutes late, "OMG, what happened? . . . What if he falls from a three?" . . .
>
> I saw that this wasn't right, I saw it from my husband, he is Norwegian, so it was so clear for him, and from my colleagues at kindergarten, and I accept it and I fight it "son, you can go out, but please take your phone with you" . . .. So, I try to find other ways to feel a bit more relaxed and let him do whatever he wants because actually I've realized that it's wrong that he isn't allowed to do things, because I'm afraid . . .. It's difficult, it's a process, and it takes a long time to adjust, but I'm getting better and I feel good and proud to embrace those things because I think that it's actually better. If it's better for my son, then, I have to try.

From the participants' perspective, the cultural clashes have also prompted a transformation in their mothering practices. Mothers became conscious of this when they re-encountered their societies of origin and realized that they gave more freedom to their children than other parents do. Despite feeling that this practice would have positive outcomes for their children's well-being, their perceptions of being judged and blamed for it in their countries of origin brought emotions of shame and guilt.

> Nieves (FGD2): When we are in Spain, for my daughters it is natural to go alone to the parks, but other children are so scared.
>
> Isabel: Yes, when we went in the summer [to Spain], she [daughter] was one and a half years old, we went out on the street and the girl ran, she did everything by herself. I didn't even think of being all over her "don't climb, don't. . .", and other friends who have children . . . were all over her all day: "don't worry, I look at her" I thought: "I'm so bad; I must be the worst because I'm not over her all time". I had the sensation of being bad, like negligence.

This again mirrors the importance that mothers gave to place when they made sense of their emotions, and how the same practice brought ambivalent emotional responses depending on the country in which it was performed.

5. Discussion

Migrant mothers raise their children in a context of mobility in which they encounter rules for doing, thinking, and feeling about their mothering. Hochschild's concepts of framing rules, feeling rules, and emotion work may be useful to better understand our

informants' reflections on their emotional experiences and the functions of emotions in the context of motherhood in migration. We discuss the ambivalent array of emotions our participants go through in their attempts to make sense of context-dependent framing rules and to manage inconsistent feeling rules about their mothering. Further, we look into the emotion work through which mothers tried to comply with feeling rules maintaining and building a sense of belonging across places.

When informants made sense of motherhood, they reproduced key notions within the ideology of intensive mothering (Hays 1998), which came up as a framing rule that indicates 'what interpretations and meanings individuals should give to situations' (Hochschild 1979: 566), in this case, to motherhood. Migrant mothers saw themselves as responsible for taking child-focused and time-consuming practices to ensure their children's well-being. This understanding of their mother role is in line with the notion of parental determinism underlying intensive parenting, which argues that what parents do with their children will have a decisive impact on the child's future opportunities and development (Lee et al. 2014).

Migrant mothers identified that in Greece, Italy, Spain, and Norway, intensive mothering is the framing rule according to which motherhood should be understood. However, they reflected on the existence of cultural values and understandings of children, childhood, and family that they see as differing across these societies. For instance, they shared that their cultures of origin stress more children's vulnerability and dependence, and the reciprocal responsibilities between family members, whereas the host society's culture puts the focus on individuality and children's rights. Migrant mothers associated Norway with a dialogue-based mothering ideal, in contrast with the more obedience-based mothering practices that they knew from their countries of origin. Influenced by the values and understandings that stem from their cultures of origin, the migrant mothers found it undesirable to meet some of the mothering ideals that they perceived as expected from the Norwegian society. The participants' cultural backgrounds also shaped how they engaged with intensive mothering. They perceived that this rule for framing their mothering allowed them to choose from a range of context-dependent practices to 'intensively' care for their children (Faircloth 2013: 123). They shared different practices regarding children's schedule, sleeping, and feeding within intensive mothering that were common either in Norway, Greece, Italy, or Spain.

Migrant mothers' social class and work status shaped also how they engaged with the framing rule of intensive mothering. Research has found that middle-class mothers are more likely to meet the time- and resource-consuming demands of intensive mothering (Fox 2009; Romagnoli and Wall 2012). This contrasts with working-class mothers, who have been argued to be more critical to intensive mothering because the egalitarian, nonjudgmental attitude, and emphasis on dialogue within this ideal may be a 'predicament that is not realized into society's functioning' for this group of mothers (Raffaetà 2015: 1206). In our study, all mothers were critical of certain aspects of intensive mothering regardless of their social class. They were concerned that the focus on egalitarianism encountered in Norwegian educational institutions would not prepare their children to live in an unfair world. Furthermore, the migration-related challenges faced by all participants, like lack of family support in Norway, intensified the feeling of being unable to keep up with the expectations on their mothering under the framing rule of intensive

mothering. This is in line with previous research that identified language barriers, lack of social support, and knowledge about bureaucratic norms, cultural clashes in understandings of children's autonomy, and economic difficulties as factors that hinder migrant parents from achieving the standard of intensive parenting (Aarset and Sandbæk 2009; Staer and Bjørknes 2015; Fylkesnes, Iversen and Nygren 2018; Friberg and Bjørnset 2019).

As a framing rule, intensive mothering shaped our informants' meaning making and experiences of mothering. It also provided the context for rules that defined how they should feel about their mothering (feeling rules; Hochschild 1979). Although migrant mothers were critical of the high expectations that intensive mothering put on them, they seemed to feel guilt, fear, uncertainty, shame, and anxiety in the face of the ideal's high standards. This is in line with Henderson et al.'s study (2016), which argued that emotions of guilt and pressure to be 'good mothers' are inescapable to all mothers. At the same time, framed by intensive mothering, happiness, joy, and satisfaction arose as feeling rules mothers were expected to feel when they raised their children and made sacrifices for their well-being (Hays 1998).

Doing mothering in a context of mobility added more complexity to our informants' emotional experiences because of conflicting feeling rules on their mothering from host and origin societies. In Norway, our informants discussed that they are expected to feel confident, proud, and satisfied when they perform practices that promote their children's participation and autonomy. On the contrary, they referred to fear, anxiety, and worry as feeling rules they experience in their countries of origin when they perform some practices that would bring the aforementioned positive emotions in Norway, like letting a child go to the park by themselves.

As Svašek and Skrbiš noted (2007: 374), the emotional dispositions learned in the country of origin might differ from which emotions are 'acceptable' for the host society, which might bring 'emotional destabilization'. However, inspired by Albrecht (2016), we claim that it is important to go beyond a pathological perspective on emotions that may overlook a migrant's agency. The cross-cultural context in which migrant mothers raised their children puts them in a position in which they access different rules in order to reframe their realities. In line with Gu's study on Taiwanese women in Chicago (2010), this position brought negative emotions. However, it also prompted satisfaction, pride, joy, and happiness. In this regard, our informants reflected that there are situations in which they can decide whether to act and feel in compliance with the feeling rules encountered in a particular context. This shows the relational nature of emotions and how migrants actively do emotion work in their attempts to reconcile conflicting emotions.

Migrant mothers learned feeling rules through interaction with others across countries, like professionals, other parents, and relatives. To comply with those rules, they engaged in 'emotion work' or strategies through which informants redefined situations aiming to shape their emotions (Ryan 2008; Wettergren, 2013), and to be accepted as members of host and origin societies (Ryan 2008; Lau 2010; Maehara 2010; Lindqvist 2013). As Maehara (2010) found, idealizing family life in the host country can be a way for migrants to manage their emotions. In our study, migrant mothers' idealization of mothering in Norway can be seen as a technique of emotion work to manage their guilt for the mothering practices they performed in the past in their countries of origin. This emotion work

also shows the important role that place was given in migrant mothers' reflections on the emotional journey of motherhood. Participants associated their improvement as mothers with living in Norway and learning mothering practices that helped them to become better, instead of making sense of this as part of a learning process shaped by time and experience. Through emotion work, not only did informants manage emotions of guilt, but they also negotiated their belonging to the host society.

The discussions on the role that the structural context in which they raise their children has in supporting or hindering 'proper' mothering is another example of the emotion work that migrant mothers carry out. The family unfriendly working conditions of their countries of origin and their lack of social support in Norway were identified as barriers to fulfill the ideal of mothering in the past and in the present. This is in line with previous research that identified lack of social support and economic difficulties as challenges migrant parents face when they raise their children in Norway (Staer and Bjørknes 2015; Fylkesnes, Iversen and Nygren 2018; Friberg and Bjørnset 2019). For our informants, blaming the structural contexts for their past and present 'bad mothering' was a way to manage feelings of guilt and shame.

Finally, pointing at the positive aspects of their culture of origin on which they drew as resources to raise their children was another emotion work technique for our informants. Reminding themselves about values and practices they associated with their cultures of origin that would benefit their children's upbringing and well-being was a way for mothers to manage negative emotions about their current mothering, and to maintain a sense of belonging to their countries of origin. This shows how negative and positive emotions are interwoven in the journey of motherhood, and how mothers' experiences with host and origin societies are shaped by different feeling rules and techniques of emotion work. These reflections can help to bring a better understanding of the interactive nature of emotional processes in migration (Milton and Svašek 2005). Through emotion work, migrant mothers engaged with different feeling rules in Norway, Greece, Italy, and Spain, negotiating their belonging to host and origin societies. Feeling proud and satisfied for letting their children playing outdoors created a sense of belonging in Norway, whereas feeling guilty for the same practice connected them to their countries of origin. Mothers' emotional experiences about their mothering, therefore, shaped their belonging to host and origin societies, and the relationships they build and maintain across places.

6. Conclusion

This article aimed to shed light on the emotional journey of motherhood in migration by exploring the reflections of Greek, Italian, and Spanish mothers living in Norway on their experiences and emotions regarding mothering. The voices of migrant mothers show how social interactions, perceptions of own mothering and mothering ideals, and belonging to places are all shaped by emotional experiences. Migrant mothers reflected on emotions of guilt, shame, remorse, pride, happiness, anger, relief, satisfaction, stress, and anxiety as interwoven and navigated through place and time. Drawing on elements within the ideal of intensive mothering, they constructed an image of a 'good mother' and

context-dependent mothering styles with which they struggled to comply. Through emotion work, they managed their emotions and engaged with different feeling rules from host and origin countries, negotiating their belonging to both contexts.

Our analysis contributes to deepening the understanding of the emotional dimensions of migration by illustrating the ambivalent range of emotions of migrant mothers. This knowledge is of relevance from a social science perspective because emotion work is intrinsic to migrants' meaning making and experiences, as well as to the navigation of ideals and feeling rules around mothering and migration, and social interactions. Moreover, a focus on emotion has been proven to be fruitful for unpacking how migrant mothers navigate their identities as mothers and as migrants, and create a sense of belonging in different places.

Conflict of interest statement. None declared.

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Article II

II

Accepted: 5 June 2020
DOI: 10.1002/psp.2362

RESEARCH ARTICLE

WILEY

Self-legitimation and sense-making of Southern European parents' migration to Norway: The role of family aspirations

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Abstract

This article explores the migration narratives of Southern European parents living in Norway, where family projects emerged as a central theme. Migrant parents told stories not only of disillusionment and sacrifice but also of satisfaction, which they articulated around their aspiration to have a family life after migration. We analysed the informants' storytelling and explored the ways that family aspirations manifested. By articulating their migration experiences through their aspirations to grow their family, the migrant parents claimed a position as subjects in Norwegian discourses on parenting and citizenship and distanced themselves from discourses on labour immigration and immigrant parenting. The article aims to contribute to the scholarship on motivations for post-2008 intra-European migration and on narrative legitimation by drawing attention to the way migrants use their family projects as a vehicle for self-legitimation, for claiming rightful membership to the host society and for justifying this position to themselves and others.

KEYWORDS

aspirations, intra-European migration, parenting, self-legitimation, storytelling

1 | INTRODUCTION

- My husband and I knew that when it came time to having kids, it was going to be in Norway because we didn't have a real job in Italy. For me, working in tourism and having children would have been very difficult because you can't compare the benefits you have in Norway with the benefits you have in Italy. It's also that here, having children is seen as natural, whereas in Italy, it's seen as something weird. Norway is a good country for having kids (Agnese, Italian mother, two children, between 5 and 10 years in Norway).

Agnese's remarks mirror contemporary Norwegian discourses on parenting and children. As stated by the Norwegian children's ombudsman in 2009, Norway is considered 'the country of children, not just because it is one of the best places for children to grow up, but it is also the place where we have developed care and protection of children to the highest standard' (Hjermann, 2009, p. 14). Norwegian discourses on children as individuals with their own rights have been particularly strong (Gullestad, 1997; Hollekim, Anderssen, & Daniel, 2016). These portray Norway as the 'country for children' because of its child-friendly legislations and policies (Hennum, 2014). This special value given to children has been discussed with regard to national symbolism and self-image and is seen as a way through which the country presents itself as an egalitarian, democratic, peaceful and innocent nation (Hennum, 2017; Satka & Eydal, 2004). Being considered individuals with their own rights and legal protection, children and their well-being are recognised as a societal matter in the country (Eydal & Satka, 2006 cited in Hollekim et al., 2016, p. 52), further legitimating public interest and intervention in family life (Leira, 2008).

Scandinavian countries in general are known for their family-friendly policies and gender equality (Isaksen, 2016). And Norway's July 2018 policy entitles parents to a paid leave of 49 or 59 weeks, depending on whether they choose to receive 100% or 80% of their salaries. This parental benefit period consists of a 3-week suspension of work duties prior to the birth for the mother, along with a maternal quota of 15/19 weeks, a paternal one of 15/19 weeks and a shared period of 16/18 weeks (NAV, n.d.). Afterwards, public childcare is guaranteed and extensively used and available at reasonable prices, and parents who prefer homecare are entitled to a quite generous allowance or tax deduction for expenses related to hiring a babysitter (Isaksen, 2016).

These types of public provisions have promoted the representation of Scandinavian countries as a model of family-friendly policy in the Southern European social imaginary (Marí-Klose, Fuentes, & del Pino Matute, 2015). This portrayal can be reinforced by the mismatch Southern Europeans experience between their aspiration to have children and the family policies that fail to help them reconcile parenthood with their careers (Esping-Andersen, 2009). As a result, a 2018 survey found that Spanish women have their first child, on average, 5.2 years later than when they first considered it ideal (INE, 2018). Among the reasons for delaying motherhood were employment conditions and difficulties to achieve work–family balance.

Reconciling work and family life appears even more unlikely in Southern Europe since the onset of the financial recession of 2008. This crisis was marked by a collapse of the building market and the implementation of austerity measures, which resulted in new societal configurations characterised by corruption, unemployment and poor working conditions, and a renewal of intra-European South–North mobility (Bygnes, 2017; Capucha, Estêvão, Calado, & Capucha, 2014; Isaksen, 2016; Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014). The increase in outward migration was more noticeable in Spain (González-Ferrer, 2013), and this is evident in the growth of this community in Norway. With 6,211 residents, Spaniards comprise the largest Southern European group in this Scandinavian country (Statistics Norway, 2018). Many of the Southern Europeans who migrated after 2008 were young highly educated, unemployed professionals (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017) looking for ways to cope with the consequences of the recession, including the difficulties in achieving their family aspirations. As Isaksen (2016) argued in her study of the meanings that Italian migrant mothers in Norway gave to public welfare services in host and origin countries, the Norwegian market-family-state arrangements seem ideal for this population because it supports their identities as middle-class parents and professionals.

In this article, we analyse the narratives of migration of Southern European parents living in Norway. Stories are a vehicle through which individuals constitute themselves as subjects (Gabriel, 1995 cited in Maclean, Harvey, & Chia, 2012, p. 19), and justify their position to themselves and to others. Therefore, our goal in exploring migrants' stories is to contribute to the emerging scholarship on drivers of intra-European emigration after the 2008 financial crisis by exploring how Southern European parents narrate their migration to Norway, as well as to contribute to research on narrative legitimation by analysing how migrants narrate their family projects and what may be accomplished through their storytelling.

2 | THEORISING POST-2008 INTRA-EUROPEAN MIGRATION

Recently, new theoretical formulations aiming to bring a better understanding and conceptualization of migration have been developed (Bal & Willems, 2014; Carling & Collins, 2018; Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 214). Studies have looked at migrants' aspirations in an attempt to provide an analytical lens to better understand how migrants, as active agents, make sense of their life worlds and migrate based on their own interpretations of push–pull factors (Carling, 2002). A focus on aspirations brings, therefore, an understanding of the drivers and experiences of migration beyond the notion of economic rationality. It also recognises the moral dimension of migration, as individuals evaluate their migration projects not only in relation to personal gains but also in moral terms (Carling, 2002). Rather than rational choices, aspirations can be seen as assertions of identity shaped by culture and standards of morality (Frye, 2012). Because what is considered a good life differs across sociocultural contexts, aspirations are never individual but are formed as part of a system of ideas and beliefs (Appadurai, 2004). Therefore, the exploration of migrants' aspirations needs to take into account the context in which these are embedded (Bal & Willems, 2014), bringing a better understanding of how people navigate their social spaces (Appadurai, 2004).

Studies within the field of intra-European migration have stressed that higher wages and job opportunities are not the sole drivers for South–North mobility after 2008, but Southern Europeans' broader life aspirations play a crucial role in their decision to emigrate (Pratsinakis, King, Himmelstine, & Mazzilli, 2019; Varriale, 2020). Particularly, researchers have stressed political dissatisfaction, searching for better quality of life, self-fulfilment, career opportunities, pursuing an intergenerational middle-class position, leading an independent adult life and ensuring stability for the future of their children as reasons for this migration (Bartolini, Gropas, & Triandafyllidou, 2017; Bonizzoni, 2018; Bygnes, 2017; Bygnes & Flipo, 2017; Lafleur, Stanek, & Veira, 2017, p. 6; Pratsinakis, 2019a; Pratsinakis et al., 2019; Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014; Varriale, 2020).

In this regard, Bygnes and Erdal (2017) developed the concept of 'grounded lives' to conceptualise Spaniards and Poles' desires to have a stable and secure life in Norway. In an uncertain context of postfinancial recession (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014), young adults might see migration as a 'way to get ahead in life' (Pratsinakis et al., 2019, p. 22) and settle down in the host country permanently (Bartolini et al., 2017; King, Lulle, Conti, & Mueller, 2016; Pratsinakis, 2019a). These aspirations challenge the notion of 'liquid migration' used to define the free intra-European mobility characterised by economic motivations, lifestyles of mobility, increased individualization and temporariness (Engbersen, 2012).

3 | SENSE-MAKING AND NARRATIVE LEGITIMATION

Sense-making is a process through which individuals interpret themselves and the world in which they live, the changes they face, and frame them according to past understandings and experiences (Thurlow & Mills, 2015, p. 248). This process is linked to identity formation because sense-making is a tool through which individuals explain to themselves who they are, as well as seek meaning, plausibility, coherence and legitimacy (Eshraghi & Taffler, 2015; Patriotta & Brown, 2011). Narratives1 are a crucial ingredient in sense-making because they act as the basic structure that individuals use to give meaning to human experience and to construct coherent redescriptions of the world (Polkinghorne, 1988 cited in Eshraghi & Taffler, 2015, p. 694; Thurlow & Mills, 2015). Sense-making through the construction of narratives does not occur in a vacuum, but it is informed by formative contexts or 'a set of assumptions, arrangements, and shared ideas that exist to produce and preserve a particular version of social life so as to make routine behavior and existing structures seem permanent' (Rostis, 2010 cited in Thurlow & Mills, 2015, p. 247). In this context, there are some meanings that are considered more legitimate, and the resources that are available to individuals constrain and enable their interpretative choices (Thurlow & Mills, 2015). The creation of stories is, in this way, shaped by the interpretive needs and desires of the storytellers and the available discourses.

Aware of what is considered a 'good story' in their temporal and spatial contexts, storytellers construct stories that are contextually located and directed to particular audiences. Scholarship in the fields of management and organisation has shown the ways in which storytelling and sense-making are related to legitimacy-seeking (Eshraghi & Taffler, 2015; Landau, Drori, & Terjesen, 2014; Maclean et al., 2012). Legitimacy involves the performance of actions that are seen appropriate in a certain context. In this line, the production of narratives has been considered a legitimation strategy because it is a process through which storytellers locate experience within an approved storytelling framework (Vaara & Tienar, 2008). Consequently, a narrative approach allows for the exploration of narratives of legitimacy within the storytellers' sense-making process (Thurlow & Mills, 2015), as well as for the analysis of the discursive resources available to storytellers and the way they put these into play (Foley & Faircloth, 2003, p. 168).

Despite the theorisation, the way migrants use narratives to construct legitimacy during processes of migration has remained unexplored. This article addresses the question of how migrant parents make sense of and legitimate their migration by exploring the narratives of migration of Southern European parents in Norway. It focuses on the role that their family projects play in their storytelling as a legitimation strategy that is used to justify their migration and life in Norway. This Scandinavian country provides an interesting context for this study because of its family- and child-centred legislation and policies.

4 | STUDY PARTICIPANTS AND METHODOLOGY

The data analysed here were collected as part of a larger research project on parenthood in migration among Southern Europeans in Norway. The analysis was based on in-depth interviews conducted with 16 migrant parents in three Norwegian municipalities in 2017. In addition, the first author also gathered data by attending gatherings organised by the Spanish and Italian communities in Norway, such as a barbeque, a Sunday lunch and a Christmas dinner. These events gave her an opportunity to have informal conversations with the informants, as well as with other Southern European migrants. This provided the background information about the context in which the storytelling took place. She was also part of Facebook forums where migrants living in Norway share information and engage in conversations.

Informants were recruited via Facebook forums used by Southern Europeans living in Norway, the first author's personal network and the snowball method (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). The study participants consisted of 11 mothers and five fathers between the ages of 30–46. The number of children varied between one and three, and their ages between 8 months and 17 years. Most of these children (11) had been born in Norway. The informants were Italian (two), Greek (two), Portuguese (one) and Spanish (11) and had lived in Norway for three to 14 years. Apart from one mother who was single, the parents were married or cohabiting with a Southern European (seven), Norwegian (seven) or Swedish (one) partner (see Table 1).

All but five of the participants had a university degree and middle-class jobs. Those without higher education worked in manual occupations, and two informants had not succeeded in finding a qualified job in their professional field in Norway despite having a university degree. Their work was in the field of nursing, architecture, engineering, office work and housekeeping. Likewise, their family backgrounds were diverse. Some participants mentioned that their parents were well educated and worked as professors, civil servants or entrepreneurs running large family businesses. Others indicated that their parents had been through economic hardships and worked in unskilled/semiskilled occupations, such as factory worker or electrician.

The first author, a Spanish researcher who lives in Norway, conducted all interviews. To identify potential biases that might affect the research, she took a reflexive approach (Riessman, 2008) and had discussions with her research team during data collection and analysis. Following Kondo (1990, p. 13), she reflected on how the participants positioned her depending on the research context and their interaction. Moving to Norway from Spain after 2008, having no children and working in the country, she was in a situation in which most informants had been before. These different aspects of her identity (a migrant, a Spaniard, a young woman or a professional) were emphasised by the interviewees who attempted to explain and give some advice regarding her own future in a Scandinavian country.

TABLE 1 Participants' overview

Pseudonym	Sex	Nationality	Age	Education	Years in Norway	Nationality of partner	N. Children	Age of Children	Children's birthplace
Linda	F	Greek	35–40	University	5–10	Norwegian	2	3 and a half years and 8 months	Norway
Vanessa	F	Greek	35–40	University	More than 10	Norwegian	2	4 and 8 years	Norway
Sabrina	F	Italian	40–45	University	More than 10	Norwegian	1	10 years	Norway
Agnese	F	Italian	40–45	University	5–10	Norwegian	2	3 and 6 years	Norway
Nieves	F	Spanish	45–50	University	Less than 5	Norwegian	2	9 and 11 years	Spain
Miriam	F	Spanish	40–45	Primary Education	Less than 5	Single	1	8 years	Spain
Pino	F	Spanish	40–45	Primary Education	Less than 5	Spaniard	1	17 years	Spain
María Jesús	F	Spanish	35–40	Secondary Education	5–10	Spaniard	2	1 and 4 years	Norway
Daniel	M	Spanish	40–45	Secondary Education	5–10	Spaniard	1	4 years	Norway
João	M	Portuguese	35–40	University	Less than 5	Swedish	1	20 months	Norway
Antonio	M	Spanish	40–45	University	5–10	Spaniard	2	4 and 6 years	Spain
Inés	F	Spanish	40–45	Secondary Education	5–10	Spaniard	2	4 and 6 years	Spain
Raúl	M	Spanish	30–35	University	Less than 5	Norwegian	3	2 years, 5 months twins	Norway
José	M	Spanish	35–40	University	5–10	Spaniard	1	9 months	Norway
Carmen	F	Spanish	30–35	University	5–10	Spaniard	1	9 months	Norway
Eva	F	Spanish	35–40	University	5–10	Norwegian	2	9 months and 3 years	Norway

This resulted in rich data on their experiences as migrant parents in Norway.

Apart from two interviews conducted with couples (mother and father), the interviews were individual, and all of them had a narrative approach with open and exploratory questions. In order to get rich descriptions that made it possible to contextualise interviewees' storytelling, participants were asked about their family backgrounds, life prior to migration, critical turning points, transitions and being parents and raising their children in Norway. Each interview lasted between 75 and 120 min and was conducted at a place of the interviewee's choice, which ranged from their homes or workplaces, at the university or in a café; additionally, one interview was conducted through Skype. The selected language for the interviews was Spanish (12) or English (four).

Regarding data analysis, we drew on insights from an experience-centred narrative approach (Squire, 2013), according to which narratives are means of sense-making constructed from embodied, gendered and unequal positions within the social world. Following the thematic narrative approach (Riessman, 2008), we looked at the content of the narratives and identified thematic patterns across them. In this regard, after an initial reading of the transcripts, 'the quest for a good family life' arose as a strong cross-cutting theme that also structured the migration narratives. Moreover, when we looked at them in their entirety, we found that interviewees aimed to account for their migration.

5 | STORIES OF MIGRATION ARTICULATED AROUND FAMILY PROJECTS

The parents' stories were diverse with regard to the factors that motivated their migration, the challenges and opportunities faced in Norway and Southern Europe and the assessments of their lives after moving abroad. However, a notion of living in Norway to fulfil their family projects, that is, having children and being involved in their upbringing, was common across all the narratives regardless of storytellers' social class or whether they had children prior or after migration. The informants' parenthood provided a structure for their migration stories, giving meaning to and articulating experiences and decision to migrate.

The introductory excerpt from Agnese points out her and her husband's decision to move to Norway when they had children and is an example of this pattern. Other interviewees made it similarly clear that the financial recession was not the only reason for migrating, and they attributed their departure to the possibility to fulfil their family projects in Norway because of the family-friendly working conditions supported by welfare state's principles and provisions. The parents highlighted that without children, they would have stayed in Southern Europe with unstable jobs and long standard workdays. In terms of the prospect of becoming parents, the majority of informants realised that their countries of origin were not places for their children to have a 'good' childhood or for them to be properly involved as parents. They based this perception on the parenthood experiences of friends and relatives and on their own experiences with the postcrisis context of unemployment and limited welfare provisions. Sabrina, who has lived in Norway between 5 and 10 years, shared her experiences in the following way:

- The recession came, and then, it's just far too difficult to get a job in Italy. Then, we had the baby, and maybe if it was just us, we'd have tried anyway … but it's also because I think that Norway is a good place for my child to grow up in (Sabrina, Italian, one child).

Many informants imagined how raising their children in Southern Europe would be and concluded that they faced too many challenges in balancing work and family life there. For those who had already had children before migrating, their past experiences with unemployment, unstable income and long working hours reinforced their perceptions of Norway as a good place to fulfil their family aspirations. The migrant parents portrayed Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece as countries with 'no future', which reflects their perceptions that the financial recession has had an impact on these societies beyond the purely economic. João, a Portuguese father, told us,

- How were we [João and his wife] going to manage with a child? Having different shifts, with all the workload we had, without a family or somebody who supported us. If something happened to either of us in Spain or in Portugal, we were helpless, without support from the state or whatever. We spoke about this sometimes, and this was always an important factor for us to leave (João, less than 5 years in Norway, one child).

Most parents had educational and occupational resources that, to some extent, prevented them from becoming unemployed. However, even if they were employed in their home countries, they stressed that the working conditions and state provisions did not support their family projects. If they would have stayed there, the informants argued that they would have needed their relatives' help to balance parenthood and their careers. Concerning family life and work, they claimed that Norway appeared to be a 'good country' to have children in because of the family policies and public provisions that facilitated the family arrangements they aspired to have. They spoke highly of the parental leaves and family-friendly working conditions, as the next excerpt shows:

- It's true that here, it [having children] is great, easier. In terms of work, you say, 'I'm pregnant', and they [employers] don't look badly at you. You feel they're glad […]. If you have two children, the maternity leave is two years[in total], which is nothing compared with the time you are going to work, so they see that in this way, while in Spain, they see it as 'fuck, you are leaving for a year!' (Eva, Spanish, between 5 and 10 years in Norway, two children).

Eva, Sabrina, João and Raúl are part of the group of informants who described themselves as highly educated professionals who had already lived abroad before moving to Norway and had realised that Southern Europe was not a good place to build a family. In their imaginaries, Norway was constructed as the ideal environment to fulfil their family projects not only because of its welfare state but also because of Norwegian discourses on family, parenthood, gender equality and children, which they found to be in line with their personal values and aspirations. Raúl, who has three children, shared the following:

- I wanted to settle down somewhere; then, I thought it was more feasible in terms of family to do it here. I had lived in Scandinavia before, so I knew a bit about how things work here, the culture, the parental leaves. You have a good life with children here. Family life is respected (Raúl, Spanish, less than 5 years in Norway).

The mothers employed in working-class occupations mentioned the economic recession as an important reason for leaving their countries of origin more often than informants with middle-class jobs. However, when they narrated their stories of living in Norway, they did not stress the educational, work- or income-related opportunities that this country offers to their families. Their stories of life after migration were articulated around their aspiration to raise their children in a child-centred country with a family-friendly welfare state and a model of society based on the values of respect, equality and participation, as Miriam said,

- It's also that in Norway, I can have more time with my child and don't stress about money. […] the school is great, lots of fun, outdoor activities, less stress for my child too! (Miriam, Spanish single mother to one child, less than 5 years in Norway).

The fathers especially appreciated the paternity leaves as an opportunity to be involved in their children's upbringing right from the start and to share the care responsibilities with their partners.

- In olden times, we had the idea that the father was outside and the mother was at home. Here [in Norway], it isn't like that. […] You aren't discriminated against for being with your child; it's even considered right that you spend time with your child. […] They try to get the two parties [parents] involved in the children's upbringing and family life (João, Portuguese, less than 5 years in Norway, one child).

The migrant parents understood that Norwegian policies support their own ideas about the kind of gender-egalitarian and two-income household they aspired to build. This is shown in the next excerpt from Daniel, a Spanish father to one child,

- The [parental] leave influences you a lot […] because you get so very involved with the child, and this makes a difference in the upbringing; the child is closer to you, the bond is strengthened [...]. [In Spain,] they say 'communication with your child is fundamental', of course, but don't be a hypocrite, to have good communication with your child, you have to spend time with them, and you [the employers] don't give me time (Daniel, between 5 and 10 years in Norway).

When the participants referred to Norwegian discourses on gender equality, family and children, they distanced themselves from other Southern Europeans. Raúl described himself as not being 'the most typical Spanish guy' but as a person who has travelled and adopted a positive attitude towards challenges. 'The typical Spanish guy', then, is regarded as a person with fewer life experiences and who is emotionally attached to Spain. The male interviewees also differentiated themselves from 'the typical Southern European' father who is less involved in his child's upbringing.

- I've seen in Spain that mothers and grandparents pick up the child from kindergarten. Fathers aren't that involved (Daniel, between 5 and 10 years in Norway, one child).

Moreover, the informants, especially those with middle-class jobs, further distanced themselves from the typical Southern European parent regarding some parenting practices they associated with their countries of origin. The typical Southern European parent was thought to perform more obedience-based and intrusive parenting practices.

- I noticed that in Portugal, I was a bit weird regarding how I wanted to raise my child. With my godson, I wanted to spend time outdoors with him, I promoted doing things outside, in nature […]. Therefore and in regards to this, I feel I fit in much better here than in Portugal; I feel more comfortable here than if I were in Portugal (João, less than 5 years in Norway).

By distancing themselves from Southern Europeans, the informants described themselves as parents whose values and understandings of 'proper' childhood and parenting are in line with those portrayed in Norwegian hegemonic discourses. Sabrina pointed out that the best part of living in Norway is that children 'are more respected as children than they are in Italy'. For Nieves, a 46-year-old Spanish mother of two who has lived in Norway for 3 years, Norway was a good country for her children to grow up in because their voices are heard. The parents associated themselves with the understanding that children are individuals that have their own rights, an idea that is reinforced by societal, institutional and media discourses on Scandinavian child rearing policies and practices (Gullestad, 1997). Another way of drawing a boundary between themselves and Southern European parents was manifested in the interviewees' disillusionment and frustration with the kind of societies that their countries of origin developed after the economic recession. They distanced themselves and the families they wanted to build from Southern Europe with regard to moral values and stressed that they refused to raise their children in a place with corruption, nepotism and injustice. Linda, a Greek mother who has lived in Norway between 5 and 10 years, shared,

- I think Norway is a good country for my children to grow up in. Ideally, I'd love for them to grow up in Greece, but there are many things going on in Greece now, and I'm not talking only about finances. I'm glad they are growing up with Norwegian values, and I try to give them as much of Greek culture as I can […]. Like in Greece, it's more like there is no respect […] […], because of the financial crisis, it became more opportunistic and much more like 'now we have to fight for everything' […] 'I only take care of myself, and I don't care about anyone else' and as a result, [the society is] much more openly racist. In contrast, Norway is still very naive and protected in a good way (Linda, two children).

In her study of the migration motivations of highly skilled Spaniards coming to Norway, Bygnes (2017) analysed migrants' reluctance to cite the economic crisis as part of their symbolic and social boundary work. The migrants in her study drew a symbolic boundary between themselves and 'the typical labour migrant' who either takes up benefits or works in low-skilled jobs. Our informants drew symbolic boundaries referring to parenting and family life. When the interviewees distanced themselves from other migrants, they did not refer to their reasons for migrating, types of jobs or welfare benefits. However, they drew a boundary between themselves and an image of 'other migrant parents' that can be found in public debates

and media discourses, where the meeting between migrants and the Norwegian welfare state is portrayed as problematic (Hollekim et al., 2016).

- There are parents that are afraid of child protection here, but we need to look at their social class because maybe there are already barriers … in Norway, gender discrimination isn't as latent as in Eastern Europe […] This is very important because it's very different here, so maybe they don't understand the system (João, less than five years in Norway, one child).

João drew a symbolic boundary between himself and working-class Eastern European migrants who 'do not understand' the Norwegian system, which promotes gender equality and children's rights. By doing so, he positioned himself closer to Norwegian understandings of not only family, parenthood and childhood but also the role of the state in family life and in monitoring children's well-being.

6 | STORIES OF DISSATISFACTION

While emphasising their satisfaction with their family lives after migration, the parents' stories were also marked by disillusionment and sacrifice. In Norway, they found opportunities to build the kind of family they aspired to and to be more involved in their children's upbringing. However, they did not feel their situation was perfect, mostly because of disagreements with some upbringing practices and values, difficulties in accessing family-friendly state provisions and their distance from their extended families.

As presented earlier, Eva, Sabrina, Nieves and Linda are part of a group of informants with middle-class jobs who described Norway as a good country for their children to grow up in due to its welfare state, its model of society and the values its welfare institutions promote. However, they also talked about their disillusion with some social conventions about family life and child-rearing practices they encountered. Eva found 'parenthood in Norway to be quite rigid'. She lives with her family in the city centre and perceives that Norwegian parents and the kindergarten staff 'take for granted that I should move to the outskirts because I must have a garden for children run in'. Nieves also perceived this expectation and narrated it as a social 'pressure'. Furthermore, the mothers disliked that children were protected against some practices that they themselves did not categorise as dangerous, for example, moderate alcohol consumption in front of the children.

As we found in other narratives, this group of mothers was especially critical of the lack of competitiveness within the child-rearing practices encountered in Norwegian welfare institutions. Egalitarianism was seen as an illusion based on their experiences with corruption in Southern Europe and discrimination in the Norwegian labour market. And although the informants spoke highly of the Norwegian educational system and the values it promotes, they were concerned about their children being raised in an environment that did not prepare them for the competition that is necessary to succeed in an unequal world. As Linda said,

- In Norway, 'everyone is good and gets a medal'. It shouldn't be like that […] because children won't be able to make it; my child wouldn't be able to survive in Greece, for example. (Linda, Greek, between 5 and 10 years in Norway, two children).

Dissatisfaction with practices and values encountered in Norway came across the informant's narratives regardless of whether they had a Norwegian or a Southern European partner and was not linked to the years they had lived in Norway. However, time may play a role in parents' adherence to practices and values encountered in the host country. For example, Vanessa reported that because she had lived nearly half of her life in Norway, she had adapted to Norwegian practices and ideals. As she put it,

> I came here when I was so young, actually next year I'll have lived half of my life in Norway, so I think everything is good here, I don't question anything. (Vanessa, Greek, more than 10 years in Norway, two children).

Furthermore, disillusion was more prominent in the stories of parents who failed to find a job in their professional field, despite having proper qualifications. For some, the family-friendly working conditions of their current jobs compensated for this, whereas others were deeply dissatisfied with the impossibility of finding a middle-class occupation. Other stories marked by disillusion were told by informants who realised that they had no access to family-friendly welfare provision because of their precarious working conditions, which hindered them from meeting the requirements for entitlements. Miriam shared her story of life in Norway and framed it around her involved motherhood and bringing up her child in a child-centred country. This included the challenges she experienced before obtaining a Norwegian national ID number (fødselsnummer) and a permanent job that would give her access to family-friendly service provision. She shared how she moved to Norway aiming to find a flat and a job quickly so that she could secure the ID number that would guarantee access to welfare provisions and rights, which were crucial for bringing her child from Spain.

- I wanted the fødselsnummer so I'd get more rights; if you don't have that number, you have nothing […] How do you bring your child? You don't have a doctor, neither does the child … whereas if you have the number, children don't pay healthcare […] How do you sign him/her up at school? Everything is difficult [without a fødselsnummer] (Miriam, less than 5 years in Norway, one child).

She described the difficult 30 months she spent working precariously in Norway until she finally obtained the desired ID number.

This period was characterised by the anguish over being away from her child and her feelings of disappointment and impotence when she met welfare professionals and employers in her attempts to obtain the ID number.

- The fødselsnummer is another story. Nowadays, you need a working-contract of six months minimum […] and a housing-contract […]. They didn't accept my working-contract […] because my employer didn't want to write a specific number of hours. I needed the contract with a certain number of hours, and the housing-contract wasn't enough because it was only a room.

Once she obtained the ID number, Miriam realised that she could not enjoy the family-friendly workdays of her colleagues with a permanent contract. She was still an on-call employee when her child arrived in Norway, which, as she narrates, meant family-unfriendly working conditions.

- If you are an on-call employee and the child is sick and you stay at home, you don't earn any money. You don't have paid holidays either [...], but if you are a permanent worker, you have these rights […]. I've noticed a big difference. You say [as a permanent worker] 'I have to leave because of my child', and they [employers] say, 'Okay, no worries'.

A common feature of the parents' stories of migration was the sacrifices they made when they moved to Norway. One commonly experienced sacrifice was being far from family and friends, which led to experiencing a poorer social life than that which they were used to having. Most of them understood this as the 'price' they had to pay to live in a country that allows them to be more involved in their children's upbringing. When they referred to these sacrifices, the informants articulated their stories with their children and family projects at the centre. Most of them highlighted that 'you can't have it all', but they decided to sacrifice good weather, their extended family and a rich social life so that they could be the parents they aspired to be. Others emphasised that their duty as parents was to ensure their children's good childhood, at the expense of their own preferences.

Despite sharing more time with their partner's extended families, informants with Norwegian in-laws also stressed that being far from their own parents was a big sacrifice for them and their children. This was especially clear in the stories of those who had recently become parents and missed sharing this new experience with their own families. In the same way, the migrant parents who had raised their children near their relatives in closer knit rural communities before migration stressed that their distance from them was the main reason why they believed that they were facing many challenges in accomplishing their family projects in Norway. As Antonio, a Spanish father who moved to Norway between 5 and 10 years ago, said,

- If we were from [a big city like] Madrid that is one thing, but in Spain, we used to live [in a town] close to my sister-in-law and her children […] My children and hers were together all day. Here, they are alone. This is the hardest thing. (Antonio, two children).

These parents also presented a more stereotypical image of the 'Norwegian character' as cold and asocial. As Inés, Antonio's wife, commented,

- [In Norway,] the kindergarten is better, there's lots of nature, but what do you do with the children after kindergarten? Stay at home and a few more things […]. The child likes doing things with children, and they have no cousins here, and you go to a park, but people here are very dull, nobody interacts. This is why I doubt we have a good life here. (Inés, Spanish, between 5 and 10 years in Norway, two children).

In their views, they practice an involved parenthood, but their children could not have a good childhood because they could not enjoy being with their extended family. This was out of reach and could not be compensated neither by the relationships built in Norway or by support from the welfare state.

7 | SELF-LEGITIMATION THROUGH FAMILY ASPIRATIONS

In this article, we examined what migrant parents aimed to accomplish with their storytelling about their family aspirations. By doing so, we contribute to literature on narrative legitimation and bring a better understanding of how migrants parents interpret their experiences and position themselves in relation to significant others and hegemonic discourses on parenting, immigration and citizenship. Inspired by the lens of sense-making and storytelling (Maclean et al., 2012), we discuss that the parents tried to make sense of their migration experiences and to legitimate themselves as parents and citizens through their storytelling and family aspirations in particular contexts and discourses.

Rather than telling stories around the notion of liquid migration (Engbersen, 2012), the Southern European migrants stressed their wishes to live grounded lives. This goal is a desired scenario in Norway (Bygnes & Erdal, 2017), where being a good parent and having a harmonious family life have been found to be the most important aspiration for highly educated middle-class citizens (Sakslind & Skarpenes, 2014, p. 322). Our informants expressed similar aspirations, simultaneously pointing to how parenthood was not supported in the same way in Southern Europe. Their descriptions of employers who dismiss pregnant workers and policies that hinder parents' work–family balance were cited as examples of this.

To better understand their aspirations, it is relevant to look at the life stage in which migrants were when they decided to migrate

(Bonizzoni, 2018; Bygnes & Flipo, 2017; Varriale, 2020). When the majority of our informants left their countries of origin, they were in the process of transition to adulthood. Yet the markers of such life stage, like leaving home, achieving financial independence and forming a family, were difficult to achieve in the context of the post-2008 financial crisis (Allen, 2016). Migration to Norway was, therefore, constructed as a strategy to overcome a middle-class reproduction crisis (Bonizzoni, 2018) and 'get ahead in life' (Pratsinakis et al., 2019), achieving independence from their parents and obtaining the socio-economic stability that sustains their family projects.

Family aspirations emerged as a crosscutting theme across all the narratives, and this worked to articulate and give unity and meaning to the parents' migration stories. Likewise, dissatisfaction with some Norwegian child-rearing ideals, and with distance from relatives, was common in informants' accounts. However, the findings suggest variations among the narratives. For example, most migrant parents who positioned themselves closer to notions of children as individuals who have rights and of child-rearing as dialogued based and expert guided had middle-class jobs. This reflects the contextual character of storytelling and sense-making processes and the importance of looking at the context in which migrants' aspirations are formed in order to understand the role these play in their narratives (Appadurai, 2004).

In Norway, parenting norms are in consonance with 'intensive parenting', the dominant ideology of child-rearing in Western societies shaped by middle-class values and notions of children's vulnerability (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2018; Lee, Bristow, Faircloth, Macvarish, & Furedi, 2014). Intensive parenting constructs parenting as 'child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive and financially expensive' (Hays, 1998 p. 9), and its development has been parallel to an expansion of family policies and expert knowledge on child-rearing (Lee et al., 2014). Norwegian discourses of parenting and childhood form a narrative context in which our informants could create stories of migration drawing on these discourses as suitable resources for the task of legitimation (Foley & Faircloth, 2003). Telling stories of migration around their aspirations to achieve a child-centred and gender-egalitarian lifestyle connected migrant parents to a larger discourse normalised in the host country (Gullestad, 1997; Hennum, 2014; Hollekim et al., 2016; Leira, 2008). We can expect that, informed by their middle-class and western-European backgrounds, the majority of participants aspired to comply with the notions of good parent constructed within intensive parenting, which are portrayed in Norwegian discourses on children and parenting. Yet if informants' personal circumstances, like age, social class and parenthood, were different, or if other discourses were available, we might expect that they would have legitimated their migration and settlement in the host country through other stories.

In this regard, we discuss that family aspirations can be also used to legitimate different experiences of migration, such as temporal labour mobility. The case of Spaniards in China is an example of how the prospect of having children can be used to legitimate migrants' return (López, 2017). Likewise, Bell and Bivand's (2015) study on Poles in Norway, the largest immigrant group in this country, illustrates how family aspirations justify the temporal labour migration among members of this group. The decision not to have grounded lives in Norway and have instead a temporal transnational parenthood suggests that family projects can be used to legitimate experiences of migration that are different from those of our informants. The aspiration to have a good family life, understood as achieving a better living standard in one's country (Poland), can be a tool to legitimate short settlement in the host country. In our study, the aspiration to have a good family life, understood as one that is child centred and has involved parenting, legitimated a more permanent stay in Norway. This reflects that individuals' aspirations are formed as part of a system of ideas and beliefs and, therefore, the study of aspirations cannot overlook these sociocultural contexts (Appadurai, 2004; Bal & Willems, 2014).

Finally, the migrants' family aspirations can be understood as moral claims about the migrants' present self (Frye, 2012) because the informants defined what type of person they are by describing what type of person they aspire to become and assessed their migration projects in relation to moral values (Carling, 2002). As Raúl told us, 'I wanted to settle down; therefore, I came to Norway. Obviously, my goal wasn't to throw parties'. His aspiration to 'settle down' by building a family and having a stable life can be seen as an assertion of his identity as an adult. The informants' aspirations are morally laden in the sense that they represent certain norms and values regarding life planning, stability and child-rearing that are present in public discourses in Norway.

8 | POSITIONING ONESELF IN NORWEGIAN DISCOURSES

Narratives provide insight into how storytellers position themselves in relation to discourses (Lanza, 2012, p. 288). With the notion of involved parenthood, the migrants in our study drew on broader societal norms, claiming participation in discourses on parenting, children and citizenship. Across the narratives, the informants highlighted that their decision to raise their children in Norway was not solely motivated by welfare state provisions and family-friendly working conditions. A more democratic educational system and a 'purer' lifestyle also supported their perception of Norway as a 'good country for children to grow up in'. When asked why they perceived Norway like this, the parents stressed the moral values of respect, honesty, integrity and being a 'good citizen'.

The participants' descriptions of such moral values underpinned their family aspirations as well as the society and welfare state they imagined to be ideal for their family projects. As other scholars have pointed out, Southern Europeans' political dissatisfaction is a major motivation for post-2008 intra-European migration (Bartolini et al., 2017; Bygnes & Flipo, 2017; Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014). However, the migrant parents in our study not only mentioned political dissatisfaction but also stressed their discontent and the negative perceptions of their government as a way to demonstrate that they fit into Norwegian society. It is relevant to note that values of contributing to society, egalitarianism and gender equality are propagated

through public discourses on the Norwegian welfare state and society (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2018; Leira, 2008). Our informants appreciated the importance given to these values, in contrast to Southern European societies, which they claimed to be characterised by corruption and a lack of meritocracy. They also expressed their aspiration to build the dual earner–carer model of family that Norwegian discourses and policies support. Telling stories of migration around their family aspirations can be a way of claiming rightful membership in a community with which they share values and interests.

At the same time, they dissociated themselves from 'the typical' Southern European citizen who is not trustworthy with respect to other citizens and the welfare state and from the typical labour immigrant who is a potential drain on the Norwegian welfare state. It was common among the informants to distance themselves from labour immigrants who were represented as victims of the economic recession moving to Norway to earn money through work or to receive social benefits. By citing their family projects as an important motivation for migration, the informants claimed their self-legitimacy as subjects in Norwegian discourses on citizenship, parenthood and children, and they distanced themselves from discourses on immigration. This is particularly relevant because the general discourse on immigration in Norway has moved in a more anti-immigrant direction over the last decade (Lanza, 2012). After the 2017 election, a new centre-right coalition government that included the Progress Party, which is known for stressing the strains placed by immigrants on the welfare state in their discourse, came into power. In particular, during the data collection, this discourse on immigration was high on the public agenda.

Regarding Norwegian discourses on parenting and children, migrant parents have been portrayed as challenging Norway's understandings of proper parenting and childhood (Hennum, 2014; Hollekim et al., 2016). These discourses have represented migrant parents as 'the other' who perform inappropriate and even dangerous practices in relation to their children (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2018). Given the current Norwegian discourses on immigration and (immigrant) parenting, it is important to explore how the informants positioned themselves in relation to them and how they negotiated their identities through their storytelling. A general impression from the interviews was that the participants defined themselves as embracing, with some reservations, the parenting practices and values they encountered in Norwegian discourses. For example, middle-class parents seemed to do so by constructing an image of other migrant parents who disagree with the hegemonic Norwegian discourses on childhood and parenting. Such an image has been found in politicised debates or media discourses that portray the encounter between migrant parents and the Norwegian welfare state, especially with child welfare (Hollekim et al., 2016), as problematic. In particular, the informants contrasted their parenting with the social imaginaries of Eastern European authoritarian parents and presented themselves as successful and 'worthy' migrant parents.

They also distanced themselves from other Southern European parents who were portrayed as performing more obedience-based parenting practices. Thus, our informants' parenting practices play a role in their quest to belong (Longman, De Graeve, & Brouckaert, 2013). By instilling 'Norwegian' values in their children and performing important Norwegian parenting practices, the migrants negotiate their recognition of Norwegian discourses on parenting and citizenship. The parenthood they aspired to, which fits Norwegian parent–citizen and child–citizen hegemonic models, strengthens their recognition as good citizens. Parenting arises as a citizenship practice through which the migrants respond to hegemonic discourses on labour immigration and immigrant parenting.

9 | CONCLUSION

The migrant parents told stories that reproduced Norwegian discourses on parenting and family life that also illuminated the tensions they experience in their attempts to meet their aspirations. Storytellers construct their stories from their positions within the social world (Squire, 2013). In this respect, informants' employment situation, which would secure access to family-friendly provisions and working rights, and their social support in Norway, were decisive in carrying out their family projects and meeting their aspirations. Particularly, those who had not been able to find a job in their profession or a permanent position after migration underlined that they faced more challenges in living the lives they wanted. While all the narratives were articulated around the storytellers' aspirations to be involved parents in Norway, disillusionment was also present due to sacrificing time with friends and relatives, and dissatisfaction with some child-rearing ideals encountered in Norway.

By articulating their migration stories around their aspirations to build a family in Norway, the migrant parents positioned themselves in relation to hegemonic discourses on immigration, parenting, childhood and citizenship. Their family projects, in contrast to their career prospects, connected them to broader societal and morally laden discourses on parenting and childhood in the Nordic country. This positioning provided them a positive resource for understanding themselves and their migration experiences, and it allowed them to draw a boundary between them and other parents and labour immigrants. Aspiring to become a 'modern' parent in the family-friendly, child-centred and gender-egalitarian country of Norway was central to their identity work, and functioned as a moral claim about 'the kind of person' they are. We understand the parents' family aspirations and their storytelling of the challenges and tensions encountered in fulfilling them as part of their self-legitimation strategies.

Our study provides insights into narrative research as a lens for exploring how individuals position themselves in discourses and negotiate their identities through storytelling. We do this by contextualising the analysis of the informants' narratives in Norwegian discourses and the storytellers' interaction with the interviewer, a Spanish researcher who lives in Norway. Considering that audiences and narrators know the criteria of credibility and plausibility (Eastmond, 2007), we can assume that our informants might have tailored their responses in relation to how they perceived the

interviewer's expectations regarding the societal discourse on labour immigration and (immigrant) parenting. We argue that study participants knew what is considered a good story in Norway and what could be a good story to tell a Spanish scholar researching migrant parenthood in this country. The first author was the immediate audience who listened to the informants. Being a Spanish immigrant herself, the migrant parents might have assumed that she was familiar with dominant Southern European public and media discourses portraying emigrants as desperate victims of the recession and corrupt politics (Bygnes, 2017; Pratsinakis, 2019b). In this context, a good story to tell would be one in which they portray themselves as resourceful. This choice might have also been motivated by the narrative context itself because, as Pratsinakis (2019b) claimed, most people tend to stress their agency in their decision to migrate when they are asked to reflect on it. Articulating their migration narratives around their family aspirations might have been a result of their wishes to distance themselves from politicised discourses of immigration and immigrant parenting in Norway.

At the same time, and because the informants shared basic identity characteristics with the interviewer, we believe that the storytelling happened in a context that facilitated the participants' disclosures. However, in other contexts, like in more informal settings with migrants, they may have legitimated themselves through different stories. Regardless, our analysis calls for further attention to self-legitimation processes in narrative research to tell more complex stories about migrants' meaning-making and identity construction processes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank Professor Anouk de Koning and her team of "Reproducing Europe" for valuable inputs and discussions during the first author's research stay at Radboud University.

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NOTE

[1] The terms 'narrative' and 'story' are often used synonymously (Riessman, 2008), and in this article, we use both terms interchangeably. Following an experience-centred approach, we understand that narratives include all meaningful stories of personal experience that people produce (Squire, 2013).

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How to cite this article: Herrero-Arias R, Hollekim R, Haukanes H. Self-legitimation and sense-making of Southern European parents' migration to Norway: The role of family aspirations. *Popul Space Place*. 2020;e2362. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2362

Article III

III

Appendices

Appendix 1: Research clearance from the NSD

Appendix 2: Flyers in English, Spanish, and Portuguese

Appendix 3: Informed consent forms for the FGD and interviews

Appendix 4: Mini questionnaire on socio-demographic information

Appendix 5: FGD questioning route

Appendix 6: Interview guide

Appendix 7: Tables showing the process of thematic analysis

Appendix 1: Research clearance from the NSD

Raquel Herrero Arias
HEMIL-senteret Universitetet i Bergen
Christiesgt. 13
5015 BERGEN

Vår dato: 03.07.2017 Vår ref: 54200 / 3 / HIT Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 25.04.2017. All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 30.06.2017. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

54200	*Experiences of immigrant parents in Norway: negotiations between expectations, personal approaches and cultural values*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Universitetet i Bergen, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Raquel Herrero Arias*

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

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

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

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

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 28.02.2021, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Katrine Utaaker Segadal

Hildur Thorarensen

Kontaktperson: Hildur Thorarensen tlf: 55 58 26 54

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

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 54200

PURPOSE/RESEARCH QUESTIONS
Main research question:
- How do immigrant parents experience parenting in Norway?
The supportive questions concerning parenting experiences, encounters and negotiations with welfare institutions' expectations among parents who come from Southern and Eastern European countries are as follow:
- What does it mean to be a good parent in Norway from immigrant parents' perspective? In which settings do immigrant parents encounter the Norwegian ideal of parenting? How do they experience the meeting with the Norwegian welfare institutions?
- How do immigrant parents perceive that their parenting practices are governed by local institutions? How do immigrant parents negotiate the tensions between those conflicting expectations of the welfare institutions and their own parenting practices at institutional and family levels (in their encounters with professionals and with their families, in both Norway and their country of origin)?

INFORMATION AND CONSENT
The sample will receive written and oral information about the project, and give their consent to participate. The letter of information is well formulated, but since there have been made changes to the project title and purpose of the project, we presuppose that these points are re-formulated accordingly in the information letter.

SENSITIVE INFORMATION
There will be registered sensitive information relating to health and ethnic origin.

DATA SECURITY
The Data Protection Official presupposes that the researcher follows internal routines of Universitetet i Bergen regarding data security. If personal data is to be stored on portable storage devices, the information should be adequately encrypted.

END DATE
Estimated end date of the project is 28.02.2021. According to the notification form all collected data will be made anonymous by this date. Making the data anonymous entails processing it in such a way that no individuals can be recognised. This is done by:
- deleting all direct personal data (such as names/lists of reference numbers)
- deleting/rewriting indirectly identifiable data (i.e. an identifying combination of background variables, such as residence/work place, age and gender)
- deleting digital audio files

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

For Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish parents

Are you a migrant parent in Norway?

Do you want to share your experiences with us?

Then you can participate in a research project!

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN / ADRESSE: POSTBOKS 7800, 5020 BERGEN
TELEFON: 55 58 00 00 / POST@UIB.NO / WWW.UIB.NO

Appendix 2: Flyers in English, Spanish, and Portuguese

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

Your experiences are important!

We want to learn more about what it is like being a migrant parent in Norway. We want to understand the experiences parents from Southern European countries have when they raise their children in Norway.

Who can participate?

Parents from Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal who live and raise their children in Norway.

What does it mean to participate?

Participants are invited to take part in a focus group discussion in a group of 5 to 8 members. They will be given some questions to discuss for 2 h. approximately. It should be a nice time to get together with other parents, speak and hear what they say. Or if you prefer it, you can be interviewed individually.

Some participants will be invited to have a conversation with the research leader to speak somewhat more in depth about their experiences of being a migrant parent in Norway. The talks can be conducted in Norwegian, English, or Spanish. As for the group session, the members and the researcher will agree on which of these languages to use during the discussion.

Data processing will protect your identity.

If you want to participate or have any questions, please contact Raquel Herrero Arias by phone, WhatsApp, SMS or mail:

Raquel Herrero Arias
Tel: 46 882 757
Raquel.Arias@uib.no
www.uib.no/hemil

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN / ADRESSE: POSTBOKS 7800, 5020 BERGEN
TELEFON: 55 58 00 00 / POST@UIB.NO / WWW.UIB.NO

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

Dirigido a padres y madres Españoles/as, Griegos/as, Italianos/as y Portugueses/as,

¿Eres padre/madre inmigrante en Noruega?

¿Quieres compartir tus experiencias con nosotros?

¡Participa en un proyecto de investigación!

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

Tus experiencias son importantes

Queremos saber más sobre cómo es ser un padre/una madre inmigrante en Noruega. Queremos aprender sobre las experiencias que padres/madres del sur de Europa se tienen en su día a día cuando crían a sus hijos/as en Noruega.

¿Quién puede participar?
Padres y madres de España, Grecia, Italia y Portugal que viven y críen a sus hijos en Noruega.

¿Qué supone participar en este proyecto?

Los/las participantes serán invitados/as a tomar parte en un grupo focal compuesto por 5-8 miembros donde se les darán unas preguntas sobre las que debatir entre ellos/as durante 2 horas aproximadamente. O si lo prefiere, puede ser entrevistado individualmente.

Algunos/as participantes serán invitados/as a hacer una entrevista con la investigadora para hablar en más profundidad sobre sus experiencias como padres o madres inmigrantes en Noruega.

La entrevista puede llevarse a cabo en español, inglés o noruego. El grupo focal se hará en el idioma consensuado por los/as participantes.
La investigadora tiene la obligación de proteger la identidad de los/as participantes.

Si quieres participar o tienes alguna pregunta, contacta con Raquel Herrero Arias por teléfono, WhatsApp, SMS o email:

Raquel Herrero Arias
Líder del proyecto / Doctoranda
Tel: 46 882 757
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UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN/ ADRESSE: POSTBOKS 7800, 5020 BERGEN
TELEFON: 55 58 00 00/ POST@UIB. NO/WWW. UIB. NO

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

Para pais Gregos, Italianos, Portugueses e Espanhois

É uma mãe ou um pai migrante na Noruega?

Quer partilhar as suas experiências connosco?

Então venha participar num projecto de pesquisa!

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

As suas experiências são importantes!

Queremos aprender mais sobre o que é ser um pai migrante na Noruega. Queremos perceber as experiências vividas pelos pais oriundos de países da Europa do Sul ao educarem os seus filhos na Noruega.

Quem pode participar?

Pais oriundos da Grécia, da Itália, de Espanha e de Portugal que vivem e que educam os seus filhos na Noruega.

O que significa participar?

Os participantes são convidados a participar em grupos de dicussão de 5 a 8 membros. Perguntas serão feitas ao grupo e a discussão demorará aproximadamente duas horas. Será uma oportunidade para conhecer outros pais e trocar experiências. Se preferir, poderá ser entrevistado individualmente.

Alguns participantes serão convidados para um encontro com o responsável da pesquisa, para falar mais profundamente das suas experiências enquanto pai migrante na Noruega. As conversas podem ser feitas em Norueguês, Inglês ou Espanhol. Para o grupo de discussão, os membros e o responsável da pesquisa determinarão qual será a linguagem utilizada.

O processamento dos dados, protegerá a sua identidade.

Se quiser participar, ou se tiver alguma questão, por favor contacte Raquel Herrero Arias por telefone, WhatsApp, SMS ou email:

Raquel Herrero Arias

Tel: 46 882 757

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Appendix 3: Informed consent forms for the FGD and interviews

Request for participation in research project "Experiences of migrant parents in Norway: negotiating expectations, values and practices."

Background and Purpose

This project is part of a PhD degree at the Faculty of Psychology, University of Bergen. It will be carried out by PhD candidate Raquel Herrero Arias and supervised by associate professor Ragnhild Hollekim. The thesis will be completed by February 2021 and its main purpose is to explore how migrant parents from Southern Europe experience raising their children in Norway.

We are interested in getting to know more about how migrant parents negotiate parenting practices, values, and expectations on how they should raise their children in their daily lives. We want to know more about their experiences with Norwegian institutions that work with families, like schools and health centers. Are there any things that are different between Norway and the country where you come from regarding child-rearing? What are the challenges and opportunities migrant parents encounter when raising their children in Norway? Therefore, your participation in this study is to share your experiences of parenting in Norway.

What does participation in the project imply?

If you want to participate in the study, you will be invited to join a focus group discussion with other 4-7 migrant mothers. In this group session, you will be asked to have a conversation with one another about your experiences of raising your children in Norway. It will last around 2 hours. The discussion will be moderated by Raquel Herrero-Arias and a co-moderator. Transportation will be covered (100 nok), and childcare will be arranged for those who want to bring their children.

You will be asked also to fill a questionnaire with socio-demographic information about yourself. To ensure anonymity, your name will be deleted from all documents.

Benefits and risks of participating

Although you will not be asked about sensitive topics, the discussion will develop naturally, and it may become emotional. In this scenario, the moderator will redirect the conversation to avoid that

any participant experiences distress. Moreover, while all participants will sign a non-disclosure agreement, I cannot guarantee that everyone will keep the content of the discussion within the group. Therefore, it is important that you assess what you would like to share.

Your participation will help provide important insights in the field of parenting in migration. Knowledge on this is important for policymakers and professionals working with families. You will meet other migrant mothers who raise their children in Norway and discuss with them common interests and experiences. A light meal will be served for participants.

What will happen to the information about you?

The conversation will be audio recorded and transcribed in a way that ensures you cannot be identified. This means that the data will be made anonymous by using pseudonyms and deleting any identifiable information. The data will be used for this research project (academic articles and the doctoral thesis), and it may be used in future research or teaching activities.

The audio recordings will be deleted once the data is analyzed, latest January 2021. The anonymized transcripts will be stored in a computer with a password to which only the PhD researcher will have access. The research team will have restricted access to the data. The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Services.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the research project and you can choose to withdraw without stating any reason at any time. In that case, your data will not be quoted in any publication and will be deleted from the transcripts once the data has been analyzed. However, due to the nature of the focus group discussions, I cannot guarantee that all the information you share will be entirely withdrawn because of difficulties in identifying who says what in the audio file.

If you have any questions, please contact:

PhD researcher: Raquel Herrero Arias Raquel.Arias@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Thesis supervisor: Ragnhild Hollekim Ragnhild.Hollekim@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Consent for participation in the study

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

(Signed by participant, date)

PhD researcher: Raquel Herrero Arias: Raquel.Arias@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Thesis supervisor: Ragnhild Hollekim. Ragnhild.Hollekim@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Request for participation in research project "Experiences of migrant parents in Norway: negotiating expectations, values and practices”

Background and Purpose

This project is part of a PhD degree at the Faculty of Psychology, University of Bergen. It will be carried out by PhD candidate Raquel Herrero Arias and supervised by associate professor Ragnhild Hollekim. The thesis will be completed by February 2021 and its main purpose is to explore how migrant parents from Southern Europe experience raising their children in Norway.

The study explores how migrant parents navigate and negotiate values, parenting practices, and expectations on their parenting in their daily lives. We are interested in getting to know more about the expectations migrant parents perceive from welfare institutions, like for example schools, kindergartens, or health centers for families and children. We want to understand better the challenges and opportunities migrant parents encounter when raising their children in a foreign country. Therefore, your participation in this study is to share your experiences of parenting in Norway.

What does participation in the project imply?

If you want to participate in the study, you will be invited to be interviewed by the PhD candidate. You can decide when and where the interview will take place. The interview will take approx. 1-2 hours. The questions will address your life prior to migration, your migration experience, your experience of raising your children in Norway, and about your experiences with Norwegian institutions that work with families and children. Basically, the PhD candidate will ask you to share your story with her.

What will happen to the information about you?

The interview will be audio recorded to make sure that the interviewer has documented the answers. The audio file will be transcribed in a way that ensures you cannot be identified. This means that the data will be anonymized by using pseudonyms and deleting any identifiable information. The data will be used for this research project (academic articles and a doctoral thesis), and it may be used in future research articles or teaching activities.

The audio recordings will be deleted once the data is analyzed, latest January 2021. The anonymized transcripts will be stored in a computer with a password to which only the PhD researcher will have access. The research team will have restricted access to the data. The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Services.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the project and you can choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason at any time. If you decide to withdraw, information provided by you will not be used.

If you would like to participate or if you have any questions, please contact:

PhD researcher: Raquel Herrero Arias Raquel.Arias@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Thesis supervisor: Ragnhild Hollekim Ragnhild.Hollekim@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Consent for participation in the study

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

(Signed by participant, date)

PhD researcher: Raquel Herrero Arias: Raquel.Arias@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Thesis supervisor: Ragnhild Hollekim. Ragnhild.Hollekim@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Carta de consentimiento informado

"Experiencias de padres y madres inmigrantes en Noruega: negociando expectativas, valores y estilos de crianza"

Ha sido invitada a participar en un proyecto doctoral que se lleva a cabo por la doctoranda de la Facultad de Psicología de la Universidad de Bergen Raquel Herrero Arias, bajo la supervisión de la profesora titular Ragnhild Hollekim. El proyecto doctoral terminará en febrero de 2021.

El objetivo principal de este estudio es explorar cómo padres y madres procedentes de países del sur de Europa experimentan criar a sus hijos/as en Noruega. El estudio explora cómo estos padres y madres navegan y gestionan diferentes valores, prácticas de crianza, y expectativas sobre su parentalidad en su día a día. Estamos también interesadas en conocer más sobre las experiencias que los padres y madres inmigrantes tienen con el trabajo de instituciones locales noruegas como colegios o centros de salud. ¿Hay alguna diferencia entre Noruega y su país de origen con lo que respecta a la crianza de los/as hijos/as? ¿a qué retos y oportunidades se enfrentan los/as padres/madres inmigrantes que crían a sus hijos/as en Noruega? Por ello, usted ha sido invitada a compartir sus experiencias como madre inmigrante en Noruega.

Su participación en el estudio

Su participación en el estudio consistirá en participar en un grupo focal con otras 4-7 madres inmigrantes. En la sesión grupal, le invitaremos a que tenga una conversación con el resto del grupo sobre sus experiencias criando a sus hijos/as en Noruega. La sesión durará alrededor de 2 horas. La discusión será moderada por Raquel Herrero Arias y una asistente. Cubriremos los costes de transporte (100 nok) y ofreceremos cuidado infantil para aquellas que quieran traer a sus hijos/as.

Además, le pediremos que rellene un pequeño cuestionario con su información sociodemográfica. Su nombre será eliminado de todo documento para asegurar su anonimato.

Beneficios y riesgos de participar en el estudio

Durante el grupo focal, no le preguntaremos sobre temas o experiencias delicadas. Sin embargo, hay que tener en cuenta que la discusión fluirá de modo natural y puede llegar a ser emotiva. Si

esto ocurre, la moderadora redirigirá la conversación para evitar que alguna participante se sienta incómoda. Además, aunque las participantes firmarán un acuerdo de confidencialidad, debido a la naturaleza de los grupos focales, no podemos garantizar que nadie vaya a repetir lo que se diga en el grupo a otras personas. Por ello, le invito a que evalúe por sí misma qué compartir.

Su participación ayudará a aportar conocimiento sobre el tema de parentalidad e inmigración. Esta información es relevante para profesionales y legisladores que trabajen con familias. Conocerá a otras madres inmigrantes que crían a sus hijos/as en Noruega, y tendrá una discusión con ellas sobre temas y experiencias de interés común. Además, serviremos aperitivos.

¿Qué ocurrirá con la información recogida?

La conversación grupal será grabada en audio y transcrita de una manera que asegure que usted no pueda ser identificada. Esto quiere decir que la información será anonimizada a través del uso de seudónimos y la eliminación de información que pueda llevar a su identificación. Esta información será usada para este proyecto (publicación de artículos académicos y la tesis doctoral), y puede ser usada para futuras publicaciones académicas o actividades docentes.

La grabación será eliminada una vez que la información se analice, como muy tarde en enero de 2021. Las transcripciones anonimizadas se almacenarán en un ordenador al que sólo tiene acceso la estudiante de doctorado. El equipo de investigación tendrá acceso restringido a la información anonimizada. El estudio ha sido aprobado por el Centro Noruego de Datos de Investigación.

Participación voluntaria

Su participación es totalmente voluntaria. Si accede a participar en el grupo focal, puede dejar de hacerlo en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar ninguna explicación al respecto. En ese caso, cualquier información que usted haya compartido en el grupo focal no será citada en las publicaciones. Esta información será eliminada de las transcripciones una vez que éstas se hayan analizado. Sin embargo, debido a la naturaleza de los grupos focales, no podemos garantizar que toda la información que haya compartido vaya a ser completamente eliminada puesto que no siempre es posible identificar qué persona habla en cada momento en una grabación. No dude en contactarnos para exponer sus dudas o preguntas.

Doctoranda: Raquel Herrero Arias Raquel.Arias@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Supervisora del estudio: Ragnhild Hollekim Ragnhild.Hollekim@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Consentimiento para la participación en el estudio

He recibido información sobre este estudio y acepto participar en el mismo.

(Firma y fecha)

Estudiante de Doctorado: Raquel Herrero Arias Raquel.Arias@uib.no [redacted]

Supervisora del estudio: Ragnhild Hollekim Ragnhild.Hollekim@uib.no [redacted]

Carta de consentimiento informado

"Experiencias de padres y madres inmigrantes en Noruega: negociando expectativas, valores y estilos de crianza"

Ha sido invitado/a a participar en un proyecto doctoral que se lleva a cabo por la doctoranda de la Facultad de Psicología de la Universidad de Bergen Raquel Herrero Arias, bajo la supervisión de la profesora titular Ragnhild Hollekim. El proyecto doctoral terminará en febrero de 2021.

El objetivo principal de este estudio es explorar cómo padres y madres procedentes de países del sur de Europa experimentan criar a sus hijos/as en Noruega. El estudio explora cómo estos padres y madres navegan y gestionan diferentes valores, prácticas de crianza, y expectativas sobre su parentalidad en su día a día. Estamos también interesadas en conocer más sobre qué expectativas perciben los/as padres/madres inmigrantes por parte de las instituciones locales, como por ejemplo colegios, guarderías o centros de salud. Por ello, usted ha sido invitado/a a compartir sus experiencias como madre o padre inmigrante en Noruega.

Su participación en el estudio

Su participación en el estudio consistirá en una entrevista que durará alrededor de 1-2 horas. La entrevista será llevada a cabo por la doctoranda en el lugar, día y hora que usted decida. La entrevista abarcará temas como su vida antes de emigrar, su experiencia migratoria, su experiencia sobre criar a su/s hijo/a/s en Noruega, y sus experiencias con instituciones públicas que brindan un servicio a las familias y niños/as en este país. Básicamente, la doctoranda le pedirá que comparta su propia historia.

¿Qué ocurrirá con la información recogida?

La entrevista será grabada en audio para asegurar que la entrevistadora ha documentado sus respuestas. El archivo de audio será transcrito de una manera que asegure que usted no pueda ser identificado. Esto quiere decir que la información será anonimizada a través del uso de seudónimos y la eliminación de información que pueda llevar a su identificación. Esta información será usada para este proyecto (publicación de artículos académicos y la tesis doctoral), y puede ser usada para futuras publicaciones académicas o actividades docentes.

La grabación será eliminada una vez que la información se analice, como muy tarde en enero de 2021. Las transcripciones anonimizadas se almacenarán en un ordenador al que sólo tiene acceso la doctoranda. El equipo de investigación tendrá acceso restringido a la información anonimizada. El estudio ha sido aprobado por el NSD, Centro Noruego de Datos de Investigación.

Participación voluntaria

Su participación es totalmente voluntaria. Si accede a participar en el estudio, puede dejar de hacerlo en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar ninguna explicación al respecto. En ese caso, cualquier información que usted haya compartido será eliminada.

No dude en contactarnos para exponer sus dudas o preguntas.

Estudiante de Doctorado: Raquel Herrero Arias Raquel.Arias@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Supervisora del estudio: Ragnhild Hollekim Ragnhild.Hollekim@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Consentimiento para la participación en el estudio

He recibido información sobre este estudio y acepto participar en el mismo.

(Firma y fecha)

Doctoranda: Raquel Herrero Arias Raquel.Arias@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Supervisora del estudio: Ragnhild Hollekim Ragnhild.Hollekim@uib.no ☎ [redacted]

Appendix 4: Mini questionnaire on socio-demographic information

We would like to ask you to fill this table with some socio-demographic information about yourself. The reason we would like to collect this from you is that we need some background information to contextualize the data that will be collected through the Focus Group Discussion.

This table will be made anonymous by deleting your names, using intervals for age and length of stay in Norway, and replacing your occupation with your wider working field.

It is completely fine if you do not want to fill this form. In that case, you are still welcome to take part of the Focus Group Discussion. If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact the project leader.

Name	
Age	
Country of origin	
Civil status and nationality of your partner (if you are in a relationship)	
Number of children	
Age of children	
Occupation	
Years lived in Norway	

Nos gustaría pedirle que rellene esta tabla con información sociodemográfica. El motivo por el que le pedimos esto es que necesitamos contextualizar la información que obtendremos con el grupo focal.

Esta tabla será anonimizada. Concretamente, su nombre será eliminado y utilizaremos intervalos de edad y de años vividos en Noruega. Así mismo, sustituiremos su ocupación laboral por el nombre de su sector de trabajo.

No hay ningún problema si usted no quiere completar la tabla. En ese caso, sigue siendo bienvenida a participar en el grupo focal. Si tiene alguna duda o pregunta, no dude en contactar a la encargada del proyecto.

Nombre	
Edad	
País de origen	
Estado civil y nacionalidad de tu pareja (si está en una relación)	
Religión	
Número de hijos/as	
Edad de sus hijos/as	
Ocupación	
Años en Noruega	

Appendix 5: FGD questioning route

OPENING

To get to know each other a little bit, you could start by introducing yourselves: your names, where you come from, how long you have lived in Norway and how many children you have and their age.

Great. We are not going around the table anymore, so just jump into the conversation whenever you want.

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

1. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you hear the phrase "raising children in Norway"?

   (10 minutes)

TRANSITION QUESTIONS

2. What do you like best about raising their children in Norway and why?
3. What do you like least about raising their children in Norway and why?

KEY QUESTIONS

4. What is it like to raise children in Norway regarding the activities you do with your children and the organization of your family lives?

5. Are there any things that are different between Norway and Southern Europe regarding child-rearing? (upbringing practices, notions of "good" parenting and childhood, work of welfare institutions, family policies and support from the welfare state).

6. What do you find more surprising about the work of Norwegian institutions, for instance kindergartens, schools, health centers, social and child welfare services?

7. Can you describe a situation in which your parenting practices can be in tension with the upbringing practices and approaches that you encounter in Norwegian institutions?

8. Imagine you disagree with an aspect regarding your child's upbringing with a professional working at a welfare institution in Norway, how would you negotiate this tension?

9. If you need some support or advice to face a situation regarding raising your children, who would you ask support from?

10. Do you think you have experienced a change in your parenting after moving to Norway? Could you give an example of this (practices, ideas about childrearing and childhood)? What motivated you to take these changes?

11. Can you tell a bit about the challenges you face regarding raising your children in Norway? Could you imagine which challenges you would face if you raised your children in your countries of origin? Are they different?

    (95 minutes)

ENDING QUESTIONS

We want to get knowledge of what it is like being a migrant parent in Norway. We want to understand the experiences parents from Southern Europe have when they raise their children in Norway, their experiences with local institutions that work with families in this country, and the possible tensions concerning parenting practices they may experience.

12. What did we miss? Is there anything we should have talked about but we didn't? Could you capture in less than a minute what was said here?

    (15 minutes)

Guía de preguntas para la Sesión de Grupo de Discusión

Preguntas de apertura

Para conocernos un poco mejor, podíais empezar diciendo vuestro nombre, cuánto tiempo lleváis en Noruega, cuántos hijos tenéis, cuántos años tienen y el país en el que nacieron.

Preguntas de introducción

1. ¿qué viene a vuestras cabezas cuando escuchas estas palabras “criar a los/as hijos/as en Noruega”?

(10 minutos)

Preguntas de transición

2. ¿Qué es lo que más os gusta sobre criar a vuestros/as hijos/as en Noruega? ¿por qué?
3. ¿Qué es lo que menos os gusta sobre criar a vuestros/as hijos/as en Noruega? ¿Por qué?

Preguntas clave

4. ¿Cómo es el criar vuestros/as hijos/as en Noruega en lo que respecta las actividades que hacéis con ellos/as y la organización de vuestras vidas familiares?

5. ¿Hay algunos aspectos sobre la crianza de los/as hijos/as que sean diferentes entre Noruega y España? (por ejemplo, prácticas de crianza, estilos de crianza, ideas sobre qué es una buena infancia y forma de criar a los/as hijos/as, los servicios ofrecidos por las instituciones públicas y el apoyo del estado y políticas sociales).

6. ¿Qué os sorprende más sobre el trabajo de las instituciones públicas noruegas, como por ejemplo las guarderías, colegios, centros sanitarios o servicios sociales y de protección a la infancia?

7. ¿podéis describir alguna situación en la que hayáis experimentado un conflicto entre vuestras prácticas de crianza y las prácticas y el enfoque hacia la infancia y la crianza que habéis observado en instituciones noruegas?

8. Imaginad que no estáis de acuerdo con algún aspecto con respecto a la crianza de vuestros/as hijos/as con algún profesional que trabaja en una institución noruega. ¿cómo manejaríais este conflicto?

9. Si necesitáis apoyo o consejo para afrontar una situación con respecto a la crianza de vuestros/as hijos/as, ¿a quién recurriríais?

10. ¿pensáis que habéis experimentado algún cambio en vuestra forma de criar a vuestros/as hijos/as después de mudaros a Noruega? ¿podríais dar algún ejemplo de esta situación (practicas de crianza, ideas sobre cómo se debe criar a un/a hijo/a, sobre su infancia)? ¿qué os motivó a cambiar?

11. ¿podéis hablar sobre los retos a los que os enfrentáis criando a vuestros hijos/as en Noruega? ¿podéis imaginar cuáles serían los retos a los que os enfrentaríais si criaseis a vuestros/as hijos/as en España? ¿son diferentes?

(95 minutos)

Preguntas para finalizar

Queremos aprender más sobre cómo es ser una madre inmigrante en Noruega. Queremos comprender las experiencias que madres procedentes de países del Sur de Europa, viven cuando crían a sus hijos en Noruega, sus experiencias con las instituciones locales que trabajan con familias en este país, así como su manejo de las posibles tensiones que pueda haber con respecto a las prácticas de crianza.

¿Qué nos falta por hablar?

¿Podrías resumir en menos de un minuto lo que hemos hablado aquí hoy?

(15 minutos)

Tiempo total: 2 horas.

Appendix 6: Interview guide

Introduction

Provide information about the study and the narrative approach of the interview. Ask for informed consent.

Remind the interviewee that I want to get knowledge about how it is like raising a child in Norway as a migrant parent. The interviewee is the expert on the topic and decides what is important for me to know about it.

Background information

Can you tell a bit on yourself?

(Age, country of origin, occupation, civil status, number of children and their age, country where they were born and raised, years lived in Norway).

Life before migration

Hometown information and family background: who did you use to live with? What were the occupations of your parents? What do you remember about the way they raised you/your upbringing? Where did you live (urban or rural areas)? Were you close to your extended family?

Transition into adulthood and turning points: How far did you go in education? When did you emancipate from your parents' home? When did you meet the father/mother of your children?

What was your life like before migrating? What did you do (study/work)? Whom did you live with?

Migration experience

Reasons for migration and date of arrival: did you decide to migrate to Norway? How is that you ended up here? If you decided to come here, why did you make this decision? Did you make this decision alone? Did you plan your migration to Norway? What was the plan? When did you arrive in Norway?

Context of migration: Did you move alone? How was it? What are the main challenges you faced when you migrated? How was your situation regarding housing and employment? Where did you live and where do you live now? Whom did you live with and whom do you live with now? Can you share anything that surprised you when you arrived in Norway?

Life in Norway: How do you find life in Norway? Can you tell a bit about the positive and negative sides of living here? How does it differ from your life back in your country of origin? What do you miss the most from your country of origin? What is your greatest achievement in your life in Norway?

Social and family network: do you have any family living in Norway (apart from partner and children)? How do you keep in contact with your family and friends back in your country of origin? how often do you see them? What about the friends you have here?

Parenting

When were your children born and how old were you at that time? Can you tell a bit more about the experience of becoming a parent?

What does it mean to be a good father/mother for you? Which values would you like to instill to your children? Is there anything you have inherited from your own parents regarding the way you raise your children?

How would you describe the childhood you want your children to have?

What about disagreements with others (partner, extended family) on how to raise your children?

Parenting in Norway

Do you think Norway is a good country to raise your children? Can you tell a bit about raising your children in Norway? For instance, can you tell a bit about the challenges and opportunities you have experienced in Norway regarding raising your children?

Are there any things that are different regarding bringing up a child between Norway and your country of origin?

Do you think that there have been changes in your parenting since your migration to Norway? How would you describe these changes?

Welfare institutions and parenting

How would you describe your experiences with local institutions that work with families and children in Norway? Did anything surprise you regarding how they approach children and parents? Do you remember an occasion that you felt satisfied, grateful, frustrated, annoyed or even angry with a welfare state professional? Can you tell a bit more what happened?

Compared to your experiences in your country of origin, do you think these institutions work with a different approach?

Can you think of a situation in which the decisions you make regarding your children's upbringing may be in tension with the practices and expectations from local institutions? How would you manage such a conflict?

Future plans

What are your goals for the near future? What do you want to accomplish?

Do you see yourself living in Norway?

Closure:

What did we miss?

Is there anything you have left out and you think should be included in your story?

La guía de entrevista

Introducción

Brindar información sobre el estudio y el enfoque narrativo de la entrevista. Solicitar consentimiento informado.

Recordar al/a la entrevistado/a que quiero obtener información sobre cómo es criar a un/a hijo/a en Noruega como padre/madre migrante. El/la entrevistado/a es el/la experto/a y decide qué es importante compartir para que yo pueda entender mejor el tema de estudio.

Información contextual

¿Puede presentarse y dar alguna información sobre usted?

(Edad, país de origen, ocupación, estado civil, número de hijos/as y edad, país donde nacieron y se criaron, años vividos en Noruega).

La vida antes de emigrar

Información sobre la ciudad de origen y antecedentes familiares: ¿con quién solía vivir? ¿Cuáles fueron las ocupaciones de sus padres? ¿Qué recuerda de la forma en que le criaron? ¿Dónde vivía (zona urbana o rural)? ¿Tenía una relación cercana con el resto de la familia (tíos, abuelos…)?

Transición a la edad adulta y puntos de inflexión: ¿Hasta dónde llegó en su educación formal? ¿Cuándo se emancipó de la casa de sus padres? ¿Cuándo conoció al padre / madre de sus hijos?

¿Cómo era su vida antes de emigrar? ¿Qué hacía (estudiar / trabajar)? ¿Con quién vivía?

Experiencia migratoria

Motivos por los cuales emigró y fecha de llegada a Noruega: ¿decidió emigrar a Noruega? ¿Cómo es que terminó viviendo aquí? Si decidió venir aquí, ¿por qué tomó esta decisión? ¿Tomó esta decisión solo/a? ¿Planeó su emigración a Noruega? ¿Cuál era el plan? ¿Cuándo llegó a Noruega?

Contexto de la migración: ¿Se mudó solo? ¿Cómo fueron esos primeros días en Noruega? ¿Cuáles son los principales desafíos a los que se enfrentó cuando emigró? ¿Cómo fue su situación en materia de vivienda y empleo? ¿Dónde vivía/vive? ¿Con quién vivía/vive? ¿Puede compartir algo que le sorprendió cuando llegó a Noruega?

La vida en Noruega: ¿Cómo encuentra la vida en Noruega? ¿Puede contarme un poco sobre los aspectos positivos y negativos de vivir aquí? ¿En qué se diferencia de la vida en su país de origen? ¿Qué es lo que más extraña de su país de origen? ¿Cuál es su mayor logro con respecto a su vida en Noruega?

Red social y familiar: ¿tiene algún familiar viviendo en Noruega (además de pareja e hijos/as)? ¿Cómo se mantiene en contacto con su familia y amigos que viven en su país de origen? ¿Con qué frecuencia los ves? ¿Puede decir algo sobre su red social en Noruega, sobre los amigos que tiene aquí?

Paternidad y crianza de hijos/as

¿Cuándo nacieron sus hijos y qué edad tenía usted en ese momento? ¿Puede contarme un poco más sobre la experiencia de convertirse en padre/madre?

Para usted, ¿Qué significa ser un buen padre / madre? ¿Qué valores le gustaría inculcar a sus hijos/as? ¿Hay algo que haya heredado de sus propios padres con respecto a la forma en que cría a sus hijos/as?

¿Cómo describiría la infancia que quiere que tengan sus hijos?

¿Puede decir algo al respecto de sus experiencias cuando hay un desacuerdo sobre cómo criar a sus hijos/as con otras personas como pareja, padres, suegros, profesionales…?

Paternidad y crianza de hijos/as en Noruega

¿Cree que Noruega es un buen país para criar a sus hijos/as? ¿Puede contarme un poco sobre sus experiencias con la crianza de sus hijos/as en Noruega? Por ejemplo, ¿puede contarme un poco sobre los desafíos y las oportunidades que ha experimentado en Noruega con respecto a la crianza de sus hijos/as?

¿Hay alguna diferencia en las ideas y prácticas de crianza entre Noruega y su país de origen?

¿Cree que ha habido cambios en la forma en la que cría a sus hijos/as desde que emigró a Noruega? ¿Cómo describiría estos cambios?

Instituciones públicas y crianza de los/as hijos/as

¿Cómo describiría sus experiencias con instituciones locales que trabajan con familias y niños/as en Noruega? ¿Le sorprendió algo sobre cómo tratan a los niños/as y a los padres? ¿Recuerda alguna ocasión en la que se sintió satisfecho, agradecido, frustrado, molesto o incluso enojado con un profesional? ¿Puede contar un poco lo que pasó?

En comparación con sus experiencias con instituciones públicas en su país de origen, ¿cree que las instituciones noruegas trabajan con un enfoque diferente?

¿Puede pensar en una situación en la que las decisiones que usted toma con respecto a la crianza de sus hijos/as puedan estar en tensión con las prácticas y expectativas de las instituciones locales? ¿Cómo manejaría tal conflicto?

Planes futuros

¿Cuáles son sus metas para el futuro cercano? ¿Qué quiere lograr?

¿Se ve viviendo en Noruega?

Cierre

¿Qué tema no hemos tocado? ¿Hay algo que haya dejado fuera y que usted crea que debería incluirse en su historia?

Appendix 7: Table showing the process of thematic analysis

Examples of data extract, codes, categories, sub-themes, and themes in thematic analysis developed for Article I

Data extract	**Codes**	**Categories**	**Sub-themes**	**Theme**
You see Norwegian parents taking their time to explain things to their children calmly. Well, they can do so because they have time and much less stress than we do.	Norwegian parents have time to be patient with their children	Contextualizing current mothering practices	Dialogue-based mothering	Navigating emotions: dialogue-based and child-centered mothering ideals
I look at the parents, who come to the kindergarten and take their time with the children, speak with them and "Bye dad, bye mom". I left my daughter in the kindergarten, I had to run; "Bye" and the girl stayed crying. I didn't have time. It's also because of the work, the pace of life that we all have there [in Spain].	In Spain, I left my child at the kindergarten and run	Contextualizing past mothering practices	Child-centered mothering	
I feel remorse when I think that I didn't give the eldest all the freedom in her moment.	I feel remorse for past mothering	Blaming oneself for not living up to child-centered mothering ideal		
Here, in Norway, children are not treated as vulnerable (beings) who are told what to do. They are heard because they have an opinion, and we need to listen to them.	Children are heard in Norway	Norwegian's view on children as actors		
I used to feel so stressed, so worried about my child eating only bread at kindergarten. "How can he grow properly eating only bread and cheese?"	I am worried my child only eats bread at kindergarten	Worry about dietary practices in Norwegian institutions	Differences in eating practices between Norwayand Southern Europe	Navigating emotions: cultural differences in social interactions, eating and drinking patterns

Don’t you ever think of opening a beer can in an event with children present, the most normal thing in Spain! Norwegians will look at you as if you were a horrible mother and you’ll feel terrible.	I am seen as a horrible mother if I drink alcohol in front of children	Blame for performing drinking practices from country of origin	Differences in drinking practices between Norway and Southern Europe	Navigating emotions: cultural differences in social interactions, eating and drinking patterns
There is nothing wrong with drinking a glass of wine with food as we do in Spain. What is really bad is drinking to death on a Saturday, which is a very Scandinavian thing. So, please, don’t judge me!	Scandinavian drinking practices are worse than Southern European ones	Pride for drinking patterns from country of origin		

Examples of data extract, codes, categories, sub-themes and themes in thematic analysis developed for Article III

Data extract	**Codes**	**Categories**	**Sub-themes**	**Theme**
It is good for children to share time with their families, even if it's after 7pm. How can it be bad for them to play with their cousins?	Staying late socializing is good for children	Challenging notions of risks to children's development	Openly disputing professional advice	Contesting discourses of risk
I just play along [and say] "yes, yes, yes, I agree, I agree". I don't want to go into a discussion with the helsesøster about bringing the child to a dinner party with friends because she'll judge me badly.	I play along to avoid being judged for how I spend my time with my family	Pretending to agree with professionals' advice	Internally disputing professional advice but complying	Feigning cooperation
They (kindergarten professionals) took him (son) outdoors, but I didn't see it wrong, I think it's good. It helps him to develop the creative part, freedom. He may fall from a tree or whatever, but he will learn so many things!	Playing outdoor promotes the learning of skills	Outdoor play is good for children's development	Collaboration with professionals	Accepting discourses of risk
You just accept it [children playing outdoors in kindergarten], because what else can you do?	I have no alternative to kindergarten practices	Being in a position from which one cannot challenge dominant practices	Compliant relationships	

Doctoral Theses at The Faculty of Psychology, University of Bergen

1980	Allen, Hugh M., Dr. philos.	Parent-offspring interactions in willow grouse (Lagopus L. Lagopus).
1981	Myhrer, Trond, Dr. philos.	Behavioral Studies after selective disruption of hippocampal inputs in albino rats.
1982	Svebak, Sven, Dr. philos.	The significance of motivation for task-induced tonic physiological changes.
1983	Myhre, Grete, Dr. philos.	The Biopsychology of behavior in captive Willow ptarmigan.
	Eide, Rolf, Dr. philos.	PSYCHOSOCIAL FACTORS AND INDICES OF HEALTH RISKS. The relationship of psychosocial conditions to subjective complaints, arterial blood pressure, serum cholesterol, serum triglycerides and urinary catecholamines in middle aged populations in Western Norway.
	Værnes, Ragnar J., Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological effects of diving.
1984	Kolstad, Arnulf, Dr. philos.	Til diskusjonen om sammenhengen mellom sosiale forhold og psykiske strukturer. En epidemiologisk undersøkelse blant barn og unge.
	Løberg, Tor, Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological assessment in alcohol dependence.
1985	Hellesnes, Tore, Dr. philos.	Læring og problemløsning. En studie av den perseptuelle analysens betydning for verbal læring.
	Håland, Wenche, Dr. philos.	Psykoterapi: relasjon, utviklingsprosess og effekt.
1986	Hagtvet, Knut A., Dr. philos.	The construct of test anxiety: Conceptual and methodological issues.
	Jellestad, Finn K., Dr. philos.	Effects of neuron specific amygdala lesions on fear-motivated behavior in rats.
1987	Aarø, Leif E., Dr. philos.	Health behaviour and sosioeconomic Status. A survey among the adult population in Norway.
	Underlid, Kjell, Dr. philos.	Arbeidsløyse i psykososialt perspektiv.
	Laberg, Jon C., Dr. philos.	Expectancy and classical conditioning in alcoholics' craving.
	Vollmer, Fred, Dr. philos.	Essays on explanation in psychology.
	Ellertsen, Bjørn, Dr. philos.	Migraine and tension headache: Psychophysiology, personality and therapy.
1988	Kaufmann, Astrid, Dr. philos.	Antisosial atferd hos ungdom. En studie av psykologiske determinanter.

	Mykletun, Reidar J., Dr. philos.	Teacher stress: personality, work-load and health.
	Havik, Odd E., Dr. philos.	After the myocardial infarction: A medical and psychological study with special emphasis on perceived illness.
1989	Bråten, Stein, Dr. philos.	Menneskedyaden. En teoretisk tese om sinnets dialogiske natur med informasjons- og utviklingspsykologiske implikasjoner sammenholdt med utvalgte spedbarnsstudier.
	Wold, Bente, Dr. psychol.	Lifestyles and physical activity. A theoretical and empirical analysis of socialization among children and adolescents.
1990	Flaten, Magne A., Dr. psychol.	The role of habituation and learning in reflex modification.
1991	Alsaker, Françoise D., Dr. philos.	Global negative self-evaluations in early adolescence.
	Kraft, Pål, Dr. philos.	AIDS prevention in Norway. Empirical studies on diffusion of knowledge, public opinion, and sexual behaviour.
	Endresen, Inger M., Dr. philos.	Psychoimmuniological stress markers in working life.
	Faleide, Asbjørn O., Dr. philos.	Asthma and allergy in childhood. Psychosocial and psychotherapeutic problems.
1992	Dalen, Knut, Dr. philos.	Hemispheric asymmetry and the Dual-Task Paradigm: An experimental approach.
	Bø, Inge B., Dr. philos.	Ungdoms sosiale økologi. En undersøkelse av 14-16 åringers sosiale nettverk.
	Nivison, Mary E., Dr. philos.	The relationship between noise as an experimental and environmental stressor, physiological changes and psychological factors.
	Torgersen, Anne M., Dr. philos.	Genetic and environmental influence on temperamental behaviour. A longitudinal study of twins from infancy to adolescence.
1993	Larsen, Svein, Dr. philos.	Cultural background and problem drinking.
	Nordhus, Inger Hilde, Dr. philos.	Family caregiving. A community psychological study with special emphasis on clinical interventions.
	Thuen, Frode, Dr. psychol.	Accident-related behaviour among children and young adolescents: Prediction and prevention.
	Solheim, Ragnar, Dr. philos.	Spesifikke lærevansker. Diskrepanskriteriet anvendt i seleksjonsmetodikk.
	Johnsen, Bjørn Helge, Dr. psychol.	Brain assymetry and facial emotional expressions: Conditioning experiments.
1994	Tønnessen, Finn E., Dr. philos.	The etiology of Dyslexia.
	Kvale, Gerd, Dr. psychol.	Psychological factors in anticipatory nausea and vomiting in cancer chemotherapy.

	Asbjørnsen, Arve E., Dr. psychol.	Structural and dynamic factors in dichotic listening: An interactional model.
	Bru, Edvin, Dr. philos.	The role of psychological factors in neck, shoulder and low back pain among female hospitale staff.
	Braathen, Eli T., Dr. psychol.	Prediction of exellence and discontinuation in different types of sport: The significance of motivation and EMG.
	Johannessen, Birte F., Dr. philos.	Det flytende kjønnet. Om lederskap, politikk og identitet.
1995	Sam, David L., Dr. psychol.	Acculturation of young immigrants in Norway: A psychological and socio-cultural adaptation.
	Bjaalid, Inger-Kristin, Dr. philos.	Component processes in word recognition.
	Martinsen, Øyvind, Dr. philos.	Cognitive style and insight.
	Nordby, Helge, Dr. philos.	Processing of auditory deviant events: Mismatch negativity of event-related brain potentials.
	Raaheim, Arild, Dr. philos.	Health perception and health behaviour, theoretical considerations, empirical studies, and practical implications.
	Seltzer, Wencke J., Dr. philos.	Studies of Psychocultural Approach to Families in Therapy.
	Brun, Wibecke, Dr. philos.	Subjective conceptions of uncertainty and risk.
	Aas, Henrik N., Dr. psychol.	Alcohol expectancies and socialization: Adolescents learning to drink.
	Bjørkly, Stål, Dr. psychol.	Diagnosis and prediction of intra-institutional aggressive behaviour in psychotic patients
1996	Anderssen, Norman, Dr. psychol.	Physical activity of young people in a health perspective: Stability, change and social influences.
	Sandal, Gro Mjeldheim, Dr. psychol.	Coping in extreme environments: The role of personality.
	Strumse, Einar, Dr. philos.	The psychology of aesthetics: explaining visual preferences for agrarian landscapes in Western Norway.
	Hestad, Knut, Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological deficits in HIV-1 infection.
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	Sandvik, B. Gunnhild, Dr. philos.	Fra distriktsjordmor til institusjonsjordmor. Fremveksten av en profesjon og en profesjonsutdanning
	Lie, Gro Therese, Dr. psychol.	The disease that dares not speak its name: Studies on factors of importance for coping with HIV/AIDS in Northern Tanzania
	Øygard, Lisbet, Dr. philos.	Health behaviors among young adults. A psychological and sociological approach
	Stormark, Kjell Morten, Dr. psychol.	Emotional modulation of selective attention: Experimental and clinical evidence.

	Einarsen, Ståle, Dr. psychol.	Bullying and harassment at work: epidemiological and psychosocial aspects.
1997	Knivsberg, Ann-Mari, Dr. philos.	Behavioural abnormalities and childhood psychopathology: Urinary peptide patterns as a potential tool in diagnosis and remediation.
	Eide, Arne H., Dr. philos.	Adolescent drug use in Zimbabwe. Cultural orientation in a global-local perspective and use of psychoactive substances among secondary school students.
	Sørensen, Marit, Dr. philos.	The psychology of initiating and maintaining exercise and diet behaviour.
	Skjæveland, Oddvar, Dr. psychol.	Relationships between spatial-physical neighborhood attributes and social relations among neighbors.
	Zewdie, Teka, Dr. philos.	Mother-child relational patterns in Ethiopia. Issues of developmental theories and intervention programs.
	Wilhelmsen, Britt Unni, Dr. philos.	Development and evaluation of two educational programmes designed to prevent alcohol use among adolescents.
	Manger, Terje, Dr. philos.	Gender differences in mathematical achievement among Norwegian elementary school students.
1998 V	Lindstrøm, Torill Christine, Dr. philos.	«Good Grief»: Adapting to Bereavement.
	Skogstad, Anders, Dr. philos.	Effects of leadership behaviour on job satisfaction, health and efficiency.
	Haldorsen, Ellen M. Håland, Dr. psychol.	Return to work in low back pain patients.
	Besemer, Susan P., Dr. philos.	Creative Product Analysis: The Search for a Valid Model for Understanding Creativity in Products.
H	Winje, Dagfinn, Dr. psychol.	Psychological adjustment after severe trauma. A longitudinal study of adults' and children's posttraumatic reactions and coping after the bus accident in Måbødalen, Norway 1988.
	Vosburg, Suzanne K., Dr. philos.	The effects of mood on creative problem solving.
	Eriksen, Hege R., Dr. philos.	Stress and coping: Does it really matter for subjective health complaints?
	Jakobsen, Reidar, Dr. psychol.	Empiriske studier av kunnskap og holdninger om hiv/aids og den normative seksuelle utvikling i ungdomsårene.
1999 V	Mikkelsen, Aslaug, Dr. philos.	Effects of learning opportunities and learning climate on occupational health.
	Samdal, Oddrun, Dr. philos.	The school environment as a risk or resource for students' health-related behaviours and subjective well-being.
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	Ekeland, Tor-Johan, Dr. philos.	Meining som medisin. Ein analyse av placebofenomenet og implikasjoner for terapi og terapeutiske teoriar.

H	Saban, Sara, Dr. psychol.	Brain Asymmetry and Attention: Classical Conditioning Experiments.
	Carlsten, Carl Thomas, Dr. philos.	God lesing – God læring. En aksjonsrettet studie av undervisning i fagtekstlesing.
	Dundas, Ingrid, Dr. psychol.	Functional and dysfunctional closeness. Family interaction and children's adjustment.
	Engen, Liv, Dr. philos.	Kartlegging av leseferdighet på småskoletrinnet og vurdering av faktorer som kan være av betydning for optimal leseutvikling.
2000 **V**	Hovland, Ole Johan, Dr. philos.	Transforming a self-preserving "alarm" reaction into a self-defeating emotional response: Toward an integrative approach to anxiety as a human phenomenon.
	Lillejord, Sølvi, Dr. philos.	Handlingsrasjonalitet og spesialundervisning. En analyse av aktørperspektiver.
	Sandell, Ove, Dr. philos.	Den varme kunnskapen.
	Oftedal, Marit Petersen, Dr. philos.	Diagnostisering av ordavkodingsvansker: En prosessanalytisk tilnærmingsmåte.
H	Sandbak, Tone, Dr. psychol.	Alcohol consumption and preference in the rat: The significance of individual differences and relationships to stress pathology
	Eid, Jarle, Dr. psychol.	Early predictors of PTSD symptom reporting; The significance of contextual and individual factors.
2001 **V**	Skinstad, Anne Helene, Dr. philos.	Substance dependence and borderline personality disorders.
	Binder, Per-Einar, Dr. psychol.	Individet og den meningsbærende andre. En teoretisk undersøkelse av de mellommenneskelige forutsetningene for psykisk liv og utvikling med utgangspunkt i Donald Winnicotts teori.
	Roald, Ingvild K., Dr. philos.	Building of concepts. A study of Physics concepts of Norwegian deaf students.
H	Fekadu, Zelalem W., Dr. philos.	Predicting contraceptive use and intention among a sample of adolescent girls. An application of the theory of planned behaviour in Ethiopian context.
	Melesse, Fantu, Dr. philos.	The more intelligent and sensitive child (MISC) mediational intervention in an Ethiopian context: An evaluation study.
	Råheim, Målfrid, Dr. philos.	Kvinners kroppserfaring og livssammenheng. En fenomenologisk – hermeneutisk studie av friske kvinner og kvinner med kroniske muskelsmerter.
	Engelsen, Birthe Kari, Dr. psychol.	Measurement of the eating problem construct.
	Lau, Bjørn, Dr. philos.	Weight and eating concerns in adolescence.
2002 **V**	Ihlebæk, Camilla, Dr. philos.	Epidemiological studies of subjective health complaints.

	Rosén, Gunnar O. R., Dr. philos.	The phantom limb experience. Models for understanding and treatment of pain with hypnosis.
	Høines, Marit Johnsen, Dr. philos.	Fleksible språkrom. Matematikklæring som tekstutvikling.
	Anthun, Roald Andor, Dr. philos.	School psychology service quality. Consumer appraisal, quality dimensions, and collaborative improvement potential
	Pallesen, Ståle, Dr. psychol.	Insomnia in the elderly. Epidemiology, psychological characteristics and treatment.
	Midthassel, Unni Vere, Dr. philos.	Teacher involvement in school development activity. A study of teachers in Norwegian compulsory schools
	Kallestad, Jan Helge, Dr. philos.	Teachers, schools and implementation of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program.
H	Ofte, Sonja Helgesen, Dr. psychol.	Right-left discrimination in adults and children.
	Netland, Marit, Dr. psychol.	Exposure to political violence. The need to estimate our estimations.
	Diseth, Åge, Dr. psychol.	Approaches to learning: Validity and prediction of academic performance.
	Bjuland, Raymond, Dr. philos.	Problem solving in geometry. Reasoning processes of student teachers working in small groups: A dialogical approach.
2003 V	Arefjord, Kjersti, Dr. psychol.	After the myocardial infarction – the wives' view. Short- and long-term adjustment in wives of myocardial infarction patients.
	Ingjaldsson, Jón Þorvaldur, Dr. psychol.	Unconscious Processes and Vagal Activity in Alcohol Dependency.
	Holden, Børge, Dr. philos.	Følger av atferdsanalytiske forklaringer for atferdsanalysens tilnærming til utforming av behandling.
	Holsen, Ingrid, Dr. philos.	Depressed mood from adolescence to 'emerging adulthood'. Course and longitudinal influences of body image and parent-adolescent relationship.
	Hammar, Åsa Karin, Dr. psychol.	Major depression and cognitive dysfunction- An experimental study of the cognitive effort hypothesis.
	Sprugevica, Ieva, Dr. philos.	The impact of enabling skills on early reading acquisition.
	Gabrielsen, Egil, Dr. philos.	LESE FOR LIVET. Lesekompetansen i den norske voksenbefolkningen sett i lys av visjonen om en enhetsskole.
H	Hansen, Anita Lill, Dr. psychol.	The influence of heart rate variability in the regulation of attentional and memory processes.
	Dyregrov, Kari, Dr. philos.	The loss of child by suicide, SIDS, and accidents: Consequences, needs and provisions of help.
2004 V	Torsheim, Torbjørn, Dr. psychol.	Student role strain and subjective health complaints: Individual, contextual, and longitudinal perspectives.

	Haugland, Bente Storm Mowatt Dr. psychol.	Parental alcohol abuse. Family functioning and child adjustment.
	Milde, Anne Marita, Dr. psychol.	Ulcerative colitis and the role of stress. Animal studies of psychobiological factors in relationship to experimentally induced colitis.
	Stornes, Tor, Dr. philos.	Socio-moral behaviour in sport. An investigation of perceptions of sportspersonship in handball related to important factors of socio-moral influence.
	Mæhle, Magne, Dr. philos.	Re-inventing the child in family therapy: An investigation of the relevance and applicability of theory and research in child development for family therapy involving children.
	Kobbeltvedt, Therese, Dr. psychol.	Risk and feelings: A field approach.
2004 H	Thomsen, Tormod, Dr. psychol.	Localization of attention in the brain.
	Løberg, Else-Marie, Dr. psychol.	Functional laterality and attention modulation in schizophrenia: Effects of clinical variables.
	Kyrkjebø, Jane Mikkelsen, Dr. philos.	Learning to improve: Integrating continuous quality improvement learning into nursing education.
	Laumann, Karin, Dr. psychol.	Restorative and stress-reducing effects of natural environments: Experiencal, behavioural and cardiovascular indices.
	Holgersen, Helge, PhD	Mellom oss - Essay i relasjonell psykoanalyse.
2005 V	Hetland, Hilde, Dr. psychol.	Leading to the extraordinary? Antecedents and outcomes of transformational leadership.
	Iversen, Anette Christine, Dr. philos.	Social differences in health behaviour: the motivational role of perceived control and coping.
2005 H	Mathisen, Gro Ellen, PhD	Climates for creativity and innovation: Definitions, measurement, predictors and consequences.
	Sævi, Tone, Dr. philos.	Seeing disability pedagogically – The lived experience of disability in the pedagogical encounter.
	Wiium, Nora, PhD	Intrapersonal factors, family and school norms: combined and interactive influence on adolescent smoking behaviour.
	Kanagaratnam, Pushpa, PhD	Subjective and objective correlates of Posttraumatic Stress in immigrants/refugees exposed to political violence.
	Larsen, Torill M. B. , PhD	Evaluating principals` and teachers` implementation of Second Step. A case study of four Norwegian primary schools.
	Bancila, Delia, PhD	Psychosocial stress and distress among Romanian adolescents and adults.
2006 V	Hillestad, Torgeir Martin, Dr. philos.	Normalitet og avvik. Forutsetninger for et objektivt psykopatologisk avviksbegrep. En psykologisk, sosial, erkjennelsesteoretisk og teorihistorisk framstilling.

	Nordanger, Dag Øystein, Dr. psychol.	Psychosocial discourses and responses to political violence in post-war Tigray, Ethiopia.
	Rimol, Lars Morten, PhD	Behavioral and fMRI studies of auditory laterality and speech sound processing.
	Krumsvik, Rune Johan, Dr. philos.	ICT in the school. ICT-initiated school development in lower secondary school.
	Norman, Elisabeth, Dr. psychol.	Gut feelings and unconscious thought: An exploration of fringe consiousness in implicit cognition.
	Israel, K Pravin, Dr. psychol.	Parent involvement in the mental health care of children and adolescents. Emperical studies from clinical care setting.
	Glasø, Lars, PhD	Affects and emotional regulation in leader-subordinate relationships.
	Knutsen, Ketil, Dr. philos.	HISTORIER UNGDOM LEVER – En studie av hvordan ungdommer bruker historie for å gjøre livet meningsfullt.
	Matthiesen, Stig Berge, PhD	Bullying at work. Antecedents and outcomes.
2006 H	Gramstad, Arne, PhD	Neuropsychological assessment of cognitive and emotional functioning in patients with epilepsy.
	Bendixen, Mons, PhD	Antisocial behaviour in early adolescence: Methodological and substantive issues.
	Mrumbi, Khalifa Maulid, PhD	Parental illness and loss to HIV/AIDS as experienced by AIDS orphans aged between 12-17 years from Temeke District, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: A study of the children's psychosocial health and coping responses.
	Hetland, Jørn, Dr. psychol.	The nature of subjective health complaints in adolescence: Dimensionality, stability, and psychosocial predictors
	Kakoko, Deodatus Conatus Vitalis, PhD	Voluntary HIV counselling and testing service uptake among primary school teachers in Mwanza, Tanzania: assessment of socio-demographic, psychosocial and socio-cognitive aspects
	Mykletun, Arnstein, Dr. psychol.	Mortality and work-related disability as long-term consequences of anxiety and depression: Historical cohort designs based on the HUNT-2 study
	Sivertsen, Børge, PhD	Insomnia in older adults. Consequences, assessment and treatment.
2007 V	Singhammer, John, Dr. philos.	Social conditions from before birth to early adulthood – the influence on health and health behaviour
	Janvin, Carmen Ani Cristea, PhD	Cognitive impairment in patients with Parkinson's disease: profiles and implications for prognosis
	Braarud, Hanne Cecilie, Dr.psychol.	Infant regulation of distress: A longitudinal study of transactions between mothers and infants
	Tveito, Torill Helene, PhD	Sick Leave and Subjective Health Complaints

	Magnussen, Liv Heide, PhD	Returning disability pensioners with back pain to work
	Thuen, Elin Marie, Dr.philos.	Learning environment, students' coping styles and emotional and behavioural problems. A study of Norwegian secondary school students.
	Solberg, Ole Asbjørn, PhD	Peacekeeping warriors – A longitudinal study of Norwegian peacekeepers in Kosovo
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	Svensen, Erling, PhD	WORK & HEALTH. Cognitive Activation Theory of Stress applied in an organisational setting.
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	Eichele, Tom, PhD	Electrophysiological and Hemodynamic Correlates of Expectancy in Target Processing
	Børhaug, Kjetil, Dr.philos.	Oppseding til demokrati. Ein studie av politisk oppseding i norsk skule.
	Eikeland, Thorleif, Dr.philos.	Om å vokse opp på barnehjem og på sykehus. En undersøkelse av barnehjemsbarns opplevelser på barnehjem sammenholdt med sanatoriebarns beskrivelse av langvarige sykehusopphold – og et forsøk på forklaring.
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	Noort, Maurits van den, PhD	Working memory capacity and foreign language acquisition
2008 V	Breivik, Kyrre, Dr.psychol.	The Adjustment of Children and Adolescents in Different Post-Divorce Family Structures. A Norwegian Study of Risks and Mechanisms.
	Johnsen, Grethe E., PhD	Memory impairment in patients with posttraumatic stress disorder
	Sætrevik, Bjørn, PhD	Cognitive Control in Auditory Processing
	Carvalhosa, Susana Fonseca, PhD	Prevention of bullying in schools: an ecological model
2008 H	Brønnick, Kolbjørn Selvåg	Attentional dysfunction in dementia associated with Parkinson's disease.
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	Haug, Ellen	Multilevel correlates of physical activity in the school setting
	Skjerve, Arvid	Assessing mild dementia – a study of brief cognitive tests.

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	Omvik, Siri	Insomnia – a night and day problem
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	Wehling, Eike	Cognitive and olfactory changes in aging
	Wangberg, Silje C.	Internet based interventions to support health behaviours: The role of self-efficacy.
	Nielsen, Morten B.	Methodological issues in research on workplace bullying. Operationalisations, measurements and samples.
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	Guribye, Eugene	Refugees and mental health interventions
	Sørensen, Lin	Emotional problems in inattentive children – effects on cognitive control functions.
	Tjomsland, Hege E.	Health promotion with teachers. Evaluation of the Norwegian Network of Health Promoting Schools: Quantitative and qualitative analyses of predisposing, reinforcing and enabling conditions related to teacher participation and program sustainability.
	Helleve, Ingrid	Productive interactions in ICT supported communities of learners
2009 H	Skorpen, Aina Øye, Christine	Dagliglivet i en psykiatrisk institusjon: En analyse av miljøterapeutiske praksiser
	Andreassen, Cecilie Schou	WORKAHOLISM – Antecedents and Outcomes
	Stang, Ingun	Being in the same boat: An empowerment intervention in breast cancer self-help groups
	Sequeira, Sarah Dorothee Dos Santos	The effects of background noise on asymmetrical speech perception
	Kleiven, Jo, dr.philos.	The Lillehammer scales: Measuring common motives for vacation and leisure behavior
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	Hove, Oddbjørn	Mental health disorders in adults with intellectual disabilities - Methods of assessment and prevalence of mental health disorders and problem behaviour
	Wageningen, Heidi Karin van	The role of glutamate on brain function

	Bjørkvik, Jofrid	God nok? Selvaktelse og interpersonlig fungering hos pasienter innen psykisk helsevern: Forholdet til diagnoser, symptomer og behandlingsutbytte
	Andersson, Martin	A study of attention control in children and elderly using a forced-attention dichotic listening paradigm
	Almås, Aslaug Grov	Teachers in the Digital Network Society: Visions and Realities. A study of teachers' experiences with the use of ICT in teaching and learning.
	Ulvik, Marit	Lærerutdanning som danning? Tre stemmer i diskusjonen
2010 V	Skår, Randi	Læringsprosesser i sykepleieres profesjonsutøvelse. En studie av sykepleieres læringserfaringer.
	Roald, Knut	Kvalitetsvurdering som organisasjonslæring mellom skole og skoleeigar
	Lunde, Linn-Heidi	Chronic pain in older adults. Consequences, assessment and treatment.
	Danielsen, Anne Grete	Perceived psychosocial support, students' self-reported academic initiative and perceived life satisfaction
	Hysing, Mari	Mental health in children with chronic illness
	Olsen, Olav Kjellevold	Are good leaders moral leaders? The relationship between effective military operational leadership and morals
	Riese, Hanne	Friendship and learning. Entrepreneurship education through mini-enterprises.
	Holthe, Asle	Evaluating the implementation of the Norwegian guidelines for healthy school meals: A case study involving three secondary schools
H	Hauge, Lars Johan	Environmental antecedents of workplace bullying: A multi-design approach
	Bjørkelo, Brita	Whistleblowing at work: Antecedents and consequences
	Reme, Silje Endresen	Common Complaints – Common Cure? Psychiatric comorbidity and predictors of treatment outcome in low back pain and irritable bowel syndrome
	Helland, Wenche Andersen	Communication difficulties in children identified with psychiatric problems
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	Thygesen, Elin	Subjective health and coping in care-dependent old persons living at home
	Aanes, Mette Marthinussen	Poor social relationships as a threat to belongingness needs. Interpersonal stress and subjective health complaints: Mediating and moderating factors.
	Anker, Morten Gustav	Client directed outcome informed couple therapy

	Bull, Torill	Combining employment and child care: The subjective well-being of single women in Scandinavia and in Southern Europe
	Viig, Nina Grieg	Tilrettelegging for læreres deltakelse i helsefremmende arbeid. En kvalitativ og kvantitativ analyse av sammenhengen mellom organisatoriske forhold og læreres deltakelse i utvikling og implementering av Europeisk Nettverk av Helsefremmende Skoler i Norge
	Wolff, Katharina	To know or not to know? Attitudes towards receiving genetic information among patients and the general public.
	Ogden, Terje, dr.philos.	Familiebasert behandling av alvorlige atferdsproblemer blant barn og ungdom. Evaluering og implementering av evidensbaserte behandlingsprogrammer i Norge.
	Solberg, Mona Elin	Self-reported bullying and victimisation at school: Prevalence, overlap and psychosocial adjustment.
2011 V	Bye, Hege Høivik	Self-presentation in job interviews. Individual and cultural differences in applicant self-presentation during job interviews and hiring managers' evaluation
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	Moltu, Christian	Being a therapist in difficult therapeutic impasses. A hermeneutic phenomenological analysis of skilled psychotherapists' experiences, needs, and strategies in difficult therapies ending well.
	Myrseth, Helga	Pathological Gambling - Treatment and Personality Factors
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Graphic design: Communication Division, UiB / Print: Skipnes Kommunikasjon AS

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ISBN: 9788230847206 (print)
9788230844045 (PDF)