Contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway

An empirical study based on two cases

Ragnhild Hollekim

Dissertation for the degree of philosophiae doctor (PhD)

at the University of Bergen

2016

Dissertation date: December 6th 2016

Scientific environment

This PhD project was made possible using data from the study: "Norwegian attitudes towards LGBT persons 2008", financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality and led by Professor Norman Anderssen, Department of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen. The first two papers in this thesis were based on survey data from this study. The research was conducted at the University of Bergen, Faculty of Psychology, Department of Health Promotion and Development (the Hemil Centre), within the Child welfare, equality and inclusion (BLI) research group - a joint research group for Department of Psychosocial Science and the Hemil centre. For training, I was associated with the Graduate School of Human Interaction and Growth (GHIG).

Acknowledgements

I am especially grateful to my supervisor Norman Anderssen, for giving me the opportunity to use data from the project: "Norwegian attitudes towards LGBT persons 2008", for his knowledge, insight and support, for his patience and optimism, for good talks with large lattes, and many laughs. Many thanks also to my co-supervisor Agnes Andenæs for valuable input, important discussions and support throughout the project. Hilde Slåtten and Marguerite Daniel were co-authors of Paper I and III, respectively. For this, I am grateful, thankyou also for valuable support beyond.

The Hemil Centre leadership and my closest colleagues Anette Chr. Iversen, Ragnhild Bjørknes and Marte Knag Fylkesnes have in particular supported me in my work and made an effort to give me space to finish my PhD. For this, I feel very grateful as well as privileged. Many thanks also to the wider Hemil centre community, and members of the BLI research group, for continued academic support and cheering.

Finally, I want to thank family and friends for support and endurance.

Abstract

Background and overall aim: This dissertation aims to explore beliefs and contemporary discourses about children and parenting in Norway. It discusses the possible consequences of these beliefs and discourses for children's and parents' positions and possibilities in society. Based on a social constructionist and discourse framework, this study uses two cases, namely *the Norwegian same-sex adoption rights debate* and *the Norwegian Child Welfare Services (NCWS) meeting with immigrant families*. The rationale for this choice was that the study of how phenomena such as children and parenting are argued and conceptualized in settings that are different or outside of main-stream in particular contexts can illuminate current perceptions of these phenomena in the wider society. In an increasingly globalized world with rapid social changes, the meanings of children and parenting, in various contexts, are continuously negotiated and re-negotiated. Thus, there is a need for more knowledge about how we currently understand children and parenting, on-going processes in relation to developments in this understanding, and what this may mean and imply for children and parents in contemporary Norway.

Research questions and methods: The following research questions were phrased to illuminate the overall aim: (1) What are Norwegian beliefs about equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples and the welfare of children growing up with lesbian and gay parents? (Paper I). The analyses were based on quantitative data from a web-based nationwide survey (n=1246) carried out in April-May 2008, (2) What images of children can be located in popular views on same-sex adoption rights? (Paper II). The analyses were based on responses to an open-ended question in the same data-set. A discourse analytic approach was chosen to explore images of children when respondents in their own words reflected on provisions for same-sex adopting rights in the New Norwegian Marriage Act; (3) What prevailing discourses on children and parenting can be located in newspaper

texts that reflect on and problematize NCWS' interaction with and intervention in immigrant families? (Paper III). The analyses were based on a body of newspaper texts (80) collected in the period 1 January 2011 – 30 April 2013. The texts featured a debated and often contested meeting between NCWS and immigrant parents. The same discourse analytic approach as for paper II was followed. Research question 4: The possible impact on children and parents of subject positions made available by these discourses was discussed based on the empirical findings from paper II and III.

Empirical findings: Paper I: Slightly less than half the sample supported provisions for equal parenting rights in the New Norwegian Marriage Act. Among those not expressing such support, more respondents were unwilling to take a stand or uncertain as opposed to being against such provisions. Negative beliefs about equal parenting rights for same-sex and heterosexual couples were at large, explained by concerns about the welfare of children growing up in lesbian and gay families. In particular, there was a concern for possible bullying and stigmatization of such children. Paper II: Four concurrent discourses were identified: (1) children need to grow up in ordinary families; (2) children need dedicated parenting; (3) children are subjects of own individual rights, and (4) the best interest of the child is paramount. Discourse 4 seemingly had a superior standing, tentatively positioning children with a superior moral and abstract status. Paper III: Four interrelated and concurrent discourses on children and parenting were located: (1) no tolerance for parenting practices involving violence and force; (2) every child is subject of individual - and equal – rights; (3) good parenting is child-focused and dialogue based, and (4) Norwegian child welfare services – authoritative but also contested in family matters. These discourses as it seems, position children and parents in two main ways, children as pivots, and parents as guarantors for children developing proper skills, respectively.

Discussion and conclusions: 1) Concerning children, understandings in all three papers were, as it seems, informed by a rights discourse, positioning children with individual rights and as citizens entitled to enjoy fundamental welfare state ideals such as for example humanitarianism, autonomy and justice. There is a need for vigilance concerning children's position as subject of own individual rights. Watering down this position, may imply less power for children in relation to adults and revived notions of children as mainly appendages to the family. Furthermore, in all three papers understandings concerning children were at the same time informed by a risk discourse, positioning children as vulnerable, in need of adult protection, and typically, pushing notions of a sentimentalized child. Sentimentalizing children will imply poorer ability to realize the various contexts in which many children live and the actual challenges that they experience following various life circumstances. Consequently, there is a risk that society will not act, or focus on aspects that may not be helpful for children in their real-life situation. Importantly, both a rights discourse and a risk discourse, through a pre-occupation with safe-guarding and protecting children, feed into a broader discourse of control, and the need to supervise children, also in the family context.

2) Concerning parenting, findings indicated understandings informed by children as individuals, a need for extensive parental dedication, notions that emotional and relational aspects between children and parents were of particular importance, and the need for parents to acquire certain skills in order to appear child-centered, seemingly a premise for appearing competent. In the same-sex parenting debate it was for example typically argued that same-sex parents perhaps even more so than other parents, affiliate with this thinking and the importance of such skills. In the case of NCWS meeting with immigrant families, findings showed extensive societal interest in assisting and securing these same values, through good information, but not the least through parent education, training and societal supervision.

Processes that standardize and homogenize parenting easily position parents, who may have other experiences and therefore may think different about parenthood, as less valued or deficient. This may also increase feelings of being deviant or "outside" for groups of parents - and counter-act inclusion. Such processes will in general complicate the establishment of productive societal dialogues in this field, and perhaps in particular when meeting with various Norwegian welfare society institutions, where a good dialogue often is considered to be vital for adapted and sustainable help for children and families. Concerning the meeting with NCWS, lack of trust and poor dialogues may typically compel unproductive counter-moves and withdrawal strategies from the involved parents. Some groups of children may thereby have less access to timely, necessary and adapted measures and interventions and consequently, enjoy less societal protection than other groups of children.

Abbreviations

LGBT - persons - Lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transsexual persons

UNCRC – The United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child

CRC – The Convention on the Rights of the Child

NCWS - Norwegian Child Welfare Services

CWS - Child Welfare Services

NCWSA - The Norwegian Child Welfare Services Act

FDA - Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Empirical articles/List of publications

Paper I:

Hollekim, R., Slatten, H. & Anderssen, N. (2012). A Nationwide Study of Norwegian Beliefs About Same-sex Marriage and Lesbian and Gay Parenthood. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy, 9,* 15-30

Paper II

Hollekim, R., Anderssen, N & Andenæs, A. (2014). Images of Children in Views on Same-sex Adoption Rights. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 00,* 1-19

Paper III

Hollekim, R., Anderssen, N. & Daniel, M. (2015). Contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway: Norwegian Child Welfare Services meets immigrant families. *Children and Youth Services Review, 60,* 52-60

Contents

1. Introduction and theoretical framework

1.1 Background

This dissertation aimed to explore beliefs about and contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway and to discuss the possible impact this may have for children's and parents' positions and possibilities in society. I chose two cases for the study, namely, the Norwegian same-sex adoption rights debate and Norwegian Child Welfare Services meetings with immigrant families.

By studying what is different or outside the mainstream within various domains, we learn more about various phenomena as they are understood and argued within those contexts. Importantly, this can also inform us about what is common or adopted knowledge about these phenomena in the wider society. I hope that this study will expand knowledge of current understandings of children and parenting in contemporary Norway and that it will raise awareness concerning contemporary processes that affect various understandings, identify notions that are currently, contested or up for negotiations, and what this may mean and imply for children and parents. More knowledge about this issue is important to understand children's and parents' positions and possibilities in various contexts and at various historical moments. This is also important knowledge for policy makers and various service providers for children and families.

My theoretical perspective involves a social constructionist and discursive framework and a socio-cultural understanding of children and parenting. This perspective assumes that meanings will differ depending on time and context and how various societies or groups of social actors comprehend and argue such concepts (Nortvedt & Grimen, 2004). The meaning of parenting and children's position in society are given further meaning based on certain interests that are promoted or "produced as objects in relation to power" (Walkerdine, 2004,

p. 101). For example, given children's dependent position in relation to adults and adult society, what it means to be a child is often the result of adult power and adults' ascription of meaning to the child. At the same time, images of children and childhood involve "notions of proper parenthood" that have a guiding effect on parents' child-rearing practices (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010b, p. 2). To understand concepts such as children and parenting, it is necessary to study the cultural context in which these concepts are produced and theorized and to ask why particular understandings appear, for what reasons, and what their potential impact may be for children and parents (Burman, 2005, 2008; Walkerdine, 2001, 2004).

In Norway, as in many other parts of the world, family environment and family life are characterized by "unpredictability" and a "rapid pace and complexity of change" (Bowers Andrews, 2002; Stiklestad, 2012). Examples are developments towards more single parenting, more complex and blended family forms, and non-traditional families, such as lesbian and gay parents. Another example is increased mobility and migration and a general development towards more diverse societies, which also applies to traditionally mono-cultural societies such as Norway. This means that families are increasingly on the move, which implies less stable family environments geographically. It also implies a continuous crossing of political as well as cultural borders and consequently, a merging of various former identities. According to Bailey (2011), mobility discourses, for example, contest discourses on childhood, compelling a need for their renegotiations.

In Norway, two current development trends are particularly relevant for my study project. The first is the introduction of equal parenting rights for same-sex and heterosexual couples through a new gender-neutral Marriage Act (2009), the first in a Scandinavian context. Second, following a rapid increase in mobility and migration, there is a development in which immigrant children in Norway receive child welfare and protective services to a disproportionate degree (Allertsen & Kalve, 2006; Kalve & Dyrhaug, 2011). I find these areas

particularly fertile for the study of beliefs about and discourses on children and parenting in a contemporary Norwegian context. Equal parenting rights for heterosexual and same-sex couples as well as a seemingly problematic cultural meeting between many immigrant families and the Norwegian Child Welfare System have given rise to heated public debates about children's needs and interests and children's position in society, what it means to be a parent, and what proper parenting involves. These areas mirror major changes and ongoing struggles of relevance for the way we perceive children and parenting in contemporary Norway.

1.2 Overall theoretical approach

This thesis adopts a social constructionist and discursive framework and a socio-cultural perspective on children and parenting. Discourse analysis is both a theoretical perspective and a methodological approach. Discourse as a theoretical perspective and a socio-cultural understanding of children and parenting, which I will cover in this section, fall within a social constructionist understanding of knowledge and how knowledge is produced. First, I will briefly describe how phenomena in the world are understood and given meaning within a social constructionist perspective. Second, I will present a socio-cultural perspective on children and parenting and a critical approach within this perspective inspired by Walkerdine (2004). From this perspective, one typically focuses on which interests various understandings of children and parenting serve in various contexts and at particular times. Third, I will present the discourse theoretical framework, typical elements associated with a discourse analytic approach, some implications of various approaches, and my own position within this framework.

1.2.1 A social constructionist perspective

Social constructionism suggests that a number of phenomena in the world are characterized by the fact that "their existence, qualities or behaviour cannot be explained without them being recognized and comprehended by a group of social actors" (Nortvedt & Grimen, 2004, p. 146) [My translation]. Social constructionists see the world (or, rather, a number of phenomena in the world) as a product of collective undertakings or actions. According to Guba and Lincoln (2005) "a goodly portion of social phenomena consists of meaning-making activities of groups and individuals around a phenomenon" (p. 197). Although a constructionist may accept the existence of phenomena outside of our perception or cognition (Nortvedt & Grimen, 2004), meaning requires some sort of agreed-upon understanding that is negotiated within a group or community. Typical of this perspective is a critical stance towards seemingly adopted knowledge and our ability to access the "true" nature of social phenomena, an acknowledgement that time and context affect how we perceive the world around us, and, ultimately, understanding as a result of social processes (Gill, 2010). Social constructionist research focuses on illuminating processes in which people explain or understand themselves and the world in which they reside. These meaning- or sense-making activities are central to social constructionists because they shape action as well as inaction. Social constructionists therefore have a particular commitment to investigate the ways in which knowledge, following the ways that various phenomena are constructed, is linked to practices or actions (Burr, 1995).

1.2.2 Sociocultural perspectives on children and parenting

Sociocultural perspectives follow from the understanding that what it means to be a child, what childhood is about, what it means to be a parent and what parenting is about are socially constructed. The implication is that different meanings are attached to these concepts depending on time, space and cultural context. Sociocultural research encompasses various fields and disciplines, such as sociology, social psychology and cultural studies, and has "an

interdisciplinary scope" in which researchers explore, for example, children and children's lives in an eclectic way (Gallacher & Kehily, 2013, p. 213). This study is particularly inspired by a critical approach within socio-cultural understandings, as argued by Walkerdine (2001). Acknowledging that there is always a power aspect related to the production of meanings attached to children and parenting, one must question why particular understandings of children and parenting emerge at a certain point in time, the explanatory force of this emergence, and what purpose it may serve (Walkerdine, 2004). To understand what it means to be a child and what parenting is about, we must understand the discourses and practices in which children and parents are produced as subjects, the way that "positions within those practices are experienced and managed" and the consequences for possibilities and ways of being (Walkerdine, 2004, p. 105). This allows us to understand children and parenting in context and to understand childhood as it appears locally as well as in more global forms (Burman, 2008; Walkerdine, 2004). For example, James and James (2008) claim that the "construction and reconstruction of childhood" is highly dependent on policy discourses related to the "production and reproduction" of culture (p. 3).

In her approach, Walkerdine is inspired by new developments and thinking within developmental psychology as well as sociological perspectives. Importantly, however, Walkerdine (2001) says there is a need to turn away from a traditional understanding of developmental psychology that tells "truths" about what it means to be a child and what childhood is about. Historically, typical connotations ascribed to children from this perspective have been vulnerability and dependence, immaturity, irrationality, notions of incompetence, as well as powerlessness, inferiority and low status. These notions have typically, been idealized and have become a standard for the way we understand children and from which the quality of childhood has been judged across contexts and cultures. One particular problem with this development is that these "truths" privilege a particular model of

normality. Groups of children may thus become the object of pathologization discourses (Burman, 2008; Walkerdine, 2001). Notions of universality and what is considered "normal" with regard to children have had far-reaching regulating effects at various levels of society as well as across societies (Andenæs, 2005).

Developments informed by cultural psychology have increased our understanding of how children and parents are produced and positioned as subjects as well as what this may mean and imply for children and parents in various contexts. From this perspective, human development is understood as a "culturally assisted process" (Hundeide, 2004, p. 2). Psychological processes have a cultural origin, and human characteristics are inscribed through participation and interaction with important others and within contextually established practice forms (Rogoff, 2003). Following this understanding of human development, participants shape and are shaped in an interplay with close others. This interplay is situated and affected by various socio-culturally shaped circumstances (Hundeide, 2002; Hundeide, 2003; Toverud et al., 2002). Consequently, individual ways of understanding, cognitive strategies and emotional orientations are a result of collective historically and culturally shaped patterns. Contributions from cultural psychology perspectives increase our understanding of the way that children's subjectivity comes into existence. These perspectives also capture the way that parenting is shaped by parents themselves as well as by cultural practices rooted in time and context, including the meanings ascribed to children and ideals of childhood (Bruner, 1990; Rogoff, 2003; Ulvik, 2005, 2008).

Sociological approaches have particularly stressed the importance of understanding how child subjects are produced in the present, how children function as competent and active participants in the construction of their own lives and surroundings, and the importance of studying children and childhood in its own right (James & Prout, 2007; Jenks, 2005; Lee, 2001). An increased focus on and recognition of children as subjects with their own individual

rights represents a radical break with earlier notions of the incompetent and dependent child and with children's status as human beings who are not yet fully developed.

Unfortunately, this field of research has been marked by what Walkerdine (2004) labels dualism. For example, within sociological approaches, there has been a tendency to dismiss the value of development theory for understanding children. This has led to an unhelpful separation between the sociological and psychological. A much more fruitful approach is to acknowledge important contributions from both perspectives. Concerning children, this may for example imply to study how phenomena such as cognition and emotions "are produced as part of social practices" (Walkerdine, 2004, p. 103).

1.2.3 A discursive framework

Discourse research has constructionism as its ontological basis. This study is also inspired by elements within post-structuralist thinking (Willig, 2013). Implied here is the view that phenomena in the world are created through individuals' ascription of meaning to them and knowledge as a co-construct by those involved (Hatch, 2002). Phenomena in the world are typically, studied through representations, such as texts.

Discourse research follows from what Gill (2010) calls "the linguistic turn" in social science (p. 173). There is a focus on language's "productive potential" and an understanding that language both mirrors and helps to create representations of reality (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Willig, 2008, p. 92). Typically, discourse research involves specific issues or themes (Gill, 2010; Wetherell, 2006). Following the notion that language is representational and constructive as well as constructed, discourse embraces a form of social action that is functional or *does* things, such as the ways in which discourse is organized "to make itself persuasive" (Gill, 2010, pp. 174-176) and the way discourse creates competing versions of social reality. Consequently, there are elements of contestation or struggle over meaning in the concept of discourse.

Choosing the preferred discourse research for any project "involves a complex balancing act" between the research focus, the data to be collected, the academic discipline and the appropriateness of various discourse traditions, such as discursive psychology or post-structuralist thinking, linguistics, or ethnography (Wetherell, 2006, p. 380). However, two main traditions or versions of discourse analysis are commonly accepted: one may have a particular interest in *discursive resources* or *discursive practices* (Potter & Wetherell, 1995). *Discursive resources* refer to the resources people draw upon when they talk and write, based on the understanding that discourses have a regulating effect. *Discursive practices* "order the shape of written and spoken discourse; they order the features which appear and the selection of words and phrases" (Wetherell, 2006, p. 22). Consequently, in the analysis of discourse, one can focus on mapping more general or broader discourses circulating within specific domains in society or on how people use discourse in every-day discursive practices.

 There is however an acknowledgement that people, in discursive practices, draw on larger societal structures and likewise, that implicit in perspectives focusing on broader more abstract discourses, there is an idea that "these discourses are created, maintained and changed in myriads of everyday practices" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 20).

Importantly, depending on the theoretical stance and analytical focus, different questions will arise. For example, within discourse psychology, research questions are typically related to people's active use of discourse to accomplish something in a particular context, or "the performative qualities of discourse" (Willig, 2008, pp. 97-98). In contrast, discourse inspired by Foucauldian thinking will focus more on available discursive resources and ask "what kind of objects and subjects are created through discourse" and how various subject positions for (groups of) people may regulate and limit possibilities for action (Willig, 2008, pp. 97-98). Although Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) caution against reducing the complexity of discourse theoretical approaches, they claim that differences between approaches are more a question of

degree than of qualitative differences. The value of sharp distinctions between various versions of discourse analysis is debated, and some suggest that combined focuses may be preferable (Potter & Wetherell, 1995; Willig, 2008, 2013).

My approach in this project is informed by an understanding of *discourse* that is inspired by elements of Foucauldian thinking. Thus, *discourse* can be understood as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about   - a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (Hall, 2006, p. 72), or "discourse as a system for representation and on rules and discursive practices producing meaningful statements, statements which at the same time produce and define our knowledge about the topics in question contexts" (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008, p. 145).

According to Foucault, "discourses, in a systematic way, form the object and the subject of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 48). Discourses hold subject positions for various speakers. A subject position provides specific "ways-of being" (Willig, 2008, pp. 97-98) and incorporates both "a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within a structure of rights and duties for those who use that repertoire" (Davies & Harré, 2001, p. 262). Thus, subject positions offer both "a perspective from where to view a version of reality" and "a moral location within spoken interaction" (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008, p. 102). Discourses have implications for power by making available certain "positions within networks of meaning that speakers can take up" and place others within (Willig, 2008, p. 116). In this way, subject positions both shape and constrain what is desirable and possible in addition to providing a sense of "who we are" (Burr, 1995, p. 145), having implications for individuals' subjective experiences (subjectivity). Discourses thus construct social as well as psychological realities. By adopting or being given specific subject positions, individuals see and understand the world from specific vantage points, affecting what can be thought as well as experienced (Davies & Harré, 1999; Willig, 2008). Typically, it is not immediately

disclosed which interests various discourses serve and level of consciousness between various actors regarding this. According to Bratberg (2014) discourse is: "immaterial, impersonal and rests over a collective, which in itself is incapable of grasping its premises or scope" (Bratberg, 2014, p. 48) [My translation].

1.3 Central concepts

1.3.1 Children and childhood, parenting and parenthood

This project focuses on and uses the terms "children" and "parenting" while acknowledging that these concepts are closely related to (or rather, intertwined with) childhood and parenthood, respectively. Importantly, children/childhood and parenting/parenthood are not separate domains. Changing ideals about children/childhood have consequences for and are linked to changing ideals about parenting and parenthood and are "simultaneously negotiated in the relevant institutional arenas" (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010b, p. 2). However, the concepts also involve different things. The child is an embodied, individual being and a non-adult (Archard, 2004; Gittins, 2004). To be a child is a transitory state, but its length is culturally defined. Perhaps more importantly, the concept of the child has historically been associated with ideas such as naturalness and universality (James & Prout, 2007), carrying connotations such as physiological and psychological immaturity, neediness, dependency, inferiority and powerlessness.

Childhood is understood in relation to ideas and conceptions of what children should be and what they mean to adult society. In addition, the way that childhood is constructed affects what it means to be a child and the way that children are positioned in society. The concept of childhood is not related to individual children but focuses on "the general state of being a child" (Gittins, 2004, p. 27). The concept connotes a constructed social state "shaped by everyday actions as well as legal rules" (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010a, p. 12). It further suggests a separate social group or a distinct category. Modern conceptions of childhood carry

connotations such as separateness and differentness from adults or the adult world (Ansell, 2005), a lack of capacities, a state of incompetence relative to being an adult, and children as becomings (Archard, 2004).

"Parenting" as a specific term emerged recently, around 1950. It may be understood as the culturally relevant acts and practices for bringing up children or "a particular historically and socially situated form of childrearing" (Faircloth, Hoffmann, & Layne, 2013, p. 1). Parents perform or enact on these comprehensions and practices (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010a). Parenthood refers to various cultural and social expectations connected to people who decide to become parents (Hennum, 2002). Similar to the way we think of childhood, parenthood is understood as "socially constructed notions linked to the state of being a parent" (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010a, p. 11). Point of departure for this thesis is an understanding of parenting as increasingly linked to specific skills and the need for a certain level of expertise. Valid skills and actions are typically defined and led by experts and often based in research on child development (Faircloth, 2014).

1.3.2 Lesbian and gay parenting

Although the number of children in Norway growing up with parents who identify as lesbian and gay is unknown, there is reason to believe that the numbers are fairly high and increasing (Fjær & Backe-Hansen, 2013). By questioning gender norms, sexuality and family, the unique relations and contexts of lesbian and gay parents challenge typical notions of family life and parenthood, particularly "gendered notions of the family" (Goldberg, 2010, p. 10). Knowledge about these processes informs us about the way that society understands and continuously produces what is considered natural in this respect (Mühleisen & Røthing, 2009) and defines which norms and actions are forbidden or less valued. For example, until less than three decades ago, children who were born out of wedlock or in homosexual relationships were still considered "illegitimate" (Annfeldt, 2007).

 Historically, particular interest has been given to the need to regulate sexuality and reproduction (Foucault, 1999). Notions as well as politics concerning family life in Norway have been firmly grounded in heteronormativity (Ohnstad, 2008). This has established what are considered to be acceptable families, parenthood, and reproduction arrangements. Control over women's reproductive ability also has a long tradition in Norway (Ohnstad, 2008). This can be further illustrated by the fact that equal parenting rights were the last of a number of provisions introduced in Norwegian law over the last decades that aimed to secure equal rights for people with non-normative sexualities. Importantly, lesbian and gay parents are a heterogeneous group. Like heterosexual individuals and couples, they live their lives in diverse and complex ways (Goldberg, 2010). Thus, they also vary concerning whether, how and to what degree they challenge notions of sexuality, gender and family.

1.3.3 Beliefs

The concept of belief is important and frequently discussed in this project, particularly in relation to the research aims of Paper I. I will therefore briefly reflect on how I understand this concept.

In the present context, I will utilize the concept of belief as overlapping with important aspects of an attitude, especially the cognitive part. An attitude, for my purpose - *a belief* - may be defined as "a unified assessment of an object of thought" (Böhner & Wanke, 2002, p. 5). Anderssen and Slåtten (2008) say that attitudes (-*beliefs*-) "may be conscious or unconscious, stable or transitory, composite or simple, important or not important for the person involved" (p. 27) (my translation) and may be clearly expressed or implicit. In addition individuals may also hold parallel and conflicting beliefs about the same phenomenon, something Herek (2006) claims is typical in the case of equal rights for homosexuals.

In this project, beliefs, particularly in relation to the same-sex parenting debate, are understood as part of a broader set of norms concerning, for example, family, femininity and

masculinity, which are concepts that traditionally strongly influence the way we understand children and parents (Anderssen & Slåtten, 2008). Beliefs about certain phenomena typically have broader relevance, often indicating what is allowed or forbidden in various contexts. Acknowledging that there is no one-to-one accordance between a person's beliefs and the way a person may act in various contexts, beliefs nevertheless have regulating power.

Importantly, based on the reflections above, this study understands beliefs as discursively produced expressions that are characterized by complexity, inconsistency and ambiguity and that do not feature a "stable mental attitude towards a phenomenon" (Anderssen & Slåtten, 2008, p. 29) [My translation]. Research clearly indicates that there has been a development towards a more accepting and inclusive view of what constitutes a family (Anderssen & Slåtten, 2013; Krane-Hansen, 2014). For example, on 11 April 2016, the Norwegian church introduced a common marriage liturgy for heterosexual and homosexual couples.

The concepts of belief and attitude have much in common (see comment above) and are often used interchangeably, as I do to some degree in this paper. However, the meaning of the concept "attitude", more than the concept of "belief", involves, typically, a predisposition or *readiness to act* in certain directions (positive or negative ways) towards persons, objects or circumstances.

1.3.4 Immigrant families/parents

It is common to define first-generation immigrants and individuals with parents born abroad as immigrants. On 1 January 2016, the immigrant population comprised 16.3% of the population of Norway, or a total of 848.207 individuals. Of these, 7.2% were immigrants from the EU/EØS, the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Migrant workers from Poland were by far the largest single group. Among the rest, the largest group came from Asian countries. Most migrate from Somalia, Eritrea, Iraq and Afghanistan. Similar to many other Western

European countries, Norway has recently received high numbers of Syrian refugees (approximately 10.000). At present, 1 out of 3 citizens in Oslo have an immigrant background (Statistics Norway, 2016).

A disproportionate number of immigrant children have received supportive and protective measures in Norway (Allertsen & Kalve, 2006). We have also seen a particular development in which NCWS' mandate and working methods are increasingly and at times vigorously, challenged by individuals, NGOs and state authorities outside of Norway.

Importantly, the immigrant population is manifold and varied with regard to parenthood, notions about children, understandings of good parenting and the parenting practices they strive for. Nevertheless, both individuals and groups bring with them a variety of norms and understandings concerning children and parenting that may challenge and illuminate Norwegian notions of the position of the child and desirable parenting practices in a Norwegian context. Some examples relevant for the research aims of this study are discussed in the next paragraph.

Many immigrant parents, including those from other European countries, are unfamiliar with Norwegian understandings of childhood and autonomy, the particular relationship between individuality and societal responsibility, ideals of equality and the particular Norwegian idea that normality equals universality (Vike & Eide, 2009). Others may come from family- and kin-organized societies with upbringing practices characterized by more collectivistic thinking. Central values often include obedience, the ability to conform, loyalty to the wider family's interest and willingness to work to realize this, and a particular responsibility for each family member to protect the family and kin's honour and reputation (Puntervold Bø, 2008). Upbringing practices may be more patriarchal, authoritarian, and gendered. Within some groups, girls are typically subjected to increased restrictions and control in relation to

behaviour, especially with regard to propriety (Bredal, 2009; A. Engebrigtsen & Fuglerud, 2007).

1.3.5 Children as subjects of rights

According to Archard (2004), rights in relation to children have evolved from Western thinking on individual freedom and autonomy. However, rights have also developed from notions of children "as unable to act in their own interests" and therefore in need of others (typically public institutions) to secure important values such as health, well-being and "freedom from violence and cruelty" (Ansell, 2005, p. 226). Rights for children are incorporated in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which broadly ensures various individual rights linked to three areas of particular importance for children: protection, participation and provision (Verhellen, 2000). In addition, the CRC includes some superior and transverse principles: non-discrimination (§2), the best interests of the child (§ 3), the right to life and development (§ 6), and children's right to be heard (§ 12). The entirety of the CRC was made Norwegian law in 2003, underlining the standing individual rights of children in Norway. Importantly, basic human rights for children, for example participation rights, have also, since 2014, been included in the Norwegian Constitution.

Embedded in the CRC is a notion of both a dependent and independent child, which implies an ambiguous position for children as subjects of rights (Lidèn, 2004; Opdal, 2002). Further, having rights presupposes some ability to pursue one's rights (Archard, 2004). This is more complicated and less the case for children compared to adults. Children's rights concern the parents as well as the state. In the CRC, for example, rights for children are dependent on the child's age and maturity. The state is given the responsibility of overseeing and ensuring that children's individual rights are accommodated (Lidèn, 2004). Although it is reasonable that adult responsibility in relation to children will vary throughout childhood and adolescence,

this leaves children and youth as subjects of rights vulnerable to adult power and adults' own interests (Burman, 2008; Stern, 2007). In the CRC, children are only assigned rights. In contrast, in the African Charter on the Rights of the Child, for example, children also have duties (§ 8).

There is no hierarchy of rights in the CRC (Archard, 2004). Furthermore, it may not be immediately clear what children's interests are, or children may have conflicting interests. Importantly, although it is formulated as universal, the CRC allows for some cultural variation. It is possible for countries to remove themselves from certain rights in the CRC as long as this does not counter-act the overall aim of the convention. Although it is universalistic in spirit, these inherent characteristics of the CRC illustrate how various children's rights must be negotiated, as well as weighed. This is often accomplished by guardians but is also accomplished by state institutions following their particular mandate, when society grants individuals a status as subjects of rights.

1.3.6 The welfare state and child welfare services

Norway is an example of a social-democratic regime that is further characterized by the promotion of equality and equalization, universalism and a pre-emptive nature. The state takes direct responsibility for its citizens' welfare and well-being, focusing on capacity building for individual independence and individual rights (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Leira, 2008). Leira (2008) elaborates that since the 1970s, there has been a distinct "shift in family and gender ideology", a development towards social rights for both children and parents and a so-called "caring state", and, closely related, "a renegotiation and redrawing of the boundaries between the public and the private – between state and parents" (p. 81). For the last 25 years, gender equality has been a focus in welfare reforms in Norway (Berven & Ravneberg, 2012).

Institutions and services constitute an important part of the welfare state. A typical feature of the Nordic welfare models is modern family legislation (Eydal & Kröger, 2010; Kojan, 2011). In Norway, there has been an extensive expansion of services provided by the child welfare system in recent decades. Children enjoy welfare services both as part of the family and as individuals. The Norwegian Child Welfare System is protective as well as supportive when addressing children at risk and undertakes compulsory action when necessary (Skivenes, 2015). The system combines family services with a mandatory reporting system. It is needs based and child-centric, with a particular focus on assisting parents in their child-rearing efforts (Skivenes, 2011b). Children are addressed as individuals, and there are high ambitions on the part of the public with regard to ensuring proper and necessary help for children at risk. The Norwegian Child Welfare System and services are outlined in the Norwegian Child Welfare Services Act (NCWSA) of 1992. There is a dual focus on protecting children from abuse and neglect and ensuring measures to increase opportunities for children at risk. Children's position as subjects with their own individual rights are clearly featured in the law, such as in the incorporation of provisions ensuring the right for children to be heard on matters of concern to them (§6-4).

The responsibility for investigating referrals concerning possible abuse and neglect, suggesting necessary measures and follow-up are placed at the municipal level in Norway, and performed by front-line staff. Although every municipality is required by law to have a child welfare administration, there are no specific regulations concerning the size, type or level of competence. Because half of Norway's municipalities have fewer than 5000 inhabitants, it is not uncommon for this type of work to be performed by small child welfare administrations consisting of two or three employees (Heggen, Rød, & Jørgensen, 2013).

1.4 Review of relevant research

Empirical studies on children and parenting relevant for the research aim were searched through databases such as Web of Science, ProQuest and Psych Info. Some searches were in particular linked to the two relevant cases, the same-sex parenting right debate and NCWS meeting with immigrant families. The search period was delimited to a five-year period between 2011 and 2015. Standard search strategies were done based on key words. A variety of words and synonyms similar to the various key words were included. Synonyms chosen for belief were for example: attitude, view, discourse, opinion, perception, notions etc. I also studied key journals (for example Journal of GLBT studies), reference lists of particularly relevant empirical articles and web sites of various relevant Norwegian research institutes, for example Norwegian Social Research (NOVA). Beliefs about and discourses on children and parenting in various contexts are influenced by a range of social processes. Our review includes only some areas guided by our research questions.

1.4.1 Parenting

In this section, I will review empirical research concerning parenting and prevalent meanings attached to this concept. Included here is research related to notions of parenting as an all-absorbing activity and research within this field using a critical approach when trying to illuminate how current parenting responsibilities and the present position of parents are understood. In this last part, examples are mainly from research related to child and family social services in a Norwegian context.

Valued child-rearing goals in a Norwegian and Nordic context are typically found to be self-maximization and individual achievements, and children should be raised to become confident and happy (Engebrigtsen, 2003; Tulviste, Mizera, De Geer, & Tryggvason, 2007).

In order to achieve such goals, children need to become assertive and self-sufficient, which further implies good social skills and creative abilities (Gillies, 2005; Hennum, 2010). Good parenting is still typically understood within discourses informed by traditional developmental psychology (Andenæs, 2004, 2005; Juul, 2010) and at present, particularly attachment theory (Faircloth, 2014). Discourses on parenthood in a Norwegian context circles around love and intimacy, and a personal relationship between parents and children characterized by close and intense interaction (Hennum, 2002).

Studying Norwegian culture of equality based on survey data on good parenthood in a countrywide sample, strategically chosen based on place of residence, and comparing to findings from Israel, Moshuus (2004) found that Norwegian youths, as well as their parents, highly valued the importance of parents exercising good care. In addition, it was thought to be important that parents show respect for young people and practice democracy in every-day life, indicating a strong standing for ideals linked to equality in Norway. In newspaper texts related to the themes parenthood and parental responsibility in Finland, to be caring parents were also in particularly highlighted as valuable (Böök & Perälä-Littunen, 2008). Caring parents meant to be loving, attentive and trusting, open with and communicating well with their children, being good models and set necessary limits. In this study, the authors also identified a negotiating or a trade-off aspect, between youths and their parents concerning responsibility, and thereby a presence of complementarity. Ulvik (2008) pointed at similar processes in an interview study with Norwegian foster families. Foster parents for example, particularly expected reciprocity in, and held high ambitions concerning the personal and "bargained" quality of the parent-child relationship.

Parenting as an all-absorbing activity or "total parenting" (Smith, 2010, p. 357) has been increasingly researched. Studying discourses on intensive parenting in Spain through focus groups with children and semi-structured interviews with parents, Espino (2012) found a

particular emphasis on children's future (for example education) and a present emphasis on risk and uncertainty, followed by a need for protection, supervision and control of children. Drawing on a sample of qualitative studies with parents from many different social backgrounds, Gillies (2005) revealed "high level of worry associated with middle-class perceptions of choice and risk" (p. 849). Further findings indicated that it is important for children to maximize their potential and consequently, there is a heavy burden on parents who must facilitate this through at all times making the right choices and decisions. New meanings of parenting can further be illustrated by Jensen (2013), studying middle-class mothers reflecting on and discussing the program *Supernanny.* More than picking up skills and advice as such, these mothers used the program for own identity work, reflecting on and defining parental self.

Another field of research relevant for this study is how parents are being assigned more social responsibility and consequently, have become increasingly more a target for state interest, supervision and intervention (Gillies, 2011). In a Norwegian context, such processes have for example, been studied in relation to child and family social services. Based on the history of Norwegian child welfare since 1945, in her study, Ericsson (2000) found two parallel aims in the work of NCWS first, to protect and emancipate children and second, NCWS as a tool for controlling how families lived their lives. Middle-class values (Hennum, 2010; Vagli, 2009), in combination with individually oriented psychological knowledge regimes, diagnostic and pathological thinking (Andenæs, 2004, 2005; Juul, 2010) have been found to be point of departure when assessing good parenting in this impact area, further guiding the focus on certain kinds of deviation and risks, also paving the way for subtle control of certain (groups of) parents through social work intervention in families. Based on a historical review on laws and policies in the Norwegian child welfare field during the 20 century, Picot (2014) found a change from explicit state control of families to currently, the presence of much more implicit

and hidden control strategies embedded in state measures and interventions in vulnerable families. Findings from several studies in this field have further indicated that main aim for intervention is to normalize parenting and parenting practices, "to confirm and reinforce existing social order» (Hennum, 2011, p. 344), making interventions particularly relevant for families that in some way diverge from the norm, are disadvantaged or marginalized (Gillies, 2008; Hennum, 2011; Juul, 2011).

1.4.2 Rights for children

Research addressing questions concerning the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and children as subjects of their own individual rights is extensive as well as diverse. I will review some of the research in this field related to children and participation. Studies in this research field typically illuminate children's individuality and the autonomous, competent and dignified child, and shows how children as individual subjects of rights are increasingly reflected in social policy, law and regulations (Sandberg, 2004; Such & Walker, 2005; Tisdall, Davies, & Gallagher, 2008; Vandenbroeck & Bouverne-De Bie, 2006).

Overall, findings show that it is considered valuable for children to have the right to participate in matters of importance to them (Pinkney, 2011; Vis, Holtan, & Thomas, 2012). In child protection proceedings, for example, successful participation for children may improve their safety and well-being and may increase the extent to which various care arrangements are successful (Vis, Strandbu, Holtan, & Thomas, 2011). However, children and youth are not sufficiently heard or involved in such cases and proceedings (Magnussen & Skivenes, 2015; Vis & Thomas, 2009). Such findings are supported by children's and youths' own voices (Aubrey & Dahl, 2006; Kjelaas & Eide, 2015).

Obstacles to realizing children's participation rights and thereby, including children in matters of importance to them have been researched from different angles. As it seems, these obstacles are manifold, as well as messy. Often, they have also been found to compromise

children's rights to participation (Franklin & Sloper, 2009; Tisdall & Davies, 2004). Typically, challenges identified are related to different understandings of the child, particularly notions of vulnerability and a need for extensive adult protection. Studies show that such notions are often informed by developmentalism (Christiansen, 2012; Pinkney, 2011; van Bijleveld, Dedding, & Bunders-Aelen, 2015; Vis et al., 2012) as well as uncertainty and debates regarding what participation rights should and may mean in various contexts (McLeod, 2006; van Bijleveld et al., 2015; Vis et al., 2012).

Within child protective work, the realization of children's participation rights relies on institutional and organizational factors, caseworkers' own values and experiences (particularly the stability and quality of the relationship between the caseworker and the child) (Christiansen, 2012; Gallagher, Smith, Hardy, & Wilkinson, 2012; van Bijleveld et al., 2015), and how child-friendly the processes of including children are. This issue is found to be closely related to caseworkers' skills, competencies and general professionalism (Vis et al., 2012; Vis et al., 2011). Importantly, several studies show that being heard or taking part does not necessarily have an effect on children's outcomes (Vis & Fossum, 2013; Vis & Thomas, 2009).

1.4.3 Children, parenting and same-sex parenthood

In this section, I will review recent research on beliefs about same-sex parenthood. This is a research tradition that often, relies on attitude surveys.

Studies show that there, in the Western world, have been developments towards a more accepting and inclusive view of what may constitute a family and how families live their lives (Anderssen & Slåtten, 2013; Clements & Field, 2014; Witeck, 2014). Although popular attitudes towards same-sex parenthood in general are becoming more positive (Averett, Strong-Blakeney, Nalavany, & Ryan, 2011; Clements & Field, 2014; Dempsey & Critchley, 2010; Krane-Hansen, 2012; Rye & Meaney, 2010), societal doubts and concerns related to

same-sex parenting remain (Dempsey & Critchley, 2010; Farr, Forssell, & Patterson, 2010; Gato & Fontaine, 2015; Herbstrith, Tobin, Hesson-McInnis, & Schneider, 2013; Rye & Meaney, 2010; Webb & Chonody, 2014). Findings indicate a seemingly viable understanding that heterosexual parents and hetero-normative parenting are superior (and that the parental competence of these groups is better) compared to alternative family forms. However, to an increasing extent, studies show that heterosexual and homosexual adults are equally capable as parents (Bos, van Balen, & van den Boom, 2004; Lavner, Waterman, & Peplau, 2012; Ryan, Bedard, & Gertz, 2007; Tasker, 2007).

Concerning demographics, women are more inclined to have positive beliefs about, favour or support same-sex parenthood and equal parenting rights for same-sex and heterosexual couples. In fact, compared to men, women are consistently and considerably more positive towards same-sex parenting/parenthood and same-sex adoption rights (Baiocco, Nardelli, & Pezzuti, 2013; Becker & Todd, 2013; Costa et al., 2014; Dempsey & Critchley, 2010; Gato & Fontaine, 2015; Gavriel-Fried & Shilo, 2015; Ryan et al., 2007; Rye & Meaney, 2010; Vecho, Poteat, & Shneider, 2015). Although the picture may be complex, many of these studies indicate the presence of important aspects related to gender. Higher education is also found to be associated with positive attitudes towards same-sex parenthood (Averett et al., 2011; Becker & Todd, 2013; Dempsey & Critchley, 2010; Gavriel-Fried & Shilo, 2015; Schwartz, 2010). This is also the case for people with higher income levels and those who are white/Caucasian (Becker & Todd, 2013; Ryan et al., 2007), those who identify with left-wing political parties (Dempsey & Critchley, 2010), and those who define themselves as secular (Gavriel-Fried & Shilo, 2015) and either do not attend church or attend infrequently (Dempsey & Critchley, 2010).

People who are less inclined to have positive beliefs about, favour or support same-sex parenthood and equal parenting rights for such groups are those of older age (Averett et al., 2011; Baiocco et al., 2013; Becker & Todd, 2013; Schwartz, 2010), those who identify or associate with conservative right-wing parties (Averett et al., 2011; Baiocco et al., 2013; Costa et al., 2014; Dempsey & Critchley, 2010; Ryan et al., 2007), and those who are socially or religiously conservative and attend church more frequently (Averett et al., 2011; Becker & Todd, 2013; Costa et al., 2014; Dempsey & Critchley, 2010; Ryan et al., 2007). In addition to gender, political ideology and the extent to which individuals are active in their church are variables that strongly predict attitudes towards same-sex adoption (Schwartz, 2010).

1.4.3.1 The welfare of children growing up in same-sex parenting households

Intertwined with the notion of superiority regarding heterosexual parenting is the view that this context is preferable for children's welfare and healthy development. Views that children thrive better when they are raised by their biological parents are still found (Lamb, 2012). Further, findings show the presence of popular beliefs that children who grow up in same-sex households face considerably more challenges then children living in other family arrangements (Becker & Todd, 2013; Costa et al., 2014; Gato & Fontaine, 2015). These beliefs are seemingly still viable despite growing empirical evidence that children with lesbian and gay parents perform as well as other children with regard to important health, psychological and social outcomes (Averett, Nalavanty, & Ryan, 2009; Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Crowl, Ahn, & Baker, 2008; Fjær & Backe-Hansen, 2013; Gartrell & Bos, 2010; Golombok & Badger, 2010; Golombok et al., 2014; Lavner et al., 2012; Patterson, 2009; Rivers, Noret, & Poteat, 2008; Rosenfeld, 2010; van Gelderen, Bos, Gartrell, Hermanns, & Perrin, 2012). Furthermore, consistent with other findings about child and adolescent development, the qualities of family relations, such as parenting attitudes, skills and practices (and particularly child-parent attachment) rather than the gender of parents' partners "are

consistently related to developmental outcomes" and to children's and youth's well-being and life satisfaction (Blyth, Burr, & Farrand, 2010; Bos, van Balen, & van den Boom, 2007; Erich, Kanenberg, Case, Allen, & Bogdanes, 2009; Farr et al., 2010; Goldberg, 2010; Patterson, 2006, p. 242). Krane-Hansen (2014), interviewing Norwegian youths about experiences growing up with lesbian mothers, found that this debate is still very much characterized by strongly held but weakly founded opinions.

Particularly evident in this field of research is findings related to a fear of negative consequences following the absence of a male or female influence in children's lives (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Clarke, 2007). Several studies have found that often argued fears are that children with lesbian and gay parents will experience teasing or stigmatization by the wider community (Fairtlough, 2008; Robitaille & Saint-Jacques, 2009; Stefansen, Hegna, Valset, von Soest, & Mossige, 2009). Findings from children's own voices in this field confirm that this is something they have to relate to and handle (Krane-Hansen, 2014; van Gelderen, Gartrell, Bos, van Rooij, & Hermanns, 2012). Importantly, Anderssen and Slåtten (2013), in their country-wide survey on sexual orientation and living conditions for LGBT persons, found that in Norway, less concern for the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents was reported in 2013 than in 2008.

1.4.4 Dimensions and typical themes raised when immigrant families meet CWS

The immigrant population in Western societies generally live at higher levels of poverty than the average population does (Kesler, 2015). Distinct inequalities have also been found in the Scandinavian countries despite a fairly extensive refugee integration policy (Valenta & Bunar, 2010). The immigrant population experiences more obstacles in relation to gaining full access to various welfare state benefits (Hooijer & Picot, 2015). It is also well documented from findings in a Nordic context that ethnic minority families in contact with CWS are socio-

economically disadvantaged (Staer & Bjørknes, 2015; Vinnerljung, Franzen, Gustafsson, & Johansson, 2008).

The extent to which children with ethnic minority parents receive equal treatment or experience specific disadvantages or discrimination is becoming increasingly questioned and problematized (Bredal, 2009; Chand, 2008; Fylkesnes, Iversen, Bjørknes, & Nygren, 2015; Hofman, 2010). Križ and Skivenes (2010a), interviewing child welfare workers in Norway and in the UK on how they perceive the challenges of minority parents, found that "Norwegian workers embrace a racism-blind, individualistic, change-oriented perspective" in their work with immigrant parents (p. 2634). Social workers report communication difficulties in their efforts to understand ethnic minority families that seriously affect their ability to provide rich information and build trust (Križ & Skivenes, 2010b; Skivenes, 2011a). Another study further showed that Norwegian social workers, for example, find it challenging the way immigrant parents see child-rearing and child-rearing responsibilities (Križ & Skivenes, 2009). While social workers in the UK "focus on practicing in anti-oppressive ways", in their professional approaches, Norwegian child welfare workers "act as cultural instructors" who transmit Norwegian values (Križ & Skivenes, 2009, p. 4). Importantly, in Norway, the extent to which children succeed in various societal arenas is seen as the responsibility of the parents (Križ & Skivenes, 2010a; Skivenes & Križ, 2012).

Findings from several studies have indicated that immigrant parents in contact with NCWS, experience a lack of cultural understanding, competence and respect, a devaluation of knowledge and practices that are "unfamiliar" in Norway, communication problems, an unwillingness to enter into dialogue around children's needs and interests and good parenting, and, finally, that many feel great fear in this meeting (Aadnesen, 2012; Fylkesnes et al., 2015; Paulsen, Thorshaug, & Berg, 2014).

In Norway, as well as in the other Nordic countries, ethnic disproportionality in the child welfare system has been increasingly focused. Compared to 2009, there was, generally, a considerable increase of 23% in the number of children taken into care in 2012. Immigrant children/youth taken into care increased the most, from 13% to 19%. Importantly, these numbers do not distinguish between cases handled in court and voluntary placements. They also include a considerable number of single under-aged asylum seekers. Broken down, and interestingly, the numbers also show that fewer children/youths born in Norway to immigrant parents are taken into care by court orders (5.5%) compared to the ethnic Norwegian population (6.9%) (Dyrhaug & Sky, 2015/16). In fact, for care orders (not counting placement without formal care orders), these rates are currently approximately equal for immigrant and non-immigrant children (Skivenes, 2015). The considerable difference is mainly due to immigrant children proportionally receiving more preventive measures or in-home help than non-immigrant children (Dyrhaug & Sky, 2015/16). Finally, findings show that after adjusting for various socio-demographic variables, ethnicity per se has seemingly little or perhaps no statistical effect on child welfare involvement or the numbers of children taken into care (Franzen, Vinnerljung, & Hjern, 2008; Staer & Bjørknes, 2015; Vinnerljung et al., 2008).

2. Research questions

The main aim of this thesis was to explore beliefs about and contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway and to discuss the possible impact or consequences of concurrent beliefs and discourses on children's and parents' positions and possibilities in society. I chose to study this issue based on two cases: the case of the Norwegian same-sex adoption rights debate and the case of NCWS meetings with immigrant families. Both of these cases concern children and family life practices, values and structures that diverge from what may be considered mainstream in a Norwegian context. In this partially outside position, they represent areas at which childhood and parenthood are at stake.

Specifically, this study sheds light on the overall aim by asking the following research questions in three papers.

Paper I:

- What are Norwegian beliefs about equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples and the welfare of children growing up with lesbian and gay parents?

Paper II:

- What images of children can be identified in popular beliefs related to the case of the Norwegian same-sex adoption rights debate?

- What possible subject positions are made available by current discourses in this debate, and what are the possible impacts for children based on various subject positions?

Paper III:

- Which prevailing discourses on children and parenting can be located in newspaper texts on Norwegian Child Welfare Services' interactions with immigrant families?
- What is the possible impact on children and parents based on various subject positions made available by these discourses?

3. Methodology

First, I will briefly reflect on why I believe that the overall design of the study has elements of a mixed methods approach. Second, I will discuss the case concept and present the chosen cases. Third, the quantitative design and procedures and the qualitative design and procedures are presented. Finally, the validity, reliability, trustworthiness, reflexivity, pre-conceptions, generalizability, transferability, and ethical considerations are discussed.

3.1 A mixed methods design

Paper I is based on quantitative data from a country-wide, web-based survey that assessed beliefs about same-sex parenthood. Papers II and III are based on qualitative data (texts) from an open-ended question on this survey and from a sample of newspaper texts featuring and debating NCWS meetings with immigrant families, respectively. Taken together, the overall research design of this thesis may be characterized as a mixed methods design.

Mixed methods are characterized by eclecticism or methodological pluralism (Burke Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) and involve the collection of quantitative as well as qualitative data. Although the definition of a mixed methods design is debated (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007) within mixed methods approaches, methods can be mixed at any time throughout a study, and parts of larger studies can be published separately, not necessarily only as a whole (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In the current study, a quantitative and a qualitative approach were combined in a sequential and partly, emergent way (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). For example, the survey findings from Paper I showed that concern for children's welfare was a main predictor of a negative stance on the question of same-sex adoption rights. These findings spurred (informed) research questions for Paper II, whereas the findings from the first two papers further inspired research questions for Paper III.

Survey research aims to obtain quantitative descriptions of trends or attitudes in a population by studying a sample of that population. Data are typically collected through questionnaires. The purpose is to generalize findings from a sample to the larger population (Grønmo, 2004). Qualitative research is used across disciplines and implies a broad range of designs and research methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research is naturalistic, descriptive and involves a concern with process as well as outcomes (Bogdan & Knopp Biklen, 2007). Researchers in this field are particularly occupied with the construction and negotiation of meaning and "the quality and texture of experience" (Willig, 2008, p. 15; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). Because of the interpretive nature of qualitative research, the researcher plays a key role in this type of research (Cresswell, 2014).

I believe this design, which encompasses both quantitative and qualitative approaches, provides a stronger understanding of the issues addressed in this study (Cresswell, 2014). First, to gain insight into current attitudes towards same-sex parenting rights and beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents, a country-wide, web-based questionnaire was considered particularly suitable. The survey provided a broad picture of current popular beliefs in this field. A comparison of the findings with earlier studies in this field may also indicate some developmental trends concerning these beliefs in the Norwegian population. Paper I, which is based on quantitative data from this survey, was analysed, written and submitted for publication before the next phase of the study began.

The research questions in Paper II were inspired by the findings in Paper I. In particular, the findings indicating an awaiting attitude towards same-sex adoption rights and a distinct concern for the welfare of children growing up in same-sex families made it interesting to further explore images of children in this debate. A qualitative and discourse analytic approach to the text data from the survey was deemed appropriate.

In Paper III, the aim was to gain a fuller and more varied understanding of children and parenting in a Norwegian context. Here, in addition to studying the concept of children, I included a particular focus on parenting by studying current discourses on children and parenting in newspaper texts featuring and problematizing Norwegian Child Welfare Services meetings with immigrant families. In Paper III, I used the same qualitative and discourse analytic approach as in Paper II.

Importantly, based on the exploratory focus of the overall research aims, qualitative research methods were given more weight in the overall design (Papers II and II). The main topic, beliefs about and discourses on children and parenting in a Norwegian context, is complex, and qualitative methods are considered particularly useful when studying composite and complex phenomena (DeLisle, 2011) and when conducting research in areas in where there is less knowledge. Society currently takes great interest in children and parenting, and there is a vivid and visible debate over the meaning attached to these concepts (Faircloth, 2014; James & James, 2008). This makes a discourse analytic approach particularly expedient.

3.1.1 Case studies

Case studies are often understood as a research strategy (Berg, 2007). However, Stake (2005) says that case studies are not necessarily "a methodological choice, but a choice of what is to be studied" (p. 443). Case studies can examine simple as well as complex phenomena, have a pointed or delimited focus, and can address broader societal themes or circumstances (Berg, 2007). Case studies require rich and in-depth information, preferably involving a multiplicity of information sources (Cresswell, 2014), and they must be embedded in time and context. It is common to think that a case requires certain specificity or boundedness to be considered a case. The way I understand our two cases is similar to what Stake (2005) calls an instrumental case study, in which the researcher focuses on a particular issue of interest (for our purpose, discourses on children and parenting in a Norwegian context) and then chooses a suitable case

(or suitable cases), often of a certain uniqueness, with which to study the topic in question. In an instrumental case study, the cases themselves are studied closely, but their main role is to support and facilitate knowledge about an external or broader issue (Stake, 2005). In this study, the main focus was not so much the cases themselves but rather how they might increase or advance knowledge about contemporary understandings of children and parenting in Norway.

3.1.2 Two cases

The first case chosen was the Norwegian debate on same-sex parenthood and popular beliefs about equal parenting rights and the welfare of children growing up with same-sex parents. As described below, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected in a web-based, country-wide survey that also included a relevant open question.

The second case chosen involved immigrant parents' meetings with Norwegian Child Welfare Services. Qualitative data were accessed through a sample of texts from regional and country-wide Norwegian newspapers in the period from 1 January 2011 to 30 April 2013, covering themes related to, reflecting on and debating these often contested meetings.

Both cases were unique in that they represented impact areas where understandings of children and parenting were of particular relevance (Stake, 2005). Both cases involved current discussions concerning what it should mean to be a child, children's needs and interests and what good parenting should involve. Although it can be argued that the cases were not distinctly bounded, when considering all of the papers, I believe that the requirements concerning multiple sources and rich and in-depth information were adequately met (Stake, 2005). Furthermore, both cases were current and high on the public agenda and featured both contestations and negotiations concerning our topic of interest, discourses on children and parenting in Norway. The survey, which constituted the data for Paper I and Paper II, was conducted shortly before a new Norwegian Marriage Act ensuring equal parenting rights for

same-sex and heterosexual couples was to be sanctioned in Parliament. In the past 5-6 years, heated discussions concerning an allegedly contested meeting between immigrant parents and NCWS have emerged frequently in public media.

3.2 A nation-wide study of Norwegian beliefs about lesbian and gay parenthood

The first study was based on a quantitative design (Paper I). We used a selection of data from a country-wide, web-based and representative survey among the adult Norwegian population "Norwegian attitudes towards LGBT persons, 2008" (N Anderssen & Slåtten, 2008). In the main survey, a wide variety of topics related to attitudes towards and beliefs about gay, lesbian, bi- and trans-sexual persons were covered. Examples of these topics were beliefs about the welfare of children growing up with same-sex parents, attitudes towards the break of gender roles and attitudes towards individuals who have received gender-affirmative medical treatment. Approximately 180 questions were organized in thematic clusters and presented, and three open-ended questions were included (see full questionnaire in Appendix 1).

3.2.1 Sample and procedures

The sample included 1246 participants, 51% women (n= 635) and 49% men (n=611) aged 16 to 80 years, with a mean age of 45 years. The sample was drawn from a database containing 75.000 participants that was administered by Norstat. The database consists of individuals who gave consent to be contacted for on-line data collection purposes. For this study, a poll institute, Opinion AS, established a national stratified sample based on region, age and gender. Continuous recruitment took place until a sufficient number of participants had been reached in the stratified groups. Based on these procedures, the total number of questionnaires that were distributed is unknown. Thus, we cannot calculate the response rate.

3.2.2 Piloting

The survey was piloted twice, first among students at the University of Bergen (n=207) and again in a company in the Bergen region (n=63) and among a group of students at a Bergen business school (n=62). For the second pilot as well as the final survey,   more questions related to same-sex couples' rights to become parents and beliefs about the welfare of children growing up with lesbian and gay parents were added to the questionnaire. The piloting resulted in adjustments to the wording and response categories for some items to minimize ambiguity and to generate variability in the responses. Furthermore, introductions to various parts of the questionnaire were adjusted. I participated in developing variables for the two thematic clusters constituting the data for the current study. Data were collected in April and May 2008, two months before a new gender-neutral Marriage Act that ensured equal marriage and parenting rights for same-sex and heterosexual couples was sanctioned in the Norwegian parliament (June 2008).

3.2.3 Measures

The survey was divided into thematic clusters. Each included an introduction informing the participants about which specific topic was to be addressed. They were developed by the authors based on questions from polls and items from other research of relevance for this particular field. Within the two clusters constituting the data for our study, there were a total of 37 questions. Three questions concerned beliefs about equal marriage rights, 16 questions concerned beliefs about equal parenting rights, and 17 questions concerned beliefs about the welfare of children growing up with lesbian and gay parents. In addition, there was one open-ended question concerning these topics.

Beliefs about equal parenting rights and the welfare of children with same-sex parents were studied using a sample of six and eight items, respectively, which were summed to create two scales. The scales are presented in Paper I (see Tables 2 and 3). The questions for both scales were formulated as statements on which the respondents could take a stand (e.g., "Lesbian

couples should have the same legal rights as heterosexual couples to apply for adoption" and "Children's needs and interests can be fully met by lesbian/gay fathers"). Response categories were "Completely agree", "Slightly agree", "Neither agree nor disagree", "Slightly disagree", "Completely disagree" and "Uncertain". The scales had Cronbach's alphas of 0.96 and 0.92, respectively.

Demographics included gender, age, parental status, level of education, population density at the place of residence, political affiliation and religious faith. Parental status reflected whether the participants had children; education reflected the participants' education level (primary school, lower or upper secondary school or university/college degree); and population density reflected where the participants lived (urban or rural areas). Political affiliation reflected whether the participants affiliated with right-wing or left-wing political parties, and religious faith reflected the way that participants described themselves as believers with high faith or low faith.

3.2.4 Analysis

We used frequency analysis to display beliefs about marriage and parenting rights and beliefs about the welfare of children with same-sex parents. We recoded the response alternatives "Completely agree" and "Slightly agree" as "Agree", whereas "Slightly disagree" and "Completely disagree" were recoded as "Disagree". To determine whether men and women held different beliefs concerning these matters, we used chi square tests. We used cross-tabulations to analyse the chosen background variables, including chi square analyses of distributions for men and for women for each background variable. We conducted a hierarchical multiple regression analysis to examine predictors of "Beliefs about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples" (sum score of full scale). We excluded the scale "Beliefs about equal marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual

couples" (full score) due to multicollinearity (r= -.73, see Table 5) between this scale and "Beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents" (full score).

For the statistical analysis, we recoded the response alternative "Uncertain" as missing (see above). In contrast to the response alternative "Neither agree nor disagree", which fits or can be soundly scored between "Agree" and "Disagree", the response alternative "Uncertain" is more problematic. "Uncertain" may indicate that participants not yet have formed a particular opinion, and it is difficult to quantify no opinion. We therefore decided to treat "Uncertain" as a missing variable.

The SPSS program version 15 was used for the statistical analysis.

3.3 Two qualitative and discourse analytic studies on children and parenting

In the last and larger part of this thesis (Papers II and III), a qualitative and discourse analytic approach was chosen. I will now present the sampling, procedures, and analytical approach for Papers II and III.

3.3.1 Samples and procedures

The data for Papers II and III were texts. In Paper II, the data were derived from one open-ended question in the survey as explained above in relation to Paper I: " Norwegian attitudes towards LGBT persons, 2008" (Anderssen & Slåtten, 2008). The open-ended question read, "Lesbian and gay couples are about to be given the same rights as heterosexual couples to be assessed as adoptive parents. Write in your own words what you think about this". This open question was placed immediately following the two thematic clusters constituting the quantitative data used in Paper I. Together with the fact that this was the only space available for spontaneous and free reflections on lesbian, gay, and heterosexual couples' equal adoption rights, these texts were believed to be valuable for the research purpose.

Of the participants, 459, or 37% of all respondents (n = 1246), chose to provide their reflections and thoughts on this particular question. All responses were included in the current analysis. The length of these texts varied; there were a number of very short statements (for example, "totally wrong" or "great") as well as a number of more elaborate texts. The majority of the texts (211) varied between 20 and 70 words.

For the aims of Paper II, it was not relevant to identify the demographic profile of the sample because my focus was images of children based on discourses across the texts and demographic profiles. To study images of children in texts in which people stated in their own words their opinion on equal adoption rights for same-sex and heterosexual couples, rich and varied texts are needed. I believe the data largely fullfil this requirement. The number of participants who reflected on the question and the fact that approximately half of the informants expressed an overall positive attitude towards same-sex adoption rights while the rest tended to be negative or had no particular opinion concerning such provisions indicated a variety of reflections and viewpoints. However, the many short texts may have challenged the richness of the data.

In the last empirical phase of the thesis, the aim was to further investigate discourses on children, now also, differently from Paper II, including a particular focus on discourses on parenting in Norway. The data for Paper III were newspaper texts that featured, addressed, reflected on and problematized NCWS meetings with immigrant families. The texts were derived from a Scandinavian database for newspapers, *A-tekst*. I wanted to focus on frequently read and widely distributed newspapers; therefore, only regional and country-wide papers were included in the search (16). To ensure updated texts as well as a manageable number of texts, I delimited the search from 1 January 2011 to 30 April 2013. The newspapers covered the political spectrum and were widespread geographically. These

particular papers and this search period are relevant for ensuring acceptable, varied, and rich data for the research purpose.

The texts were identified through the search strings[1] shown in the table below.

Norwegian terms	English translation	Number of hits
barnevern* AND (innvandr* AND foreldr*)	Child welfare AND (immigrant AND parent)	147
barnevern* AND (innvandr* AND familie*)	Child welfare AND (immigrant AND family)	161
barnevern* AND (innvandr* AND etnis*)	Child welfare AND (immigrant AND ethnic)	61
barnevern* AND (innvandr* AND minoritet*)	Child welfare AND (immigrant AND minority)	49
barnevern* AND (etnis* OR minoritet*)	Child welfare AND (ethnic OR minority)	215

There was a considerable overlap between hits based on the various search strings.

Different texts and a range of voices providing valuable data informing the research questions, were included. The final sample included 80 texts. Texts that mainly addressed adjoining arenas, such as school settings and the criminal sector were excluded. Texts that did not involve CWS' core mandate or main field of interest, such as texts related to immigration challenges in general, and various advertisements, notices, and allocations of funding etc. were also excluded. In deciding which texts to include, I used a fair amount of discretion concerning the value of the texts related to the type of knowledge the research questions aimed to produce.

The final sample included texts from all 16 regional and country-wide newspapers, a range of genres (for example, editorials, news reports, chronicles, letters to the editor) and voices (child welfare service professionals, politicians, judges and lawyers involved in this particular

field, immigrant parents/persons, various interest groups, as well as academics and researchers). It may have been interesting to study inputs and reflections from different genres or voices. However, based on the research aim, a specific focus was to locate texts that were relevant for studying discourses on children and parenting in contemporary Norway as they emerged across genres and voices.

3.3.2 Analysis

In the discourse analytic approach in Papers II and III, a stage-based model developed by Willig (2008) was used. This model is inspired by elements of Foucauldian thinking (Foucauldian discourse analysis – FDA) and "asks questions about the relationship between discourse and how people feel or think (subjectivity), what they may do (practices) and the material conditions within which such experiences may take place" (Willig, 2008, p. 113). As a research method, FDA has traditionally not been guided by rigorous or set formal procedures. Willig's model fits into a tradition of flexible methodological guidelines featuring certain criteria that must be fulfilled, or *"signposts"* (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008, p. 98; Parker, 1992). This model "allows the researcher to map some of the discursive resources used in a text and the subject positions they contain, and to explore their implications for subjectivity and practice" (Willig, 2008, p. 115). Although investigating discursive resources mainly, in relation to stage three in Willig's model, the issue of *action orientation* (see model below), both discursive strategies and interpretative repertoires at play were explored.

The research questions guide the selection of a discursive object (Willig, 2001). The discursive objects in the current study were children and parenting in relation to same-sex adoption rights and newspaper texts reflecting on and debating an often contested meeting between NCWS and immigrant families. We approached the empirical data for both Paper II and Paper III in a step-wise manner, asking key questions that corresponded to each analytic stage, as suggested by Willig (2008) in the model presented below.

In both Paper II and Paper III, I structured the presentation with this stage-based approach (see Sykes, Willig, & Marks, 2004). Willig (2008) says that the six stages can "provide a structure for the presentation of discourse analytic work within the framework of a research paper" (p. 123).

Table I: Willig's six stages in the analysis of discourse with corresponding key questions driving Foucauldian analysis (Willig, 2008, p. 129)

Key questions	Corresponding analytic stage
How is the discursive object constructed through language? What type of object is being constructed?	Stage 1: Discursive constructions
What discourses are drawn upon? What is their relationship to one another?	Stage 2: Discourses
What do the constructions achieve? What is gained from deploying them here? What are their functions? What is the author doing here?	Stage 3: Action orientation
What subject positions are made available by these constructions?	Stage 4: Positionings
What possibilities for action are mapped out by these constructions?	Stage 5: Practice

What can be said and done from within these subject positions?	
What can potentially be felt, thought and experienced from the available subject positions?	Stage 6: Subjectivity

In the analysis in Papers II and III, various constructions of the discursive objects in the texts were identified (for our purpose, children and parenting) (stage one). This was accomplished by identifying and coding direct and indirect references in the texts that illuminated ways in which children and parenting were understood and argued. Both shared and competing meanings related to the concept of children and parenting were identified to ensure that variations were properly considered. In addition, texts that illuminated implied or taken for granted understandings were identified. If and when certain understandings were typically silenced or downplayed were also identified. In the two papers, various constructions were documented by as many relevant quotes from the respective texts as possible.

Following this analytic stage, these constructions were linked to possible wider discourses in which various constructs seemed located (stage two). For example, constructs such as *Children need a father and a mother, The notion of the superiority of heterosexual parenting* and a firm belief that *Children with same-sex parents will be bullied and stigmatized* indicate the wider discourse that children need to grow up in families that are considered normal and natural (see Paper II). For example, constructs such as *Parenting is about good interaction and dialogue, Showing love and affection is of superior value* and *Good parenting is about being engaged and providing assistance to children in their efforts to pursue their own interests* indicate the wider discourse that good parenting is child focused, dialogue based, and

involves being extensively engaged (see Paper III). By studying additional sources, such as those indicating developments over time within this field of interest, our findings with respect to the presence of these wider discourses may have become more robust as well as more nuanced. Importantly, in Willig's model, historicity and genealogy, which have a distinct place in FDA, are not addressed (Willig, 2008).

To further illuminate the presence, strength, and possible contestations in and between the identified constructs, the action orientation of the texts was studied (stage three). This involved looking more closely at the contexts "within which the different constructions of the object are being deployed" (Willig, 2008, p. 116). An important question here is what can be gained "from constructing the object in this particular way at this particular point within the texts" (Sykes et al., 2004, p. 138).

 To access knowledge concerning this issue, we studied the way that participants managed their interests through various discursive strategies. Examples of discursive strategies are extreme case formulation, disclaiming or blaming (Willig, 2013). We also looked for interpretative repertoires or "systems of terms", such as preferred metaphors or figures of speech (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 149). Discursive strategies involve the action orientation of talk and texts and refer to "doing" or "negotiating" and possible consequences of these actions (Willig, 2008, p. 102). Various interpretative repertoires typically create different versions or promote one version of events over others and attribute or disclaim responsibility for something "in the pursuit of different social objectives", such as to appear more morally proper (Willig, 2008, pp. 100-101).

Based on the findings from these first three analytic stages, we discuss available subject positions following the way the relevant study objects are constructed (stage four) and the possible impacts and consequences for action and practice (stage five). In stage six, we

discuss the consequences for subjectivity based on the available subject positions (especially in Paper II).

3.4 Validity, reliability, trustworthiness, reflexivity and pre-conceptions

The concepts of validity and reliability are given different meanings within quantitative and qualitative research. In quantitative research, validity involves the extent to which data contribute to answering the research questions (Grønmo, 2004). Reliability is concerned with errors in measurements and is often expressed in terms of internal consistency and stability over time from the same respondents (Cresswell, 2014). I will now briefly discuss possible validity and reliability challenges in the first phase of the study, in which a quantitative approach was used (Paper I).

According to Spector (2013) validity refers to "our interpretation of what construct is represented by the scores on a measure" and further, that "construct validity cannot be proven" (p. 173). He holds that we need however, to provide evidence, to the best of our ability, in order to be more confident about, as well as persuade others of what kind of construct we have assessed. Construct validity interpretation will be grounded in certain theory (however often implicit) concerning what the relevant construct is and the relationship between this construct and other variables. Concerning construct validity, there are several types of validation evidence, for example criterion-related validity and content validity. Some involve statistical tests while others are mainly, based on judgement (Spector, 2013).

The research team put considerable effort into the way the questions were phrased, the themes were ordered, and which response categories were offered. The items in the two thematic clusters that constituted the data for the first paper were developed by the researchers. Given that the questionnaire was quite comprehensive, the respondents may have increased their level of reflection on these issues or may have held pointed attitudes and beliefs.

In general, we attempted to phrase questions in ways that would appear familiar but would leave the question open for reflection. We decided to keep two response categories for participants who did not want to take a particular stance on equal parenting rights and the welfare of children with same-sex parents. In the pilot studies, two versions were tested, one with a neutral middle-category, "neither agree nor disagree" in addition to the option "uncertain", and one version without a neutral middle category. We learned from the pilot studies that the participants were more negative overall when they were not given the option of a neutral middle category.

Although this study understands the concept of belief as fluid and discursively produced in line with a social constructionist approach (see p.4), it also considers the social categories and concepts in this study reasonably stable as well meaningful in communication with large groups of people (Anderssen, Malterud, Bjørkman, Slåtten, & Hellesund, 2013). The stability of important beliefs in our context can be illustrated by findings from other studies where the same variables, over time, predict beliefs about same-sex parenting rights and beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents (Gato & Fontaine, 2015; Gavriel-Fried & Shilo, 2015; Webb & Chonody, 2014). This stability in beliefs makes it meaningful to study beliefs about distinct phenomena through a survey design. Importantly, however, acknowledging that beliefs are inconsistent and discursively produced, there is a need to execute caution when aiming to identify beliefs about the phenomena in question at any particular time (Anderssen & Slåtten, 2008). Beliefs may appear differently in other contexts and with other designs.

In this project, some of the most important constructs used were beliefs about equal parenting rights and beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. These are complex constructs, making it challenging to establish the construct validity of the measures. Importantly, these concepts have so far, to my knowledge, not been thoroughly investigated in

relation to construct validity. Concerning this study, construct validity and test-retest reliability remain to be established. However, the study was piloted twice and findings here indicated high face validity.

In Papers II and III, we used a qualitative and discourse analytic approach. When evaluating research affiliated with a constructionist epistemology, it becomes more important to assess quality in all phases of work compared to assessing the validity as such (Bratberg, 2014; Willig, 2013). The reason for this is closely related to assumptions about the world (numerous and transforming versions constructed through language) and how the role of the researcher is conceptualized as a co-producer and co-author of knowledge (Willig, 2013).

Our analytical approach to Papers II and III was informed by the step-wise model by Willig (see p. 41). Willig (2013) says that quality in qualitative research is characterized by a systematic and clear presentation of analyses that is "demonstrably grounded in data" (p. 171). The work must further mirror an awareness of theoretical and contextual specificity and the way this may limit the relevance as well as the applicability of the research. An effort has been made to clarify and explain theoretical perspectives and important concepts. I have also sought to explain and discuss the relevance of the chosen cases in which discourses on children and parenting in contemporary Norway have been studied so that readers can make up their minds about the relevance of these choices. Based on epistemological approach, trustworthiness involves the extent to which theoretical perspectives and procedures are clarified and whether steps taken throughout the research process are well documented (Cresswell, 2014).

With regard to discourse analytic approaches, such as for example Foucauldian discourse analysis, Willig (2013) says that these approaches are "best evaluated by assessing the quality of the accounts they produce" (p. 174). We have tried to phrase the accounts produced in

Papers II and III in a coherent and differentiated way. Important findings correspond between the three papers and are similar to what we know from current public debates and other research in these fields. This enhances the validity of the findings.

However, based on our epistemological affiliation, texts are open to different interpretations (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Other researchers studying the same data may see other discourses in the relevant texts or may emphasize them differently, thereby providing other important insights. To increase transparency and alternative interpretations, I have sought to present as many details as possible in the processes of data collection, analysis and interpretation.

The concept of *reflexivity* is of particular importance in qualitative research. It refers to an always present and attentive focus on the context in which knowledge is produced (Malterud, 2001) and the " acknowledgement of the impossibility of remaining outside of ones' subject matter while conducting research" (Willig, 2008, p. 10). There is a need for critical as well as informative reflections concerning the way the researcher's own values, interests, and experiences shape research, such as through the questions asked and the choice of method. Attention must be paid to reflexivity issues and making the researchers' assumptions as explicit as possible (Cresswell, 2014). In particular, based on our epistemological orientation, "a reflexive awareness of the problematic status of one's own knowledge claims" is necessary (Willig, 2013, p. 139).

For others to more easily assess and evaluate the status of the findings, it is important to "reflexively acknowledge" the factors that guide the research (Wetherell, 2006, p. 396). Choice of critical theory and a discourse analytic approach, inspired by elements from Foucauldian thinking, guided the questions asked and the analytic focus and thus affected the findings that could be produced. Thus, other theoretical and methodological approaches when

studying children and parenting in contemporary Norway would likely have produced other important knowledge on this topic. I will next reflect on own background and experiences, and how this may have had an impact during the research process.

I have a background as a social worker and administrator of social services in a municipal setting and as a teacher at the post-graduate level for child welfare workers. I therefore have varied front-line experience in child welfare and protective work, and I have had the opportunity to follow theoretical developments and fluctuations concerning how we see good parenting, children's needs and interests, and the position of the child in society at different points in time over several decades. Knowledge about and research on lesbian and gay parenthood and debates relevant to this particular field have mainly been accessed through this doctoral work. With regard to the two cases I chose to study, I was both an "insider" and an "outsider". This may have affected the questions asked in the relevant impact areas. In the case of immigrant parents meeting NCWS, it may have affected my ability to critically distance myself and affected my openness to what I saw. In the same-sex parenting debate, being an outsider may have delimited what I was able to look for and problematize. In both cases, this situation may have affected my ability to deduce central phenomena from the data.

3.5 Generalizability and transferability

In my thesis, I have utilized survey data (numbers) as well as texts. Generalizability may mean different things or take different forms depending on the methodological approach. In survey designs (Paper I), generalizability typically involves the extent to which one can extend conclusions to a larger sample (Grønmo, 2004). In qualitative designs (Papers II and III), generalizability or transferability involves the extent to which the knowledge produced in one setting can be transferred to and be valuable for other relevant situations (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Systematic recruitment procedures were performed through an online database and administered by a professional provider of data collection. This means that we accessed a sample that may be considered representative of the adult Norwegian population. However, the fact that the survey was web-based meant that groups of people who do not use the internet were excluded. For example, although 86% of the adult population in Norway had access to the internet in 2009 (Statistics Norway, 2008), among the group aged 60-69 years, only 46% used the internet on a daily basis (Thoresen, 2008). Therefore, the sample may have some characteristics that will deviate from the population at large.

The education level in the sample was considerably higher than average in the Norwegian population. In the final sample, 57% (as opposed to 29% in the general adult population) had university or college degrees (Statistics Norway, 2010 a, b). Because higher education has traditionally been associated with more positive attitudes towards same-sex parenthood (Becker & Todd, 2013; Gavriel-Fried & Shilo, 2015), this may have had an impact on our findings.

Concerning generalizability, there needs to be awareness concerning the setting as well as the point in time when data for the first phase of our study were collected (Cresswell, 2014). The survey data were obtained immediately before the sanctioning of the new gender-neutral Marriage Act, when debates were high on the public agenda, certain societal voices were more active than other voices, and opinions were often pointed. The fluid and transitory way I understand beliefs in this study makes it necessary to exercise caution with regard to the statistical generalizability of the findings in Paper I. Importantly, similar to qualitative research, quantitative research and the findings based on this approach are produced by people at a certain time and in a particular context (Anderssen & Slåtten, 2008; Patton, 1990).

Within qualitative approaches, knowledge is seen as socially and historically situated ways of understanding and dealing with phenomena (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Statistical generalization, as understood within quantitative research, is therefore not applicable to the part of the study in which a discourse analytic approach is used (Bratberg, 2014). Analytical generalization is applicable if important quality demands are met (Malterud, 2011). Flyvbjerg (2006) says that for example with regard to case studies, the value of the findings is not dependent on large numbers.

I have made an effort to explain and clarify the study design, the rationale for the steps taken, the choices made, the context of the study and various challenges encountered on the way (see Shenton, 2004). Concerning the transferability of our findings and the criteria regarding relevance and usefulness, I believe that the transferability and relevance are evident in the rich, varied, and detailed stories that shed light on dilemmas apparent in sources also other than our data. Thus, I believe that this study contributes to broader knowledge about children and parenting in contemporary Norway. Our findings contribute to debates about children's position and parental responsibility in society, illuminating important on-going processes and negotiations about what is valid or invalid in relation to this issue as well as processes of inclusion and exclusion concerning groups of children and parents who may be victims of various marginalization processes. Current knowledge on children and parenting will further inform policy, practice and intervention in the study of children and families.

Transparency throughout the study process and the rich stories also facilitate readers' assessment of the value of our findings for other relevant situations and impact areas.

3.6 Ethics

In this section, I will discuss ethical considerations relevant to the research in relation to consent, confidentiality and consequences (see Brinkmann & Kvale, 2013).

Ethical clearance was not required for any parts of this study. In Papers II and III, based on the research aims, the relevant texts were studied beyond the informants' immediately expressed opinions on various topics in the respective contexts. This choice may therefore have ethical implications concerning consent. However, going beyond the immediately spoken is an intrinsic aspect of discourse analytic approaches. I also believe it may be of particular interest for the involved groups of informants to have contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway illuminated and discussed. Possible concerns in relation to consent based on the way this particular study was designed were compensated by the value of studying children and parenting in contemporary Norway with a critical discourse analytic approach.

We received empirical data for the first part of the study (Papers I and II) from a professional data provider (Opinion AS and Norstat) in a fully anonymized form. The empirical data for Paper III were newspaper texts. However, in some of these newspaper texts, the names of individuals appeared. Although I have deleted references to specific identifying names in the newspaper quotes, I have included information about the sources of the quotes, including dates of publication. Although this process increases verifiability, it may have ethical implications with regard to anonymity in some cases (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2013). However, in the current context and with regard to the specific texts, the potential harm was not considered strong enough to warrant a higher level of anonymity.

The chosen cases involved participants (same-sex parents and immigrant parents) who may be considered non-mainstream in specific contexts, vulnerable, and easily victimized by negative stereotyping. This situation relates to the principle of the least possible harm and the need to consider possible negative consequences for the participants involved (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2013). In the various phases of the study, an attempt was made to avoid maintaining and recycling possible stereotyped understandings of same-sex parents by being careful when

phrasing questions in the survey and paying attention to how various concepts were used and explained. This was a challenging exercise given that the aim of Paper I was to identify popular beliefs about lesbian and gay marriage and parenting rights and the welfare of children in such families. Likewise, the findings in Paper III (such as identifying and highlighting frequent claims that immigrant parents beat or punish their children physically) may lead to further or even increased stereotyping of immigrant parents and parenting practices. I believe that these potentially negative consequences were counter-balanced by careful explanation of the research aims, the value of the findings, and the way these were written and presented.

Parallel to this, although the way that NCWS works in such cases was not the focus of the study, highlighting various negative claims concerning work practices may potentially recycle stereotyped opinions about NCWS. Our findings may have identified the potential for better practices, but fuelling possible negative opinions about NCWS may have negative consequences for those in need of help and intervention from NCWS as well as professionals who are mandated to provide citizens with important services in this field. In relation to this possible concern, an effort was made to present and discuss the findings in a non-stereotyped way.

4. Findings

Paper I:

"A Nationwide Study of Norwegian Beliefs About Same-sex Marriage and Lesbian and Gay Parenthood."

The findings showed extensive support for equal marriage rights (67%). Barely half of the sample expressed support for equal parenting rights. Likewise, slightly less than 50% had no concern for the welfare of children growing up with same-sex parents.

Importantly, the participants were often unwilling to take a stand (neither agreeing nor disagreeing) or were uncertain about equal parenting rights and perhaps even more so concerning the welfare of children growing up with same-sex parents. This group constituted a considerable part (sometimes close to or more than half) of those who did not support equal parenting rights or expressed no concern for such children. Compared to findings from 10 years earlier (MMI, 1998), we believe this indicates a movement towards more open and mobile beliefs concerning these questions.

Consistently, more women than men were in favour of equal marriage and parenting rights for same-sex and heterosexual couples. Women were also less concerned than men about the welfare of children growing up with same-sex parents. Overall, this difference was very distinct. The groups that were most negative towards equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian and gay couples were male participants, older participants, parents, participants who voted for centre or right-wing parties and those reporting high religious faith. These participants were also more concerned about the welfare of children growing up in same-sex families. Concern for children was mainly related to factors outside the family. Although nearly 60% of the sample believed that sexual orientation was irrelevant for good parenting,

only 40% believed that society is ready for children to grow up in such relationships. There was a marked fear that such children may experience negative societal reactions such as bullying and stigmatization.

The eight-item scale "Beliefs about the welfare of children growing up with lesbian and gay parents" was introduced to examine predictors of beliefs about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples (through a hierarchical multiple regression analysis). In this model, the main predictor of negative beliefs about equal parenting rights for same-sex couples was concerns about these children's welfare and well-being. Being a parent, political affiliation and religious faith still contributed to explaining beliefs about same-sex parenting rights.

Paper II:

"Images of Children in Views on Same-Sex Adoption Rights"

We identified four broad, partly conflicting and partly corroborating discourses that informed images of children in these texts.

Within the first discourse, *children need to grow up in ordinary families*, the importance of the ordinary (understood as the two-parent, heterosexual, and nuclear family) was argued. This discourse suggests that a disruption of normality places children at risk. Especially stressed was the fear that children may experience negative societal reactions based on their unconventional family situation. Being positioned outside of conventionality may imbue children with feelings of being different or less valued, which may require energy-demanding strategies to protect oneself from stigma or defend a unique family situation. The association of positions outside conventionality with threats to children recycles the image of a vulnerable child who lacks agency.

The second discourse, *children need dedicated parenting*, stressed the importance of dedicated parenting for children's healthy development. Of particular importance was the warm and loving child-parent dyad. Within this discourse, the importance of parents' gender and sexual preference as well as biological bonds and family structure were typically rejected. A position dependent on the relational quality of the parent-child dyad challenges the importance of gender and biological bonds for children's welfare and well-being. However, a language that is seemingly informed by normative truths about children's development recycles images of the vulnerable, dependent and essential child.

The third concurrent discourse featured an adopted and potent understanding of *children as subjects of their own individual rights.* However, contextual and negotiable aspects were clearly visible in this position. Although children were positioned as subjects of their own individual rights, our findings in Paper II illustrated the ambiguity of this position or children's dependency on adult power and interests when rights are given meaning in various contexts.

The last main discourse, *the best interest of the child is paramount*, seemingly had a dominant status. The importance of the best interest of the child was constantly emphasized, typically in highly emotive and appealing ways. Being positioned with a superior moral standing draws on notions of innocence and downplays individuality and diversity among children. A sentimentalized and abstract understanding may move the focus away from the challenges various groups of children face in real life, leaving issues of importance for children unrecognized as well as unaddressed.

Paper III:

"Contemporary Discourses on Children and Parenting in Norway: Norwegian Child Welfare Services Meets Immigrant Families"

Concerning children and parenting, we found four parallel but closely interrelated discourses in the texts. These discourses tentatively position children and parents in two main ways: as pivots and as guarantors for children's development of proper skills, respectively.

Within the first discourse, *no tolerance for parenting practices implying violence and force,* the informants variously and often vigorously distanced themselves from physical punishment and parenting practices that imply controlling or coercive practices of child-rearing. The second discourse, *every child is a subject of individual and equal rights*, is closely related to the first. Within this discourse, children's position as the subject of rights was consistently underlined. This view implies a notion of children as individuals with a particular focus on freedom rights, such as equality, non-discrimination and participation rights for children. The third discourse was *good parenting is child-focused and dialogue-based*. This discourse mainly concerned respect for children's individuality and parenting practices marked by dialogue, emotional involvement and extensive practical follow-up. Parents are responsible for learning as well as practicing skills that advance such goals. A fourth discourse, *Norwegian child welfare services – authoritative but also contentious in family matters*, illuminates the state's role in overseeing and protecting individual citizens' rights, including children, as well as on-going negotiations concerning mandates and how to understand state intervention in various cases.

The discourses tentatively position children as pivots and parents as responsible for children's development of proper skills. A position as a pivot may imply notions of children as competent agents and as subjects of rights and a development in which principles such as

humanitarianism, solidarity, justice and equality also include children. However, a position as a pivot also compels notions of moral superiority and a sentimentalized status. This particular status is typically informed by notions of innocence and risk, perhaps preventing us from seeing the varied lives children live, the challenges they face, and what helpful support may mean in various contexts.

For parents, the discourses hold a position as guarantors for children's development of proper skills. This implies that parents need to be educated, trained and perhaps disciplined into learning and using child-rearing practices that encourage values such as children's individuality and autonomy, self-direction and negotiating skills. This implies that other types of parental knowledge and parenting competencies are easily overlooked, less acknowledged or even devalued, fuelling the homogenization and standardization of parents and parenting and, in the worst case, positioning groups of parents as deficient. Such processes may further counteract the acceptance of diversity and the inclusion of groups in society and may prevent helpful and adapted professional measures and interventions for families in need of assistance.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of the study was to explore beliefs about and discourses on children and parenting in Norway. I further aimed to discuss how beliefs and discourses, in various ways, position children and parents in society and possible impact following this positioning. For this purpose, two cases were studied, the same-sex parenting rights debate and NCWS meeting with immigrant families.

In this section, I will discuss two main positions based on findings in the three papers. First, *children as located in and between subjects of rights and subjects of risk*, and second, *parenting – extensive responsibility and limited scope of action?* Following this, I discuss the possible impact this may have on children and parents, including how both positions may compel and legitimize more extensive state interest and involvement in family life and family priorities. Although the thesis concerns children to an extensive degree, children's own voices have not been included. Further, both the research aims and the findings indicate that a gender perspective could have been productive. I have therefore included some reflections on these two topics in the discussion section. This section ends with methodological considerations, a short discussion on possible implications for policy and practice, and a conclusion.

5.1 Children as located in and between subjects of rights and subjects of risk

Throughout the papers, there seems to exist two wider, prevailing and parallel discourses with regard to children - a rights discourse and risk discourse. A discourse positioning **children as subjects of their own individual rights** is present both in the same-sex adoption rights debate (Paper II) and, even more, in texts illuminating the meeting between immigrant parents and NCWS (Paper III), where the image of an individual, autonomous and participating child is particularly visible. Child-centrism across the studies further indicates a particular position for the child informed by elements of democratic welfare state principles, such as humanism,

equality and solidarity. For example, a vigorous dissociation from violent and forceful up-bringing practices, often combined with the demand for relevant state authorities to oversee and intervene to ensure such principles (Paper III), lends support to these ideals for children.

A language of rights, now also typically including children, must be understood in relation to how society itself is understood. Rights language embraces values such as independence and dignity and the ability to make demands and pursue interests and represents a discourse that "sees society principally as a contractual association of independent, autonomous, self-interested individuals governed by certain rules or principles" (Archard, 2004, p. 118). Children's rights to participate and be included in decisions and processes of importance to them are increasingly institutionalized, and incorporated in a range of child-relevant jurisdictions. In Norway, we also see a call for *more* individual rights for children provided by law. For example, on 1 April 2016 a new provision was introduced in NCWL giving child welfare services much more extensive opportunities to impose preventive measures in child protection cases without parental approval. Concerning children as subjects of rights, a typical image that is promoted is that Norway leads the way as an example for others (Seeberg, 2007). This may indicate an evolutionary (in terms of process over time), more than contextual thinking concerning rights for children and what various rights may mean.

Importantly, as featured in all three papers, the perspective of children as subjects of individual rights remains ambiguous as well as controversial. Qvortrup (2008) claims that even in welfare state regimes, children's position as right-holders is doubtful because even more than adults, children are "at the mercy of discretionary policies" (p. 231). It is frequently claimed that the question of participation rights for children often remains at a rhetorical rather than a practical level (Gallagher et al., 2012; Tisdall et al., 2008; Ulvik, 2009) and is typically characterized by both "tokenism" and "unresolved power issues" and the inclusion of children in matters of a trivial character (Reynaert, Bouverne-De Bie, & Vandevelde, 2009,

p. 520; Stern, 2007). The negotiated and power-related aspects of children and individual rights can be exemplified in the Norwegian context by new administrative regulations (from December 2015) regulating the work of NCWS in immigrant families (Ministry of Children and Equality, 2015). These new regulations came after the NCWS and the Norwegian government had long been subjected to considerable pressure in child protection cases involving immigrant families, including pressure from other countries' governmental authorities. These new regulations pay tribute to the importance of the biological principle and can be further understood as an effort to emphasize children's cultural rights. Importantly, these regulations may also leave some groups of children, in particular those children who reside in Norway on a more temporary basis, less protected than others. New regulations for example implies that such children's extended family abroad shall be invited in and the child's own connection (or attachment) to Norway shall be assessed before necessary measures are decided upon, included the decision on in which country the follow up of the child shall take place. Such regulations may tentatively challenge the value of equality.

However, society is also about community, intimacy, interdependence and sharing, with the family as a typical example. Although it is currently difficult to imagine or argue that children, in contrast to adults, should not be legitimate members of "a public realm" where rules and rights are embodied (Archard, 2004, p. 123), regulating these relations and thinking and acting through strict rights thinking may not necessarily be helpful for children. A frequently addressed issue is that the dominant idea of rights may dichotomize the relationship between family members. There is a concern that children and children's needs and interests are understood and addressed out of context, detached from and not situated, intertwined with important others, which is how children need to be understood (Gallagher et al., 2012; Tisdall, 2015; Ulvik, 2009). This may increase the level of and possibilities for conflicts between family members, and may complicate or even close possibilities for

dialogue and helpful solutions (Roose & Bouverne-De Bie, 2008; Vandenbroeck & Bouverne-De Bie, 2006), such as within child welfare services.

A parallel and overarching **risk discourse** concerning children appeared across all three papers. Concern for the welfare of children was a major predictor of negative beliefs about same-sex adoption rights (Paper I). Despite being clearly but often vaguely and implicitly formulated, same-sex parenthood, as opposed to heterosexual parenthood, was associated with risks for children (Paper II). In particular, Paper III illuminated children at risk in close family relations and parents themselves as risk factors. Finally, the texts constituting data for Papers II and III were firmly established within a "best interest of the child" discourse, which is frequently associated with vulnerability and innocence ((Riggs, 2008). This "best-interest" rhetoric often involves watered-down images of a sentimentalized child, suggesting a privileged moral status for children (Papers II and III).

The presence of a risk consciousness concerning the way we see and understand children in Western societies (James & James, 2008; Kehily, 2010; Lee, 2014b) may shed light on these findings. There is currently in Western societies a particular societal focus on children's well-being (Tisdall, 2015) and a discourse of "child-centeredness" (Gillies, 2011; Lee, 2014a; Pösö, Skivenes, & Hestbæk, 2013). In Norway, this is visible across political as well as legal areas of relevance for children. Risk consciousness is closely related to current notions of children as increasingly vulnerable. Some claim that notions of risk, anxiety, danger, crisis and moral panic concerning children currently prevail (Furedi, 2005; James & James, 2008; Kehily, 2010; Stainton Rogers, 2007).

This prevailing risk consciousness is as it seems, closely related to a particular understanding of risk. The focus is currently on what may go wrong rather than what is likely to happen, or "risk as free-floating anxiety" (Furedi, 2011; Lee, 2014b, p. 12). In this way, anxiety about

children has become generalized and is often characterized by being both unfocused and diffuse (Furedi, 2002). This particular understanding is most likely linked to a fear of the unknown in combination with the present situation in which "authoritative value systems that provide meaning and clarity are more and more attenuated" (Furedi, 2011; Lee, 2014b, p. 13). Faircloth (2014) suggests that this involves the penetrating power of attachment theory within development psychology, particularly the way that such understandings have propagandized the things that can go wrong and the difficulty of making them right.

Children as subjects of right and notions of children at risk, may feed into two other present discourses, first, a discourse of children's wellbeing (Lundy, 2013; Tisdall, 2015). The concept of "children's wellbeing" is yet, not properly defined. Still, an effort is here made to unite rights perspectives, acknowledging possible problems linked to this perspective, and a more holistic understanding of children and children's needs and interests. Examples are the inclusion of important matters such as children's relationships and "collective needs" (Tisdall, 2015, p. 807). A wellbeing discourse may also emphasize more "the intricacies, complexities, tensions, ambiguities and ambivalences of children and young peoples' lives" in various cultures and contexts (Tisdall & Punch, 2012, p. 259). However, exchanging a rights perspective for a well-being perspective may imply other pitfalls for children. While rights imply some own political power for children provided for in law and are supervised by duty bearers, wellbeing risks "being apolitical, utilitarian and professionally led in both measurement and practice" (Lundy, 2013; Tisdall, 2015, p. 807).

Both a rights discourse and a risk discourse, through their preoccupation with the need to protect and safe-guard children, feed into a broader discourse of the need to control children and parents (Gillies, 2011; Hennum, 2011; James & James, 2008).This need for control is in force in public as well as private places, such as within the family (Walkerdine, 2001). State support and intervention in the family are thereby legitimized by notions of vulnerability,

fragility, dependence and, increasingly, the "sentimentalization" of children, underpinning a risk discourse and a rights discourse that embraces values such as democracy, autonomy, agency and individual choice for all, including children. Children are seemingly, positioned with a dual standard. They are actors and independent subjects of rights but simultaneously under surveillance; according to Faircloth (2014), they are increasingly surveyed and less frequently actors. In Norway, an authoritative position for NCWS follows from such processes, as they oblige various state authorities. It also legitimizes radical steps to protect children from infringements and maltreatment, including from family members. According to Gillies (2011), this safe-guarding has become "a central motif of politics, justifying an unprecedented regulation of children's interaction with adults" (p. 5). It further evokes a need for "powerful codes of conduct for behaviour" that must be surveyed and monitored, typically through formal systems of regulation or "policing" (Lee, 2014b, pp. 14-15; Wyness, 2006).

5.2 Parenting – extensive responsibility and limited scope of action?

Notions of what parenting is about, the importance of parenting and how to parent in the "right" ways emerge in various ways across all three papers. Parenting requires extensive parental dedication. The parent-child dyad is of particular importance, good parenting involves relational and emotional aspects such as love, sensitivity, interaction and communication, and it also implies giving special priority to the needs of children, including the importance of pursuing children's individual projects (Papers II and III). The value of these particular parenting skills is further substantiated by consistent claims that same-sex couples will be dedicated parents and, importantly, that they will be like and will parent in the same way as other parents do. Finally, the topics addressed in education programmes for immigrant parents and the rhetoric concerning the need to educate and supervise parents who are unfamiliar with Norwegian ways of thinking concerning children's up-bringing, recycle

the value of these parenting skills and the importance of intervention to ensure that parents are parenting accordingly (Paper III).

Our findings may be understood in relation to several interrelated processes that both affect and change how society and parents themselves, view parenting and parenting responsibilities. More than before, the family is both recognized and relied on as the foundation on which society cultivates valued beliefs and behaviour. According to Gillies (2011), there has been a development in which the role of the family has shifted from "largely consigning family experiences to personal and emotional realms" (p. 2) to a position in which families are attributed extensive social responsibility and portrayed as "the building block for safe and sustainable communities" (Gillies, 2008, p. 95). An example is discipline, which is increasingly transferred from a shared parent-community responsibility to a parent-only responsibility. Currently, parenting is understood or represented as the source of and the solution to a range of social problems (Faircloth, Hoffman, & Layne, 2013; Macvarish, 2014) Consequently, the "everyday minutiae of personal and domestic lives have come to be viewed as appropriate targets for state intervention" (Gillies, 2011, p. 2).

There has been a development towards a need to "do" family through cultivating trust and emotional ties between family members. This is related to uncertainties following that normative codes and social regulations in society are less fixed and thereby have less regulating power over individuals as well as relations between individuals, for example in the family (Giddens, 1996). More responsibility is placed on individuals concerning producing own self and how one wants to appear. Consequently, parenting to an increasing extent also implies "a discussion of reflexivity and identity work" (Faircloth, Hoffmann, et al., 2013, p. 2). Parents develop own identity through their children, at present seemingly responding to certain ideals or almost unattainable standards and goals in child rearing. A description by Hays (1996), that in Western societies, the present normative standard for proper child rearing

methods are "child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor intensive and financially expensive" (p. 27), capture some of these ideals, also shedding light on our findings concerning what good parenting means and should imply in a current Norwegian context.

Parenting culture seems at present not to be so much about how to improve oneself as a parent as such, but more about appearing as a particular kind of parent, and "with a certain orientation towards one's parenting " (subjectivity) (Jensen, 2013, p. 65). Prevailing ideals for parenting will not necessarily, be uniformly experienced by all parents. This will typically depend on for example class, gender and ethnicity (Hoffman, 2014). However, responding to these same ideals, a certain kind of subjectivity will be cultivated by all, and further, embodied as valid by all parents (Faircloth, 2014). To be confronted with uncertain as well as almost unattainable standards for up-bringing, exemplified by prevalent notion of an abstract and sentimentalized child, and notions that others know better, will easily actuate feelings of uncertainty, incompetence and deficiency as parents and perhaps, demise of adult authority (Bristow, 2011). For example, studying NCWS investigations of referrals in cases of serious concern for children, Midjo (2010) found an assumption that professionals know best and that parents in this work were left with both de-limited and marginalized positions.

A particular aspect with child-centeredness and notions of children as subjects of rights is further the potential destabilizing effect this has on power issues *between* parents and children. Interestingly, studying ethnic Spanish and immigrant mothers in Spain, Sedano (2014) found that mothers, more than by CWS, felt threatened by their own children, who, as they saw it, were one-sided empowered by various Spanish state institutions. In a Norwegian context, conflicts in relation to "children - with - power" in the family are also problematized by Hennum (2015), especially in relation to notions of the ideal or imaginary child. Such processes may particularly affect parents who have other experiences, do not share such ideals

or think differently around raising children, or are unfamiliar with the context in which they at present have to raise their children.

The expansion of parenting evident in the last decades is also closely related to trends of seeing children at risk (Cunningham, 2006; Kehily, 2010), a particular understanding that risk can be controlled and prevented, and notions that parents themselves are "wholly deterministic in an individual child's development and future" (Faircloth, 2014, p. 26). Parents have become risk managers and parenting has become tasks, which have led to the notion that to parent properly, parents need to be trained and enabled. This has further produced a development towards expert-led parenting and the professionalization of parenting (Lee, 2014a). In the wake of this development, it is argued that professionals have colonized parenting, and parenting has become politicized (Edwards & Gillies, 2011). It has become "a subject that requires constant attention of policy makers and experts" (Furedi, 2014, p. ix). This understanding further legitimizes the extensive focus on parental training, supervision and intervention from state authorities in relation to up-bringing practices. This development may shed light on the fact that currently, 70% of preventive measures in NCWS are what they call "advice and guidance" to parents (Christiansen et al., 2015). A recent example illuminating this point is also a statement from Norway's current prime minister at her party's national congress in April 2016. The debate concerned the need for all children to attend kindergarten. The prime minister stated that the government would ensure that people from the municipality would "knock on the door of all parents with children who do not attend kindergarten" (Solberg, 2016) [My translation].

A development where the responsibility for children's less successful outcomes become individualized, and parents' responsibility only, may exculpate society for lack of otherwise important actions and interventions to ensure a healthy upbringing environment, and adapted development support for various groups of children. Examples are focus on and interventions

concerning socio-economic challenges certain groups may face, and investment in education and good schools. According to Gillies (2008) at present, problems in the parent-child interactions are typically given a causal status for negative outcomes, seen in isolation from other relationships and importantly, without much focus on other environmental circumstances, for example family economy or work life status. Likewise, concerning social exclusion, the dominant rhetoric in the UK at present "supports action at the level of individual parents' behavior" (Lucas, 2011, p. 181). Our findings of important values and valid parenting in a Norwegian context featured individually oriented psychological knowledge regimes and skills typically associated with middle-class life and middle-class values, in line with earlier research in this field (Andenæs, 2004, 2005; Juul, 2010). This guides the focus on certain kinds of deviation and risks, and shapes certain pictures of reality, laying the foundation for CWS intervention. Following a notion of parents as crucial for bringing up children with values that "protect and reproduce the common good" (Gillies, 2008, p. 95), especially targeted are groups of parents who fail to affiliate themselves with what currently is considered adopted truths in relation to parenting. This may be the case for non-heterosexual parents, cf. research showing that same-sex parents are expected to raise heterosexual children (Pennington & Knight, 2011), but is perhaps typically, class- and poor related. Through for example choice of intervention measures in CWS, children are utilized "to reaffirm normality in society" (Hennum, 2011, p. 336). Further, Hennum (2010) claims that children, through the practices of child and family services, in subtle ways are used as disciplining tools, paving the way for control of the adults in the family. This happens in two ways, first, through professional and scientifically founded knowledge about children, and the second involves children's position as subjects of own individual rights. A historic development in Norway, where social control has been replaced by a focus on children's well-

being and children's rights may have effectively obscured, however not reduced this kind of controlling elements within CWS (Picot, 2014).

5.3 Areas that has not been addressed

Although this study concerned children to an extensive degree, with very few exceptions, **children's own voices** were not present in our data. In the survey data, informants were between 16 – 80 years old. For Paper III, the sample included texts from regional and country-wide newspapers (paper versions), which are not a likely place for children's voices. Social media other than regional and country-wide newspapers would most likely have proven more fruitful for this purpose. Nevertheless, children's own narratives about and experiences of growing up in non-mainstream families are broadening our understanding of children and parenting in contemporary Norway in a valuable ways. Acknowledging that these children still face challenges in various societal arenas, in the next chapter I will include some input from children who have experiences growing up with same-sex parents, hereby illuminating some topics children in such relationships themselves want to front and highlight.

Hosking, Mulholland, and Baird (2015) found that children speak positively about their particular life situation, claim that "no damage is caused by having lesbian and gay parents", and position themselves as being "non-judgmental, open-minded, and accepting of diversity"(p. 18). Children and young people with same-sex parents are also increasingly open about as well as "proactive in the ways they represent their families" (Krane-Hansen, 2007, p. 249; 2012). In this way, they open new directions in the way they want society to think about them and their families. Further, youths in same-sex families often use different language when reflecting on the concept of family, using words such as love, relationships, support and tolerance (Leddy, Gartrell, & Bos, 2012; Welsh, 2011). Hosking et al. (2015) identified a discourse of love in this debate through which children legitimized their particular family

arrangements, thereby contesting as well as distancing themselves from mainstream constructions of how a family should look.

Finally, Krane-Hansen (2014) found that her participants (young people), in contrast to typical adult beliefs about the challenges faced by children growing up with same-sex parents (Stefansen et al., 2009), do not tell a story of stigmatization. Instead, they tell stories about an awareness of being different from the norm and various struggles related to this difference (Krane-Hansen, 2014; Welsh, 2011).

I have throughout my work, used the gender-neutral concepts of children and parenting, and a generally gender-neutral language. However, the findings indicate that **a gender perspective** could have been productive. I acknowledge that although this study may appear "gender blind", reality is not at all gender neutral.

Gender issues emerge in all three papers, but I will reflect shortly on this issue in relation to the same-sex parenthood debate. Women had considerably and consistently more positive beliefs about same-sex parenthood and the welfare of children with same-sex parents, compared to men. Negative and concerned men in this debate may indicate that male identity is particularly, well established in society. One way to conform to or ascertain masculinity is by distancing oneself from sexual minorities (Vecho et al., 2015; Webb & Chonody, 2014).

A particular concern about negative consequences based on a lack of male *and* female role models for such children was present in our data (Paper II). There is considerable support in other recent research for similar findings (Gato & Fontaine, 2015; Gavriel-Fried & Shilo, 2015). Hosking et al. (2015) claim that while there is a public discourse that legitimizes same-sex parenting, this is only insofar as this implies reproducing heterosexual children. The importance of children being raised to "become" heterosexual "remains evident" (Pennington & Knight, 2011, p. 59).

Such processes may in various ways, affect possibilities and scope of action for girls and boys who grow up with same-sex parents as well as lesbian women and gay men as parents. Boys may for example, experience particularly strong societal expectations in relation to exercising "gender appropriate" interests and activities, and more disapproval when not choosing accordingly, as compared to girls. However, while girls seemingly have more space in relation to this, generally more focus on the importance of and a need for boys to reflect "masculinity" may illuminate more superior, gendered structures in society. Lesbian mothers and gay fathers will in different ways, have to juggle possible feelings of being "incomplete" as parents and role models for their children, spending energy in compensating for claimed "deficits". Such processes will recycle heteronormative parenting as more valuable.

More generally, understanding gender as not a property of individual persons, but inequalities that permeates in and across a range of societal institutions (Ferree, 2010), makes it possible to study how gender "operates in individual identity, interpersonal and kinship relations, and the broader social structures" (Allen & Jaramillo-Sierra, 2015, p. 94; Ferree, 2010; Tronto, 2006). This would add valuable knowledge, in particular concerning how gender may shape parents and children, family and family processes as well as child and family policy and welfare services at various times and in various contexts.

5.4 Methodological considerations

In Papers I and II, I studied popular beliefs about same-sex parenthood and images of children based on survey data, including numbers as well as texts from an open question. Beliefs are difficult to measure due to their particular characteristics (see p.12). For this reason, there is a need to exercise caution concerning our findings. In addition, in this study, beliefs involved sensitive themes, which may actuate social desirability in the respondents' answers. This

particular problem may have been reduced by the web-based and fully anonymous nature of the survey.

Paper I also focused on beliefs about equal marriage rights for same-sex couples. Based on the overall research aims for this thesis, although beliefs about marriage rights were addressed in several places, I have not elaborated on these findings in this synopsis.

One point related to the data for Paper II is that although a large number of quotes were included, many of the quotes were quite short. Qualitative research is typically associated with rich data. Nevertheless, I believe that the texts in the relevant context had particular value and adequate richness for my research aims.

Concerning Paper III, Schibsted Media Group, one of the four largest media groups in the Nordic countries, owns 5(6) of the largest country-wide and regional newspapers in Norway (these were all included in our sample) and had 27% of the total newspaper print run in 2014.

Importantly, Willig (2008), underlines that her model does not address historicity and genealogy, which are commonly considered important concerns within Foucauldian thinking (cf., for example, the model by Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine (2008)). This means that in our project, only certain elements of Foucauldian thinking inspired our work. A historical approach in which developments in the relevant fields over time were studied, would have further contextualized this study, adding value as well as validity to the findings.

This study included important elements of a mixed methods design (see p.30). Although each paper addressed and produced knowledge in relation the overall aims of the study in different ways and each paper provided valuable input to the research focus for the following papers, the analysis and writing for each paper was performed independently. However, in the synopsis, the findings across the papers are discussed in more detail.

According to Whetherell (2006), although discourse research and discourse analytic approaches have proven to be both legitimate and of particular value, there is a need for attentiveness, particularly to important debates related to the ability of verbal utterances to reflect or mirror outer and inner "realities". Many will claim that there is a need to exercise caution when making inferences about social phenomena from verbal statements, taking into consideration the comprehensiveness and the many layers of speech (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994). For example, Willig (2008) acknowledges that we cannot determine the links between various discursive constructions and what this may imply for subjective experience or what the relationship is between language and mental states. For this reason, we can only suggest what individuals may be feel and experience from different subject positions.

5.5 Implications

Our findings show that in order to assist individual and groups of children with various needs and challenges, there is a need to realize the real-life situations in which children find themselves and focus on real-life challenges - in particular the way these are experienced by children themselves. Notions of an abstract and sentimentalized child do neither give good direction for understanding the particular challenges children face in various contexts, nor which policy measures and interventions may be of particular help in order for children to feel heard and acknowledged.

There is a need for vigilance concerning children's position as subjects of own individual rights. Importantly, new mobility discourses are valuable as they may question and bring to the agenda a valuable debate on notions of children and children's position in contemporary Norway. However, increased and continuous mobility across nations and cultures, a re-evaluation of children's cultural rights, and a current focus on possible problems with rights-perspectives in relation to children may compel developments towards a revival of notions

that children are mainly appendages to the family. A possible consequence is a situation where children, less than before, are members of a public realm where their rights are embodied. Children themselves will be dis-empowered, and more at the mercy of adult power, in particular within the family.

There is a need for a more in-depth contextual understanding of the challenges various groups of parents face in a Norwegian context. Examples are socio-economic challenges, inequality and discrimination. Such challenges need to be both more acknowledged, and more actively responded to at larger social and structural levels in society. There is further a need for increased recognition of the value of diversity, more openness and a clearer resource- and dialogue-based perspective when professionals assist and empower parents in their up-bringing practices. It is necessary to ensure relevant measures and sustainable help and importantly, reduce processes where parents may feel devalued, dis-empowered and perhaps, deficient. Such processes may increase the likelihood that for example, groups of parents will avoid entering into important debates on parenthood in non-traditional family settings while other groups of parents may refuse, or withdraw from involvement with various public services aiming to help families and support and protect children. Importantly, such processes mean particular challenges for the children involved. For example, children with same-sex parents may feel less acknowledged, and enjoy little access to safe arenas where they can co-author and front what is important for them based on their particular life circumstances. Concerning CWS, groups of children may be left beyond society's radar system altogether or experience less well planned, and sudden interventions in acute situations, which seldom is a good point of departure for adapted and sustainable measures for children and their families.

5.6 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to explore beliefs about and discourses on children and parenting in contemporary Norway, and further, to discuss what this may mean and imply for children and parents. For this purpose, the study used two cases where understandings of children and parenting were particularly relevant, namely the same-sex parenting debate and immigrant families meeting NCWS. As theoretical point of departure, we used a social constructionist and discursive analytic approach, and a socio-cultural understanding of children and parenting in our project. In a rapidly changing and globalized world, it is valuable to study timely and contextualized meanings linked to children and parenting, how they are processed, and further, how contemporary discourses may affect children's and parents' lives and possibilities.

Concerning children, child-centric discourses were prevailing in our findings. Both rights perspectives and risk perspectives on children entered into these discourses, compelling notions that society needs to support, protect, supervise and actively engage in children's lives. Our findings also showed that how we see children's needs and interests, and children's position in society is both contested and up for re-negotiation due to more diverse family living, but perhaps, in a Norwegian context, even more, due to current mobility discourses.

Parenting in Norway also involves a general child-centeredness. This means respect for children as individuals, extensive parental dedication and active engagement in children's lives and projects and some particular values and skills, especially related to good parent-child communication. Our findings also illustrated how such understandings lay the foundation for extensive public interest in and a need for society to take actively part in

ensuring that parents raise children accordingly, and perhaps tendencies towards standardizing and homogenizing parenting.

Reference List and Appendices

Aadnesen, B. N. (2012). *Jeg kan ikke være den afrikanske mammaen i Norge. Men de må skjønne at min bakgrunn er en del av meg [I cannot be the African mom in Norway. But they must understand that my background is a part of me].* (PhD Thesis), NTNU, Trondheim, Norway.

Allen, K. R., & Jaramillo-Sierra, A. L. (2015). Feminist Theory and Research on Family Relationships: Pluralism and Complexity. *Sex Roles, 73*, 93-99. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0527-4

Allertsen, L., & Kalve, T. (2006). Innvandrerbarn i barnevernet 2004 [Immigrant children in child protective services 2004]. Oslo-Kongsvinger: Statistisk Sentralbyrå -Statistics Norway.

Alvesson, M., & Sköldberg, K. (2009). *Reflexive Methodology. New Vistas for Qualitative Research* (2 ed.). London: Sage.

Alvesson, M., & Sköldberg, K. (1994). *Tolkning och reflektion : vetenskapsfilosofi och kvalitativ metod [Interpretation and reflection: philosophy of science and qualitative method].* Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Andenæs, A. (2004). Hvorfor ser vi ikke fattigdommen? Fra en undersøkelse om barn som blir plassert utenfor hjemmet [Why do we not see the poverty? From a study about children who are taken into care]. *Nordisk Sosialt Arbeid, 1*, 20-34.

Andenæs, A. (2005). Neutral Claims - Gendered Meanings: Parenthood and Developmental Psychology in a Modern Welfare State. *Feminism § Psychology, 15*(2), 209-222. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0959353505051729

Anderssen, N., Malterud, K., Bjørkman, M., Slåtten, H., & Hellesund, T. (2013). Seksuell orientering og levekår [Sexual orientation and living conditions]. In N. Anderssen & K. Malterud (Eds.), *Seksuell orientering og levekår [Sexual orientation and living conditions]* (pp. 1-24). Bergen: Uni Helse/Uni Research AS.

Anderssen, N., & Slåtten, H. (2008). Holdninger til lesbiske, homofile menn, bifile kvinner og menn og transpersoner (LHBT - personer). En landsomfattende representativ spørreundersøkelse [Attitudes towards lesbian, gay, bi-sexual women and men, and trans-persons. A nationwide reperesentative survey]. Bergen: Avdeling for samfunnspsykologi, Universitetet i Bergen.

Anderssen, N., & Slåtten, H. (2013). Holdninger til LHBT-personer 2008 -2013 [Attitudes towards GLBT-persons 2008-2013]. In N. Anderssen & K. Malterud (Eds.), *Seksuell orientering og levekår [Sexual orientation and living conditions]* (pp. 121-148). Bergen: Univeritetet i Bergen - Uni-Helse.

Annfeldt, T. (2007). Heteronormal nok? Heteronormering som veileder for norsk familiepolitikk [Adequately heteronormal? Heterostandardization as a guide for Norwegian family policy]. In T. Annfelt, B. Andersen & A. Bolsø (Eds.), *Når heteroseksualiteten må forklare seg [When the heterosexuality has to explain itself]* (pp. 97-127). Trondheim: Tapir akademiske forlag.

Ansell, N. (2005). *Children, Youth and Development*. London and New York: Routledge.

Archard, D. (2004). *Children: rights and childhood*. London: Routledge.

Arribas-Ayllon, M., & Walkerdine, V. (2008). Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology* (pp. 91-108). London: Sage.

Aubrey, C., & Dahl, S. (2006). Children's Voices. The View of Vulnerable Children on Their Service Providers and the Relevance of Services They Receive. *Bristish Journal of Social Work, 36*(1), 21-39.

Averett, P., Nalavanty, B., & Ryan, S. (2009). An Evaluation of Gay/Lesbian and Heterosexual Adoption. *Adoption quarterly, 12*(3), 129-151.

Averett, P., Strong-Blakeney, A., Nalavany, B. A., & Ryan, S. D. (2011). Adoptive Parents' Attitudes Towards Gay and Lesbian Adoption. *Journal of GLBT Studies, 7*, 30-48. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2011.537211

Bailey, A. (2011). Transnational Mobilities and Childhoods. In J. Qvortrup, W. A. Corsaro & M.-S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies* (pp. 408-421). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baiocco, R., Nardelli, N., & Pezzuti, L. (2013). Attitudes of Italian Heterosexual Older Adults Towards Lesbian and Gay Parenting. *Sex Res Soc Policy*(10), 285-292. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s13178-013-0129-2

Becker, A. B., & Todd, M. E. (2013). A New American Family? Public Opinion towards Family Status and Perceptions of the Challenges Faced by Children of Same-Sex Parents. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 9*, 425-448. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2013.822841

Berg, B. L. (2007). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (6 ed.). Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

Berven, N., & Ravneberg, B. (2012). Forskning om velferdspolitikk og omsorgsordninger i et likestillingsperspektiv [Research on welfare policy and care arrangements in an equality perspective]. Bergen: Stein Rokkan Centre for Social Studies.

Biblarz, T. J., & Stacey, J. (2010). How does the Gender of Parents Matter. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*, 3-22.

Blyth, E., Burr, V., & Farrand, A. (2010). Welfare of the child assessment in assisted conception: A social constructionist perspective. *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology, 26*(1), 31-43.

Bogdan, R. C., & Knopp Biklen, S. (2007). *Qualitative Research for Education. An Introduction to Theories and Method* (5 ed.). Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

Böhner, G., & Wanke, M. (2002). *Attitudes and Attitude Change*. East Sussex: Psychology Press

Böök, M. L., & Perälä-Littunen, S. (2008). "Children need their parents moer than a pizza in the fridge!". Parental responsibilities in a Finnish newspaper. *Childhood, 15*(1), 74-88. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0907568297086836

Bos, H. M. W., van Balen, F., & van den Boom, D. C. (2004). Experience of parenthood, couple relationship, social support, and child-rearing goals in planned lesbian mother families. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 45*(4), 755-764.

Bos, H. M. W., van Balen, F., & van den Boom, D. C. (2007). Child adjustment and parenting in planned lesbian-parent families. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 77*(1), 38-48. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.77.1.38

Bowers Andrews, A. (2002). Children and Family Life. In H. Hevener Kaufman & I. Rizzini (Eds.), *Globalization and Children. Exploring Potentials for Enhancing Opportunities in the Lives of Children and Youth* (pp. 71-80). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Bratberg, Ø. (2014). *Tekstanalyse for samfunnsvitere [Textual analysis for social scientists]*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Bredal, A. (2009). Barnevernet og minoritetsjenters opprør. Mellom det generelle og det spesielle [Child welfare services and minority girls' rebellion. Between the general and the particular]. In K. Eide, N. A. Qureshi, M. Rugkåsa & H. Vike (Eds.), *Over profesjonelle barrierer. Et minoritetsperspektiv i psykososialt arbeid med barn og unge [Across professional barriers. A minority perspective in psychosocial work with children and youth]* (pp. 38-58). Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk forlag AS.

Brinkmann, S., & Kvale, S. (2013). Ethics in Qualitative Psychological Research. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology* (pp. 263-279). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bristow, J. (2011). Reporting the Riots: Parenting Culture and the Problem of Authority in Media Analysis of August 2011. *Sociological research online, 18*(4), 1-10. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5153/sro.3147

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burke Johnson, R., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come. *Educational Researcher, 33*(7), 14-26.

Burman, E. (2005). Childhood, neo-liberalism and the feminization of education. *Gender and Education, 17*(4), 251-267 doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09540250500145247

Burman, E. (2008). *Developments: Child, Image, Nation*. New York: Routledge.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. London: Routledge.

Chand, A. (2008). "Every Child Matters? A Critical Review of Child Welfare Reforms in the Context of Minority Etnic Children and Families. *Child Abuse Review, 17*, 6-22.

Christiansen, Ø. (2012). Hvorfor har barnevernet problemer med å se og behandle barn som aktører? [Why does Child welfare services have problems with seeing and treating children as actors?]. *Tidskriftet Norges Barnevern, 1-2*, 17-33.

Christiansen, Ø., Bakketeig, E., Skilbred, D., Havnen, K. J. S., Aarland, K., & Backe-Hansen, E. (2015). Forskningskunnskap om barnevernets hjelpetiltak [Research based knowledge on Child welfare services' preventive measures]. Bergen: Uni Research Helse.

Clarke, V. (2007). Slippery slopes and the queer parenting Armageddon: normalising and radical responses to arguments about the importance of maternal and paternal influences in child-rearing. *Lesbian & Gay Psychology Review, 8*(1), 21-27.

Clements, B., & Field, C. D. (2014). The Polls - Trends. Public opinion toward homosexuality and gay rights in Great Britain. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfu018

Costa, P. A., Caldeira, S., Fernandes, I., Rita, C., Pereira, H., & Leal, I. (2014). Religious and Political Conservatism and Beliefs About Same-Sex Parenting in Portugal. *Psychology, Community & Health, 3*(1), 23-35. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.5964/pch.v3i1.94

Cresswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design. Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (4 ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. P. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2 ed.). Sage: London.

Crowl, A. L., Ahn, S., & Baker, J. (2008). A meta-analysis of developmental outcomes for children of same-sex and heterosexual parents. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 4*, 385-407.

Cunningham, H. (2006). *The Invention of Childhood*. London: BBC Books.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1999). Positioning and personhood. In R. Harrè & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning Theory.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (2001). Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse Theory and Practice. A Reader* (pp. 261-271). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

DeLisle, J. (2011). The benefits and challenges of mixing methods and methodologies: lessons learnt from implementing qualitatively led mixed methods research designs in Trinidad and Tobago. *Caribbean Curriculum, 18*, 87-120.

Dempsey, D., & Critchley, C. (2010). Comfort with use of assisted reproductive thechnologies (ART) for family formation by same-sex and heterosexual couples: a survey of Australian social attitudes. *Gay & Lesbian Issues and Psychology Review, 6*(2), 90-102.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications Inc.

Dyrhaug, T., & Sky, V. (2015/16). Barn og unge med innvandrerbakgrunn i barnevernet 2012 [Children and youth with immigrant background in Child welfare services 2012]. Oslo: Statistisk Sentralbyrå

Edwards, R., & Gillies, V. (2011). Clients and consumers, commonplace or pioneers? Navigating the contemporary class politics of family, parenting skills and education. *Ethics and Education, 6*(2), 141-154.

Engebrigtsen, A., & Fuglerud, Ø. (2007). Ungdom i flyktningfamilier. Familie og vennskap - Trygghet og frihet? [Youth in refugee families. Family and friendship - Safety and freedom?]. Oslo: NOVA.

Engebrigtsen, A. I. (2003). The child's - or the state's - best interest? Unaccompanied asylum seeking minors in Norway. *Child and Family Social Work, 8*, 191-200.

Erich, S., Kanenberg, H., Case, K., Allen, T., & Bogdanes, T. (2009). An empirical analysis of factors affecting adolescent attachment in adoptive families with homosexual and straight parents. *Children and Youth Services Review, 31*, 398-404.

Ericsson, K. (2000). Social Control and Emancipation Ambiguities in Child Welfare. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention, 1*, 16-26.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Espino, J. M. G. (2012). Two sides of intensive parenting: Present and future dimensions in contemporary relations between parents and children in Spain. *Childhood, 20*(1), 22-36.

Eydal, G., & Kroger, T. (2010). Nordic family policies: Constructing contexts for social work. In H. Forsberg & T. Kroger (Eds.), *Social work and child welfare policies. Through Nordic lenses* (pp. 11-28). Bristol: Policy Press.

Faircloth, C. (2014). "Intensive motherhood" in comparative perspective: feminism, full-term breastfeeding and attachment parenting in London and Paris. In C. Faircloth, D. M. Hoffman & L. L. Layne (Eds.), *Parenting in a global perspective. Negotiating ideologies of kinship, self and politics* (pp. 119-135). London & New York: Routledge.

Faircloth, C. (2014). Intensive Parenting and the Expansion of Parenting. In E. Lee, J. Bristow, C. Faircloth & J. Macvarish (Eds.), *Parenting Culture Studies* (pp. 25-50). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Faircloth, C., Hoffman, D. H., & Layne, L. L. (2013). Introduction. In C. Faircloth, D. H. Hoffman & L. L. Layne (Eds.), *Parenting in a Global Perspective. Negotiating ideologies of kinship, self and politics*. London & New York: Routledge.

Faircloth, C., Hoffmann, D. M., & Layne, L. L. (2013). Introduction. In C. Faircloth, D. M. Hoffman & L. L. Layne (Eds.), *Parenting in a global perspective. Negotiating ideologies of kinship, self and policies* (pp. 1-18). London and New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Fairtlough, A. (2008). Growing up with a lesbian or gay parent: young people's perspectives. *Health & Social Care in the Community, 16*(5), 521-528. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2524.2008.00774.x

Farr, R. H., Forssell, S. L., & Patterson, C. J. (2010). Parenting and Child Development in Adoptive Families: Does Parental Sexual Orientation Matter? *Applied Developmental Science, 14*(3), 164-178.

Ferree, M. M. (2010). Filling the glass: Gender perspectives on families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*, 420-439. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00711.x.

Fjær, E. G., & Backe-Hansen, E. (2013). Å ha foreldre av samme kjønn -hvordan er det, og hvor mange gjelder det? [To have parents of the same gender - how is it, and how many are we talking about?] (Vol. 9/2013). Oslo: NOVA.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiery, 12*, 219--245.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge*. London, UK: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1999). *Seksualitetens historie [The history of sexuality]*. Oslo: EXIL.

Franklin, A., & Sloper, P. (2009). Supporting the participation of disabled children and young people in decision-making. *Children & Society, 23*, 3-15.

Franzen, E., Vinnerljung, B., & Hjern, A. (2008). "The Epidemiology of Out-of-Home Care for Children and Youth: A National Cohort Study. *British Journal of Social Work, 38*, 1043-1059.

Furedi, F. (2002). *Paranoid Parenting: Why ignoring the experts may be best for your child*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press.

Furedi, F. (2005). *Politics of fear: beyond left and right*. London and New York: Continuum.

Furedi, F. (2011). "The objectification of fear and the grammar of morality". In S. P. Hier (Ed.), *Moral Panics and the Politics of Anxiety*. London and New York: Routledge.

Furedi, F. (2014). Foreword. In E. Lee, J. Bristow, C. Faircloth & J. Macvarish (Eds.), *Parenting Culture Studies* (pp. viii - ix). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillian

Fylkesnes, M. K., Iversen, A. C., Bjørknes, R., & Nygren, L. (2015). Frykten for barnevernet. En undersøkelse av etniske minoritetsforeldres oppfatninger [The fear of Child protective

services. A study about ethnic minority parents comprehensions]. *Norges Barnevern, 2*(92), 80-96.

Gallacher, L., & Kehily, M. J. (2013). Childhood: a sociocultural approach. In M. J. Kehily (Ed.), *Understanding childhood: a cross-disciplinary approach* (2 ed., pp. 211-266). Bristol: The Policy Press.

Gallagher, M., Smith, M., Hardy, M., & Wilkinson, H. (2012). Children and Families' Involvement in Social Work Decision Making. *Children & Society, 26*, 74-85. doi: http://dx.doi.org/1111/j.1099-0860.2011.00409.x

Gartrell, N., & Bos, H. M. W. (2010). US national longitudinal lesbian family study: psychological adjustment of 17-year old adolescents. *PEDIATRICS, 126*(1), 28-36.

Gato, J., & Fontaine, A. M. (2015). Attitudes toward adoption by same-sex couples: Effects of gender of the participants, sexual orientation of the couple, and gender of the child. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 0*(0), 1-22. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1550428x.2015.1049771

Gavriel-Fried, B., & Shilo, G. (2015). Defining the family: the role of personal values and personal acquaintance. *Journal of Family Studies*. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2015.1020991

Giddens, A. (1996). *Modernitet og selvidentitet. Selvet og samfunnet under sen-moderniteten*: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Gill, R. (2010). Discourse Analysis. In M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Oualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound. A Practical Handbook* (pp. 172-190). London: Sage.

Gillies, V. (2005). Raising the "meritocracy": Parenting and the Individualization of Social Class. *Sociology, 39*, 835-853.

Gillies, V. (2008). Perspective on Parenting Responsibility: Contextualizing Values and Practices. *Journal of Law and Society, 35*(1), 95-112.

Gillies, V. (2011). From Function to Competence: Engaging with the New Politics of Family. *Sociological research online, 14*(4), 1-11.

Gittins, D. (2004). The historical construction of childhood. In M. J. Kehily (Ed.), *An Introduction to Childhood Studies* (pp. 25-38). Open Univeristy Press: Maidenhead - New York.

Goldberg, A. E. (2010). *Lesbian and Gay Parents and their Children. Research on the Family Life Circle*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Golombok, S., & Badger, S. (2010). Children raised in mother-headed families from infancy: a follow-up of children of lesbian and single heterosexual mothers, at early adulthood. *Human Reproduction, 25*(1), 150-157. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/humrep/dep/345

Golombok, S., Mellish, L., Jennings, S., Casey, P., Tasker, F., & Lamb, M. E. (2014). Adoptive Gay Father Families: Parent-Child Relationsships and Children's Psychological Adjustment. *Child Development, 85*(2), 456-468. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.111/cdev.12155

Government paper. (2015). *Nye retningslinjer om barnevern over landegrensene [New guidelines concerning child protective services across the borders].* Retrieved from: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/nye-retningslinjer-om-barnevern-over-landegrensene/id2467854/

Grønmo, S. (2004). *Samfunnsvitenskaplige metoder [Methods in social science]*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3 ed., pp. 191-216). London: Sage Publications Ltd

Hall, S. (2006). Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse Theory and Practice. A reader.* (pp. 72-81). London: Sage Publications Ltd

Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Hays, S. (1996). *The Cultural Contradiction of Motherhood*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Heggen, K., Rød, P. A., & Jørgensen, T. (2013). Det kommunale barnevernet - Faglege argument i møte med kommunalpolitikk [The municipal child protection services- scientific arguments in the face of municipal policy]. *Tidsskriftet Norges barnevern, 90*, 85-96.

Hennum, N. (2002). Kjærlighetens og autoritetens kulturelle koder. Om å være mor og far for norsk ungdom [The love and the authority's cultural codes. To be mother and father for Norwegian youth]. Oslo: NOVA.

Hennum, N. (2010). Mot en standarisering av voksenhet? Barn som redskap i statens disiplinering av voksne [Towards standardizing being an adult. Children as tools in the state's disciplining of adults]. *Sosiologi i dag, 1-2*, 55-75.

Hennum, N. (2011). Controlling children's lives: covert messages in child protection service reports. *Child & Family Social Work, 16*, 336-344.

Hennum, N. (2015). Makten i barnet [The power in the child]. *Norges Barnevern, 92*(2), 124-138.

Herbstrith, J. C., Tobin, R. M., Hesson-McInnis, M. S., & Schneider, W. J. (2013). Preservice Teacher Attitudes Toward Gay and Lesbian Parents. *School Psychology Quarterly, 28*(3), 183-194. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/spq0000022

Herek, G. M. (2006). Legal recognition of same-sex relationships in the United States - A social science perspective. *American Psychologist, 61*(6), 607-621. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.61.6.607

Hoffman, D. M. (2014). Power struggles: the paradoxes of emotion and control among child-centered mothers in privileged America. In C. Faircloth, D. M. Hoffman & L. L. Layne (Eds.), *Parenting in a global perspective. negotiating ideologies of kinship, self and politics* (pp. 229-243). London & New York: Routledge.

Hofman, S. (2010). Hensyn til kultur - til barnets beste? En analyse av 17 barnevernssaker om omsorgsovertakelse og plassering av minoritetsbarn [Taking culture into consideration - in the best interest of the child? [An analysis of 17 custody cases concerning immigrant children taken into care]. Oslo: Avdeling for kvinnerett, barnerett, likestillings- og diskrimineringsrett (KVIBALD), Universitetet i Oslo.

Hooijer, G., & Picot, G. (2015). European Welfare States and Migrant Poverty: The Institutional Determinants of Disadvantage. *Comparative Political Studies, 48*(14), 1879 - 1904. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414015597508

Hosking, G., Mulholland, M., & Baird, B. (2015). "We are doing just fine": The Children of Australian Gay and Lesbian Parents Speak Out. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 11*, 1-24. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2014.988378

Hundeide, K. (2002). The mind between us. *Nordisk Psykologi, 54*, 69-90.

Hundeide, K. (2003). *Barns livsverden: Sosiokulturelle rammer for barns utvikling [Children's life world: Sociocultural frames for children's development]*. Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag.

Hundeide, K. (2004). Utfordringen fra kulturpsykologien [The challenge from cultural psychology]. *Tidsskrift for Norsk Psykologforening, 41*(3), 1-6.

James, A., & James, A. L. (2008). Changing Childhood in the UK: Reconstructing Discourses of 'Risk' and 'Protection'. In A. James & A. L. James (Eds.), *European Childhoods. Cultures, Politics and Childhoods in Europe* (pp. 105-129). Hampshire and New York: PalgraveMacmillan.

James, A., & Prout, A. (2007). A New Paradigm for the Sociology of Childhood? Provenance, Promise and Problems. In A. James & A. Prout (Eds.), *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood* (2 ed., pp. 7-33). London: RoutledgeFalmer. (Reprinted from: 2007).

Jenks, C. (2005). *Childhood* (2 ed.). London: Routledge.

Jensen, T. (2013). Creating distinction: middle-class viewers of Supernanny in the UK. In C. Faircloth, D. M. Hoffman & L. L. Layne (Eds.), *Parenting in a global perspective. Negotiating ideologies of kinship, self and politics* (pp. 51-68). London & New York: Routledge.

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(2), 112-133.

Juul, R. (2010). *Barnevernets undersøkelser av bekymringer. Diskursive praksisformer og barneperspektiver i den kommunale barneverntjeneste, og konsekvenser i forhold til barna [Child welfare services' investigations of concerns. Discursive practice forms and children's perspectives in municipal child welfare].* (PhD Thesis), NTNU, Trondheim.

Juul, R. (2011). Diskursive analyser som kritisk korrektiv av barnevernets praksis [Discursive analysis as critical corrective of child welfare practice]. *Barn, 2*, 83-102.

Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publications.

Kalve, T., & Dyrhaug, T. (2011). Barn og unge med innvandrerbakgrunn i barnevernet 2009 [Children and youth with immigrant background in Child welfare services 2009]. Oslo: Statistisk Sentralbyrå.

Kehily, M. J. (2010). Childhood in crisis? Tracing the contours of "crisis" and its impact upon contemporary parenting practices. *Media, Culture & Society, 32*(2), 171 - 185.

Kesler, C. (2015). Welfare states and immigrant poverty: Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. *Acta Sociologica, 58*(1), 39-61. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0001699314560238

Kjelaas, I., & Eide, K. (2015). Barnets stemme i tolkemedierte samtaler [The child's voice in interpreter-mediated conversations]. *Norges Barnevern, 91*, 109-122.

Kojan, B. H. (2011). Norwegian Child Welfare Services: A Successful Program for Protecting and Supporting Vulnerable Children and Parents? *Australian Social Work, 64*(4), 443 - 458. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2010.538069

Krane-Hansen, J. (2007). Homoseksuelle foreldre – (u)vanlige familier? Ungdom, unge og voksnes oppveksterfaringer fra familier med homoseksuelle foreldre [Homosexual parents - (un)usual families? Youth, young people and adults' experiences from growing up with homosexual parents]*Dansk Sociologi, 18*(3), 9-24.

Krane-Hansen, J. (2012). "My Rainbow Family"- Discomfort and the Heteronormative Logics. *Young, 20*(3), 237-256. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/10330881202000302

Krane-Hansen, J. (2014). Må "komme ut" som barn av homofile foreldre [Have to "come out" as children with homosexual parents]. Retrieved from Kjønnsforskning.no website: http://kjonnsforskning.no/nb/2014/03/ma-komme-ut-som-barn-av-homofile-foreldre

Križ, K., & Skivenes, M. (2009). 'We have very different positions on some issues': how child welfare workers in Norway and England bridge cultural differences when communicating with ethnic minority families. *European Journal of Social Work, 13*(1), 3-18. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691450903135626

Križ, K., & Skivenes, M. (2010a). "Knowing Our Society" and "Fighting Against Prejudices": How Child Welfare Workers in Norway and England Perceive the Challenges of Minority Parents. *Bristish Journal of Social Work, 40*, 2634-2551.

Križ, K., & Skivenes, M. (2010b). Lost in Translation: How Welfare Workers in Norway and England Express Language Difficulties when Working with Minority Etnic Families. *British Journal of Social Work, 40*, 1353-1367.

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju [The qualitative research interview]* (2 ed.). Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Lamb, M. E. (2012). Mothers, Fathers, Families, and Circumstances: Factors Affecting Children's Adjustment. *Applied Developmental Science, 16*(2), 98-111. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2012.667344

Lavner, J. A., Waterman, J., & Peplau, L. A. (2012). Can Gay and Lesbian Parents Promote Healthy Development in High-Risk Children Adopted From Foster Care? *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 82*(4), 465-472. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.111/j.1939-0025.2012.01176.x

Leddy, A., Gartrell, N., & Bos, H. (2012). Growing up in a Lesbian Family. The Life Experiences of the Adult Daughters and Sons of Lesbian Mothers. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 8*, 243-257. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2012.677233

Lee, E. (2014a). Experts and parenting culture. In E. Lee, J. Bristow, C. Faircloth & J. Macvarish (Eds.), *Parenting Culture Studies*. New York: PalgraveMacmillan

Lee, E. (2014b). Introduction. In E. Lee, J. Bristow, C. Faircloth & J. Macvarish (Eds.), *Parenting Culture Studies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lee, N. (2001). *Childhood and society : growing up in an age of uncertainty*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Leira, A. (2008). Childcare in Scandinavia: Parental Responsibility and Social Right. *LHomme: European Journal of Feminist History, 19*(1), 81-103.

Lidèn, H. (2004). Barns rettigheter - en realiserbar intensjon? [Children' rights - a realisable intention?]. *Tidsskrift for velferdsforskning, 7*(4), 196-212.

Lucas, P. J. (2011). Some reflections on the rhetoric of parenting programmes: evidence, theory, and social policy. *Journal of Family Therapy, 33*, 181-198.

Lundy, L. (2013). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and Child Well-Being. In A. Ben Arieh, F. Casas, I. Frones & J. Korbin (Eds.), *Handbook of Child Well-Being*. Belfast: Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht.

Macvarish, J. (2014). The Politics of Parenting. In E. Lee, J. Bristow, C. Faircloth & J. Macvarish (Eds.), *Parenting Culture Studies* (pp. 76-101). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Magnussen, A. M., & Skivenes, M. (2015). The Child's Opinion and Position in Care Order Proceedings. *International Journal of Children's Rights, 23*, 705-723. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/15718182-02304001

Malterud, K. (2001). "Qualitative research: Standards, challenges and guidelines". *The Lancet, 358*, 483-488.

Malterud, K. (2011). *Kvalitative metoder i medisinsk forskning - en innføring [Qualitative methods in medical research - an introduction]* (3 ed.). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

McLeod, A. (2006). Respect or empowerment? Alternative understandings of "listening" in in childcare social work. *Adoption & Fostering, 30*, 43-52.

Midjo, T. (2010). *En studie av samhandlingen mellom foreldre og barnevernsarbeidere i barnevernets undersøkelse [A study about the interaction between parents and child welfare workers in Child welfare services' investigation work].* (PhD Thesis), NTNU, Trondheim.

MMI. (1998). En telefonundersøkelse om nordmenns holdninger til lesbiske og homofiles rettigheter og levekår [A telephone inquiry about Norwegian attitudes towards lesbian's and homosexual's rights and living conditions]. Oslo MMI (2-4 Mars 1998): NOVA.

Moshuus, G. H. (2004). Norsk foreldreskap - en øvelse i likhetskultur. En sammenligning av forestillinger om "godt foreldreskap" blant ungdom og deres foreldre i Norge og Israel [Norwegian parenthood - exercising a culture of equality. Comparing notions about "good parenthood" among youth and their parents in Norway and Israel]. *Tidsskrift for ungdomsforskning, 4*(1), 49-66.

Mühleisen, W., & Røthing, Å. (Eds.). (2009). *Norske seksualiteter [Norwegian sexualities]*. Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag.

Nortvedt, P., & Grimen, H. (2004). *Sensibilitet og refleksjon: filosofi og vitenskapsteori for helsefag [Sensibility and reflection: philosophy and theory of science for health disciplines]*. Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk.

StatisticsNorway (2016). *Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre, 1 januar 2016 [Immigrants and Norwegian born with immigrant parents, 1 January 2016]*. Oslo: Retrieved from http://www.ssb.no/innvbef/.

Ohnstad, A. (2008). Skeivt foreldreskap [Queer parenthood]. In B. Puntervold Bø & B. C. Rappana Olsen (Eds.), *Utfordrende foreldreskap - Under ulike livsbetingelser og tradisjoner [Challenging parenthood - Under different life conditions and traditions]* (pp. 73-88). Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Opdal, P. M. (2002). "Barnerettighetene" ["Children's rights"]. *Mennesker & Rettigheter, 4*, 2-10.

Parker, I. (1992). *Discourse dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology*. London: Routledge.

Patterson. (2009). Children of lesbian and gay parents: Psychology, law, and policy. *The American psychologist, 64*(8), 727-736.

Patterson, C. J. (2006). Children of lesbian and gay parents. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 15*(5), 241-244.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2 ed.). Newbury Park: Sage.

Paulsen, V., Thorshaug, K., & Berg, B. (2014). Møter mellom innvandrere og barnevernet. Kunnskapsstatus [Immigrants' meetings with Child welfare services. Knowledge status]. Trondheim: NTNU Samfunnsforskning AS.

Pennington, J., & Knight, T. (2011). Through the lens of hetero-normative assumptions: re-thinking attitudes towards gay parenting. *Culture Health & Sexuality, 13*(1), 59-72. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2010.519049

Picot, A. (2014). Transforming child welfare: from explicit to implicit control of families. *European Journal of Social Work, 17*(5), 689-701. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2014.932273

Pinkney, S. (2011). "Discourses of children's participation: professionals, policies and practice". *Social Policy and Society, 10*, 271-283.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. London: Sage.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1995). Discourse analysis. In J. A. Smith, R. Harrè & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Rethinking Methods in Psychology* (pp. 80-92). London: Sage.

Puntervold Bø, B. (2008). Foreldreskap over kulturgrenser og generasjonskonflikter om oppdragelse [Parenthood across cultural borders and generational conflicts over up-bringing]. In B. Puntervold Bø & B. C. Rappana Olsen (Eds.), *Utfordrende foreldreskap - Under ulike livsbetingelser og tradisjoner [Challenging parenthood - Under different life conditions and traditions]* (pp. 156-176). Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Pösö, T., Skivenes, M., & Hestbæk, A. D. (2013). Child protection systems within the Danish, Finnish and Norwegian welfare states - time for a child centric approach. *European Journal of Social Work, 17*(4), 475-490. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2013.829802

Qvortrup, J. (2008). Childhood in the Welfare State. In A. James & A. L. James (Eds.), *European Childhoods. Cultures, Politics and Childhoods in Europe* (pp. 216-234). Hampshire and New York: PalgraveMacmillan.

Reynaert, D., Bouverne-De Bie, M., & Vandevelde, S. (2009). A review of children's rights literature since the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. *Childhood, 16*(4), 518-534. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0907568209344270

Riggs, D. (2008). Developmentalism and the Rhetoric of Best Interest of the Child. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 2*(2), 57-73.

Rivers, I., Noret, N., & Poteat, V. P. (2008). Victimization, Social Support, and Psychosocial Functioning Among Children of Same-Sex and Opposite Couples in the United Kingdom. *Developmental Psychology, 44*(1), 127 - 134

Robitaille, C., & Saint-Jacques, M. C. (2009). Social Stigma and the Situation of Young People in Lesbian and Gay Stepfamilies. *Journal of Homosexuality, 56*(4), 421-442.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roose, R., & Bouverne-De Bie, M. (2008). Children's Rights: A Challenge for Social Work. *International Social Work, 51*(1), 37-46.

Rosenfeld, M. (2010). Nontraditional families and childhood progress through school. *Demography, 47*(3), 755-775.

Ryan, S. D., Bedard, L. E., & Gertz, M. G. (2007). The Influence of Gender on the Placement of Children with Gay or Lesbian Adoptive Parents. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 3*(1), 15-34.

Rye, B. J., & Meaney, G. J. (2010). Self-defense, sexism, and etiological beliefs: Predictors of attitudes toward gay and lesbian adoption. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 6*(1), 1-24. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15504280903472485

Sandberg, K. (2004). Inkorporeringen av FNs barnekonvensjon i norsk rett [The incorporation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in Norwegian law]. *Kristik Juss, 30*, 316-329.

Schwartz, J. (2010). Investigating Differences in Public Support for Gay Rights Issues. *Journal of Homosexuality*. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2010.485875

Sedano, L. J. (2014). "*Spanish* people don't know how to rear their children!" Dominican women's resistance to intensive mothering in Madrid. In C. Faircloth, D. M. Hoffman & L. L. Layne (Eds.), *Parenting in a global perspective. Negotiating ideologies of kinship, self and politics* (pp. 169-183). London & New York: Routledge.

Seeberg, M. L. (2007). Utenfor den nasjonale kroppen: barn/asylsøker [Outside the national body: child/asylum seeker]. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Migrasjonsforskning, 2*, 35-48.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthyness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information, 22*, 63-75.

Skivenes, M. (2011a). How child welfare workers view their work with racial and ethnic minority families: The United States in contrast to England and Norway. *Children and Youth Services Review, 33*(10), 1866-1874. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.05.005

Skivenes, M. (2011b). Norway - Toward a child centric perspective. In N. Gilbert, N. Parton & M. Skivenes (Eds.), *Child Protection Systems: International Trends and Emerging Orientations* (pp. 174-179). New York: Oxford University Press.

Skivenes, M. (2015). How the Norwegian Child Welfare System Approaches Migrant Children In M. Skivenes, R. Barn, K. Kriz & T. Pøsø (Eds.), *Child Welfare Systems and Migrant Children*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skivenes, M., & Kriz, K. (2012). Child-centric or family focused? A study of child welfare workers' perceptions of ethnic minority children in England and Norway. *Child & Family Social Work, 17*(4), 448-457. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2011.00802.x

Smith, R. (2010). Total Parenting. *Educational Theory, 60*(3), 357-369.

Solberg, E. (2016). Skal banke på dørene til barn som ikke er i barnehage [Shall knock on the doors of children who do not attend kindergarten].
http://www.dagbladet.no/2016/04/08/nyheter/innenriks/politikk/hoyre/43803845/

Spector, P. E. (2013). Survey Design and Measure Development. In T. D. Little (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Quantitative Methods* (Vol. 1, pp. 170-187). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Staer, T., & Bjørknes, R. (2015). Etnic disproportionality in the child welfare system: A Norwegian national cohort study. *Children and Youth Services Review, 56*, 26-32.

Stainton Rogers, W. (2007). Promoting better childhoods: construction of child concern. In M. J. Kehily (Ed.), *An Introduction to childhood studies* (pp.125-144). Maidenhead, Berkshire: Open University Press.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3 ed., pp. 443-466). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication.

Statistics Norway. (2016). *Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre, 1. januar 2016 [Immigrants and Norwegian born with immigrants parent, 1 January, 2016].* Retrieved from: https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef/aar/2016-03-03

Statistics Norway. (2008). *Andel personer i alderen 9-79 år med tilgang til ulike medier og elektroniske tilbud i hjemmet [Number of persons aged 9-79 with access to various media and electronic facilities at home].* Retrieved from http://www.ssb.no/aarbok/tab/tab-233.html.

Stefansen, K., Hegna, K., Valset, J., von Soest, T., & Mossige, S. (2009). Vold mot "homofil" ungdom. Forekomst og fortolkninger [Violence against "homosexual" youth. Prevalence and interpretations]. *Sosiologi i dag, 39*(2), 43-71.

Stern, R. (2007). "Ratten til deltagande enligt FN's barnekonvensjon" ["The right to participation in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child"]. *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Menneskerettigheter, 1*, 18-31.

Stiklestad, S. S. (2012). *Planlagte lesbiske familier – kontroverser og kunnskap. Familierettslige spørsmål i lys av samfunnsdebatten [Planned lesbian families - controversies and knowledge. Family law questions in light of the societal debate].* (PhD Thesis), NTNU, Trondheim.

Such, E., & Walker, R. (2005). Young Citizens or Policy Objects? Children in the "Rights and Responsibilities" Debate. *Journal of Social Policy, 34*, 39-57.

Sykes, C. M., Willig, C., & Marks, D. F. (2004). Discourses in the European Commission's 1996 - 2000 Health Promotion Programme. *Journal of Health Psychology, 9*(1), 131-141.

Tasker, F. F. (2007). Research on gay and lesbian parenting: retrospect and prospect. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 3*(2-3), 9-34.

Thelen, T., & Haukanes, H. (2010a). Parenthood and Childhood: Debates within the Social Sciences. In T. Thelen & H. Haukanes (Eds.), *Parenting After the Century of the Child. Travelling Ideals, Institutional Negotiations and Individual Responses*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Thelen, T., & Haukanes, H. (2010b). Parenting after the Century of the Child: Introduction. In T. Thelen & H. Haukanes (Eds.), *Parenting After the Century of the Child. Travelling Ideals, Institutional Negotiations and Individual Responses*. Farnham: Ashgate

Thoresen, H. (2008). Web og telefon side om side [Web and telephone side by side]. *Analysen, 2*, 6-8.

Tisdall, E. K. M. (2015). Children's Rights and Children's Wellbeing: Equivalent Policy Concepts? *Journal of Social Policy, 44*(4), 807-823. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0047279415000306

Tisdall, E. K. M., Davies, J. M., & Gallagher, M. (2008). Reflecting on Children and Young People's Participation in the UK. *International Journal of Children's Rights, 16*, 343-354.

Tisdall, E. K. M., & Punch, S. (2012). Not so "new". Looking critically at childhood studies. *Children's Geographies, 10*(3), 249-264. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2012.693376

Tisdall, K., & Davies, J. (2004). "Making a difference? Bringing children's and young people's views into policy -making". *Children & Society, 18*, 131-142.

Toverud, R., Gulbrandsen, L. M., Andenæs, A., Hjort, H., Jensen, T. K., & Ulvik, O. S. (2002). Kulturpsykologi - utgangspunkt, mål og framkomstmidler [Culture psychology – point of departure, aim and means of transport]. In K. Thorsen & R. Toverud (Eds.), *Kulturpsykologi. Bevegelser i livsløp [Culture psychology. Movements in a life circle]* (pp. 17-33). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Tronto, J. (2006). Moral Perspectives: Gender, ethnics, and political theory. In K. Davis, M. Evans & J. Lorber (Eds.), *Handbook of gender and women's studies* (pp. 417-434). London: Sage.

Tulviste, T., Mizera, L., De Geer, B., & Tryggvason, M. T. (2007). Child-rearing goals of Estonian, Finnish, and Swedish mothers. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 48*(6), 487-497. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9450.2007.00618.x

Ulvik, O. S. (2005). *Fosterfamilie som seinmoderne omsorgsarrangement: en kulturpsykologisk studie av fosterbarn og forsterforeldres fortellinger [Foster family as late modern care arrangement: a culture psychological study about foster children's and foster parents' narratives].* (PhD Thesis), University of Oslo, Oslo.

Ulvik, O. S. (2008). Foreldreskap som offentlig oppdrag [Parenthood as public assignment]. In B. Puntervold Bø & B. C. Rappana Olsen (Eds.), *Utfordrende foreldreskap - Under ulike livsbetingelser og tradisjoner [Challenging parenthood - Under different life conditions and traditions]* (pp. 89-109). Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Ulvik, O. S. (2009). Barns rett til deltakelse - teoretiske og praktiske utfordringer i profesjonelle hjelperes samarbeid med barn [Children's Right to participation - theoretical and practical challenges in professional helpers' cooperation with children]. *Tidsskrift for Norsk Psykologforening, 46*, 1148-1154.

Vagli, Å. (2009). *Behind closed doors; exploring the institutional logic of doing child protection work.* (PhD Thesis), Universitetet i Bergen, Bergen.

Valenta, M., & Bunar, N. (2010). State Assisted Integration: Refugee Integration Policies in Scandinavian Welfare States: the Swedish and Norwegian Experience. *Journal of refugee Studies, 23*(4), 463-483. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feq028

van Bijleveld, G. G., Dedding, C. W. M., & Bunders-Aelen, J. F. G. (2015). Children's and young people's participation within child welfare and child protection services: a state-of-the-art review. *Child & Family Social Work, 20*, 129-138. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12082

van Gelderen, L., Bos, H. M. W., Gartrell, N., Hermanns, J., & Perrin, E. (2012). Quality of Life for Adolescents Raised from Birth by Lesbian Mothers: The US Natinal Longitudinal Family Study. *Dev Behav Pediatr, 33*(1), 1-6.

van Gelderen, L., Gartrell, N., Bos, H. M. W., van Rooij, F. B., & Hermanns, J. M. A. (2012). Stigmatization associated with growing up in a lesbian-parented family: What do adolescents experience and how do they deal with it. *Children and Youth Services Review, 34*, 999-1006. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2012.01.048

Vandenbroeck, M., & Bouverne-De Bie, M. (2006). Children's Agency and Educational Norms: A Tense Negotiation. *Childhood, 13*(1), 127-143.

Vecho, O., Poteat, V. P., & Shneider, B. (2015). Adolescents' attitudes towards same-sex marriage and adoption in France. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 0*(0), 1-22. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2015.1040530

Verhellen, E. (2000). *Convention on the rights of the child: backgound, motivation, strategies, main themes*. Leuven: Garant.

Vike, H., & Eide, K. (2009). Kulturanalyse, minoritetsperspektiv og psykososialt arbeid [Culture analysis, minority perspective and psychosocial work]. In H. Vike (Ed.), *Over profesjonelle barrierer. Et minoritetsperspektiv i psykososialt arbeid med barn og unge [Across professional barriers. A minority perspective in psychosocial work with children and youth]* (pp. 13-37). Oslo: Gyldendal.

Vinnerljung, B., Franzen, E., Gustafsson, B., & Johansson, I.-M. (2008). "Out- of- Home Care among Immigrant Children in Sweden - a National Cohort Study". *International Journal of Social Work, 17*(260-269).

Vis, S. A., & Fossum, S. (2013). "Representation of children's views in court hearings about custody and parental visitations - A comparison between what children wanted and what the courts ruled". *Children and Youth Services Review, 35*(12), 2101-2109.

Vis, S. A., Holtan, A., & Thomas, N. (2012). Obstacles for Child Participation in Care and Protection Cases - why Norwegian social workers find it difficult. *Child Abuse Review, 21*, 7-23. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.10027car.1155

Vis, S. A., Strandbu, A., Holtan, A., & Thomas, N. (2011). Participation and health - a research review of child participation in planning and decision-making. *Child & Family Social Work, 16*, 325-335.

Vis, S. A., & Thomas, N. (2009). Beyond talking - children's participation in Norwegian care and protection cases. *European Journal of Social Work, 12*(2), 155-168. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691450802567465

Walkerdine, V. (2001). Safety and danger: childhood, sexuality, and space at the end of the millennium. In K. Hultquist & G. Dahlberg (Eds.), *Governing the Child in the New Millennium* (Vol. , pp. 15-34). New York: RoutledgeFalmer

Walkerdine, V. (2004). Developmental psychology and the study of childhood. In M. J. Kehily (Ed.), *An Introduction to Childhood Studies* (pp. 96-107). New York: Open University Press.

Webb, S. N., & Chonody, J. (2014). Heterosexual Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Marriage: The Influence of Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Parenting. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 10*, 404-421. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15504228X.2013.832644

Welsh, M. G. (2011). Growing up in a Same-Sex Parented Family: The Adolescent Voice of Experience. *Jornal of GLBT Family Studies, 7*, 49-71. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.108071550428X.2010.537241

Wetherell, M. (2006). Debates in Discourse Research. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse Theory and Practice. A reader.* (pp. 380-399). London: Sage Publications.

Wetherell, M. (2006). Themes in Discourse Research: The Case of Diana. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discoures Theory and Practice. A Reader* (pp. 14-28). London: Sage Publications.

Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology. Adventures in theory and method*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology* (2 ed.). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology* (3 ed.). Berkshire England: Open University Press.

Willig, C., & Stainton-Rogers, W. (2008). Introduction. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology* (pp. 1-12). Los Angeles: Sage.

Witeck, B. (2014). Cultural Change in Acceptance of LGBT People: Lessons from Social Marketing. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 84*(1), 19-22. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0098945

Wyness, M. (2006). *Childhood and Society. An Introduction to the Sociology of Childhood*. Houndmills, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Paper I

I

A Nationwide Study of Norwegian Beliefs About Same-sex Marriage and Lesbian and Gay Parenthood

Ragnhild Hollekim · Hilde Slaatten · Norman Anderssen

Abstract In Norway, a gender-neutral Marriage Law that secured equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples took effect in January 2009. The aim of the current study was to explore Norwegian beliefs about equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples and the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. A sample of 1,246 Norwegians participated in the study by filling out a questionnaire. The majority reported that they were supportive of equal marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples, whilst there was less support for granting gay and lesbian couples equal right to become parents. The negative attitudes towards equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples were explained mainly by concerns about the welfare of children growing up with gay and lesbian parents.

Keywords Same-sex marriage · Lesbian · Gay · Parenting · Law · Children · Rights · Public opinion · Homosexuality · Norway

R. Hollekim (✉) · H. Slaatten
Research Centre for Health Promotion, University of Bergen,
Christies gt 13,
5020 Bergen, Norway
e-mail: ragnhild.hollekim@psybv.uib.no

H. Slaatten
e-mail: Hilde.Slaatten@iuh.uib.no

H. Slaatten · N. Anderssen
Department of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen,
Christiesgt 12,
5020 Bergen, Norway

N. Anderssen
e-mail: Norman.Anderssen@psysp.uib.no

The Norwegian Gender-Neutral Marriage Law

In Norway, a gender-neutral Marriage Law took effect from 1 January 2009, replacing a Law on Registered Partnership that was introduced in 1993 (Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion 2009a, b). The new law secured equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples, including the right to apply for adoption. Lesbian couples were granted the right to be assessed for state-sponsored artificial insemination procedures and co-motherhood could be given to the spouse of the biological mother. The Norwegian state church and other religious communities in Norway retained reservation rights in relation to church weddings. Ministers and priests were given the right, but not the obligation, to perform wedding ceremonies for same-sex couples (Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion 2009a, b). This article reports findings from a nationwide study investigating Norwegian beliefs about equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples and the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents.

In Norway, there has been a series of changes in the legal status of homosexuals since the removal of male homosexuality from the Criminal Code in 1972. Twenty years later, when the Law on Registered Partnership was introduced, lesbian and gay couples were at large granted the same legal rights as heterosexual couples except for church weddings, joint adoption and state-sponsored assisted fertilization (Halvorsen 1998). The new Marriage Law of 2009, on the other hand, introduced progressive legislation regarding such rights, and it makes no distinction based on gender, except for reservation rights in relation to church weddings. Today, Norway is considered one of the most liberal countries in the world with regard to securing equal legal rights for heterosexuals

and homosexuals (Anderssen and Hellesund 2009; Badgett 2004) and was the first among the Nordic countries to introduce a gender-neutral Marriage Act. This makes Norway an interesting case to study more closely.

The public debate in the period leading up to Norway's new gender-neutral Marriage Law covered a spectrum of topics related to marriage rights for same-sex couples, but mainly centred on lesbian and gay parenthood (Folgerø, 2008) and whether it was in the child's best interest to grant lesbian and gay couples the right to become parents. Opponents of the new Marriage Law argued that the proposal was not in agreement with the best interests of the child and that lesbian and gay rights (adult rights) were given priority over children's rights. The viewpoint that growing up with lesbian and gay parents would place an extra strain or burden on the child was further promoted. Biological bonds and a heterosexual nuclear family with both male and female role models were believed to be prerequisites for a healthy environment for children (Anderssen and Hellesund 2009; Folgerø 2008; Proposition nr. 33 2007–2008). Supporters of the proposal, on the other hand, emphasized an equal rights and a justice perspective. They argued that the gender-neutral Marriage Law would facilitate freedom from discrimination for children raised in lesbian and gay relationships whilst in general preventing prejudiced and moralizing notions concerning lesbian and gay parenting and children growing up with lesbian and gay parents. Supporters further expressed a belief that a parent's sexual orientation is not related to her/his ability to provide a healthy and nurturing environment for children (Folgerø 2008; Proposition nr. 33 2007–2008). Conversely, various groups argued that there had been insufficient research into the consequences for children following provisions for equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples in the new gender-neutral Marriage Law and that these had not received adequate consideration. A similar division of opinions and arguments between supporters and opponents have also been identified in the public debate in other countries where questions such as legal recognition of marriage and parenting rights for lesbian and gay couples have been on the political agenda, such as in the USA, France and Sweden (Eskridge 2001; Government Commission 2006; Pew Research Center 2009; Price et al. 2005).

At present, same-sex marriage is legal in countries including the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, Spain, South Africa, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Portugal, Argentina and only a few states in the USA, whereas same-sex couples may register as partners or have rights to a form of civil union in a number of other countries (ILGA-Europe 2009; Peel and Harding 2008). Few countries grant equal parenting rights to lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples (ILGA-Europe 2009).

Beliefs About Same-Sex Marriage Rights

Support appears to be increasing for the legalizing of same-sex partnerships through civil unions and, in some Western societies, through marriage (Graham 2004; Herek 2006; Badgett 2004). However, population support for same-sex marriage rights has been studied mainly through polls that generally contain a single-item question only. The phrasing of the item varies somewhat, making comparison between countries challenging. In 2005, two Norwegian polls found that 60% (Dagsavisen 2005) and 63% (Klassekampen 2005) of respondents supported equal marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples. A year later, a European poll found that 66% of Norwegian respondents, 69% of Swedish respondents and 71% of Danish respondents supported same-sex marriage rights (European Commission 2006). In 2006, on average, 44% of the European Union (EU) population supported such rights (European Commission 2006). Recent polls from the USA indicate that between 35% and 39% of the population support same-sex marriage rights at present (People Press Organization 2009; Pew Forum 2009).

Beliefs About Equal Parenting Rights

In Europe, granting equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples have generally been more contested than the question of securing legal recognition of same-sex partnership. In 2000, the Council of Europe claimed that it was too early to give recommendations concerning lesbian and gay parenthood. A majority of the Council of Europe's Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights stated that in questions concerning lesbian and gay parenthood, the child's interests must override all other concerns. Lesbian and gay couples were not considered in the best position to satisfy these interests (Swedish Official Report 2001). At the same time, they recommended that all member states should facilitate legal registration for same-sex partners. In a literature review on discrimination of lesbian, gay, bisexual and HIV-positive persons in Norway, Danielsen (2005) demonstrated that Norwegian legislation at that time could be interpreted in a way that society did not want lesbian and gay couples to care for children. Uncertainty about whether lesbian and gay parenthood was in the child's best interest was considered the decisive issue when a French Parliamentary Committee refused to support a proposal for gender-neutral marriage legislation in France in 2006. The proposal was rejected mainly because gender-neutral marriage legislation automatically would imply equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples (Government Commission 2006).

In 1998, 25% of the Norwegian population supported adoption rights for lesbian and gay couples, whilst a clear majority was against it (MMI 1998). Representative surveys from Sweden and the USA show that approximately two thirds of the population was against giving lesbian and gay couples adoption rights (Herek 2002; Landèn and Innala 2002). Findings from European polls further support an apparently less tolerant attitude towards equal parenting rights than equal marriage rights for same-sex couples. In 2006, 44% of Danish respondents, 51% of Swedish respondents and 32% of the overall EU population generally supported adoption rights for lesbian and gay couples (European Commission 2006), whilst the support for lesbian and gay adoption rights among the US population was 46% (People Press Organization 2009). In general, average public opinion in Europe seems to reflect a more tolerant attitude towards same-sex marriages than to legal provisions to secure equal adoption rights for lesbian and gay couples, whilst in the USA, more people support adoption rights for lesbian and gay couples than marriage rights.

Demographics Related to Attitudes Towards Equal Marriage and Parenting Rights

Demographics have been studied more in relation to marriage than parenting rights. This research shows that being male, older, less educated, more religious and politically/ideologically more conservative (for example in relation to political affiliation, views on gender roles) predict more negative attitudes towards equal marriage rights (Brumbaugh et al. 2008; Pearl and Galupo 2007; Olson et al. 2006; EOS Gallup Europe 2003). However, there are some indications that the same predictors predict negative attitudes towards equal parenting rights (e.g. EOS Gallup Europe 2003; Hicks and Lee 2006).

Beliefs About the Welfare of Children with Lesbian and Gay Parents

According to Herek (2006), concerns about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents, and their needs and interests with respect to lesbian and gay parenthood, have always been an integral part of the debate on equal marriage rights for lesbian and gay couples. This was also the case in the Norwegian debate surrounding the gender-neutral Marriage Law (see above). In 1998, between 41% and 48% of the Norwegian population believed that children will be harmed growing up with lesbian and gay parents (MMI 1998). A recent Australian study by Morse et al. (2008), investigating population attitudes towards

lesbian and gay parents and projected outcomes for their children ($n = 1,217$), found that lesbian and gay parents were consistently rated less favourably than heterosexual parents across variables such as nurturing ability and suitability as role models. The study further indicated that "participants believed that children raised by gay male and lesbian parents would be more likely to experience confusion over their gender identity and sexual orientation, be homosexual, experience strained peer relationship, stigma and teasing" (p. 436). Despite growing empirical evidence that children with lesbian and gay parents do as well as other children on important social and psychological outcomes (see meta-analyses by Crowl et al. 2008; Biblarz and Stacey 2010), Biblarz and Stacey (2010) claim that there is a widespread popular conviction concerning the supremacy of heterosexual parents for successful parenting.

Research Questions

There is limited research-based knowledge about how the general population views marriage and parenting rights for lesbian women and gay men and the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. This paper presents findings from a nationwide study of Norwegian beliefs about equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples and the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. Each of the three topics (marriage rights, parenting rights and the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents) deserves exploration in its own right and will be addressed. Equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples seem, however, to be the most contested idea in a European as well as in a Norwegian context, and we have chosen this as the dependent variable to explore more specifically.

Methods

Participants

The sample consists of 1,246 participants, 614 (49%) males and 632 (51%) females, aged from 16 to 80 years. Mean age was 45 years (SD=17). Forty per cent of the participants lived in an area with <20,000 inhabitants and 37% lived in an area with more than 100,000 inhabitants. The sample composition generally reflects the demographic profile of Norway. Participants with higher education are, however, overrepresented. In the present sample, 57% of the participants reported that they have a university/college degree, whereas only 29% of the general population who are 16 years or above are reported to have a university/college degree (Statistics Norway 2010a, b).
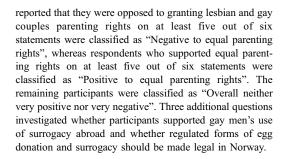
Measures

The authors developed the measures based on polls regarding lesbian and gay marriage and parenting and relevant items from research on attitudes towards lesbian and gay people. The questionnaire was piloted twice: in a sample of students ($n=207$) and in sample of students and employees in a private company ($n=192$). Few studies have, however, studied the themes in depth. Each item was phrased according to contemporary Norwegian laws and context.[1] The pilot studies displayed high face validity. Items are presented below and in the tables.

Beliefs About Equal Marriage Rights for Lesbian, Gay and Heterosexual Couples

These were assessed by three statements about marriage rights for same-sex couples (see Table 1). For each statement, the response alternatives were "Completely agree", "Slightly agree", "Neither agree nor disagree", "Slightly disagree", "Completely disagree" and "Uncertain". Responses to the three statements were summed to create the scale "Beliefs about equal marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples", with high scores indicating positive attitudes towards such rights. The scale had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.89. For the analysis, the response alternative "Uncertain" was recoded as a missing variable.

Beliefs About Equal Parenting Rights for Lesbian, Gay and Heterosexual Couples

These were assessed by six statements about equal rights to become parents through adoption and state-sponsored artificial insemination (see Table 2). Responses to the six statements were summed to create the scale "Beliefs about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples", with high scores indicating positive attitudes towards such rights. The scale had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.96. For the analysis, the response alternative "Uncertain" was recoded as a missing variable. Respondents who

reported that they were opposed to granting lesbian and gay couples parenting rights on at least five out of six statements were classified as "Negative to equal parenting rights", whereas respondents who supported equal parenting rights on at least five out of six statements were classified as "Positive to equal parenting rights". The remaining participants were classified as "Overall neither very positive nor very negative". Three additional questions investigated whether participants supported gay men's use of surrogacy abroad and whether regulated forms of egg donation and surrogacy should be made legal in Norway.

Beliefs About the Welfare of Children with Lesbian and Gay Parents

These were assessed by eight statements (see Table 3). Four items expressed positive beliefs and four items expressed concerns about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. The eight items were summed to form the scale "Beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents", with high scores indicating concern for the children's welfare. The scale had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.92. Instructions and response alternatives were the same as for the statements concerning marriage rights (see above). For the analysis, the response alternative "Uncertain" was recoded as a missing variable.

Demographics

These included gender, age, population density, education, parental status, political affiliation and religious faith. Population density was measured by an item about the number of inhabitants in the current place of residence (Hegna et al. 1999). Education was assessed by asking participants about the highest educational level they achieved. Descriptions of the response alternatives for education and population density are shown in Table 4. Parental status was assessed by asking the participants how many children they have. Political affiliation was assessed by asking the participants which party they would vote for if there were a general election tomorrow. For the analysis, the parties were recoded as "Social democratic/Socialist parties" or "Center/Right parties". Religious faith was operationalized by the question: "If you think about your relationship to the religion you belong to, where would you place yourself?" (Anderssen 2002). Response alternatives ranged from 1 (Not believing) to 7 (Believing). Response alternatives 1 and 2 were coded as "No or low faith", response alternatives 3 to 5 were coded as "Some faith", and response alternatives 6 and 7 were coded as "High faith". For all background questions, the participants were able to respond that they did not wish to answer. These response alternatives were recoded as missing for the data analysis.

---

[1] The questionnaire utilized various descriptive phrases regarding sexual orientation, gender, couples and parenting to stay close to typical phrases and conceptualizations in Norway today. These were "same-sex couples", "lesbian and gay couples", "heterosexual couples", "lesbian and gay parents" and "heterosexual parents". Lesbian and gay parents are not necessarily same-sex parents, and same-sex parents are not necessarily lesbian or gay. However, the questionnaire was introduced and framed as a survey on attitudes towards various sexualities, and the most common terms were lesbian, gay, and heterosexual. In the presentation of results and discussion, we utilize these terms as close to the questionnaire items as possible.

Table 1 Beliefs about equal marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples

	Agree, n (%)		Neither agree nor disagree, n (%)		Disagree, n (%)		Uncertain, n (%)		χ^2
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Same-sex couples should have the same legal rights to have a civil wedding as heterosexual couples	378 (58)	461 (78)	78 (12)	37 (6)	186 (29)	75 (13)	11 (2)	20 (3)	69.9*
Same-sex couples should have the same legal rights to have a church wedding as heterosexual couples	246 (38)	391 (66)	104 (16)	54 (9)	287 (44)	119 (20)	16 (3)	29 (5)	119.5*
Marriage as an institution should be reserved for a man and a woman	300 (46)	125 (21)	79 (12)	69 (13)	254 (39)	370 (62)	20 (3)	29 (5)	93.3*

*$p<0.01$

Design and Procedure

The present analysis is based on data from the study "Norwegian attitudes towards LBGT persons 2008" (Anderssen and Slåtten 2008) collected in April and May 2008. Information from participants was collected through a web-based survey. Participants were drawn from a database of 75,000 individuals, administered by Norstat (a provider of data collection), consisting of persons who have agreed to participate in online surveys. Through the poll institute Opinion AS, a national stratified sample based on age, gender and regions was established. Participants were continuously and randomly recruited by Norstat until the needed number in each stratified group was complete. The number of people who disagreed to participate during this process is not known. In 2009, 86% of Norwegian inhabitants between the ages of 9 and 79 years had access to the Internet at home (Statistics Norway 2010a, b).

Data Analysis Plan

Frequency analysis was used to display attitudes towards marriage and parenting rights and beliefs about the welfare of children with gay and lesbian parents. For presentation of the individual items, the response alternatives

Table 2 Beliefs about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples

	Agree, n (%)		Neither agree nor disagree, n (%)		Disagree, n (%)		Uncertain, n (%)		χ^2
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Lesbian couples should have the same legal rights as heterosexual couples to apply for adoption	246 (40)	387 (61)	73 (12)	57 (9)	270 (44)	167 (26)	26 (4)	21 (3)	80.9*
Gay couples should have the same legal rights as heterosexual couples to apply for adoption	222 (36)	363 (57)	71 (12)	81 (13)	298 (49)	169 (27)	23 (4)	19 (3)	98.2*
Lesbian couples should be given the same legal rights as heterosexual couples to receive artificial insemination	210 (34)	323 (51)	101 (17)	83 (13)	273 (44)	200 (32)	30 (5)	26 (4)	58.3*
After birth through artificial insemination, automatic co-motherhood should be given to the spouse of the biological mother	209 (34)	332 (53)	126 (21)	129 (20)	224 (37)	114 (18)	56 (9)	57 (9)	65.7*
Only heterosexual couples should be allowed to receive artificial insemination	275 (45)	182 (29)	101 (16)	87 (14)	209 (34)	324 (51)	30 (5)	39 (6)	67.2*
The right to apply for adoption should be independent of sexual orientation	237 (39)	388 (61)	81 (13)	60 (10)	277 (45)	163 (26)	20 (3)	21 (3)	88.4*

*$p<0.01$

Table 3 Beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents

	Agree, n (%)		Neither agree nor disagree, n (%)		Disagree, n (%)		Uncertain, n (%)		χ^2
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Society is now ready for children growing up with lesbian/gay parents	199 (32)	305 (48)	127 (21)	114 (18)	248 (40)	169 (26)	40 (7)	43 (7)	48.0*
Children who grow up with lesbian mothers or gay fathers are more often exposed to bullying (systematic bothering) than other children	305 (50)	230 (37)	147 (24)	200 (32)	75 (12)	94 (15)	87 (14)	107 (17)	18.0*
Children are harmed by growing up with two lesbian women as mothers	145 (24)	67 (11)	147 (24)	123 (19)	271 (44)	401 (64)	51 (8)	41 (7)	57.7*
Children are harmed by growing up with two gay men as fathers	173 (28)	82 (13)	141 (23)	115 (18)	237 (39)	384 (61)	62 (10)	50 (8)	69.9*
Children who grow up with lesbian women are just as well off as other children	257 (42)	389 (62)	176 (29)	140 (22)	114 (19)	51 (8)	67 (11)	52 (8)	56.0*
Children who grow up with gay fathers are just as well off as other children	217 (35)	367 (58)	178 (29)	150 (24)	138 (22)	61 (10)	81 (13)	54 (9)	78.8*
Children's needs and interests can be fully met by lesbian/gay parents	311 (51)	444 (70)	109 (18)	81 (13)	163 (27)	77 (12)	32 (5)	30 (5)	72.5*
Sexual orientation does not matter for good parenting	297 (48)	437 (69)	125 (20)	97 (15)	153 (25)	68 (11)	38 (6)	29 (5)	66.7*

*$p < 0.01$

"Completely agree" and "Slightly agree" were recoded as "Agree", whilst "Slightly disagree" and "Completely disagree" were recoded as "Disagree". Chi-square tests were used to determine whether male and female respondents held different attitudes and beliefs concerning these matters. Cross-tabulations were used to analyse selected background variables, including chi-square analyses of distributions for men and for women for each background variable. A hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted to examine predictors of the variable "Beliefs about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples" (sum score of full scale). Due to multicollinearity ($r = -0.73$, see Table 5) between the two scales "Beliefs about equal marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples" (full score) and "Beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents" (full score), we excluded the former. For statistical analysis, the response alternative "Uncertain" was recoded as missing (see above). Whereas the response alternative "Neither agree nor disagree" can be given a score which soundly fits between "Agree" and "Disagree", the response alternative "Uncertain" is more problematic. This response category could potentially mean that the participants have not made up their mind yet. As it is hard to quantify the "Uncertain" variable in any direction, we chose to treat this variable as missing. The SPSS programme version 15 was used for the statistical analysis (Pallant 2007).

Results

Beliefs About Equal Marriage Rights

A clear majority of women and men supported equal civil marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples. More women than men were positive. However, both genders were more sceptical towards granting gay and lesbian couples the right to have church rather than civil weddings (see Table 1).

Beliefs About Equal Parenting Rights

Overall, more than half the women and more than a third of men reported that they were in favour of granting gay and lesbian couples the same parenting rights as heterosexual couples (see Table 2). More men than women further reported that they believed the legal system should *not* be changed to facilitate gay and lesbian couples becoming parents. A substantial proportion reported that they neither agreed nor disagreed, or that they were uncertain whether they thought gay and lesbian couples should be granted the same legal rights to become parents as heterosexual couples.

More women (42%) than men (25%) reported that they thought gay men should be allowed to use legal surrogacy arrangements abroad and that egg donation (women, 62%; men, 50%) and surrogacy in regulated forms (women, 44%;

Table 4 Beliefs about equal parenting rights, and for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples being granted the same legal rights to become parents as heterosexual couples, stratified by selected background variables

	Negative[a]		Overall neither very positive nor very negative		Positive[b]	
	Males, % (n/N)	Females, % (n/N)	Males, % (n/N)	Females, % (n/N)	Males, % (n/N)	Females, % (n/N)
Total sample	42 (238/572)	20 (100/513)	28 (161/572)	27 (136/513)	30 (173/572)	54 (277/513)
Age (years)						
15–20	6 (2/32)	7 (4/55)	53 (17/32)	31 (17/55)	41 (13/32)	62 (34/55)
21–30	31 (16/52)	13 (16/120)	27 (14/52)	26 (31/120)	42 (22/52)	61 (73/120)
31–40	37 (21/57)	24 (31/129)	26 (15/57)	16 (20/129)	37 (21/57)	61 (78/129)
41–50	42 (29/69)	16 (18/110)	30 (21/69)	36 (40/110)	28 (19/69)	47 (52/110)
51–60	39 (49/126)	31 (18/59)	28 (35/126)	24 (14/59)	33 (42/126)	46 (27/59)
61–70	51 (83/162)	30 (9/30)	26 (42/162)	33 (10/30)	23 (37/162)	37 (11/30)
71–80	51 (38/74)	40 (4/10)	23 (17/74)	40 (4/10)	26 (19/74)	20 (2/10)
Chi-square[c]: 104.46*						
Population density						
Oslo and surrounding area	37 (38/102)	20 (22/110)	25 (25/102)	26 (29/110)	38 (39/102)	54 (59/110)
Bergen, Stavanger, Trondheim	39 (32/82)	14 (13/92)	21 (17/82)	26 (24/92)	40 (33/82)	60 (55/92)
City with 20,000–100,000 inhabitants	46 (62/136)	17 (20/116)	33 (43/62)	23 (27/116)	23 (31/136)	60 (69/116)
City or town with <20,000 inhabitants	41 (65/160)	23 (28/122)	31 (50/65)	29 (35/122)	28 (45/160)	48 (56/122)
Sparsely populated area	45 (41/91)	22 (15/68)	29 (26/91)	29 (20/68)	26 (24/91)	49 (33/68)
Chi-square men: 12.70						
Chi-square women: 5.87						
Parental status						
Has children	47 (202/426)	23 (70/309)	25 (105/426)	29 (89/309)	28 (119/426)	49 (150/309)
Does not have children	25 (36/145)	15 (30/204)	38 (55/145)	23 (47/204)	37 (54/145)	62 (127/204)
Chi-square men 23.15*						
Chi-square women: 9.80*						
Education						
Primary/elementary school and lower secondary school[d]	33 (21/63)	24 (11/45)	43 (27/63)	29 (13/45)	24 (15/63)	47 (21/45)
Upper secondary school	43 (68/158)	21 (38/178)	32 (50/158)	28 (49/178)	25 (40/158)	51 (91/178)
University/College degree	44 (104/238)	18 (36/202)	23 (55/238)	26 (53/202)	33 (79/238)	56 (113/202)
University/College higher degree	41 (44/108)	17 (14/82)	26 (28/108)	22 (18/82)	33 (36/108)	61 (50/82)
Chi-square men: 12.38						
Chi-square women: 3.81						
Political affiliation						
Social democratic and socialist parties	27 (52/195)	9 (18/202)	28 (54/195)	22 (44/202)	46 (89/195)	69 (140/202)
Center and right wing parties	50 (163/328)	30 (68/229)	28 (93/328)	28 (64/229)	22 (72/328)	42 (97/229)
Chi-square men: 38.09*						
Chi-square women: 39.04*						
Religious faith						
No or low faith	29 (69/242)	9 (18/200)	27 (66/242)	20 (39/200)	44 (107/242)	72 (143/200)
Some faith	45 (96/214)	19 (41/213)	31 (67/214)	33 (70/213)	24 (51/214)	48 (102/213)
High faith	64 (66/104)	41 (39/95)	23 (24/104)	26 (25/95)	14 (14/104)	33 (31/95)
Chi-square men: 52.15*						
Chi-square women: 62.00*						

*p<0.01

[a] Participants reported that they were negative towards at least five out of six questions concerning attitudes towards gay and lesbian couples being granted the same legal rights to become parents as heterosexual couples

[b] Participants reported that they were positive towards at least five out of six questions concerning attitudes towards gay and lesbian couples being granted the same legal rights to become parents as heterosexual couples

[c] Chi-square was not calculated separately for men and women owing to the small sample size in the oldest age group

[d] This response alternative was originally two separate questions (7 years of school and 9 or 10 years of school)

Table 5 Pearsons product-moment correlation between the independent and the dependent variables

	1, r (n)	2, r (n)	3, r (n)	4, r (n)	5, r (n)	6, r (n)	7, r (n)	8, r (n)	9, r (n)
Gender[a]									
Age	-0.42** (1,246)								
Population density[b]	0.07* (1236)	-0.18** (1236)							
Being parent[c]	-0.16** (1,245)	0.62** (1,245)	-0.26** (1,245)						
Education	-0.05 (1,232)	0.16** (1,232)	0.09** (1,226)	0.11** (1,231)					
Political affiliation[d]	0.11** (1,089)	-0.10** (1,089)	0.08* (1,082)	-0.05 (1,088)	0.02 (1,081)				
Religious faith[e]	0.03 (1,222)	0.15** (1,222)	-0.09** (1,213)	0.14** (1,221)	-0.04 (1,211)	-0.19** (1,211)			
Beliefs, marriage rights[f]	0.31** (1,173)	-0.31** (1,173)	0.10** (1,165)	-0.16** (1,173)	0.07* (1,161)	0.30** (1,036)	-0.32** (1,156)		
Beliefs, welfare of children[g]	-0.30** (913)	0.23** (913)	-0.12** (906)	0.13** (912)	-0.12** (904)	-0.29** (806)	0.23** (902)	-0.73** (883)	
Beliefs, parenting rights[h]	0.30** (1,085)	-0.30* (1,085)	0.10** (1,079)	-0.20** (1,084)	0.06 (1,074)	0.31** (954)	-0.29** (1,068)	0.78** (1,057)	-0.85** (848)

*$p<0.05$; **$p<0.001$

[a] Male=0, female=1

[b] Higher number equals more density

[c] Not being parent=0, Being a parent=1

[d] Center/right=0, Social democratic/Socialist=1

[e] Higher number stronger faith

[f] Higher number equals support for equal marriage rights

[g] Higher number equals concern for children's welfare

[h] Higher number equals support for equal parenting rights

men, 30%) should be allowed in Norway. Again, some respondents (25–29%) reported that they neither agreed nor disagreed, or that they were uncertain in relation to these questions. Overall, men were more negative towards surrogacy arrangements abroad (54%) and the legalization of egg donation (23%) and surrogacy (44%) in Norway compared with women (31%, 13% and 27%, respectively).

Beliefs About the Welfare of Children with Lesbian and Gay Parents

A minority expressed concern about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. Overall, more men than women believed that growing up with lesbian and gay parents affects the children's welfare negatively (see Table 3). For example, more men than women reported that they do not believe that lesbian and gay parents could meet children's needs and interests fully and that children with lesbian or gay parents are more exposed to being bullied. Somewhat more participants agreed that children who grow up with lesbian parents as opposed to gay parents are just as well off as other children. Overall, a large proportion of the participants stated that they neither agreed nor disagreed, or they were uncertain about the welfare of children with gay and lesbian parents.

Demographics and Beliefs About Equal Parenting Rights

Table 4 shows the percentage of participants who expressed negative, positive and neither positive nor negative attitudes towards granting gay and lesbian couples the same legal rights to become parents as heterosexual couples, stratified by selected background variables. Male participants, older participants, those who were parents, those who reported that they would vote for centre and right-wing parties, and those who reported that they have a high religious faith were most negative towards granting gay and lesbian couples equal parenting rights. Population density and level of education were not statistically significant with regard to attitudes towards granting gay and lesbian couples the same legal rights as heterosexual couples to become parents.

Similar analyses were performed to identify the background variables of the participants who had negative attitudes towards equal marriage rights (those who responded negatively to at least two out of the three statements on beliefs about equal marriage rights scale) and also for participants who had concerns about the welfare of children with gay and lesbian parents (those who expressed concerns on at least five out of eight statements on beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents scale). Male participants ($\chi^2=87.49$, $p=0.00$), older partic-

ipants ($\chi^2=134.49$, $p=0.00$), participants from less populated areas ($\chi^2=19.37$, $p=0.01$), those who were parents ($\chi^2=29.93$, $p=0.00$), those who reported that they would vote for centre and right-wing parties ($\chi^2=86.08$, $p=0.00$) and those who reported that they have a high religious faith ($\chi^2=109.96$, $p=0.00$) were most negative towards equal marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples. Male participants ($\chi^2=0.73$, $p=0.00$), older participants ($\chi^2=0.26$, $p=0.00$), those who were parents ($\chi^2=11.27$, $p=0.00$), those who reported that they would vote for centre and right-wing parties ($\chi^2=48.59$, $p=0.00$) and those who reported that they have a high religious faith ($\chi^2=58.92$, $p=0.00$) also expressed the most concerns about the welfare of children with gay and lesbian parents. Level of education ($\chi^2=11.76$, $p=0.07$) was not statistically significant with regard to attitudes towards equal marriage rights, whilst level of education ($\chi^2=12.51$, $p=0.05$) and population density ($\chi^2=14.17$, $p=0.08$) were not statistically significant with regard to concerns about the welfare of children with gay and lesbian parents.

Table 5 shows the correlations between all variables (utilizing sum scores for the three belief scales). Because beliefs about equal marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples (scale) were highly correlated with beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents (scale, $r=-0.73$), the scale concerning marriage rights was not included in the regression analysis as an independent variable because it would induce multicollinearity.

Conceptual Model

A hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed to examine predictors of "Beliefs about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples" (sum score of full scale). The background variables gender, age, population density, being a parent, education, political affiliation and religious faith were entered on the first step. When the eight-item scale, "Beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents", was taken into consideration whilst controlling for background variables, the model was statistically significant [$F(8,797)=296.28$, $p=0.00$] (see Table 6). "Beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents" explained an additional 49% of the variance in beliefs that lesbian and gay couples should be granted the same legal rights to become parents as heterosexual couples. In this model, gender, age, population density and education did not explain any of the variance, whereas being parents, political affiliation and religious faith also made a substantial contribution to explaining beliefs about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples.

Table 6 Predictors of the belief that gay and lesbian couples should be granted the same legal rights to become parents as heterosexual couples

	R^2	Adj. R^2	R^2 change	B (SE B)	Beta
Step 1	0.26	0.25			
Constant				2.06 (0.32)	
Gender[a]				0.68 (0.10)	0.23**
Age				−0.01 (0.00)	−0.11*
Population density[b]				−0.01 (0.04)	−0.01
Being parent[c]				−0.21 (0.13)	−0.07
Education				0.14 (0.05)	0.08*
Political affiliation[d]				0.65 (0.09)	0.22**
Religious faith[e]				−0.17 (0.02)	−0.24**
Step 2	0.75	0.75	0.49		
Constant				6.28 (0.22)	
Gender[a]				0.10 (0.06)	0.03
Age				−0.00 (0.00)	−0.04
Population density[b]				−0.04 (0.02)	−0.04
Being parent[c]				−0.18 (0.07)	−0.06*
Education				−0.04 (0.03)	−0.02
Political affiliation[d]				0.15 (0.06)	0.05**
Religious faith[e]				−0.06 (0.01)	−0.08**
Beliefs, welfare of children[f]				−1.10 (0.03)	−0.80**

*$p<0.05$; **$p<0.001$

[a] Male=0, female=1

[b] Higher number equals more density

[c] Not being parent=0, Being a parent=1

[d] Center/right=0, Social democratic/Socialist=1

[e] Higher number equals stronger faith

[f] Higher number equals concern for children's welfare

Discussion

The results may be summarized into three main findings. First, there seems to be extensive support for equal marriage rights for same-sex couples in the Norwegian population. Our data indicate that two thirds of the Norwegian population support equal civil marriage rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples, and the majority also supports equal rights to church weddings. Taking the difficulty of comparing various results due to disparate methods of assessment into consideration, the support for equal marriage rights in Norway appears, in addition to be quite high, also to be quite stable. Already in 1998, nearly half the Norwegian population supported equal right to church weddings for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples (MMI 1998). Second, the current data show that the majority of the Norwegian population is against, unwilling to take a stand or uncertain concerning equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples. The increase in support for adoption rights is, on the other hand, seemingly quite distinct. Close to half of our sample believed that the right to apply for adoption should be independent of sexual

orientation as compared to 1998 when only 25% of the Norwegian population supported such rights (EOS Gallup Europe 2003; MMI 1998). Similar trends are seen in other Scandinavian countries and in the USA where the majority of the population at present seem to support adoption rights for lesbian and gay couples (EOS Gallup Europe 2003; European Commission 2006; People Press Organization 2009). Third, the current findings show that half the participants are unwilling to take a stand, are concerned or uncertain regarding the welfare of children who grow up with lesbian and gay parents. In 1998, this was the case for somewhat more than half the sample, but a larger proportion then reported that they were explicitly concerned as opposed to not taking a stand or being uncertain (MMI 1998). Population concerns in relation to lesbian and gay parenthood are also reported in earlier studies from other countries (Crawford and Solliday 1996; King 2001; McLeod et al. 1999; Morse et al. 2008).

More men than women reported that they hold negative beliefs about equal marriage and parenting rights for gay, lesbian and heterosexual couples. More men than women

were also concerned about the welfare children with lesbian and gay parents. This is consistent with attitude studies showing that men's attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men generally tend to be more negative (Herek 2002). According to Steffens and Wagner (2004), unfavorable attitudes towards homosexuals are often rooted in people's gender belief systems, or "the broader belief system about women, men, and their appropriate roles" (p. 138). These belief systems (or systems that tell us what it is to be a man or a woman, respectively) have in general been more rigid and restricted for men and masculinity than for women and femininity (Anderssen 2002; Kite and Whitley 1996). Our data further show that being older, being a parent, having a high religious faith and voting for centre or right-wing parties also predict negative beliefs about equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples as well as concern for the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. Our findings are in general consistent with those existing in literature from other countries. The fact that beliefs about same-sex marriage rights, lesbian and gay parenthood and beliefs about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents at large are predicted by the same demographic variables, including religion and political affiliation, is supported by earlier findings (e.g. Brumbaugh et al. 2008; EOS Gallup Europe 2003; Pearl and Galupo 2007; Morse et al., 2008). Research on population attitudes towards lesbian and gay parenting further suggests that negative attitudes are associated with antigay attitudes and sexual prejudice (Crawford and Solliday 1996; Morse et al. 2008). One explanation for this could be that people with antigay attitudes and sexual prejudice more easily feel threatened by change and flexing of societal boundaries, with beliefs more often based on stereotypes and traditional family scripts (Morse et al. 2008).

Policy Processes and Beliefs About Equal Marriage and Parenting Rights

Two thirds of the population supports equal civil marriage rights, and there is majority support for equal right to church weddings. Whilst the proportion of the population who supports equal adoption rights is growing, the majority of the Norwegian population is against or uncertain concerning equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples. We want to point to some interrelated policy processes to understand this.

First, according to Kurtz (2004), extensive support for gay marriage-like rights must be understood in light of the changing role of marriage in Scandinavian countries. High rates of cohabitation and family policies that reflect a flexible and pragmatic adaptation to these changing cohabitation patterns (including systems for financial support; Noack 2001) make it plausible that Scandinavian populations are more likely than others to support same-sex marriage rights and be innovators in giving marriage-like rights to gays and lesbians. Behind such developments are long-term trends such as a decline in religious beliefs and practices (secularism), a strong welfare state, early advances in contraception and abortion, high female employment and increased status of women through economic independence (Kurtz 2004).

Second, the high support for equal marriage rights and the growing support for adoption rights may be understood as a result of incremental legal changes for both these issues. It is reasonable to think that a Partnership Act since 1993, which secured most marriage-like rights with the exception of equal rights to become parents, has had a distinct effect on the present positive population attitudes towards equal marriage rights in the Norwegian population. As a relevant comparison, prior to the Partnership Act in 1993, only a few opinion polls indicated that the majority of the Norwegian population was in favour of a Partnership Act for same-sex couples (Halvorsen 1998). Another example of attitude change in a broader part of the Norwegian population is the fact that whilst the Christian People's Party opposed the Partnership Act in 1993, they expressed support for it in the debate fronting the new gender-neutral Marriage Act. Growing support for adoption rights may also partly be explained by incremental legal changes regarding gay adoption and fostering. The Law on Adoption from 2002 permitted adoption of stepchildren in lesbian and gay partnerships. In the period from 1993, when the Partnership Law was made effective, and until 2004, limited but still increased opportunities for lesbian and gay partners to become foster parents were introduced (Ministry of Children and Equality 2004). Interestingly, and in spite of the new gender-neutral Marriage Law, current foster care regulations uphold the principle that foster homes, as the main rule, should be heterosexual couples. Grønningsæter and Nuland (2008) points to this fact, claiming that such wording can be considered discriminatory.

In contrast to a gradual introduction of adoption and fostering rights for lesbian and gay couples, there has not been the same incremental growth in support for assisted fertilization for lesbian couples. Until the gender-neutral Marriage Law was enacted in 2009, lesbian couples could not receive state-sponsored assisted fertilization in Norway. Therefore, this may also partly explain the lower support for such services at present. A related theme can be illustrated by Dalton and Bielby (2000) who stated that family institutions are linked powerfully to basic and fundamental family scripts. These scripts appear to change much more slowly than the actual development of different family forms. It is therefore to be expected that support for parenting rights may correspond to their level

of deviation from fundamental family scripts (Morse et al. 2008). More support for adoption rights for lesbian and gay couples than support for state-sponsored assisted fertilization for lesbian couples may indicate that this is the case also in the Norwegian population. In general, we want to point out that whilst formal recognition of practices or behaviours in laws and regulations has effects on population attitudes, these processes are not unidirectional. Introduction of legal changes also needs a certain level of population support, as well as majority support in Parliament.

Third, higher support of marriage rights than parenting rights for lesbian and gay couples may relate to the fact that marriage and childbearing have become less directly connected over time, in Scandinavian countries especially (Halvorsen 1998; Kiernan 2001). In 1997, more than 40% of children born in Nordic countries were born outside marriage (Kiernan 2001). In 2009, this was the case for 56% of Norwegian children (Statistics Norway 2010a, b). Consequently, the nexus between marriage and reproduction has been broken (Badgett 2004). Norway is a good example of a country where relationships with children and relationships between two adults increasingly have been seen as two different social phenomena. The relationship between two adults have for a long time been considered a private matter for most people in Norway. However, parenthood, implying a third party (the child) now also with own specific rights, has mainly been considered differently, where society should both have a special responsibility and a say (Halvorsen 1998). Such trends are most likely reflected in our findings where large parts of the Norwegian population seemingly feel much more at ease with marriage rights as compared with parenting rights for lesbian and gay couples.

Fourth, and following the reflections above, opposition to lesbian and gay parenting has until recently been visible and clearly reflected in, for example, both Council of Europe's recommendations to member states (Swedish Official Report 2001) and in Norwegian law (Danielsen 2005). Therefore, as Graham says, "both public opinion and the law until recently, also in Scandinavian countries, have regarded heterosexual married couples as the privileged locus for reproduction of persons, and more precisely citizens" (Graham 2004, p. 27). In addition to more limited incremental changes concerning parenting rights for lesbian and gay couples compared with other marriage-like rights, policy regulations and provisions in Norwegian law have at the same time discouraged lesbian and gay parenthood (Danielsen 2005). Our findings therefore support Morse et al. (2008) who claim that an apparent positive attitudinal shift towards lesbian and gays in general, to a lesser extent, includes lesbian and gay parenting and the question of lesbian and gay parenthood.

Finally, we want to comment on the findings concerning Norwegian beliefs about egg donation and surrogacy. This practice is still illegal in Norway, but at present quite widely discussed, also because using egg donation and surrogacy abroad have gradually become more common among both single parents and heterosexual, gay and lesbian couples (European Society of Human Reproduction and Embryology 2009). These technologies constitute reproduction strategies most deviant to traditional family scripts (Dalton and Bielby 2000; Morse et. al. 2008), something that may partly explain why there were no proposals in Proposition nr. 33 (2007–2008) concerning provisions for such services in the new Norwegian gender-neutral Marriage Act. Still, in our sample, there is a clear majority support for legalizing egg donation and more people who support surrogacy services in regulated forms in Norway compared with the support for gay men using surrogacy services abroad. These findings may partly be explained by an increased emphasis on rights perspectives in the public. On one hand, it may indicate more openness and increased emphasis on an equal rights perspective in relation to who should have the right to become parents. In addition, these findings may also be understood in light of increased emphasis on children as own right holders. Children's right to knowledge about their own biological origin and rights such as protection from being bought and sold have found their way into the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child as well as into Norwegian law. Such rights are, however, poorly protected in many unregulated foreign-assisted fertility markets. Both these phenomena have most likely influenced the present quite extensive support for legalizing egg donation in Norway and may partly explain why more people seemingly support surrogacy in regulated forms in Norway compared with gay men using such services abroad.

Concern for the Welfare of Children with Lesbian and Gay Parents—What is it About?

The main predictor of negative beliefs about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples are concerns about the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. We will make some comments on this, based on our findings, and the debate ahead of the Norwegian gender-neutral Marriage Act.

First, participants in this study seemed to perceive outside factors that are beyond the control of the parents (e.g. bullying or negative social reactions) to be a greater threat to children's welfare than growing up with lesbian and gay parents in itself. The Norwegian population may therefore have become less affected by traditional developmental theories and their predictions of negative outcomes for children who are raised in nontraditional

families (Lambert 2005) or by more ideological view-points such as lesbian and gay parenthood not being normal or natural (Clarke 2001; Folgerø 2008). Instead, their main concerns seemingly focus on how children and their lesbian and gay parents are treated, accepted and included in the wider society. For example, whilst 60% of the sample said that sexual orientation does not matter for good parenting, only 40% of the sample thought that the society is ready for children growing up with lesbian and gay parents. Whilst research has not documented serious negative developmental effects for children who are raised by lesbian and gay parents (e.g. Crowl et al. 2008; Biblarz and Stacey 2010), increased likelihood for negative reactions and stigmatization have been reported by some (e.g. Fairtlough 2008; Robitaille and Saint-Jacques 2009; Stefansen et al. 2009). Questions and concern in relation to possible negative social reactions and bullying of children who grow up with lesbian and gay parents are therefore relevant and must not be ignored. It is also, on the other hand, known that increased risks of stigmatization and bullying are frequently used as arguments for undermining or opposing lesbian parenthood in general (Clarke et al. 2004). This should also be considered when trying to explain the present results.

Second, our findings further suggest that there is higher uncertainty and unwillingness to take a stand than direct concern regarding the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. Whilst more than one third was either unwilling to express a view or reported that they were uncertain about how to perceive the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents, overall, <20% expressed concern. This is very different from 1998 when 41–48% of the Norwegian population expressed concern about this and <15% found this question difficult to answer (MMI 1998). Persons with higher education are overrepresented in the present sample. However, we believe that the change in proportions from 1998 until 2008 still indicates a movement in the Norwegian population in the direction of more openness regarding issues related to lesbian and gay parenting and children's welfare. This would be similar to what Grønningsæter and Nuland (2008) refer to has taken place in relation to lesbian and gay love, partnership and sexuality in general. Increased acceptance of non-heterosexual expressions are most often explained by incremental changes combined with increased visibility in a range of societal arenas (Anderssen and Slåtten 2008). Such developments are now the case also for lesbian and gay parenting. Why many seemingly have replaced direct concern with playing a more waiting game in relation to attitudes towards lesbian and gay parenthood and the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents may partly be understood in light of these trends. Our findings therefore also shade the statement of Morse et al. (2008)

that a general positive attitudinal shift towards homosexuals in general does not yet include lesbian and gay parenting and the question of lesbian and gay parenthood. Similarly, Herek (2006) says that in the current debate in the USA on these and related questions, people appear to have replaced definite opinions with holding parallel and conflicting values, on one hand adhering to traditional beliefs but on the other hand also valuing fairness, rights and non-discrimination.

Third, the fact that concerns regarding the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents turn out to be the most significant predictor of negative attitudes towards granting equal parenting rights to lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples also invites some further reflections, beyond the discussions above. Folgerø (2008) argues that lesbian and gay parenthood challenges cornerstones of Western civilization such as normative discourses on genetic parenthood (the right to know one's genetic origin), children as a result of romantic love, the need for and the right to have two parents, and the necessity for complementary gender roles in parents to secure a healthy psychosocial development. Population concerns in relation to lesbian and gay parenting and the welfare of children with gay and lesbian parents are therefore to be expected (Herek 2006). Concern and uncertainty were prevalent both in the Norwegian public debate preceding the new gender-neutral Marriage Act and in our findings. Both supporters and opponents of the Norwegian gender-neutral Marriage Act (Proposition nr. 33 2007–2008) seemingly placed high value on children's welfare, needs and interests, and the importance of children as own right holders in relation to lesbian and gay parenthood. On one hand, this may reflect that children, as bearers of their own rights and with their own interests to be heeded, have become a well-established construct in Norwegian society. On the other hand, it also shows that the definition of these needs and interests and the meaning of children's own rights in relation to lesbian and gay parenthood are contested.

Supporters of equal rights for homosexuals and heterosexuals have traditionally emphasized a rights perspective, whilst opponents more often have invoked arguments in relation to religion or tradition to support their position (Herek 2006; Price et al. 2005). In relation to equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples in Norway, opponents of such provisions in law have also adopted a children's rights perspective or the use of "rights" language. Even so, without necessarily endorsing egalitarian values in general (Ellis et al. 2002), opponents seem to be trying to define children's rights, needs and interests within the framework of religious and traditional arguments. With respect to lesbian and gay parenthood, children's rights then imply the right to have a traditional, normal and "natural" family with two parents of opposite sexes, etc. Whilst there

has been relatively high and stable support for same-sex marriage rights in Norway over time, there has been more indecision and uncertainty in relation to equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples. This may have left the field more open to influence or discussions about what children's needs and interests are in relation to gay parenthood and what is meant by children as bearers of their own rights in respect of these questions. It may therefore have been a strategic choice for opponents to focus on a children's rights perspective when arguing against provisions for equal parenting rights for lesbian and gay parents in the new gender-neutral Marriage Act. Halvorsen (1998) claims that one way of neutralizing controversial political views or arguments that are taboo may be to use euphemisms. In relation to questions about equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples, a children's rights perspective fronted by the opponents of the new gender-neutral Marriage Act may therefore also be understood as a euphemism for more controversial arguments based on religion or tradition, or even taboo arguments such as lesbian and gay parents being of less value or of a different quality.

Why Norway, Why Now?

Norway was first among the Nordic countries to adopt a progressive gender-neutral Marriage Act. This is interesting, taking the fact that there historically have been less liberal attitudes towards family policy and alternative family forms in Norway as compared with, for example, Sweden (European Commission 2006). Less liberal attitudes may be understood in light of factors such as less urban living and a somewhat more general conservative religious and political landscape in Norway. In Norway, a Christian People's Party, with profession of faith for their representatives, has been part of a centre or centre/right coalition government on four different occasions between 1985 and 2005. Norway has also, since the 1990s, and differently from for example Sweden, had a quite large opposition party, the Progress Party, located at the far right in the political landscape. Between 15% and 23% of the Norwegian population has in the last 15 years given their votes to this party. It is reasonable to think that such a landscape reflects slightly more conservative attitudes, which again are known to affect the level of support for equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples (e.g. Brumbaugh et al. 2008; Pearl and Galupo 2007; EOS Gallup Europe 2003).

The fact that a new gender-neutral Marriage Act was passed already in 2008 in Norway may be explained by several circumstances, also partly coinciding in time. In 2003, the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child was incorporated in the Norwegian Human Rights Law (1999). This law takes precedence over national law in case of contradictory provisions (Sandberg 2004) and brought up to date children's rights on a number of different arenas in the Norwegian society. Two years later, in 2005, Norway had a shift to a social democratic/socialist/green coalition government with a majority in Parliament. The political shift was contrary to the present political trend in many European countries, and in Norway, this was the first majority government since the mid 1980s, a government coalition which, for the first time in history, also included the Socialist Left-Wing Party. Such circumstances have most likely encouraged both the promotion and the enactment of a new a gender- neutral Marriage Act.

Limitations

Whilst a Web sample cannot be fully representative, we believe that the study presents attitudes reflected in the Norwegian population. A Web-based solution was particularly suitable for our purpose because we were assessing beliefs about sensitive themes and we specifically wanted to avoid social desirability when answering.

The present findings are drawn from data in a larger survey that assessed beliefs or attitudes towards a number of topics related to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual persons. Because of the sparse research literature on these topics, we had to develop the questionnaire ourselves by using measures based on polls and items in survey research on attitudes towards lesbian and gay people, framed according to contemporary Norwegian laws and context. Two pilot studies were conducted.

We realize that construct validity and test–retest reliability have yet to be established. The survey topics, the available response categories and the sequence of questions all may have affected the direction of participants' responses to the items on attitudes towards same-sex marriage, lesbian and gay parenting and the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. Furthermore, the questionnaire items provided both the response categories "Neither agree nor disagree" and "Uncertain". This may have influenced the number of people who chose not to express an opinion on the issues in question. Finally, whilst the sample at large reflected the demographic profile in Norway, participants with a university/college degree were overrepresented in our study. As higher education is known to positively affect beliefs about marriage and parenting rights for lesbian and gay couples (Brumbaugh et al. 2008; Pearl and Galupo 2007), this has to be taken into account when reading the findings.

The items used in the present analyses were placed towards the end of the questionnaire. When responding to these items, the sample had already expressed opinions on a number of questions relating to gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender issues. This may have led either to a reinforcing of beliefs or an increased level of reflection.

Conclusions

This nationwide study investigated the Norwegian public's beliefs about equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples and the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. Our findings show extensive support for equal civil marriage rights and majority support for equal rights to church weddings. Less than half the sample support equal parenting rights, but our findings indicate growing support for equal adoption rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples. Being male, parent, and of older age, having a high religious faith and voting for centre/right-wing parties all predict negative beliefs about both equal marriage and parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples as well as concern for the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents. When considering the predictors of attitudes towards equal parenting rights especially and controlling for a range of demographic variables, religiosity and political affiliation, our findings show that concern for the welfare of children with lesbian and gay parents is the main predictor of a negative attitude towards equal parenting rights for lesbian, gay and heterosexual couples.

An area of interest for future research may be a children's rights perspective in relation to lesbian and gay parenthood. It would be of particular interest to investigate more closely what children's own rights may mean in relation to lesbian and gay parenthood and how different stakeholders understand and shape the idea of children as own right holders in relation to constructs such as lesbian and gay parenting and the welfare of their children. Such knowledge may also inform suitable future intervention strategies to secure non-discrimination and inclusion for both lesbian and gay parents and their children.

References

Anderssen, N. (2002). Does contact with lesbians and gays lead to friendlier attitudes? A two year longitudinal study. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Science, 12*, 124–136.

Anderssen, N., & Hellesund, T. (2009). Heteronormative consensus in the Norwegian same-sex adoption debate? *Journal of Homosexuality, 56*, 102–120.

Anderssen, N., & Slåtten, H. (2008). *Holdninger til lesbiske, homofile menn, bifile kvinner og menn og transpersoner (LHBT-personer). En landsomfattende representativ spørreundersøkelse [Attitudes towards lesbian, gay, bisexual women and men, and transpersons. A national representative survey]*. Bergen: Avdeling for samfunnspsykologi, Universitetet i Bergen.

Biblarz, T. J., & Stacey, J. (2010). How does the gender of parents matter. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 72*, 3–22.

Badgett, M. V. L. (2004). Will providing marriage rights to same-sex couples undermine heterosexual marriage? *Sexuality Research & Social Policy, 1*(3), 1–10.

Brumbaugh, S. M., Sanchez, L. A., Nock, S. L., & Wright, J. D. (2008). Attitudes toward gay marriage in states undergoing marriage law transformation. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 70*, 345–359.

Clarke, V. (2001). What about the children? Arguments against lesbian and gay parenting. *Womens Studies International Forum, 24*(5), 555–570.

Clarke, V., Kitzinger, C., & Potter, J. (2004). 'Kids are just cruel anyway': Lesbian and gay parents' talk about homophobic bullying. *The British Journal of Social Psychology, 43*, 531–550.

Crawford, I., & Solliday, E. (1996). The attitudes of undergraduate college students toward gay parenting. *Journal of Homosexuality, 30*(4), 63–77.

Crowl, A. L., Ahn, S., & Baker, J. (2008). A meta-analysis of developmental outcomes for children of same-sex and heterosexual parents. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 4*, 385–407.

Dagsavisen. (2005, April 21). Seks av ti sier ok til kjønnsnøytral ekteskapslov [Six out of ten says ok to a gender-neutral marriage law]. *Dagsavisen*. Retrieved from http://www.dagsavisen.no/innenriks/article1552235.ece.

Dalton, S. E., & Bielby, D. D. (2000). That's our kind of constellation. Lesbian mothers negotiate institutionalized understandings of gender within the family. *Gender & Society, 14*(1), 36–61.

Danielsen, K. (2005). *Diskriminering—en litteraturgjennomgang [Discrimination—a literature review]*. Oslo: Norsk Institutt for Forskning om Oppvekst, velferd og aldring. 4/05.

Ellis, S. J., Kitzinger, C., & Wilkinson, S. (2002). Attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and support for lesbian and gay human rights among psychology students. *Journal of Homosexuality, 44*(1), 121–138.

EOS Gallup Europe. (2003). *Homosexual marriage, child adoption by homosexual couples: is the public ready?* Retrieved from www.eosgallupeurope.com.

Eskridge, W. N. (2001). The ideological structure of the same-sex marriage debate. In R. Wintemute & M. Andenæs (Eds.), *Legal recognition of same-sex partnership*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.

European Commission. (2006). *Public opinion in the European Union. First results. Standard Eurobarometer 66*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb66/eb66_en.htm.

European Society of Human Reproduction and Embryology. (2009). Retrieved from http://www.eshre.eu/ESHRE/English/Guidelines-Legal/ART-fact-sheet/page.aspx/1061.

Fairtlough, A. (2008). Growing up with a lesbian or gay parent: young people's perspectives. *Health & Social Care in the Community, 16*(5), 521–528.

Folgerø, T. (2008). Queer nuclear families? Reproducing and transgressing heteronormativity. *Journal of Homosexuality, 54*(1), 124–149.

Government Commission. (2006). *Parliamentary Report on the Family and the Rights of Children to the French National Assembly*. Retrieved from http://www.assemblee-national.fr/12/dossiers/mission_famille_enfants.asp.

Graham, M. (2004). Gay marriage: Whither sex? Some thoughts from Europe. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy, 1*(3), 24–31.

Grønningsæter, A. B., & Nuland, B. R. (2008). *Diskriminering av lesbiske, homofile og bifile og av hivpositive [Discrimination of lesbians, gays and bi-sexuals, and HIV positive persons]*. Oslo: Fafo.

Halvorsen, R. (1998). The ambiguity of lesbian and gay marriages. *Journal of Homosexuality, 35*(3), 207–231.

Hegna, K., Kristiansen, H. W., & Moseng, B. U. (1999). *Levekår og Livskvalitet Blant Lesbiske Kvinner og Homofile Menn* [*Living conditions and life quality among lesbian women and gay men*]. Oslo: Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring.1/99.

Herek, G. M. (2002). Gender gaps in public opinion about lesbian and gay men. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 66*, 40–66.

Herek, G. M. (2006). Legal recognition of same-sex relationships in the United States—A social science perspective. *The American Psychologist, 61*(6), 607–621.

Hicks, G. R., & Lee, T. T. (2006). Public attitudes toward gays and lesbians: Trends and predictors. *Journal of Homosexuality, 51*(2), 57–77.

ILGA-Europe. (2009). Marriage and partnership rights for same-sex partners: country-by-country. Retrieved from http://www.ilga-europe.org/europe/issues/lgbt_families/marriage_and_partnership_rights_for_same_sex_partners_country_by_country.

Kiernan, K. (2001). The rise of cohabitation and childbearing outside marriage in Western Europe. *International Journal of Law, Policy and Family, 15*, 1–21.

King, B. R. (2001). Ranking of stigmatization towards lesbians and their children and the influence of perceptions of controllability of homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality, 41*(2), 77–97.

Kite, M. E., & Whitley, B. E. (1996). Sex differences in attitudes towards homosexual persons, behaviors, and civil rights: A meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22*, 336–353.

Klassekampen. (2005). Ja til homoekteskap [Yes to homosexual marriage]. *Klassekampen*. Retrieved from http://www.llh.no/./?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=2709 (September 3).

Kurtz, S. (2004). *No explanation. Gay marriage has sent the Netherlands the way of Scandinavia*. Retrieved from http://old.nationalreview.com/kurtz/kurtz200406030910.asp (June 3).

Lambert, S. (2005). Gay and lesbian families: What we know and where to go from here. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families, 13*(1), 43–51.

Landèn, M., & Innala, S. (2002). The effect of a biological explanation on attitudes towards homosexual persons. A Swedish national sample study. *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry, 56*(3), 181–186.

MMI. (1998). En telefonundersøkelse om nordmenns holdninger til lesbiske og homofiles rettigheter og levekår [A telephone inquiry about Norwegian attitudes towards lesbian's and homosexual's rights and living conditions]. In *Rapport utarbeidet for NOVA av Erik Dalen*. Oslo: MMI (2–4 Mars 1998).

McLeod, A. C., Crawford, C., & Zechmeister, J. (1999). Heterosexual undergraduates' attitudes toward gay fathers and their children. *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality, 11*, 43–62.

Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion (2009a). *A marriage Act for all*. Retrieved from http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/bld/tema/homofile-og-lesbiske/felles-ekteskapslov—ikrafttredelse-og-.html?id=509376.

Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion (2009b). Gender neutral Marriage Law—Effective from 1 January 2009. Retrieved 12 June 2009 from http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/bld/tema/homofile-og-lesbiske/felles-ekteskapslov.

Ministry of Children and Equality (2004). *Retningslinjer for foster-hjem* [Guidelines for fosterhomes]. Retningslinjer av 15. Juli til lov om barneverntjenester av 17. juli 1992 nr. 100. Retrieved

from http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/bld/tema/barnevern/retningslinjer-for-fosterhjem.html?id=415699.

Morse, C. N., McLaren, S., & McLachlan, A. J. (2008). The attitudes of Australian heterosexuals toward same-sex parents. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 3*(4), 425–455.

Noack, T. (2001). Cohabitation in Norway: An accepted and gradually more regulated way of living. *International Journal of Law, Policy and Family, 15*, 102–117.

Olson, L. R., Cadge, W., & Harrison, J. T. (2006). Religion and public opinion about same-sex marriage. *Social Science Quarterly, 87*(2), 340–360.

Pallant, J. (2007). *SPSS. Survival manual. A step by step guide to data analysis using SPSS for Windows* (3rd ed.). New York: Open University Press.

Pearl, M. L., & Galupo, M. P. (2007). Development and validation of the attitudes toward same-sex marriage scale. *Journal of Homosexuality, 53*(3), 117–134.

Peel, E., & Harding, R. (2008). Editorial introduction: Recognizing and celebrating same-sex relationships: Beyond the normative debate. *Sexualities, 11*, 659.

People Press Organization. (2009). Independents take center stage in Obama era: Section 4: Religion and social values. *The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press*. Retrieved from http://people-press.org/report/?pageid=1519 (May 21).

Pew Forum. (2009). Majority continues to support civil unions. *The Pew Forum on religious & public life*. Retrieved from http://pewforum.org/docs/?DocID=481 (October 9).

Pew Research Center. (2009). The gay marriage debate: Where it stands. Retrieved 22 July 2009 from http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1279/gay-marriage-debate-2009?src=prc-latest&proj=peo….

Price, V., Nir, L., & Cappella, J. N. (2005). Framing public discussion of gay civil unions. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 69*(2), 179–212.

Proposition nr. 33. (2007–2008). *Law on changes in the Marriage Act, Children's Law, Law on Biotechnology etc.* (gender-neutral Marriage Act for heterosexual and homosexual couples).

Robitaille, C., & Saint-Jacques, M. C. (2009). Social stigma and the situation of young people in lesbian and gay stepfamilies. *Journal of Homosexuality, 56*(4), 421–442.

Sandberg, K. (2004). Inkorporeringen av FN's barnekonvensjon i norsk rett [Incorporation of the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child in Norwegian legislation]. *Kritisk Juss, 30*, 316–329.

Statistics Norway (2010a). The information society. *Statistics Norway-Statistisk sentralbyrå*. Retrieved 01 September 2010 from http://www.ssb.no/english/subjects/10/03/ikt_en/.

Statistics Norway (2010b) Høy fruktbarhet [High fertility]. Retrieved 11 October 2010 from http://www.ssb.no/fodte/.

Stefansen, K., Hegna, K., Valset, J., von Soest, T., & Mossige, S. (2009). Vold mot "homofil" ungdom. Forekomst og fortolkninger [Violence against "gay" youth. Prevalences and interpretations]. *Sosiologi i dag, 39*(2), 43–71.

Steffens, M. C., & Wagner, C. (2004). Attitudes towards lesbians, gay men, bisexual women, and bisexual men in Germany. *Journal of Sex Research, 41*(2), 137–149.

Swedish Official Report. (2001). *Betânkande från Kommitteen om barn i homosexuella familjer Proposals from the Committee on Children in Homosexual Families*. Retrieved from http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/135/a/608.

Paper III

III

Contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway: Norwegian Child Welfare Services meets immigrant families

CrossMark

Ragnhild Hollekim [a,*], Norman Anderssen [b], Marguerite Daniel [a]

[a] Department of Health Promotion and Development, University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway
[b] Department of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway

A R T I C L E I N F O

A B S T R A C T

Discourses on children and what is considered to be proper parenting have been accentuated by the processes of globalization. In Norway, we study current discourses on children and parenting, based on a particular case: Norwegian Child Welfare Services' interaction with and intervention in immigrant families with children. We use a discursive analytical framework to analyse a sample of 80 newspaper texts, reflecting on and debating this allegedly problematic meeting. The texts are derived from regional and country-wide Norwegian newspapers in the period 1 January 2011 to 30 April 2013. Distinct discourses located in the texts concerned: (1) No-tolerance for parenting practices implying violence and force; (2) Every child is a subject of individual – and equal – rights; (3) Good parenting is child-focused and dialogue based and (4) Norwegian Child Welfare Services – authoritative as well as contentious in family matters. The discourses indicate the presence of two important subject positions, first, the child as the pivot. This implies that children are given a superior moral status, and are to enjoy human dignity and values such as individuality, equality and justice, individual rights and an obligation for the state to oversee and ensure this position also for the child. The other important subject position concerns parents as guarantors for children developing proper skills. This compels processes toward standardization and homogenization of parenting which positions some groups of parents as deficient.

© 2015 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

In an increasingly globalized world, ideas circulate on the subject of children and what is considered proper parenting. Trends, or dominant understandings of children and parenthood, do not subsist in a vacuum. They are linked to various scientific debates and "notions of social progress and national welfare that circulate within national and international policy debates" (Burman, 2008, p. 1). Further, they are "enacted, negotiated and transformed through social interaction in diverse institutional settings" (Thelen & Haukanes, 2010, p. 2). Relevant arenas are, for example, national law and legislation, family and child welfare policies, and public media. To identify and understand changing ideas on the subject of children and parenting is important because prevailing ideas may create "new ways of doing and being" for children and parents (Silcock, Hocking, & Payne, 2013, p. 1). In addition, they may help

us locate what this may mean for the position of and possibilities for children and parents in various socio-historical contexts, for example, on fundamental issues, such as equal opportunities and ethnic discrimination. The aim of this article is to investigate current discourses on children and parenting in Norway, based on a sample of newspaper articles that reflect on and problematize the Norwegian Child Welfare Services' (NCWS) interaction and intervention with immigrant families with children.

1.1. The Norwegian child and parenting in Norway

Norway, historically a homogenous society, is a liberal democracy with institutions, laws and regulations ensuring largely unified norms (Archard, 2004). Norway is also an example of a predominantly social democratic welfare regime (Esping-Andersen, 1990). This entails a state that provides extensive and wide ranging family support and services, "commonly universalistic in orientation and often perceived as citizen's entitlements" (Leira, 2008, p. 84). Perhaps unique to the Scandinavian context, the state enjoys a high level of trust (Johansson, 2010) and is not seen as particularly repressive. State involvement in various aspects of family life and arrangements is both acknowledged and common (Leira, 2008) and, according to Eydal and Satka (2006), concern for

---

children's wellbeing and welfare in Norway is a broad and widely adopted societal matter.

Children in industrialized societies have, historically, been considered both valued and vulnerable. There has also, for some decades, been a development toward sentimentalizing children (Burman, 2005; Meyer, 2007) and a construction of children as "the most valuable asset of society" (Giner, 2007, p. 251). Consequently, a perceived need has emerged for children to be protected from realities that are considered difficult and problematic. Such processes have established the state as co-responsible for protecting and securing children's needs and interests (Cunningham, 2005), further reinforcing notions of children as subjects with individual rights. "Discourses about children's rights and children's participation in society are considered particularly strong in Norway, spanning the political spectrum" (Gullestad, 1997, p. 33). In Norway, the status of the child is reflected in relatively early recognition of various legal rights for children (Eydal & Satka, 2006). Physical punishment of children by parents was made illegal in 1987. An ombudsman for children was established as early as 1981. An additional example, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), has, since 2003, been wholly implemented in the Norwegian Human Rights Act and given precedence in case of antinomy.

Thelen and Haukanes (2010) claim there is "a parallel circulation of ideas on proper childhood and proper parenthood" (p. 2). According to Ulvik (2005), parents' role and responsibility when raising children will further build on understanding about the culturally adequate child and what may be considered desirable within the present cultural context. In Norway, childhood models value aspects such as vulnerability, adult dependency, and a "domesticated childhood" (Engebrigtsen, 2003, p. 195). However, the value of individuality and independence is also frequently argued and ideals for upbringing to an increasing extent have put a strong emphasis on children's individual achievements and personal growth. Modern societies, characterized by a rapid change in social relations, compel notions that children need to acquire assertiveness, self-sufficiency, and self-direction and following this, beneficial communication and negotiating skills (Gillies, 2005; Hennum, 2010; Schultz Jørgensen, 1999). Research further indicates that in a Nordic context, child-rearing goals, such as happiness, independence, self-maximization, self-confidence, and creativity, are stressed, while, for example, conformity, obedience, and "hard work" are less valued (Doepke & Fabrizio, 2012; Tulviste, Mizera, De Geer, & Tryggvason, 2007).

1.2. Emerging multiplicity of cultures and identities

In one generation, the immigrant population in Norway has increased five-fold (Berg & Ask, 2011), now comprising 15.6% of the Norwegian population and 32% of the population in Oslo (Statistics Norway, 2015). A parallel development in Norway as well as in other Scandinavian countries has been a rapid and disproportionate increase in the number of immigrant children receiving child welfare and protective measures (Allertsen & Kalve, 2006; Johansson, 2010; Kalve & Dyrhaug, 2011). For example, in 2009, immigrant children were 2.6 times more likely to have been placed in out-of-home care than ethnic Norwegian children (Kalve & Dyrhaug, 2011). The problematic cultural meeting between Child Welfare Services (CWS) and immigrant families is well documented (Aadnesen, 2012; Bredal, 2009; Chand, 2008; Holm-Hanssen, Haaland, & Myrvold, 2007; Križ & Skivenes, 2009) and has, in Norway over the last few years, been given quite extensive attention in the public media. The attention has also been fuelled by increased involvement in individual care cases from the authorities in the respective immigrant parents' country of origin (e.g. India, Nigeria, Poland and Russia).

Few studies have systematically analysed contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway, and thus there exists a knowledge gap. Culturally contextualized and core themes, such as for example children's position, the best interest of the child, sufficient and adapted care, acceptable parenting and state involvement in family matters are embedded in NCWS' mandate following the Norwegian Child Welfare Services Act (NCWSA). As we see it, this meeting between NCWS and immigrant parents is therefore particularly suited to render visible seemingly adopted as well as contested understandings of children and parenting in Norway. Increased knowledge and awareness concerning processes affecting how we see and understand children and parenting are valuable to policymakers, professionals and users, especially on important societal matters such as equality and inclusion.

1.3. A discursive analytical framework

This study uses a social constructionist and discursive framework to encompass contextual and dynamic aspects in analysing contemporary Norwegian understandings of children and parenting. Social constructionists see social phenomena as generated by processes through which they, in a shared and collected way, are cognized, talked about and explained (Collin, 1997). What is considered valid or true is mainly the result of some sort of group consensus regarding what is seen as real, meaningful and advantageous. Discourses "form the object and the subject of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49), and can be understood as "sets of statements that construct objects and an array of subject positions" (Parker, 1994, p. 245). Discourses provide premises for the particular way we understand various phenomena or the world around us (Bratberg, 2014). Discourses are implicated when power is exercised (Willig, 2008). By forming a common or shared base from which we can talk as well as act, they also have material effects. Certain interests will always be promoted through discourses. Typically, through producing discursive practices (Davies & Harré, 2001), certain versions of reality are claimed and repeated until they appear self-evident or convey the only possible option. Analysing such processes may shed light on how certain ways of seeing and understanding children and parenting become more valid or true. This again may provide an informed point of departure for improving help and intervention policies for broader groups of children.

In this article, we study current discourses on children and parenting in Norway, based on newspaper texts that reflect on and problematize NCWS' interaction with and intervention in immigrant families. The following questions were asked: Which prevailing discourses on children and parenting can be located in the texts? What is the possible impact on children and parents following various subject positions made available by these discourses?

2. Methods

Our data consist of a sample of newspaper texts that cover and address themes related to immigrant families' encounters with Norwegian Child Welfare Services in the period 1 January 2011 to 30 April 2013 (28 months). The texts were identified through *A-tekst*, a searchable Norwegian media data base, including all editorial material from 47 Norwegian newspapers. The time frame was considered appropriate to ensure an updated and feasible number of relevant texts and a variety of reflections and viewpoints. Only country-wide and regional papers (paper versions) were included in the search as we wanted to study papers with broad coverage and which typically, in a Norwegian context, have a high number of readers. A total of 16 newspapers complied with the inclusion criterion. In the final sample of texts, 11 newspapers were represented. These newspapers cover the geographical as well as the political spectrum from right wing conservative and liberal papers (for example, Aftenposten) to Klassekampen, a typically left wing paper.

The texts were identified through the search strings[1] shown in the table below.

Norwegian terms	English translation	Number of hits
Barnevern* and (innvandr* and foreldr*)	Child welfare and (immigrant and parent)	147
Barnevern* and (innvandr* and familie*)	Child welfare and (immigrant and family)	161
Barnevern* and (innvandr* and etnis*)	Child welfare and (immigrant and ethnic)	61
Barnevern* and (innvandr* and minoritet*)	Child welfare and (immigrant and minority)	49
Barnevern* and (etnis* or minoritet*)	Child welfare and (ethnic or minority)	215

There was a considerable overlap between hits following the various search strings. Texts where the particular topic under scrutiny was a distinct theme were included. The final sample of texts constituted 80 texts (for example, editorials, news reports, chronicles, letters to editors) and a range of voices (for example, child welfare service professionals, politicians, judges and lawyers involved in this field, immigrant parents and interest groups, as well as academics and researchers).

2.1. Analysis

Our analytical approach was inspired by a model suggested by Willig (2008), adapted from Vingoe (2008). This model consists of six analytic stages, with corresponding key questions "driving Foucauldian discourse analysis" (Willig, 2008, p. 129). The first analytic stage involves identifying discursive constructions of the 'objects', for our purpose children and parenting, within the texts. In order to do that, the texts were scrutinized and coded (by the first author) to identify how – as well as the different ways – in which children's position, needs, and interests and parenting were understood and argued. To identify discursive constructions of children and parenting across voices in our texts, we also looked at how children's position, needs, and interests and parenting were understood and argued within various groups of voices, for example immigrant voices, child welfare professionals and voices from academia or research. Following this, we located the various constructions of children and parenting within wider discourses (stage two). At stage three, we studied the action orientation of the texts. This means studying the contexts in which various accounts are produced, asking what is gained from constructing children and parenting in this particular way within the texts and how interest are managed through various conceptual or interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). We here looked for what was typically highlighted and argued, for variability, for notions that were contested and challenged as well as what was seemingly downplayed or silenced. Based on the various constructions of children and parenting, and the wider discourses in which they seem located, we suggest available subject positions offered by the discursive constructions (stage four). At stage five, we discuss impact following the identified subject positions, possibilities and limitations for action for children and parents and what they may mean for "possible ways-of-being" (Willig, 2008, p. 127). The last analytic stage in Willig's model (subjectivity) was not used in this study.

---

[1] The term "barnevern" in Norway is quite specific and difficult to translate. It refers to the work, measures and interventions of professionals and institutions that have a mandate following the Norwegian Child Welfare Services Act. We acknowledge that the term "child welfare" in general has a broader meaning.

3. Findings

The analysis revealed four interrelated discourses informing current understandings concerning children and parenting in Norway: (1) No tolerance for parenting practices implying violence and force, (2) every child is a subject of individual – and equal – rights, (3) good parenting is child-focused and dialogue-based, and (4) Norwegian Child Welfare Services – authoritative but also contentious in family matters. For each discourse we present constructs on which the respective wider discourses are suggested as well as some typical ways of managing interest within the relevant discourse. The quotes from the newspaper texts are presented verbatim but translated into English by the first author. While papers (and publication dates) from which the chosen quotes are derived appear continuously, identifying information, like individual names, has been deleted from the quotes.

3.1. No tolerance for parenting practices involving violence and force

A pervasive and vigorously argued construct in our data is that in Norway, parenting practices implying violence are unacceptable. The particular status of this construct is also illustrated by the sheer number of texts in our data addressing this particular phenomenon in immigrant families. There were repeated claims, often documented by facts and numbers that immigrant children are more exposed to violent parenting practices than children in general and that such violence may be of grave character, for example:

> Fifty-three percent of all cases of violence at Statens barnehus [State Children's House] in Oslo last year concerned children with minority background. Only the gravest cases end up at the Children's House… In the last few days, Verdens Gang has reported widespread violence against children with minority background. A NOVA-survey from 2007 shows that these children have four times higher risk of being exposed to grave violence as compared to ethnic Norwegian children…

> [Verdens Gang 2 December 2012]

Across the texts, it was also claimed that "Child welfare cases that involve children [from immigrant families] are often about parents who punish the child physically" (Bergens Tidende 24 May 2012) and that referrals to CWS concerning this group of children have increased rapidly. "In five years, the number of child welfare cases among Norwegian born children with immigrant background has increased by 86%" (Stavanger Aftenblad 3 March 2012).

While the value of accepting difference and diversity in how children can be raised was argued by some, there was no deviation from this particular norm. "Concerning violent child rearing practices, there is no tolerance irrespective of cultural background" (Dagsavisen 14 June 2011). Further, "the possibility to give some parents more time to readjust in cases where children are exposed to violence is rejected" (Vårt Land 14 June 2011). Immigrant parents' reflections on the question of violent parenting practices also establish the authority of this construct. When reflecting on this topic and while acknowledging that it may be challenging, they typically assured compliance with this norm. This can be illustrated by the following quote about an introductory course on arrival in Norway: "All four [immigrant parents] nonetheless claim that they do not use violence against their children. 'I have four children. I understand that it is harmful to use violence'" (Verdens Gang 24 November 2012).

Parenting practices implying force or various forms of coercion were strongly condemned. A distinct notion that children in immigrant families are more exposed to such practices is located and raised in, for example, the problem of forced marriages:

> FORCED TO MARRY AT AGE 13…………Numbers from the Red Cross' help line show that children as young as 13 years of age have

been forced into marriage in Norway. This is a frightening testimony that among some immigrant communities efforts are made to force children to marry at ever younger ages.

[Dagsavisen 16 April 2013]

Concerning this, a particularly vulnerable position for immigrant girls was argued:

They [girls] are exposed to such stressful social control that it is experienced as detention. They are controlled day and night. It may be someone in the family or from the community who on a daily basis passes by school or workplace in order to follow what is taking place. When the girls come home, freedom of movement is practically absent.

[Fædrelandsvennen 25 May 2012]

Several strategies and repertoires can be located, aiming to manage or support various interests. On one hand, emotionally charged language and stories are common within this discourse, typically featuring children (and girls in particular) as vulnerable victims and immigrant parents as a possible threat to children's interest and well-being. Sometimes immigrant parents are accused of challenging our democratic values and institutions, for example: "A few do not accept our model where society makes decisions also in regard to children" (Aftenposten Morgen 22 June 2011).

Among immigrant parent's voices, typically, the possible presence of controlling and potentially coercive practices and the particularly vulnerable position of the immigrant girl, in this respect, were less problematized or most often silenced. Often argued, however, is a need to understand that beating children for child rearing purposes is a cultural practice, common in many societies and most of all intended to be helpful for the child. "We do not beat our children to hurt them, but to have them do homework or come home at the agreed upon time" (Bergens Tidende 24 May 2012). Finally, another typical example of managing interest can be illustrated by the following statement: "We [Action for…..] do not defend violent upbringing but we wish for acceptance concerning diverse parenting styles" (Bergens Tidende 26 May 2012). Such discursive strategies aim to reduce possible negative attributes of immigrant parents (termed 'disclaiming' by Hewitt & Stokes, 1975) and may also illustrate efforts to balance power through claims that another important norm, the value of and respect for diversity, in a Norwegian context, is not properly adhered to.

3.2. Every child is a subject of individual – and equal – rights

First, in our texts, the position of the child is typically argued from a rights perspective, often referring to human rights frameworks and, in particular, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); "… we must be clear about what it means to be parents in a Norwegian context. The CRC and the Child Welfare Services Act provide premises for children's conditions for growing-up in Norway" (Fedrelandsvennen 30 May 2012). A notion that the Norwegian context in this respect represents something different and unfamiliar for many immigrant parents is also present. "For many [immigrant parents] children's rights in Norway break totally with their homeland's culture and tradition" (Adresseavisen 17 April 2013).

Closely related is a distinct notion of children as individuals. In Norway "Children are neither parents' nor the society's property. They are small, rational individuals entitled to respect for [their] own boundaries and integrity" (Aftenposten Morgen 28 February 2012). The value of making own choices and children's right to participate has a particular status.

To make [our] own free choices is a right we have in Norway. This right also applies to girls and boys with immigrant background[s]…. We have to fight in order to ensure that young girls and boys can make [their] own choices concerning their lives and their future. We cannot accept attitudes and actions that suppress individuals. We

have to work in order to limit unwanted control and ensure that each of us can make decisions concerning [our] life.

[Fædrelandsvennen 30 May 2012]

A second, vigorously argued construct in our data is that in Norway, independent of ethnic or cultural background, everyone has equal rights: "Children are entitled to exactly the same protection independent of origin" (Dagsavisen16 April 2013). Or as claimed by the following informant:

… double standards are completely unacceptable in Child Welfare Services. Everyone is to be treated equally, we cannot have one standard for children with immigrant background[s] and another standard for Norwegian children ….We cannot have one set of rules for the majority and another for the minorities.

[Aftenposten Morgen 20 October 2012]

Still, it was often acknowledged that this norm, for various reasons, may not be adequately adhered to. In which case, immigrant children are more likely to be victims of discrimination.

According to the *Save the Children* report, "Do some children tolerate more beating?", the threshold concerning intervention is most likely higher when minority children are exposed to violence as compared to children with Norwegian parents. …CWS employees often do not have the necessary competence to handle violence in minority families…. CWS employees believe that this discrimination results in too little intervention in these families.

[Dagsavisen 31 January 2013]

While the problem of a possibly higher threshold for intervention in immigrant families was largely silenced by immigrant voices, the question of possible discrimination was consistently highlighted, albeit from a somewhat different angle. Typical claims were that the breadth of children's rights is not properly valued and ensured, such as ignoring cultural rights related to, for example, identity and freedom of religion.

Norwegian Immigrant Forum is critical of the fact that minority children are placed in foster homes which culturally and language-wise are very different to the home from which the child is removed. When children are unable to make themselves understood in their mother tongue [or] cannot eat the food they are used to or celebrate traditional festival days, it becomes very problematic….Children lose their background, religion, and ethnicity.

[Bergens Tidende 21 May 2012]

There are, across our data, indications that cultural rights have been less of a focus or may have had a subordinate status in NCWS. For example, the need for professionals with multi-ethnic backgrounds and more multi-cultural foster homes were widely argued and so also the value of making more efforts so that children taken into care "have the possibility to keep their multicultural identity" (Dagsavisen 9 March 2011). One question asked is, for example:

What does CWS do at present in order to address the challenge that the composition of the population is changing? Is CWS able to respect the rights of the child in a way that attends to the child's full identity, even when radical measures need to be put in place?

[Dagbladet 19 December 2012]

Voices across the material seemingly adopt a children's rights perspective when managing interests in this particular impact area, illustrating the standing that such perspectives have in a Norwegian context. Human rights and provisions given by the CRC were typically referred to in our data as examples of what must be considered absolute

standards in a Norwegian context. "Some values are non-negotiable, they cannot be compromised. Human rights are such values. CRC is another. They stand whether the children come from Iraq, Somalia, Germany or Hedmark [a county in Norway]" (Aftenposten Morgen 20 October 2012). However, how such seemingly adopted understandings may be put under pressure can be illustrated by a contribution from the so-called "India case" from 2012. This case, where an Indian family residing temporarily in Norway for work purposes had had their two small children taken into care by NCWS, received extensive coverage in national as well as international media:

> It is urgent that Norwegian authorities clarify whether or not we should have separate rules for children who stay in Norway on a temporary basis…The Director of Child Welfare Services [in Stavanger] thinks this debate has to be undertaken, and it must come swiftly. So far there is equality before the law; CWS has the responsibility to intervene if measures in the home are not adequate to meet children's needs. CWS acts on behalf of all children in Norway, irrespective of citizenship, nationality or cultural background…
>
> [Stavanger Aftenblad 26 January 2012]

3.3. Good parenting is child-focused and dialogue based

Related to the former discourses and particularly highlighted in the texts is how parenting is affected or guided by the position of the child in the family. "…many are not used to children being raised to become as independent as they are in this country" (Bergens Tidende 26 May 2012). Further, "The most important thing I learned is the strong standing of the best interest of the child. In Ethiopia, parents decide a lot, there it is completely different" (Adresseavisen 17 April 2013).

Particularly valid and valuable parenting practices in Norway were typically featured in articles reporting on introductory or training courses for immigrant parents. First, proper parenting is about good interaction and dialogue. "In Burma, parents hit when they are angry with their children. In Norway, the parents use words" (Bergens Tidende 26 May 2012). The following narrative about a training programme substantiates this construct and further underlines the important value of for example restrained adult behaviour and the use of praise in upbringing:

> …she learnt methods to set limits for, praise, and to approach the children in a controlled manner. …—'The woman asks her son to stop playing and come and sit beside her on the couch. She puts her hand on his shoulder and looks him in the eyes. "Tell me what happened," [she asks]. The son has had a fight with a friend, and tells mom why. Mom listens, asks questions and tells her son to go and apologize. She then praises him for doing it'. Praise helps…
>
> [Verdens Gang 6 November 2011]

Second, it is important for parents to be engaged and provide assistance in children's efforts to pursue various interests and activities. "They [immigrant parents] have among other things observed that Norwegian mothers and fathers spend a lot of time with their children. Children can choose among many leisure activities and the parents follow up" (Bergens Tidende 26 May 2012). Or "… thinks it is important to be present in the child's life, to know where they are and drive them to parties and soccer practice" (Stavanger Aftenblad 3 June 2011).

Third, and often specifically highlighted, was that in Norway, love and affection are shown in an open, explicit, and often physical way. "… from Liberia was concerned about the fact that African parents show love in different ways than Norwegian [parents]. 'We are less physical'" (Bergens Tidende 14 May 2012). The superior value of this is, however, contested. "'We do not hug and kiss our children as often as you do, but that does not mean that we beat them or do not love

them'" (Bergens Tidende 14 May 2012). Interest is further managed by frequent claims that NCWS does not, to an adequate degree, acknowledge that what is considered good parent–child interaction is culturally and contextually situated.

> 'In the reports [care assessments] it says that I do not show empathy for my child through facial expressions and body language. But who has the set answer to how one expresses a mother's love? Do I have to say, I love you, to the child to be a good enough mother?'
>
> [Bergens Tidende 17 May 2012]

In relation to this, it was typically claimed that NCWS sees and understands with "Norwegian glasses" and following this: "cultural differences may be understood as lack of or poor interaction" (Bergens Tidende 24 March 2013). A further illustration of this point is the following quote, positing NCWS as both culturally insensitive as well as incompetent:

> The stories tell about a CWS that lacks knowledge about and tolerance for cultural differences… [People] talk about families being split up because they (like perhaps two billion people in Asia and Africa) sit on the floor – and use their hands – to eat. It is said that CWS suspects abuse when the children sleep in the bed with their daddy, ignorant about the fact that in many cultures, it is unusual for children to have their own bed, even less their own room. In some cultures children should avoid eye contact with their parents to show respect — but CWS sees this as sign of neglect.
>
> [Aftenposten Morgen 4 April 2012]

Finally, a distinct construct located in the texts is that the values of a collectively oriented family culture is neither properly understood nor recognized in Norway. "In other cultures, central values are that children must learn to respect the parents and contribute to the community. They are also to a larger extent treated as part of the community. This may collide with CWS' values" (Bergens Tidende 17 May 2012). Or, as reflected in the following quote: "Legal authorities such as CWS understand too little of, among other things, the family's hierarchy, gender specific family structures, traditions, and the idea of the collective extended family" (Klassekampen 23 December 2011). Further substantiating and recycling notions that, for example, biology, the wider family context, identity, and culture may be devalued can be illustrated by this aptly and concisely worded narrative:

> With much astonishment I have the last couple of weeks read about Stavanger Child Welfare Services' handling of a child welfare case, the so-called India-case. For unknown reasons two children, five months and three years… were robbed from their biological parents and against their parents' wishes placed in out-of-home care, in ethnic Norwegian emergency foster homes. The children are not only separated from their parents and their culture, but also separated from one another. This [is] in spite of the fact that there are representatives from the extended family who have offered to care for the children in the children's own home country.
>
> [Stavanger Aftenblad 5 January 2012]

3.4. Norwegian child welfare services — authoritative but also contentious in family matters

Numerous narratives illustrated the state's clear interest in family matters as well as how this is a new and unfamiliar experience for many immigrant parents. "They [immigrant families] are often totally unaware of the fact that there is an outside system that may say whether or not you are approved or sanctioned as parents" (Stavanger Aftenblad 25 January 2012). Or, as phrased by the following informant: "We come from countries without CWS…Many African parents have no clue concerning what it [CWS] is, and how it works" (Bergens Tidende

17 December 2012). Further, a construct of a valued and well-meaning state, joining forces particularly with children, is argued. "Many immigrants arriving in Norway do not have experience with a strong and well developed state [structure]. A state … which takes care of its citizens and wants the best for them, and which has institutions for taking care of vulnerable children" (Aftenposten Morgen 22 June 2011). It was also typically stated that "It is a long time since violence against children was considered a private matter in the Norwegian society" (Verdens Gang 2 December 2012). The following quote further indicates "the naturalness" of the role of the state in family relations in Norway and at the same time possibly illustrates a Norwegian "a sense of self" by conferring a paramount status to the best interest of the child:

Here, the state has an opinion concerning what is considered good for children and it has a machinery of power which can take steps against those parents who most clearly fail in their caring duties. We have, as a society, chosen that the community shall have the possibility to intervene in the private sphere concerning this point: children's needs and interests. Norway thinks that the weak have a right to societal protection, and children, in particular, must be looked after.

[Dagsavisen 25 March 2012]

Importantly, and across voices, there were extensive beliefs in the value and importance of information, education, and training concerning how to be parents in a Norwegian context. Related to this, it was typically argued that NCWS needs to focus much more on such aspects when executing its mandate. There were also voices suggesting the presence of beliefs that Norwegian parenting is both more developed and, perhaps, of a higher moral standing. For example, "In Norway, there is a widespread notion that proper parenting is Norwegian parenting. In other cultures, however, one has not come 'as far'" (Bergens Tidende 25 January 2013).

Our data also indicate a parallel and widely-shared construct that the immigrant population has little confidence in the NCWS as an institution.

During various meetings and in the minutes, Oslo City Council's Health and Social Welfare Committee has expressed concerns regarding lack of trust towards Oslo's CWSs from parts of the city's inhabitants. Both through meetings and media, we hear that various groups have serious trust and communication problems with the CWS.

[Klassekampen 15 August 2012]

Immigrant parents often position themselves as victims of NCWS' incomprehensible interventions and working methods. "Parents not only express great despair concerning their losses but also they do not understand how this has happened" (Dagsavisen 12 November 2012). Related to the above statement, it was also frequently argued that NCWS' intervention and working methods create widespread fear and anxiety in immigrant communities; this is often conveyed in emotionally charged language:

Since last autumn, Bergens Tidende has been in contact with around twenty African mothers who are or have been living in Bergen. All have a problematic or fearful relationship to CWS, and live in constant fear that CWS shall show up at their door. Several have had their children taken into care, without understanding why…'Every time CWS rings I get pain in my stomach and chest. Afterwards I only sit and weep'.

[Bergens Tidende 17 May 2012]

There were also consistent claims that individuals and groups of immigrant parents feel infringed upon and discriminated against by NCWS. "Lately, a number of parents with minority backgrounds have

stepped forward and expressed experiences to the media about being treated badly and discriminated against by NCWS. These are parents who have lost custody of their children" (Dagsavisen 12 November 2012). Or, "Many experience CWS' working methods as offensive and, in many cases, these groups experience that their protection under the law is not properly attended to" (Klassekampen 15 August 2012). The next quote exemplifies some typical interpretative repertoires at play:

Poles in Norway, as well as in Poland and in other countries, could see this autumn the second of the two documentary films from 2012 about NCWS. The documentary films show interviews with Polish families in Norway who have bad experiences with the CWS and their working methods. [The films focus on] the families' lack of legal protection [when] facing a CWS order, which seemingly acts arbitrarily… The parents feel [they are] without legal rights and facing a state that takes from them the most precious thing they have – their children. Whether or not, in the individual case, there was a reason for the CWS to intervene is not the point here. The point is that among immigrants from Poland, a strong scepticism and fear for CWS prevails. Images of a CWS that has no respect for the family and that practically stands above the law are discussed both among Poles in Norway and with relatives and friends residing in Poland and in other countries.

[Dagbladet 19 December 2012]

Considering the superior standing 'rule-of-law' and human rights have in Norway and perhaps especially because of the principles of equality and non-discrimination, to argue from such a perspective and reject that NCWS fulfil their duties in this respect may be particularly potent. To focus on possible human rights violations in relation to the adults in the family may also serve other purposes, for example, to compel a broader focus instead of what some may consider a one-sided focus on the children's rights and perspectives.

4. Discussion

In this section, we discuss the possible impact on children and parents following two main subject positions made available by the identified discourses: (i) the child as the pivot, and (ii) parents as guarantors for children developing proper skills.

4.1. The child as the pivot

The discourses position children as pivots with a particular moral as well as legal standing in society. First, this resonates with Norwegian laws and regulations, which are typically informed by the principles of the best interest of the child and treat children as participants. The child as the pivot substantiates and recycles notions of children's "paramountcy" or highest rank of authority (Wyness, 2006, p. 101). Second, our findings further embrace notions of children as social agents (Mayall, 2002), competent informers with voices that carry weight and "people that makes things happen" (James & James, 2008, p. 105). These two processes are closely linked to fundamental welfare state ideas, such as humanitarianism, solidarity, equal rights and possibilities, and justice, now also extended to include children (Aadnesen & Hærem, 2007). In Norway, gender equality is at present also seen as an intrinsic characteristic of the welfare state (Leira, 2008). For example, for nearly ten years, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women has been fully included in the Norwegian Human Rights Law. According to Gullestad (1997), protecting and privileging children is closely linked to how Norwegians want to understand themselves. This may explain the intense advocacy for children's right to be free from violent and forceful rearing practices, including a specific concern for the immigrant girl.

Importantly, however, within the discourses it is contested to what degree children in real life are positioned as citizens with adequately developed and equal rights and whether they are empowered to pursue own interests. In Norway, there is a current professional and public debate concerning the need for turning the Norwegian Child Welfare Services Act into a rights-based law for children and for giving children an individual right to submit complaints to the United Nations Committee for the Rights of the Child through ratifying an optional protocol to the CRC.

Children's position as subjects with individual rights and legal protection more like adults obliges the state to secure children's interests in cases that are considered important to them. A relevant example in our context is protection from cultural norms and practices, which at the cost of children's individual interests give priority to other family members or a wider community's interests. In the NCWSA, so-called cultural rights or rights to keep one's ethnic identity and religion (CRC, § 30) are only directly incorporated in relation to out-of-home care. This is different from for example in the United Kingdom, where there are provisions for non-discrimination in relation to culture, race and religion in child welfare legislation. Still, our findings suggest that increased migration and short-term residency in Norway have compelled more focus on and value granted such rights for children. An open and negotiating attitude toward what such rights may and must mean in a Norwegian context pays increased tribute to an important value of a liberal society: the tolerance of diversity (Archard, 2004). Consequently, larger and more diverse groups of children may feel accepted and included in society.

As our findings also illustrate, children's right to a certain cultural identity within a society and what this should mean, must be balanced and negotiated in relation to other important rights. What for example cultural rights shall mean in a Norwegian setting must mirror the societal development in general and not undermine or challenge fundamental democratic values (Aadnesen, 2013). Because of the inherently context- and power-dependent nature of individual rights for children (Burman, 2008; Opdal, 2002), it is important to be vigilant and assess whose interests are at stake when the content of and weight given to various children's rights are negotiated in various settings.

While individualization of family members induces a more equal status for children, it may also lead to less focus on the dependent, contextually rooted and social child (Ulvik, 2009). According to Wyness (2006), the best interest of the child principle has implied a more detached position for the child in relation to what may be called its natural environment, the parents and the extended family. This is also featured in Norwegian legislation, where we have seen a development in which children become increasingly more separated from their parents (Kjørholt, 2004). Ericsson (1996) claims that individual rights for children, together with how the NCWSA is formulated, have driven a development where family members, more than before, are seen in conflict. An understanding that children's and parents' interests are less easily reconciled may occur, and thereby, possibly, less effort is invested in intervention and in measures focusing on children in context.

In debates related to continuously extended individual rights for children, Kjørholt (2010) also argues a need to include relational perspectives and to focus on the contexts of meaning in which children are situated. In Norway, we at present see a worrisome development where young people, to an increasing extent, suffer from various psychological health problems, for example, depression (Bakken, 2013). Some relate this development to individualization processes. For children, a position as pivot reflects vulnerability and a need for extensive protection and follow-up. Importantly, this position also implies acknowledgement as individuals with increased personal responsibility for own life and choices. There is, according to Vetlesen (2014), a need to pay attention to how individualization processes may leave young people vulnerable in new ways. Examples include in relation to forming stable identities and establishing realistic life goals. Young people are presently expected to handle autonomy and manifest mastery on many different arenas.

4.2. Parents as guarantors for children developing proper skills

Discourses in our data ascribe particular importance to the quality of the parent–child dyad as a condition for children developing fundamental skills needed to manoeuvre in a changing and unpredictable world (see page 5 where the relevant skills are elaborated). According to Gillies (2005), such skills reflect middle-class values, and parents are positioned as the guarantors for these skills, and as "determinants for children's future life possibilities" (p. 839). The symmetrical, democratic and negotiating family is considered the best means to achieve these skills, while authority, discipline, and hierarchical family relations are of little value (Gullestad, 1997; Hennum, 2002, 2011; Schultz Jørgensen, 1999). Further, according to Hennum (2002), relations regulated by feelings are of particular importance. This requires parents to emphasize communication, dialogue, and feelings in their child-rearing efforts. Following how parents are positioned, they need to be supported, educated, and trained or rather disciplined into adopting the appropriate parenting practices. The identified discourses indicate extensive agreement about the importance of and value ascribed to immigrant parents being informed and educated about parenting in a Norwegian context.

Typically, such initiatives or education programmes target marginalized families "that in one way or another are socially excluded" (Gillies, 2005, p. 839). Egelund (1997) says that parenting practices and capacities that deviate from what is considered normal have always been at the core of child protective work, and according to Vagli (2009), in NCWS, this is about taken-for-granted middle class values made normative. Similarly, Walkerdine (2001) claims that within the education sector, a powerful professional discourse positions parents from the working class in ways that devalue their knowledge and competence. She understands this in relation to "societal disciplining of classes who fail to equip their children with the right skills" (p. 848).

Explanations for break of normality have further, within CWS, typically been given "individual psychological explanations" (Egelund, 1997, p. 358). There has been a focus on intra- and interpersonal circumstances in the family, based on understandings heavily influenced by traditional developmental psychology (Andenæs, 2005). We believe this has compelled a more narrow or restricted gaze when CWS assesses parenting capacities. The wider social context affecting and shaping various families' lives receives less interest and attention (Andenæs, 2004; Gillies, 2005; Hennum, 2010; Tulviste et al., 2007). Križ and Skivenes (2010) found that in the UK, as compared to Norway, the importance of class and questions related to power were more often problematized in education programmes for social workers. Other researchers report that in a Nordic context, social workers perspectives are less oppression-focused, with little attention paid to structural phenomena, such as for example, racism (Johansson, 2010; Križ & Skivenes, 2010; Pringle, 2010). Consequently, groups of children may suffer from lack of, inexpedient, or unworkable interventions.

The best interest of the child is often argued in a taken-for-granted manner in the discourses, as self-evident and beyond doubt. While it may be unclear what it means, parents in contact with CWS are expected to adjust to what the majority society, often implicitly, considers the best interest of the child. Together with the above mentioned processes, this fuels homogenization of parents and parenting. First, fixed standards for right and wrong devalue or easily position groups of parents as deficient. Likely consequences are feelings of being misinterpreted or distrust, and countermoves such as withdrawal or a need to defy perceived injustice. Consequently, parents may adopt "confrontational and provocative measures to alter the balance of power" (Gillies, 2005, p.846). Second, less attention and importance are lent to parents own views and arguments, making it more difficult to access or see the potential qualities in diverse child-rearing practices. Such processes reduce the likelihood that for example immigrant parents are invited in to discuss, or leave little space for involving them in the course of establishing what 'the best

interest of the child' and 'proper parenting' should mean and imply in various contexts. At present, according to James and James (2008), 'the best interest of the child' is "a central rhetoric plank" for determining children's welfare, also reflecting main current battles over the social construction of childhood (p. 111).

4.3. Limitations

Our findings must be understood in context. Because of NCWS' comprehensive mandate, this is a sensitive and sometimes high-conflict impact area. In addition, public media's repeated efforts to make headlines mean that our texts are sometimes characterized by strong opinions, worded in inept and abbreviated ways. This may render processes particularly visible, but also, possibly, downplay nuances. Following our theoretical perspective, we acknowledge the role of contextual factors such as for example own pre-understandings in our findings and interpretations. In our analytic approach, we have not attempted to explore the relationship between identified discourses and subjectivity, stage six in the applied model. Importantly, as pointed out by Willig (2008), these six stages "do not constitute a full analysis in the Foucauldian sense" (p. 115).

Our focus is on contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway. Therefore, we have not found it relevant or necessary to define difficult concepts, such as for example, minority-, ethnic- or immigrant families, or problematized the fact that various immigrant families or groups will see and understand children and parenting differently. For the same reason, we have not explored causes of or reflected on the complexity related to what is seen as deviant parenting, for example physical punishment, among others discussed by Nadan, Spilbury, and Korbin (2015).

Further, we did not analyse various newspapers' or genres' different perspectives or angles. Our focus has been discourses that run across voices and genres in a sample of mainstream and widely-read Norwegian newspapers. Importantly, choice of media outlets most likely affects which voices are more likely to emerge. For example, to access children and young people's voices in particular, studying social media may prove fruitful.

5. Conclusion

In this article, we study discourses on children and parenting in Norway, how children and parents may be positioned within prevalent discourses and the possible impact on children and parents. The impact area we chose as point of departure for the study was the allegedly problematic meeting between Norwegian Child Welfare Services and immigrant families, as this appears in a sample of texts from mainstream newspapers in Norway in a 28 months period from 2011–2013. Four main and related discourses concerning children and parenting in Norway were identified: (1) No tolerance for parenting practices implying violence and force, (2) Every child is a subject of individual – and equal – rights; (3) Good parenting is child-focused and dialogue based, and (4): Norwegian Child Welfare Services is authoritative as well as contentious in family matters.

The discourses indicate the presence of two important subject positions: first, the child as the pivot. This implies that children are given a superior moral status and are to enjoy human dignity and values, such as individuality, equality and justice, and individual rights and an obligation for the state to oversee and ensure this position also for the child. An increasingly multicultural society highlights the power and contextual aspects of children's position, for example through raising the visibility and importance of children's cultural rights. We also see a potential conflict here if, as a result of various adult interests, children's cultural rights are given a content that challenges children's democratic rights in Norway, rights which have been built up over decades. The other important subject position concerns parents as guarantors for children developing proper skills. This compels processes

toward both standardization and homogenization of parenting, which position some groups of parents as deficient. In contrast, to promote equality and inclusion in a society which is becoming increasingly more diverse, there is a need for professionals to explore alternative pathways that are strength-based, affirmative, and that follow more curious and dialogue-based approaches.

References

Aadnesen, B. N. (2012). *Jeg kan ikke være den afrikanske mammaen i Norge. Men de må skjønne at min bakgrunn er en del av meg [I cannot be the African mom in Norway. But they must understand that my background is a part of me].* (PhD Thesis) Trondheim, Norway: Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Aadnesen, B. N. (2013, January 3). *Ulike kulturer og barnets beste [Different cultures and the best interest of the child].* Stavanger Aftenblad, 59 (Retrieved from http://www.aftenbladet.no/meninger/Ulike-kulturer-norske-regler-gjelder-3096769.html).

Aadnesen, B. N., & Hærem, E. (2007). *Interkulturelt barnevernsarbeid [Intercultural child welfare work].* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Allertsen, L., & Kalve, T. (2006). *Innvandrerbarn i barnevernet 2004 [Immigrant children in Child Welfare Services 2004].* 19, Oslo-Kongsvinger: Statistisk Sentralbyrå-Statistics Norway.

Andenæs, A. (2004). Hvorfor ser vi ikke fattigdommen? Fra en undersøkelse om barn som blir plassert utenfor hjemmet [Why do we not see the poverty? From a survey about children placed in out-of-home care]. *Nordisk Sosialt Arbeid, 1*(24), 19–33.

Andenæs, A. (2005). Neutral claims — Gendered meanings: Parenthood and developmental psychology in a modern welfare state. *Feminism and Psychology, 15*(2), 209–226. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0959353505051729.

Archard, D. (2004). *Children: Rights and childhood.* London: Routledge.

Bakken, A. (2013). *Ungdata. Nasjonale resultater 2013 [Youth data. National results 2013]. 10.* (pp. 14). Oslo: NOVA, 14 (Retrieved 11.08.14 from: http://www.ungdata.no/id/22422.0?all=1&id=22422&subid=0).

Berg, B., & Ask, T. (2011). *Minoritetsperspektiver på sosialt arbeid [Minority perspectives on social work].* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Bratberg, Ø. (2014). *Tekstanalyse for samfunnsvitere [Text analysis for social scientists].* Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Bredal, A. (2009). Barnevernet og minoritetsjenters opprør. Mellom det generelle og det spesielle [Child Welfare Services and minority girls' rebellion. Between the general and the particular]. In K. Eide, N. A. Qureshi, M. Rugkåsa, & H. Vike (Eds.), *Over profesjonelle barrierer. Et minoritetsperspektiv i psykososialt arbeid med barn og ungeAcross professional barriers. A minority perspective in psycho social work with children and youth.* Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS.

Burman, E. (2005). Childhood, neo-liberalism and the feminization of education. *Gender and Education, 17*(4), 351–367. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09540250500145247.

Burman, E. (2008). *Developments. Child, image, nation.* New York: Routledge.

Chand, A. (2008). Every child matters? A critical review of child welfare reforms in the context of minority ethnic children and families. *Child Abuse Review, 17*, 6–22. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/car.1001.

Collin, F. (1997). *Social reality.* London: Routledge.

Cunningham, H. (2005). *Children and childhood in western society since 1500* (2nd ed.). London: Pearson Education.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (2001). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse theory and practice* (pp. 261–271). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Doepke, M., & Fabrizio, Z. (2013). *Parenting with style: Altruism and paternalism in intergenerational preference transmission.* Bonn: The Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

Egelund, T. (1997). *Beskyttelse af barndommen. Socialforvaltningers risikovurdering og inngrep [Protecting childhood. Child Welfare Services' risk assessments and interventions].* København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Engebrigtsen, A. (2003). The child's – or the state's – best interest? An examination of the ways immigration officials work with unaccompanied asylum seeking minors in Norway. *Child and Family Social Work, 8*, 191–200. http://dx.doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2206.2003.00280.x.

Ericsson, K. (1996). *Barnevern som samfunnsspeil [Child welfare as a societal mirror].* Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Eydal, G. B., & Satka, M. (2006). Social work and Nordic welfare policies for children: Present challenges in light of the past. *European Journal of Social Work, 9*(3), 305–322. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691450600828358.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge.* London, UK: Routledge.

Gillies, V. (2005). Raising the "meritocracy": Parenting and the individualization of social class. *Sociology, 39*, 835–853. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0038038505058368.

Giner, C. (2007). The politics of childhood and asylum in the UK. *Children & Society, 21*(4), 249–260. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2007.00097.x.

Gullestad, M. (1997). A passion for boundaries: Reflections on connections between the everyday lives of children and discourses on the nation in contemporary Norway. *Childhood, 4*(1), 19–42. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0907568297004001002.

Hennum, N. (2002). *Kjærlighetens og autoritetens kulturelle koder. Om å være mor og far for norsk ungdom [Love and authority's cultural codes. To be mother and father for Norwegian youth].* (PhD Thesis) Trondheim, Norway: Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Hennum, N. (2010). Mot en standardisering av voksenhet? Barn som redskap i statens disiplinering av voksne [Towards a standardization of adulthood? Children as tools in the state's disciplining of adults]. *Sosiologi i dag, 40*(1–2), 57–75.

Hennum, N. (2011). Controlling children's lives: Covert messages in child protection service reports. *Child & Family Social Work*, *16*(3), 336–344. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2010.00744.x.

Hewitt, J. P., & Stokes, R. (1975). Disclaimers. *American Sociological Review*, *40*, 1–11.

Holm-Hanssen, J., Haaland, T., & Myrvold, T. (2007). *Flerkulturelt barnevern- en kunnskapsoversikt [Multicultural child welfare – a knowledge status]*. Oslo: NIBR.

James, A., & James, A. L. (2008). Changing childhood in the UK: Reconstructing discourses of 'risk' and 'protection'. In A. James, & A. L. James (Eds.), *European childhoods. Cultures, politics and childhoods in Europe*. (pp. 105–129). New York: PalgraveMacmillan.

Johansson, I. M. (2010). The multicultural paradox: The challenge of accomodating both power and trust in child protection. *International Social Work*, *54*(4), 535–549. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0020872810383448.

Kalve, T., & Dyrhaug, T. (2011). *Barn og unge med innvandrerbakgrunn i barnevernet 2009 [Children and young people with immigrant background in Child Welfare Services 2009]*. Oslo: Statistisk Sentralbyrå [Statistics Norway].

Kjørholt, A. T. (2004). *Childhood as a social and symbolic space: Discourses on children as social participants in society*. (PhD Thesis) Trondheim, Norway: Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Kjørholt, A. T. (2010). Barn som samfunnsborgere — til barnets beste? [Children as citizens — In the best interest of the child?] In A. T. Kjørholt (Ed.), *Barn som samfunnsborgere — til barnets beste?Children as citizens — In the best interest of the child?*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Križ, K., & Skivenes, M. (2009). 'We have very different positions on some issues': How child welfare workers in Norway and England bridge cultural differences when communicating with ethnic minority families. *European Journal of Social Work*, *13*(1), 3–18. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691450903135626.

Križ, K., & Skivenes, M. (2010). "Knowing our society" and "fighting against prejudices": How child welfare workers in Norway and England perceive the challenges of minority parents. *British Journal of Social Work*, *40*, 2634–2651. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcq026.

Leira, A. (2008). Childcare in Scandinavia: Parental responsibility and social right. *LHomme: European Journal of Feminist History*, *19*(1), 81–104. http://dx.doi.org/10.7767/lhomme.2008.19.1.81.

Mayall, B. (2002). *Towards a sociology for childhood. Thinking from children's lives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Meyer, A. (2007). The moral rethoric of childhood. *Childhood*, *14*(1), 85–104. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0907568207072532.

Nadan, Y., Spilbury, J. C., & Korbin, J. E. (2015). Culture and context in understanding child maltreatment: Contribution of intersectionality and neighborhood-based research. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *41*, 40–48. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.10.021.

Opdal, P. M. (2002). Barnerettighetene [Children's rights]. *Mennesker & Rettigheter*, *4*, 2–10.

Parker, I. (1994). Reflexive research and the grounding of analysis: Social psychology and the psy-complex. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, *4*, 239–252.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: Sage.

Pringle, K. (2010). Swedish welfare responses to ethnicity: The case of children and their families. *European Journal of Social Work*, *13*(1), 19–34. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691450903135659.

Schultz Jørgensen, P. (1999). Familieliv - i børnefamilien [Family life in families with dependant children]. In L. Denzik, & P. S. Jørgensen (Eds.), *Børn og familie i det postmoderne samfunn* (pp. 108–131)*Children and family in the postmodern society* (pp. 108–131). København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Silcock, M., Hocking, C., & Payne, D. (2013). Childhood constructions of contemporary technology: Using discourse analysis to understand the creation of occupational possibilities. *Journal of Occupational Science*, *21*(3), 357–370. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2013.832647.

Statistics Norway (2015). *Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre [Immigrants and Norwegian born with immigrant parents]*. Statistics Norway — Statistisk Sentralbyrå (Retrieved 04 March 2015 from http://www.ssb.no/innvbef/).

Thelen, T., & Haukanes, H. (2010). Parenting after the century of the child: Introduction. In T. Thelen, & H. Haukanes (Eds.), *Parenting after the century of the child, Travelling ideals, institutional negotiations and individual responses* (pp. 1–9). Farnham: Ashgate.

Tulviste, T., Mizera, L., De Geer, B., & Tryggvason, M. T. (2007). Child-rearing goals of Estonian, Finnish, and Swedish mothers. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *48*(6), 487–497. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9450.2007.00618.x.

Ulvik, O. S. (2005). *Fosterfamilie som seinmoderne omsorgsarrangement: en kulturpsykologisk studie av fosterbarn og forsterforeldres fortellinger [Fostercare as care arrangement in late modernity: A culture psychological study of children placed in fostercare and foster carers' narratives]*. (PhD Thesis) Oslo: University of Oslo.

Ulvik, O. S. (2009). Barns rett til deltakelse - teoretiske og praktiske utfordringer i profesjonelle hjelperes samarbeid med barn [Children's right to participation — Theoretical and practical challenges in professional helpers' collaboration with children]. *Tidsskrift for Norsk Psykologforening*, *46*, 1148–1154.

Vagli, Å. (2009). *Behind closed doors: Exploring the institutional logic of doing child protection work*. (PhD Thesis) Bergen, Norway: University of Bergen.

Vetlesen, A. J. (2014). Sett utenfra [Seen from outside]. *Tidsskrift for Norsk Psykologforening*, *49*(8), 775–777 (Retrieved 26.12.14 from: http://psykologtidsskriftet.no/index.php?seks_id=270386&a=3).

Vingoe, L. (2008). *The construction of personality disorder: A discourse analysis of contemporary professional, cultural and political texts*. London, UK: City University.

Walkerdine, V. (2001). Safety and danger: Childhood, sexuality, and space at the end of the millennium. In K. Hultquist, & G. Dahlberg (Eds.), *Governing the child in the new millennium* (pp. 15–34). New York: Routledge Falmer.

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology. Adventures in theory and method*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Wyness, M. (2006). *Childhood and society. An introduction to the sociology of childhood*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, UK and New York, NY: Palgrave: Macmillan.

Appendice

Appendice

OPIO0378 CH / SH

Holdninger om ulike seksualiteter og forhold knyttet til maskulinitet og femininitet

Intro - Intro

Dette er en spørreundersøkelse om holdninger til ulike seksualiteter og forhold tilknyttet maskulinitet og femininitet. Barne- og likestillingsdepartementet har bestilt undersøkelsen. Universitetet i Bergen er ansvarlig for utformingen, og det er Opinion AS som gjennomfører spørringen. Vi sier stor takk til alle som deltar. Utfyllingen er anonym, og det er frivillig å delta. Takk for hjelpen! Vennlig hilsen Norman Anderssen prosjektansvarlig førsteamanuensis, dr.psychol. norman.anderssen@psysp.uib.no Telefon: 55 58 20 55

Hvordan - Hvordan

Hvordan fylle ut skjemaet? Alle spørsmål må besvares, men vi har lagt inn svarmuligheter som "vil ikke svare" eller "er usikker" på de fleste spørsmålene slik at det skal være mulig å svare på alle. Svar ganske raskt og ikke tenk lenge over hvert spørsmål. Mange spørsmål likner på hverandre. Dette er fordi vi ønsker å belyse så mange sider ved temaet som mulig. Det er ingen riktige og gale svar. Vi er interessert i dine holdninger. Vi understreker igjen at du er anonym, og at du vil være en av mange.

bk1 - bk1

Hvilket år er du født?

○ Notér:_____
○ Vil ikke svare

bk2 - bk2

Er du mann eller kvinne?

○ Mann
○ Kvinne
○ Vil ikke svare

Fylke - Fylke

Bor du i...

○ Finnmark (1)   ○ Aust-Agder (11)
○ Troms (2)   ○ Telemark (12)
○ Nordland (3)   ○ Vestfold (13)
○ Nord-Trøndelag (4) ○ Buskerud (14)
○ Sør-Trøndelag (5)   ○ Oppland (15)
○ Møre og Romsdal (6) ○ Hedmark (16)
○ Sogn og Fjordane (7) ○ Østfold (17)
○ Hordaland (8)   ○ Akershus (18)
○ Rogaland (9)   ○ Oslo (19)
○ Vest-Agder (10)   ○ Vil ikke svare (20)

Info1 - Info1

HOLDNINGER TIL OG KONTAKT MED LESBISKE KVINNER OG HOMOFILE MENN:

q1ab - q1ab

	Svært positiv	Positiv	Verken positiv eller negativ	Negativ	Svært negativ	Vil ikke svare
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til lesbiske jenter/kvinner?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til homofile gutter/menn?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

q1cd - q1cd

	Bortimot daglig	2-5 ganger i uken	1 gang i uken	1-3 ganger i måneden	Sjeldnere enn en gang i måneden	Aldri	Vil ikke svare
Hvor ofte har du kontakt med (snakker med eller liknende) en lesbisk jente/kvinne?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Hvor ofte har du kontakt med (snakker med eller liknende) en homofil gutt/mann?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

q1ef - q1ef

	Kjenner svært godt	Kjenner godt	Kjenner ganske godt	Kjenner litt	Kjenner så vidt	Kjenner ingen
Kjenner du en lesbisk jente/kvinne?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Kjenner du en homofil gutt/mann?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s1g - s1g

I hvilken grad mener du at det er i orden at to personer av samme kjønn lever sammen som par?

- ❍ I svært stor grad
- ❍ I ganske stor grad
- ❍ Til dels
- ❍ I ganske liten grad
- ❍ I svært liten grad
- ❍ Vil ikke svare

info2 - info2

HOLDNINGER TIL OG KONTAKT MED BIFILE KVINNER OG MENN:

q2ab - q2ab

	Svært positiv	Positiv	Verken positiv eller negativ	Negativ	Svært negativ	Vil ikke svare
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til bifile jenter/kvinner?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til bifile gutter/menn?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

q2cd - q2cd

	Bortimot daglig	2-5 ganger i uken	1 gang i uken	1-3 ganger i måneden	Sjeldnere enn en gang i måneden	Aldri	Vil ikke svare
Hvor ofte har du kontakt med (snakker med eller liknende) en bifil jente/kvinne?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Hvor ofte har du kontakt med (snakker med eller liknende) en bifil gutt/mann?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

q2ef - q2ef

	Kjenner svært godt	Kjenner godt	Kjenner ganske godt	Kjenner litt	Kjenner så vidt	Kjenner ingen
Kjenner du en bifil jente/kvinne?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Kjenner du en bifil gutt/mann?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s3 - s3

HOLDNINGER HOS PERSONER I DIN OMGANGSKRETS

	Ikke aktuelt	Vet ikke	Svært positiv	Positiv	Verken positiv eller negativ	Negativ	Svært negativ
Alt i alt, hvilke holdninger tror du familien din har til lesbiske kvinner? (Tenk på de i familien som betyr mest for deg).	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Alt i alt, hvilke holdninger tror du dine venner har til lesbiske kvinner? (Tenk på de vennene som betyr mest for deg).	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Alt i alt, hvilke holdninger tror du de som du jobber med til daglig (eller går på skole med) har til lesbiske kvinner? (Tenk på de som betyr mest for deg).	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Alt i alt, hvilke holdninger tror du familien din har til homofile menn? (Tenk på de i familien som betyr mest for deg).	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Alt i alt, hvilke holdninger tror du dine venner har til homofile menn? (Tenk på de vennene som betyr mest for deg).	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Alt i alt, hvilke holdninger tror du de som du jobber med til daglig (eller går på skole med) har til homofile menn? (Tenk på de som betyr mest for deg).	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

info4 - info4

VI VIL NÅ FORTSETTE MED EN SERIE SPØRSMÅL OM HOLDNINGER. Husk at det ikke er riktige og gale svar, og det er dine holdninger vi er interessert i. Mange av spørsmålene som kommer nå, likner på hverandre. Dette er fordi vi ønsker å belyse så mange sider ved temaet som mulig.

s4 - s4

HVOR ENIG ELLER UENIG ER DU I PÅSTANDENE NEDENFOR?

	Helt enig	Litt enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Litt uenig	Helt uenig
Sex mellom to menn er ganske enkelt feil.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Jeg synes homofile menn er frastøtende.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Mannlig homoseksualitet er et naturlig utrykk for seksualitet hos menn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Mannlig homoseksualitet er perverst.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Når jeg tenker på homofile menn, grøsser jeg.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det ville være ubehagelig å sitte ved siden av en mann på bussen som jeg visste var homofil	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sex mellom to kvinner er ganske enkelt feil.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Jeg synes lesbiske kvinner er frastøtende.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Kvinnelig homoseksualitet er et naturlig utrykk for seksualitet hos kvinner.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Kvinnelig homoseksualitet er perverst.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det ville være ubehagelig å sitte ved siden av en kvinne på bussen som jeg visste var lesbisk	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Når jeg tenker på lesbiske kvinner, grøsser jeg	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Åpne lesbiske og homofile burde få anerkjennelse for at de er åpne.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det er bra at lesbiske og homofile ikke lever skjult.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det er bra for barn å vite at noen er heterofile mens andre er homofile.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det er fint med menneskelig variasjon slik at det finnes både heterofile og homofile personer.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det er viktig for samfunnet at vi har åpne lesbiske og homofile.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det er fint at folk er forskjellige, også når det gjelder hvilket kjønn man elsker.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Alle nyter godt av å leve i et samfunn der lesbiske kvinner og homofile menn kan være åpne.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s5 - s5

	Svært positivt	Positivt	Negativt	Svært negativt	Vil ikke svare
Hvordan vurderer du homoseksualitet blant menn	○	○	○	○	○
Hvordan vurderer du homoseksualitet blant kvinner	○	○	○	○	○
Hvordan vurderer du biseksualitet blant menn	○	○	○	○	○
Hvordan vurderer du biseksualitet blant kvinner	○	○	○	○	○
Tenk deg at du hadde et voksent barn som var lesbisk eller homofil. Hva ville du synes om dette? Om du har et voksent barn som er lesbisk eller homofil så svar ut fra det.	○	○	○	○	○
Tenk deg at du ble forvandlet slik at du plutselig hadde forandret seksuell orientering (fra homofil til heterofil eller fra heterofil til homofil). Hva ville du synes om dette?	○	○	○	○	○

s6 - s6

HOLDNINGER TIL SEX MELLOM PERSONER: Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til at .....

	Svært positiv	Positiv	Verken positiv eller negativ	Negativ	Svært negativ
.....to kvinner har sex sammen?	○	○	○	○	○
......to menn har sex sammen?	○	○	○	○	○
.....en mann og en kvinne har sex sammen	○	○	○	○	○

s7_1 - s7_1

SPØRSMÅL OM DET Å BRUKE HOMO-ORD

	Svært negativ erting	Negativ erting	Verken negativ eller hyggelig erting	Hyggelig erting	Svært hyggelig erting	Vil ikke svare
Når heterofile blir kalt for "homo", "homse", "lesbe" eller liknende ord, oppfatter jeg det som:	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Når homofile, lesbiske eller bifile blir kalt for "homo", "homse", "lesbe" eller liknende ord, oppfatter jeg det som:	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s7_2 - s7_2

	Det har ikke hendt det siste året	Bare en sjelden gang	Månedlig	2 eller 3 ganger i måneden	Omtrent 1 gang i uken	Flere ganger i uken	Vil ikke svare
Jeg har hørt vennene mine bruke ordet "homo", "homse", "lesbe" og liknende ord som skjellsord det siste året.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Jeg har hørt vennene mine bruke ordet "homo", "homse", "lesbe" og liknende ord til å tulle på en hyggelig måte det siste året.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Jeg har kalt en eller flere gutter/menn for "homo", "homse" eller liknende ord det siste året.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Jeg har kalt en eller flere jenter/kvinner for "homo", "lesbe" eller liknende ord det siste året.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Jeg har kalt en aktivitet eller gjenstand for "homo" eller liknende ord det siste året.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Jeg har selv blitt kalt for "homo", "homse", "lesbe" eller liknende ord det siste året.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s7_3 - s7_3

	Ja, på en hyggelig måte	Ja, på en negativ måte	Ja, på både hyggelige og negative måter	Nei	Vil ikke svare
Jeg har kalt noen som jeg trodde var homofil, lesbisk eller bifil, for "homo", "homse", "lesbe" eller liknende ord.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s8 - s8

HETEROFILI OG HOMOFILI: TO HELT FORSKJELLIGE TING? DISSE SPØRSMÅLENE OMHANDLER SELVE BÅSENE HETEROFILE OG HOMOFILE OG HVORDAN DU TENKER OM BÅSENE.

Homofili betyr det at noen føler tiltrekning til en av samme kjønnn på samme måte som hetereofili betyr det at noen føler tiltrekning til en av det annet kjønn.

	Helt enig	Litt enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Litt uenig	Helt uenig	Vil ikke svare
Seksuelle legninger er båser som er klart og tydelig avgrenset: Folk er enten homofile eller heterofile.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Homofile personer har en slags kjerne i seg som gjør at de er homofile, uten denne ville de ikke være homofile.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Heterofile og homofile personer er ikke fundamentalt forskjellige.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Bifile personer lurer seg selv og burde bestemme seg.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Man vet mye om en person dersom man vet om vedkommende er homofil eller heterofil.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Årsakene til seksuell orientering er biologiske.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er for en stor del fastsatt tidlig i barndommen om en person er homofil eller heterofil.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Folk kan ikke endre sin seksuelle orientering.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Homoseksualitet og heteroseksualitet er tendenser som er medfødt og genetisk gitt.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Leger og psykologer kan hjelpe folk til å endre sin seksuelle orientering.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Homofile finnes trolig bare i visse kulturer.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Homofile har trolig eksistert gjennom hele menneskehetens historie.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I alle kulturer er det folk som anser seg som homofile.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Andelen homofile i befolkningen er omtrent den samme over hele verden.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er kun det siste hundreåret at homofile har kommet fram i stort antall.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Homoseksualitet hos menn er en sykdom.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Seksuelle preferanser er fastlagt fra fødselen av.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Seksuelle preferanser dannes gjennom oppveksten.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ingen er tvunget til å leve ut sin seksualitet.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Seksuell orientering kan endre seg i løpet av et livsløp.	○	○	○	○	○	○

s9 - s9

ENDRINGER AV HOLDNINGER OVER TID

	Mye mer positiv	Mer positiv	De samme	Mer negativ	Mye mer negativ	Usikker
Hvordan er dine holdninger til homofili og foreldreskap i dag sammenliknet med for 5 år siden?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Hvordan er dine holdninger til lesbiske kvinner i dag sammenliknet med for 5 år siden?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Hvordan er dine holdninger til homofile menn i dag sammenliknet med for 5 år siden?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s10 - s10

HVA LIGGER TIL GRUNN FOR VURDERINGENE DINE? Vi har stilt deg mange spørsmål om dine holdninger til lesbiske kvinner og homofile menn og beslektede temaer.   Alt i alt, når jeg svarer på spørsmål om kvinnelig og mannlig homoseksualitet, er jeg spesielt opptatt av .....

	Helt enig	Litt enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Litt uenig	Helt uenig	Har ingen mening
..... synd	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
..... likeverd	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
..... hva som er naturlig	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
..... hva som er normalt	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
..... hva som er sykt og friskt	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
..... rettigheter	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
..... romslighet	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s11 - s11

VI HAR NÅ STILT DEG MANGE SPØRSMÅL OM HOLDNINGER. DERSOM DU HAR TID, VIL VI GJERNE AT DU MED EGNE ORD SKRIVER NED DINE TANKER OM DINE HOLDNINGER TIL LESBISKE KVINNER OG HOMOFILE MENN.

❍ _____
❍ Har ingen nærmere kommentarer

info12 - info12

VI GÅR NÅ OVER TIL ET ANNET, MEN BESLEKTET EMNE. DET PÅGÅR FOR TIDEN EN DEBATT OM LOVREGULERING AV LESBISKE OG HOMOFILE SAMLIV OG RETTIGHETER KNYTTET TIL DETTE. VI VIL NÅ STILLE SPØRSMÅL SOM HANDLER BÅDE OM FORSLAG TIL NY FELLES EKTESKAPSLOV OG OM GJELDENDE LOVVERK.

s12 - s12

HjelpetekstHVA ER DIN MENING OM DISSE PÅSTANDENE?

	Helt enig	Litt enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Litt uenig	Helt uenig	Usikker
a. To av samme kjønn bør kunne inngå borgerlig ekteskap på lik linje med to av motsatt kjønn	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
To av samme kjønn bør kunne inngå kirkelig vielse på lik linje med to av motsatt kjønn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Lesbiske par bør ha samme rettigheter som heterofile par når det gjelder adgang til å bli vurdert som adoptivforeldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Homofile par (menn) bør ha samme rettigheter som heterofile par når det gjelder adgang til å bli vurdert som adoptivforeldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Lesbiske par bør gis de samme rettigheter som heterofile til assistert befruktning.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det bør gis automatisk foreldreskap for ikke-biologisk mor i lesbiske partnerskap etter fødsel ved assistert befruktning.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Ekteskapet som institusjon bør være forbeholdt en mann og en kvinne.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Assistert befruktning bør forbeholdes heterofile par.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Lesbiske par bør ha samme rett til assistert befruktning som heterofile par.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Retten til å kunne søke om å adoptere bør være uavhengig av seksuell orientering.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Homofile menn bør kunne benytte seg av lovlige surrogat-ordninger i utlandet (at en kvinne bærer fram et barn for dem). (I Norge har man ikke lov til å benytte surrogatmor)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Eggdonasjon og sæddonasjon bør ses som etisk sett det samme. (I Norge er i dag sæddonasjon tillatt, men ikke eggdonasjon.)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dagens lov tillater at en lesbisk kvinne eller homofil mann kan adoptere barnet til registrert partner (dvs. stebarnsadopsjon). Hvor enig eller uenig er du i denne bestemmelsen?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dagens lov gir enslige heterofile kvinner og menn rett til å søke om å adoptere barn. Hvor enig eller uenig er du i denne bestemmelsen?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dagens lov gir enslige lesbiske kvinner og enslige homofile menn rett til å søke om å adoptere barn. Hvor enig eller uenig er du i denne bestemmelsen?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dagens lov tillater ikke at lesbiske par kan søke om å adoptere barn på lik linje med heterofile par. Hvor enig eller uenig er du i denne bestemmelsen?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dagens lov tillater ikke at homofile par (menn) kan søke om å adoptere barn på lik linje med heterofile par. Hvor enig eller uenig er du i denne bestemmelsen?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Eggdonasjon bør tillates i Norge på lik linje med	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

	Helt enig	Litt enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Litt uenig	Helt uenig	Usikker
sæddonasjon						
Surrogatmoderskap i ordnede former bør tillates i Norge	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s13 - s13

HVA ER DIN MENING OM FØLGENDE PÅSTANDER SOM HANDLER OM BARNS INTERESSER OG BEHOV

	Helt enig	Litt enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Litt uenig	Helt uenig	Usikker
Det er viktig for alle mennesker å kjenne til sine biologiske foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn tar skade av aldri å bli kjent med sine biologiske foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Samfunnet er nå klart for at barn vokser opp med lesbiske/homofile foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Lærere bør slå ned på bruk av homo-ord som skjellsord.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn som vokser opp med to lesbiske kvinner som foreldre, er mer utsatt for seksuelle overgrep enn andre barn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn som i dag vokser opp med to lesbiske mødre, blir bedre tatt vare på enn andre barn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn som vokser opp med to homofile menn som foreldre, er mer utsatt for seksuelle overgrep enn andre barn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn som i dag vokser opp med to homofile menn som foreldre, blir tatt bedre vare på enn andre barn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn som vokser opp med lesbiske mødre eller homofile fedre, blir oftere utsatt for mobbing (systematisk plaging) enn andre barn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn tar skade av å vokse opp med to lesbiske kvinner som foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn tar skade av å vokse opp med to homofile menn som foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn som vokser opp hos lesbiske kvinner greier seg like bra som andre barn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barn som vokser opp hos homofile menn greier seg like bra som andre barn.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Barns interesser og behov kan fullt ut kan ivaretas av lesbiske og homofile foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Seksuell orientering har ingen betydning for godt foreldreskap.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Lesbiske og homofile burde finne seg i at de ikke kan bli foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det er egoistisk av lesbiske og homofile å velge å bli foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Det er egoistisk av heterofile å velge å bli foreldre.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Dagens lov sier at barn som er unnfanget ved anonym sæddonasjon, har rett til å få vite sæddonorens identitet ved fylte 18 år. Hva mener du om dette?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s14 - s14

I dag sier læreplanen for grunnskolen at elevene skal lære om alternativer til heterofile familier før de går ut 4. klassetrinn. Hva er din mening om dette?

○ Barna bør lære om dette allerede i barnehagen
○ Barna bør lære om dette fra første klasse
○ Det er passelig å ha lært om dette innen fjerde klasse
○ Barna bør lære om dette først på ungdomsskolen
○ Usikker

s15 - s15

SKRIV GJERNE MED EGNE ORD HVA DU TENKER OM AT LESBISKE OG HOMOFILE PAR FÅR ADGANG TIL Å BLI VURDERT SOM ADOPTIVFORELDRE PÅ LIK LINJE MED HETEROFILE PAR:

○ _____
○ Har ingen nærmere kommentarer

Info16 - Info16

VI FORLATER NÅ SPØRSMÅLENE OM HOMOFILE OG HETEROFILE. VI GÅR OVER TIL SPØRSMÅL SOM OMHANDLER PERSONER SOM PÅ ULIKE MÅTER BRYTER MED VÅRE VANTE MÅTER Å TENKE OM KJØNN PÅ. VIL VIL NÅ STILLE DEG NOEN SPØRSMÅL OM DINE HOLDNINGER TIL PERSONER SOM HAR MOTTATT KJØNNSBEKREFTENDE MEDISINSK BEHANDLING (DVS. PERSONER SOM HAR FÅTT HORMONBEHANDLING OG OFTE OGSÅ OPERASJON). PÅ FOLKEMUNNE SNAKKER VI OM PERSONER SOM HAR SKIFTET KJØNN.

s16a - s16a

Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til kvinner og menn som har mottatt kjønnsbekreftende medisinsk behandling(genetisk fødte menn som i dag er kvinner, genetisk fødte kvinner som i dag er menn)?

○ Svært positiv
○ Positiv
○ Verken positiv eller negativ
○ Negativ
○ Svært negativ
○ Vil ikke svare

s16c - s16c

Hvor ofte har du kontakt med (snakker med eller liknende) en person som har mottatt kjønnsbekreftende medisinsk behandling (genetisk fødte menn som i dag er kvinner, genetisk fødte kvinner som i dag er menn)?

○ Bortimot daglig
○ 2-5 ganger i uken
○ 1 gang i uken
○ 1-3 ganger i måneden
○ Sjeldnere enn en gang i måneden
○ Aldri
○ Vil ikke svare

s16d - s16d

Kjenner du en person som har mottatt kjønnsbekreftende medisinsk behandling (genetisk født mann som i dag er kvinne, genetisk født kvinne som i dag er mann)?

○ Kjenner svært godt
○ Kjenner godt
○ Kjenner ganske godt
○ Kjenner litt
○ Kjenner så vidt
○ Kjenner ingen

Info17 - Info17

PERSONER SOM MENTALT ELLER UTSEENDEMESSIG BEVEGER SEG MELLOM DET Å VÆRE MANN OG KVINNE: De neste spørsmålene handler om dine holdninger til personer som mentalt eller utseendemessig beveger seg mellom det å være mann og kvinne. Dette er for eksempel personer som føler seg som både mann og kvinne eller personer som kler seg opp i det motsatte kjønns klær. NB: vi snakker IKKE om personer med kjønnsbekreftende behandling.

s17_1 - s17_1

	Svært positiv	Positiv	Verken positiv eller negativ	Negativ	Svært negativ	Vil ikke svare
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til kvinner som beveger seg mentalt eller utseendemessig mellom det å være mann og kvinne?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til menn som mentalt eller utseendemessig beveger seg mellom det å være mann og kvinne?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

s17_2 - s17_2

	Bortimot daglig	2-5 ganger i uken	1 gang i uken	1-3 ganger i måneden	Sjeldnere enn en gang i måneden	Aldri	Vil ikke svare
Hvor ofte har du kontakt med (snakker med eller liknende) en kvinne som mentalt eller utseendemessig beveger seg mellom det å være mann og kvinne?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Hvor ofte har du kontakt med (snakker med eller liknende) en mann som mentalt eller utseendemessig beveger seg mellom det å være mann og kvinne?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

s17_3 - s17_3

	Kjenner svært godt	Kjenner godt	Kjenner ganske godt	Kjenner litt	Kjenner så vidt	Kjenner ingen
Kjenner du en kvinne som mentalt eller utseendemessig beveger seg mellom det å være mann og kvinne?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Kjenner du en mann som mentalt eller utseendemessig beveger seg mellom det å være mann og kvinne?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

s17_4 - s17_4

	Svært positiv	Positiv	Verken positiv eller negativ	Negativ	Svært negativ	Har ingen mening
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til maskuline kvinner?	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til feminine menn?	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til kvinner som bruker maskuline klær?	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til menn som bruker feminine klær?	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til personer som ser på seg selv som både kvinne og mann?	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alt i alt, hva er din holdning til personer som noen ganger kler seg og oppfører seg som en av det andre kjønn (ofte kalt transvestitter)?	○	○	○	○	○	○

s18 - s18

HVORDAN STILLER DU DEG TIL FØLGENDE UTSAGN OM SAMFUNNET I DAG

	Helt enig	Litt enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Litt uenig	Helt uenig	Har ingen mening om dette
Vårt land trenger en sterk leder for å stoppe radikale og umoralske trender som er utbredt i samfunnet i dag.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Vårt land trenger fritenkere som tør å stå i mot det tradisjonelle, selv om det opprører mange.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Den gammeldagse måten og de gammeldagse verdier viser fremdeles hvilken måte det er best å leve på.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Vårt samfunn ville vært bedre hvis vi viste toleranse og forståelse for utradisjonelle verdier og meninger.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Bibelens lære om samliv og ekteskap bør følges strengt før det er for sent. Brudd på Bibelens lære bør straffes.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Samfunnet bør i større grad vende tilbake til gamle kjønnsroller.	○	○	○	○	○	○
De tradisjonelle kjønnsrollene fungerer ofte hemmende.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det ville være bra om menn kunne vise mer av sine kvinnelige sider.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det ville være bra om kvinner kunne vise mer av sine mannlige sider.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er bra at noen har evne til å være både kvinne og mann.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er uheldig at noen ser på seg selv som både kvinne og mann.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det burde være lettere å leve på tvers av kjønns-skillene.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Det er en uting at flere i dag forsøker å være både kvinne og mann samtidig.	○	○	○	○	○	○

Info19 - Info19

AVSLUTNINGSVIS VIL VI GJERNE STILLE NOEN SPØRSMÅL OM DEG OG DIN BAKGRUNN.

s19_religion_a - s19_religion_a

Dersom du tenker på ditt forhold til religionen du hører til, hvordan vil du plassere deg selv?

❍ 1 Ikke-troende
❍ 2
❍ 3
❍ 4
❍ 5
❍ 6
❍ 7 Troende
❍ Vil ikke svare

s19_religion_b - s19_religion_b

Hvor ofte deltar du på religiøse møter, sammenkomster, forsamlinger el.l.?

❍ Bortimot daglig
❍ 2-5 ganger i uken
❍ 1 gang i uken
❍ 1-3 ganger i måneden
❍ Sjeldnere enn en gang i måneden
❍ Aldri
❍ Vil ikke svare

sexualitet - sexualitet

	I stor grad	I noen grad	I liten grad	Ikke i det hele tatt	Vil ikke svare
Føler du deg tiltrukket av personer av samme kjønn?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Føler du deg tiltrukket av personer av motsatt kjønn?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Føler du deg tiltrukket av personer av begge kjønn?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

s19_sex_d - s19_sex_d

Hvordan vil du i dag plassere deg selv på en skala fra heteroseksuell til homoseksuell?

❍ 1 Heteroseksuell
❍ 2
❍ 3
❍ 4
❍ 5
❍ 6
❍ 7 Homoseksuell
❍ Vil ikke svare

politik - politik

Hvilket parti ville du stemt på dersom det var Stortingsvalg i morgen? (Her alfabetisk satt opp)

○ Arbeiderpartiet (A)
○ Fremskrittspartiet (FrP)
○ Høyre (H)
○ Kristelig Folkeparti (KrF)
○ Rødt (tidligere Rød Valgallianse (RV), Arbeidernes kommunistparti (PKP), Rød Ungdom (FU)
○ Senterpartiet (SP)
○ Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV)
○ Venstre (V)
○ Foretrekker å ikke svare

inntekt - inntekt

Hva var din samlede bruttoinntekt (før skatt) i 2007?

○ Under 100 000
○ 100 000-199 000
○ 200 000-299 000
○ 300 000-399 000
○ 400 000-499 000
○ 500 000-599 000
○ 600 000-699 000
○ 700 000- eller mer
○ Foretrekker å ikke svare

etnisitet_a - etnisitet_a

Hva er din etniske identitet?

○ Norsk
○ Annet:_____
○ Usikker/vet ikke

etnisitet_b - etnisitet_b

I hvilken grad føler du deg som en del av denne etniske gruppen?

○ I stor grad
○ I noen grad
○ I liten grad
○ Ikke i det hele tatt
○ Vil ikke svare

utdanning - utdanning

Hva er din høyeste fullførte utdannelse?

○ 7-årig eller liknende
○ 9-årig eller 10-årig grunnskole/folkeskole/realskole
○ Videregående skole /gymnas (1-3 år etter grunnskolen)
○ Universitet/høgskole (1-4 år etter videregående skole)
○ Universitet/høgskole med høyere grad (embedsstudium, hovedfag, master eller høyere)
○ Vil ikke oppgi

`sivilstatus` - sivil status

Hva er din nåværende formelle sivile status?

○ Bor alene
○ Samboer
○ Registrert partner
○ Gift
○ Fraskilt / separert fra partner eller ektefelle
○ Enke/enkemann
○ Foretrekker å ikke svare

`barn` - barn

Hvor mange egne barn har du? Noter antall.

☐

`bosted` - bosted

Hvor tettbygd er det stedet der du bor nå?

○ Oslo med omegn
○ Bergen, Stavanger, Trondheim
○ By med 20 000 til 100 000 innbyggere
○ By eller tettsted med under 20 000 innbyggere
○ Spredtbygd strøk
○ Vil ikke svare

`s20` - s20

DERSOM DU HAR NOEN KOMMENTARER TIL EMNET ELLER UNDERSØKELSEN, KAN DU GJERNE SKRIVE DEM HER.

○ _____
○ Har ingen nærmere kommentarer

`Slut` - Slut

UNDERSØKELSEN ER NÅ FERDIG, OG VI VIL TAKKE DEG FOR AT DU HAR DELTATT. DET ER ET KREVENDE SKJEMA Å FYLLE UT, OG VI ER MEGET TAKKNEMLIG FOR AT DU HAR DELTATT.
Klikk deg videre for å registrere dine svar

Doctoral Theses at The Faculty of Psychology, University of Bergen

1980	Allen, H.M., Dr. philos.	Parent-offspring interactions in willow grouse (Lagopus L. Lagopus).
1981	Myhrer, T., Dr. philos.	Behavioral Studies after selective disruption of hippocampal inputs in albino rats.
1982	Svebak, S., Dr. philos.	The significance of motivation for task-induced tonic physiological changes.
1983	Myhre, G., Dr. philos.	The Biopsychology of behavior in captive Willow ptarmigan.
	Eide, R., 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, R.J., Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological effects of diving.
1984	Kolstad, A., Dr. philos.	Til diskusjonen om sammenhengen mellom sosiale forhold og psykiske strukturer. En epidemiologisk undersøkelse blant barn og unge.
	Løberg, T., Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological assessment in alcohol dependence.
1985	Hellesnes, T., Dr. philos.	Læring og problemløsning. En studie av den perseptuelle analysens betydning for verbal læring.
	Håland, W., Dr. philos.	Psykoterapi: relasjon, utviklingsprosess og effekt.
1986	Hagtvet, K.A., Dr. philos.	The construct of test anxiety: Conceptual and methodological issues.
	Jellestad, F.K., Dr. philos.	Effects of neuron specific amygdala lesions on fear-motivated behavior in rats.
1987	Aarø, L.E., Dr. philos.	Health behaviour and sosioeconomic Status. A survey among the adult population in Norway.
	Underlid, K., Dr. philos.	Arbeidsløyse i psykososialt perspektiv.
	Laberg, J.C., Dr. philos.	Expectancy and classical conditioning in alcoholics' craving.
	Vollmer, F.C., Dr. philos.	Essays on explanation in psychology.
	Ellertsen, B., Dr. philos.	Migraine and tension headache: Psychophysiology, personality and therapy.
1988	Kaufmann, A., Dr. philos.	Antisosial atferd hos ungdom. En studie av psykologiske determinanter.

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

	Asbjørnsen, A.E., Dr. psychol.	Structural and dynamic factors in dichotic listening: An interactional model.
	Bru, E., Dr. philos.	The role of psychological factors in neck, shoulder and low back pain among female hospitale staff.
	Braathen, E.T., Dr. psychol.	Prediction of exellence and discontinuation in different types of sport: The significance of motivation and EMG.
	Johannessen, B.F., Dr. philos.	Det flytende kjønnet. Om lederskap, politikk og identitet.
1995	Sam, D.L., Dr. psychol.	Acculturation of young immigrants in Norway: A psychological and socio-cultural adaptation.
	Bjaalid, I.-K., Dr. philos	Component processes in word recognition.
	Martinsen, Ø., Dr. philos.	Cognitive style and insight.
	Nordby, H., Dr. philos.	Processing of auditory deviant events: Mismatch negativity of event-related brain potentials.
	Raaheim, A., Dr. philos.	Health perception and health behaviour, theoretical considerations, empirical studies, and practical implications.
	Seltzer, W.J., Dr.philos.	Studies of Psychocultural Approach to Families in Therapy.
	Brun, W., Dr.philos.	Subjective conceptions of uncertainty and risk.
	Aas, H.N., Dr. psychol.	Alcohol expectancies and socialization: Adolescents learning to drink.
	Bjørkly, S., Dr. psychol.	Diagnosis and prediction of intra-institutional aggressive behaviour in psychotic patients
1996	Anderssen, N., 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.
	Lugoe, L.Wycliffe, Dr. philos.	Prediction of Tanzanian students' HIV risk and preventive behaviours
	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.
	Friestad, Christine, Dr. philos.	Social psychological approaches to smoking.
	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
2007 H	Søreide, Gunn Elisabeth, Dr.philos.	Narrative construction of teacher identity
	Svensen, Erling, PhD	WORK & HEALTH. Cognitive Activation Theory of Stress applied in an organisational setting.
	Øverland, Simon Nygaard, PhD	Mental health and impairment in disability benefits. Studies applying linkages between health surveys and administrative registries.
	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.
	Wadel, Carl Cato, Dr.philos.	Medarbeidersamhandling og medarbeiderledelse i en lagbasert organisasjon
	Vinje, Hege Forbech, PhD	Thriving despite adversity: Job engagement and self-care among community nurses
	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.
	Posserud, Maj-Britt Rocio	Epidemiology of autism spectrum disorders
	Haug, Ellen	Multilevel correlates of physical activity in the school setting
	Skjerve, Arvid	Assessing mild dementia – a study of brief cognitive tests.

	Kjønniksen, Lise	The association between adolescent experiences in physical activity and leisure time physical activity in adulthood: a ten year longitudinal study
	Gundersen, Hilde	The effects of alcohol and expectancy on brain function
	Omvik, Siri	Insomnia – a night and day problem
2009 V	Molde, Helge	Pathological gambling: prevalence, mechanisms and treatment outcome.
	Foss, Else	Den omsorgsfulle væremåte. En studie av voksnes væremåte i forhold til barn i barnehagen.
	Westrheim, Kariane	Education in a Political Context: A study of Konwledge Processes and Learning Sites in the PKK.
	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.
	Sandu, Anca Larisa	MRI measures of brain volume and cortical complexity in clinical groups and during development.
	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
	Jónsdóttir, Guðrún	Dubito ergo sum? Ni jenter møter naturfaglig kunnskap.
	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
	Beneventi, Harald	Neuronal correlates of working memory in dyslexia
	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
	Notelaers, Guy	Workplace bullying. A risk control perspective.
	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
	Schanche, Elisabeth	From self-criticism to self-compassion. An empirical investigation of hypothesized change prosesses in the Affect Phobia Treatment Model of short-term dynamic psychotherapy for patients with Cluster C personality disorders.
	Våpenstad, Eystein Victor, dr.philos.	Det tempererte nærvær. En teoretisk undersøkelse av psykoterapautens subjektivitet i psykoanalyse og psykoanalytisk psykoterapi.
	Haukebø, Kristin	Cognitive, behavioral and neural correlates of dental and intra-oral injection phobia. Results from one treatment and one fMRI study of randomized, controlled design.
	Harris, Anette	Adaptation and health in extreme and isolated environments. From 78°N to 75°S.
	Bjørknes, Ragnhild	Parent Management Training-Oregon Model: intervention effects on maternal practice and child behavior in ethnic minority families
	Mamen, Asgeir	Aspects of using physical training in patients with substance dependence and additional mental distress
	Espevik, Roar	Expert teams: Do shared mental models of team members make a difference
	Haara, Frode Olav	Unveiling teachers' reasons for choosing practical activities in mathematics teaching

2011 H	Hauge, Hans Abraham	How can employee empowerment be made conducive to both employee health and organisation performance? An empirical investigation of a tailor-made approach to organisation learning in a municipal public service organisation.
	Melkevik, Ole Rogstad	Screen-based sedentary behaviours: pastimes for the poor, inactive and overweight? A cross-national survey of children and adolescents in 39 countries.
	Vøllestad, Jon	Mindfulness-based treatment for anxiety disorders. A quantitative review of the evidence, results from a randomized controlled trial, and a qualitative exploration of patient experiences.
	Tolo, Astrid	Hvordan blir lærerkompetanse konstruert? En kvalitativ studie av PPU-studenters kunnskapsutvikling.
	Saus, Evelyn-Rose	Training effectiveness: Situation awareness training in simulators
	Nordgreen, Tine	Internet-based self-help for social anxiety disorder and panic disorder. Factors associated with effect and use of self-help.
	Munkvold, Linda Helen	Oppositional Defiant Disorder: Informant discrepancies, gender differences, co-occuring mental health problems and neurocognitive function.
	Christiansen, Øivin	Når barn plasseres utenfor hjemmet: beslutninger, forløp og relasjoner. Under barnevernets (ved)tak.
	Brunborg, Geir Scott	Conditionability and Reinforcement Sensitivity in Gambling Behaviour
	Hystad, Sigurd William	Measuring Psychological Resiliency: Validation of an Adapted Norwegian Hardiness Scale
2012 V	Roness, Dag	Hvorfor bli lærer? Motivasjon for utdanning og utøving.
	Fjermestad, Krister Westlye	The therapeutic alliance in cognitive behavioural therapy for youth anxiety disorders
	Jenssen, Eirik Sørnes	Tilpasset opplæring i norsk skole: politikeres, skolelederes og læreres handlingsvalg
	Saksvik-Lehouillier, Ingvild	Shift work tolerance and adaptation to shift work among offshore workers and nurses
	Johansen, Venke Frederike	Når det intime blir offentlig. Om kvinners åpenhet om brystkreft og om markedsføring av brystkreftsaken.
	Herheim, Rune	Pupils collaborating in pairs at a computer in mathematics learning: investigating verbal communication patterns and qualities
	Vie, Tina Løkke	Cognitive appraisal, emotions and subjective health complaints among victims of workplace bullying: A stress-theoretical approach
	Jones, Lise Øen	Effects of reading skills, spelling skills and accompanying efficacy beliefs on participation in education. A study in Norwegian prisons.

2012 H	Danielsen, Yngvild Sørebø	Childhood obesity – characteristics and treatment. Psychological perspectives.
	Horverak, Jøri Gytre	Sense or sensibility in hiring processes. Interviewee and interviewer characteristics as antecedents of immigrant applicants' employment probabilities. An experimental approach.
	Jøsendal, Ola	Development and evaluation of BE smokeFREE, a school-based smoking prevention program
	Osnes, Berge	Temporal and Posterior Frontal Involvement in Auditory Speech Perception
	Drageset, Sigrunn	Psychological distress, coping and social support in the diagnostic and preoperative phase of breast cancer
	Aasland, Merethe Schanke	Destructive leadership: Conceptualization, measurement, prevalence and outcomes
	Bakibinga, Pauline	The experience of job engagement and self-care among Ugandan nurses and midwives
	Skogen, Jens Christoffer	Foetal and early origins of old age health. Linkage between birth records and the old age cohort of the Hordaland Health Study (HUSK)
	Leversen, Ingrid	Adolescents' leisure activity participation and their life satisfaction: The role of demographic characteristics and psychological processes
	Hanss, Daniel	Explaining sustainable consumption: Findings from cross-sectional and intervention approaches
	Rød, Per Arne	Barn i klem mellom foreldrekonflikter og samfunnsmessig beskyttelse
2013 V	Mentzoni, Rune Aune	Structural Characteristics in Gambling
	Knudsen, Ann Kristin	Long-term sickness absence and disability pension award as consequences of common mental disorders. Epidemiological studies using a population-based health survey and official ill health benefit registries.
	Strand, Mari	Emotional information processing in recurrent MDD
	Veseth, Marius	Recovery in bipolar disorder. A reflexive-collaborative exploration of the lived experiences of healing and growth when battling a severe mental illness
	Mæland, Silje	Sick leave for patients with severe subjective health complaints. Challenges in general practice.
	Mjaaland, Thera	At the frontiers of change? Women and girls' pursuit of education in north-western Tigray, Ethiopia
	Odéen, Magnus	Coping at work. The role of knowledge and coping expectancies in health and sick leave.
	Hynninen, Kia Minna Johanna	Anxiety, depression and sleep disturbance in chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). Associations, prevalence and effect of psychological treatment.

	Nordahl, Kristin Berg	Early Father-Child Interaction in a Father-Friendly Context: Gender Differences, Child Outcomes, and Protective Factors related to Fathers' Parenting Behaviors with One-year-olds
2014 H	Sandvik, Asle Makoto	Psychopathy – the heterogenety of the construct
	Skotheim, Siv	Maternal emotional distress and early mother-infant interaction: Psychological, social and nutritional contributions
	Halleland, Helene Barone	Executive Functioning in adult Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). From basic mechanisms to functional outcome.
	Halvorsen, Kirsti Vindal	Partnerskap i lærerutdanning, sett fra et økologisk perspektiv
	Solbue, Vibeke	Dialogen som visker ut kategorier. En studie av hvilke erfaringer innvandrerungdommer og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre har med videregående skole. Hva forteller ungdommenes erfaringer om videregående skoles håndtering av etniske ulikheter?
	Kvalevaag, Anne Lise	Fathers' mental health and child development. The predictive value of fathers' psychological distress during pregnancy for the social, emotional and behavioural development of their children
	Sandal, Ann Karin	Ungdom og utdanningsval. Om elevar sine opplevingar av val og overgangsprosessar.
	Haug, Thomas	Predictors and moderators of treatment outcome from high- and low-intensity cognitive behavioral therapy for anxiety disorders. Association between patient and process factors, and the outcome from guided self-help, stepped care, and face-to-face cognitive behavioral therapy.
	Sjølie, Hege	Experiences of Members of a Crisis Resolution Home Treatment Team. Personal history, professional role and emotional support in a CRHT team.
	Falkenberg, Liv Eggset	Neuronal underpinnings of healthy and dysfunctional cognitive control
	Mrdalj, Jelena	The early life condition. Importance for sleep, circadian rhythmicity, behaviour and response to later life challenges
	Hesjedal, Elisabeth	Tverrprofesjonelt samarbeid mellom skule og barnevern: Kva kan støtte utsette barn og unge?
2015 V	Hauken, May Aasebø	«*The cancer treatment was only half the work!»* A Mixed-Method Study of Rehabilitation among Young Adult Cancer Survivors
	Ryland, Hilde Katrin	Social functioning and mental health in children: the influence of chronic illness and intellectual function
	Rønsen, Anne Kristin	Vurdering som profesjonskompetanse. Refleksjonsbasert utvikling av læreres kompetanse i formativ vurdering

	Hoff, Helge Andreas	Thinking about Symptoms of Psychopathy in Norway: Content Validation of the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP) Model in a Norwegian Setting
	Schmid, Marit Therese	Executive Functioning in recurrent- and first episode Major Depressive Disorder. Longitudinal studies
	Sand, Liv	Body Image Distortion and Eating Disturbances in Children and Adolescents
	Matanda, Dennis Juma	Child physical growth and care practices in Kenya: Evidence from Demographic and Health Surveys
	Amugsi, Dickson Abanimi	Child care practices, resources for care, and nutritional outcomes in Ghana: Findings from Demographic and Health Surveys
	Jakobsen, Hilde	The good beating: Social norms supporting men's partner violence in Tanzania
	Sagoe, Dominic	Nonmedical anabolic-androgenic steroid use: Prevalence, attitudes, and social perception
	Eide, Helene Marie Kjærgård	Narrating the relationship between leadership and learning outcomes. A study of public narratives in the Norwegian educational sector.
2015 H	Wubs, Annegreet Gera	Intimate partner violence among adolescents in South Africa and Tanzania
	Hjelmervik, Helene Susanne	Sex and sex-hormonal effects on brain organization of fronto-parietal networks
	Dahl, Berit Misund	The meaning of professional identity in public health nursing
	Røykenes, Kari	Testangst hos sykepleierstudenter: «Alternativ behandling»
	Bless, Josef Johann	The smartphone as a research tool in psychology. Assessment of language lateralization and training of auditory attention.
	Løvvik, Camilla Margrethe Sigvaldsen	Common mental disorders and work participation – the role of return-to-work expectations
	Lehmann, Stine	Mental Disorders in Foster Children: A Study of Prevalence, Comorbidity, and Risk Factors
	Knapstad, Marit	Psychological factors in long-term sickness absence: the role of shame and social support. Epidemiological studies based on the Health Assets Project.
2016 V	Kvestad, Ingrid	Biological risks and neurodevelopment in young North Indian children
	Sælør, Knut Tore	Hinderløyper, halmstrå og hengende snører. En kvalitativ studie av håp innenfor psykisk helse- og rusfeltet.
	Mellingen, Sonja	Alkoholbruk, partilfredshet og samlivsstatus. Før, inn i, og etter svangerskapet – korrelater eller konsekvenser?
	Thun, Eirunn	Shift work: negative consequences and protective factors

	Hilt, Line Torbjørnsen	The borderlands of educational inclusion. Analyses of inclusion and exclusion processes for minority language students
	Havnen, Audun	Treatment of obsessive-compulsive disorder and the importance of assessing clinical effectiveness
	Slåtten, Hilde	Gay-related name-calling among young adolescents. Exploring the importance of the context.
	Ree, Eline	Staying at work. The role of expectancies and beliefs in health and workplace interventions.
	Morken, Frøydis	Reading and writing processing in dyslexia
2016 H	Løvoll, Helga Synnevåg	Inside the outdoor experience. On the distinction between pleasant and interesting feelings and their implication in the motivational process.
	Hjeltnes, Aslak	Facing social fears: An investigation of mindfulness-based stress reduction for young adults with social anxiety disorder
	Øyeflaten, Irene Larsen	Long-term sick leave and work rehabilitation. Prognostic factors for return to work.
	Henriksen, Roger Ekeberg	Social relationships, stress and infection risk in mother and child
	Johnsen, Iren	«Only a friend» - The bereavement process of young adults who have lost a friend to a traumatic death. A mixed methods study.
	Helle, Siri	Cannabis use in non-affective psychoses: Relationship to age at onset, cognitive functioning and social cognition
	Glambek, Mats	Workplace bullying and expulsion in working life. A representative study addressing prospective associations and explanatory conditions.
	Oanes, Camilla Jensen	Tilbakemelding i terapi. På hvilke måter opplever terapeuter at tilbakemeldingsprosedyrer kan virke inn på terapeutiske praksiser?
	Reknes, Iselin	Exposure to workplace bullying among nurses: Health outcomes and individual coping
	Chimhutu, Victor	Results-Based Financing (RBF) in the health sector of a low-income country. From agenda setting to implementation: The case of Tanzania