Appendices

Uncertain times
The safety of home in children's future projections[1]

Abstract

Most children in Norway live safer lives than their peers in many other parts of the world. The experience of precariousness, however, is part of everyday life even for children in Norway. This article is based on fieldwork in a neighbourhood in Kristiansand, and shows how children's experience of fear is shaped by—and contributes to shaping—their conceptions of the safety of home. Taking as a point of departure a series of events where the safety of home is challenged, I show how fear contributes to limiting children's geographical mobility. I argue that fear does not depend on an actually existing threat, but, to the contrary, can be intensified in situations where the object of fear is invisible. Fear always involves a projection of future harm, and the affective economy of fear must therefore be understood in light of children's changing projections of the future.

Keywords: Children, fear, future, home, safety

The secrecy surrounding David's disappearance deeply affected his friend Resa. The school day had started like most other days, and there was nothing remarkable about the fact that one of the desks in the classroom was empty. The morning took an unexpected turn, however, when the teacher started the morning session by telling them that David had moved, and was no longer going to attend their school. The children immediately had many questions: Why had David not told them about it? Where was the rest of his family? The teacher explained that David was no longer living with his

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family, but elsewhere. The explanation led to new questions from the children, and the teacher found it necessary to end the discussion with a promise that they would get to know more later. The rest of the morning session proceeded as usual. During recess, however, it did not take long for the mysterious disappearance to return as a topic of conversation among the children.

Now, nine year old Resa was sitting together with three boys from his class on a bench in the school yard, talking about David's disappearance. The mood was tense, and Resa expressed frustration at the fact that he had not received an explanation for what had happened to his friend. Usually the teacher could answer most of their questions, but today, Resa said, he was in no way satisfied with the explanation, and not at all reassured by the promise that they would get to know more later. Before the end of recess, Resa had established his own explanation of what had happened: David had been kidnapped. His friends seemed convinced; child abductions, or kidnapping, was a well-known phenomenon. Several instances where children in other parts of the country had been kidnapped had circulated in news media lately. In addition, Resa explained, this was not the first time children in the neighbourhood has disappeared from home without a proper explanation from the adults.

This article takes David's disappearance as a point of departure to explore the relationship between safety and fear in Norwegian children's lives. Norway is considered one of the safest and most peaceful countries to live in (see for example Vision of Humanity 2015), and Norwegian children generally experience a more protected way of life than their peers in many countries. Law regulations and publicly financed information- and awareness campaigns over the last decades have contributed to substantially reduce children's risk of harm. For example, in many places playground gravel has been replaced by cushioned mats, and many schools prohibit students from riding a bike to school.[2] The sum of such safety-promoting efforts should mean that

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[2] "Foreldre får ikkje lov å sykla til skulen med barna". NRK 27.09.2012. http://www.nrk.no/rogaland/sykkelnekt-til-skulen-1.8337565 (Accessed 26 July 2015)

Norwegian children have little reason to feel unsafe. As David's disappearance illustrates, however, uncertainty and fear is by no means absent in Norwegian children's lives.

Fear is experienced in the moment as an intense feeling of being in danger, but is also something more than a feeling that originates in individuals. An important analytical distinction can be made between fear as *feeling* and fear as *affect*, where the latter is not anchored in individuals, but distributed between and through bodies. This prelinguistic, yet definitely social, dimension of fear coordinates bodily and social space in what Sara Ahmed (2008) calls the affective economy of fear. Fear, she argues, is not a direct bodily response to danger, but a distributed form of affect that contributes to establishing and maintaining distinctions between safe insides and unsafe outsides. What and who is considered a potential threat is based on historical processes where certain others have been pointed out as "appropriate 'objects' of fear" (Ahmed 2008: 69). In this article I show how the affective economy of fear surfaced by setting limitations on how Resa and his friends navigated the neighbourhood.

Fear always involves a projection of future harm, and is, as such, a response to something that *might* happen. Ahmed (2008: 65) refers to fear as "an anticipated pain in the future", and claims that "fear projects us from the present into a future". Several anthropologists have, over the last years, conceptualized the future not as an abstract horizon, but as a dimension of the present (see for example Krøijer 2010; Pedersen 2012; Willerslev et al. 2013, and Nielsen 2014). Krøijer (2010: 149), for example, argues that "multiple times are simultaneous or co-existent", as each moment constitutes an intensified potentiality that continuously gathers pasts and futures into itself. From this perspective, the affective economy of fear can be understood in terms of how imagined futures have an effect on what happens here and now, or, in Nielsen's (2014: 169) terms, how "the present becomes the effect of the future". The fear of being kidnapped involves a projection of a future where the object of fear is invisible and faceless, and in this article I point to how this invisibility contributes to a further intensification of fear.

Resa was the oldest son in one of the twenty families with immigrant background I came to know during my fieldwork in a neighbourhood in Kristiansand through 2012 and parts of 2013.[3] Most of the families had lived in Norway for many years, and the majority of children were, like Resa, born in Norway and described themselves as Norwegian. The neighbourhood mainly consisted of apartment blocks, surrounded by a wide range of outdoor activity arenas for children and youth, such as a basketball court, a soccer field, playgrounds, and skate ramps. During fieldwork I explored the children's literacy practices in and out of the classroom, with a particular emphasis on situations where the children themselves were in charge of the ongoing activities. I initially spent most time in school, following Resa, David, and their classmates through observation in the classroom and participation in activities during recess. As I came to know the families I gradually spent more time with the children during their spare time, both at home and during activities in the neighbourhood. I played table tennis and video games with Resa and his friends at the local youth club, joined them as they built a treehouse in the forest, watched hours of YouTube videos, and was assisted by the children in creating avatars in a number of online worlds. I always carried two notebooks with me, allowing me to take notes in one while the children drew and wrote in the other. I also had conversations with parents, teachers, neighbour, and others who the children were in contact with in their daily lives. The main material in this article, however, is taken from notes I did during participant observation with the children in the neighbourhood, as well as from transcribed audio recordings of conversations with them.

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[3] All names have been replaced with pseudonyms to ensure the anonymity of informants. For the same reason I have left out information about where the children's families originally came from, and changed certain details on time and place where this is not directly relevant for the argument.

A safe home

Prior to David's disappearance he and Resa had spent much time together. During the summer holiday, when many of their classmates were away, the two of them had started building a treehouse in the forest. In a tree-covered hill on the outskirts of the neighbourhood, they established their base in the ruins of an abandoned treehouse. They spent several days clearing the surrounding terrain of bushes and small trees, and took turns with the one hammer they had to remove rusty nails from the trees that constituted the frame of the new treehouse. As more and more of their friends returned from summer vacation, the boys got access to more tools, and helpful parents donated both planks and nails to support the construction project. When school started in August, six boys—who now referred to themselves as "The Bad Boys"—participated in the project. The treehouse consisted only of one half-finished wall (see Figure 1). Still, the boys consistently referred to the construction as "the treehouse".

As they worked on the treehouse, the boys were constantly engaged in conversation. They discussed the distribution of tasks and how to attain more planks, and had a range of suggestions about what the treehouse should look like once it was finished. During a break from work Resa borrowed my notebook, and made a drawing where he documented in detail how he imagined the finished tree house. He called on the other boys, who gathered around him to have a look. On the drawing (Figure 2), the treehouse consists of two floors, complete with walls, a roof, and plank floors. The first floor consists of a living room with a sofa and a TV. On the second floor, which can be reached by a diagonal ladder on the outside of the treehouse, Resa has drawn a kitchen with an oven and cupboards. One of the boys protested that the treehouse should have more than two floors, and Resa responded by drawing the outline of a third floor on the top, with the disclaimer "maybe". The drawing also triggered a discussion about the distribution of roles in the finished treehouse. One boy said he wanted to be responsible for cooking, and was appointed chef by Resa. After protests from two others, who also wanted to cook, Resa decided that there would be not just one, but three chefs who could take turns cooking. The three remaining boys, including Resa, decided to stay on

Figure 1: The treehouse. Photo by the author.

the first floor to watch TV as they were served food by the chefs. The drawing was put aside, and as Resa got up to continue working on the treehouse, two of the chefs were already busy making pretend pancakes over a wooden stump.

Resa's drawing contains several direct references to his own home. Like most of the children in his class he lived in an apartment block, and he was one of several children who shared a bedroom with a sibling. His parents had promised Resa a room of his own when he turned twelve years old, and he looked forward to avoiding the many disturbances from his younger brother whenever he had friends visiting. The drawing is a materialization of a future where Resa has his own room for meeting friends without disturbance from his younger brother. Resa's drawing is a future projection, where an imaginary future is materialized through performative practice (see Austdal and Helgesen 2015). The drawing shows the importance of approaching children's understanding of home not only as a concrete place, but as a process entailing
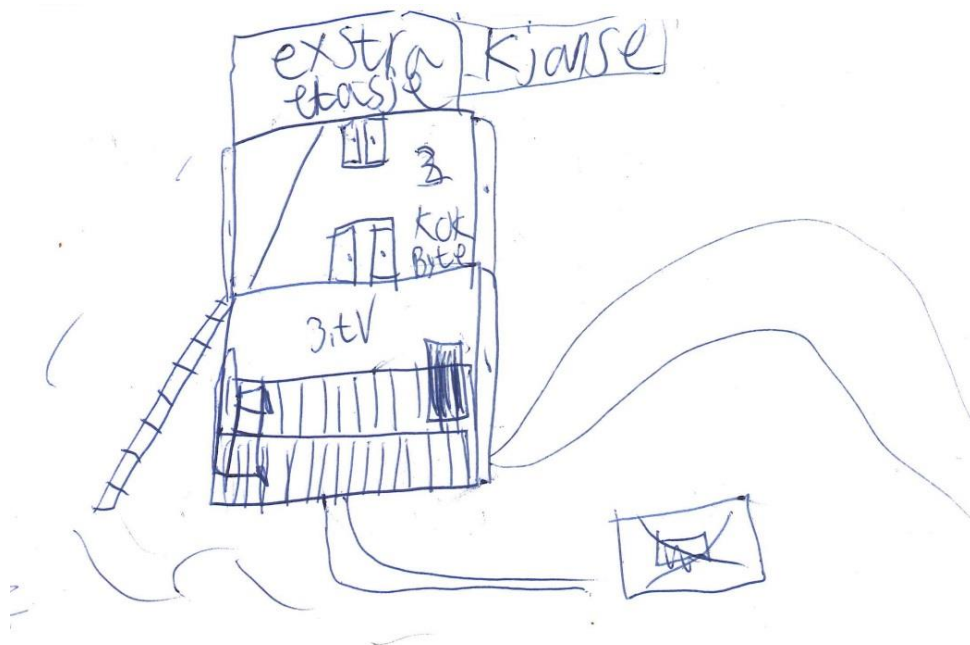
Figure 2: Resa's drawing of the finished treehouse.

what Ahmed (et al. 2003: 8) calls "the imagining of home". In Resa's case, creating a home involved taking a perspective from the future.

The children were fully aware that it would be almost impossible to realize the treehouse the way it appeared in the drawing. Despite their parents' assistance, they had far from a sufficient amount of planks to cover the floor, the walls, and the roof. Practical hindrances such as access to power and water also put restrictions on the possibilities for watching TV and cooking. The most interesting aspect of the drawing is not, however, whether the boys' expectations are realistic or not, but the fact that the imagined future treehouse has particular effects on their consequent work. The future in the drawing must not be understood in an instrumentalist sense as a goal, that is, as a representation of something that exists on the horizon. Instead, the drawing can be understood in terms of the effect this future has on what happens in the present. Rather than considering future projections in terms of the goal-oriented fantasies of individuals,

Krøijer (2013: 52) points to how "the collective body that mediates intentionality for the future (…) cannot be resolved into any individuals accountable for the intentionality of the collective body". Participation in shared, synchronized activities can entail a form of "indeterminacy" which enables an openness to "what is not yet there" (Krøijer 2013: 50). From this perspective Resa's drawing is not primarily a floor*plan*, but a collective materialization of an imagined future.

Communities on a national and local level can contribute to an experience of safety, but among the children in Kristiansand, safety was primarily associated with home. I first became attuned to the importance of the distinction between the safety of home and the dangers outside by listening to the stories the children told each other about visiting family in their parents' home countries, where many of them had spent vacations as they grew up. Several children described the many dangers threatening outside the home, such as when one girl described her grandmother's house: "We are never supposed to go there in the garden, because it's dangerous. There are those holes, you know, there's lots of water so we can die there. It's deep so you can die there". The children were, however, much less concerned with dangers in the terrain, that could easily be avoided, than with the many dangers that could pursue them. Dangerous traffic, poisonous snakes, angry bees, drunk people, and drug addicts were described in contrast to the safety that dominated their grandparents' homes.

Gradually it became clear to me that the distinction between the safety of home and the dangers outside also existed in the neighbourhood in Kristiansand. The children continuously moved between the safety of home and the unfamiliar outside in their exploration of the neighbourhood. Stories circulated about scary neighbours, some with weapons, and there were rumours about a particular house where, supposedly, the inhabitants were drug addicts. Safety was also an issue during their work on the treehouse, such as when one boy suggested that they create a fence to keep intruders away. He did not specify exactly what the threat consisted of, but there was wide agreement that threats existed that made it necessary to take measures. Both the

treehouse and the children's own homes constituted safe zones, which were understood in contrast to the unfamiliar strangeness of the outside.

Threats against the safety of home

One day near the end of August it turned out that the treehouse had not been abandoned after all. Three older boys suddenly showed up at the treehouse, and demanded that Resa and the others left the place. When Resa later told me about the incident, he described how he had refused, and that the situation then escalated to a loud quarrel about which party owned the treehouse. The older boys insisted that they were there first, and that they had started work on the treehouse before the summer vacation. In the end the older boys left the place, but made it clear that they would beat up Resa and his friends if they did not follow orders and surrender the treehouse to them.

In school the following day, the boys discussed how they should manage the threat from the older boys. The seventh-graders were physically superior, and there was no doubt that the outcome of an eventual fight would go in favour of the older boys. Resa, who at first had shown much enthusiasm and will to battle to defend the treehouse, appeared more and more resigned as he realized that the rest of the Bad Boys were not willing to take the chances of being beat up. It appeared that the treehouse was lost, and that the boys had to find a new location for their base. The same afternoon, Resa and David returned to the treehouse with two other Bad Boys to collect their parents' tools before leaving the place for good. The treehouse was no longer a safe place to be.

Resa and his friends' response to the threat from the older boys illustrates how fear put limits on the children's mobility in the neighbourhood. The affective economy of fear, according to Ahmed (2008: 70), implies that "the mobility of some bodies involves or even requires the restriction of the mobility of others". Even long after the older boys had left the location, the affective economy of fear continued to exert itself. The difference in age between the younger and the older children, and the significant difference in physical size, meant that there was never any actual negotiation about the

treehouse. The fear of being beat up entailed a projection of future harm, and this fear put real limitations on how Resa and his friends could navigate in the neighbourhood.

The affective economy of fear can be understood in relation to ideas about children's vulnerability. The children in Kristiansand – like most children in Norway – had many limitations on where they were allowed to go. Girls experienced more such limitations than boys, especially as autumn approached and the evenings turned darker. For both girls and boys, the boundaries of the neighbourhood constituted the primary frame of the children's everyday lives when they were unaccompanied by adults. For example, it was very unusual for children to get permission from their parents to take the bus downtown, unless they had a specific appointment. These limitations were often legitimized by a particular vulnerability discourse, where possible future harm was used as an argument for limiting children's geographical mobility. The children also made use of the same vulnerability discourse, and several children explained that they could risk being kidnapped if they left home on their own. For the children, the "kidnapper" had a central position in the affective economy of fear. One girl expressed in a conversation with me how her mother's worries for her were shaped by current news stories:

> Mirlinda: "It's like she doesn't want to lose me, that I won't get killed by anyone, because now there are so many teenagers and youth who, eh, get killed. Because it's on the news, so there's a lot".

> Espen. "So which cases have you heard of?"

> Mirlinda: "I don't know if the name is right. Sigrid or Ingrid yes, who was killed by a car. Yes they haven't found out about it. There was a priest who talked a little [on TV], a little speech, so it was very sad about her".

Sixteen-year old Sigrid, who in 2012 was kidnapped near her home outside Oslo and later found murdered, dominated both the media news coverage and the children's conversations that autumn. As Mirlinda points out, the massive interest in the Sigrid-case was largely dominated by fear that something similar could happen to themselves, in their own neighbourhood. This attitude was also reflected among parents elsewhere in the country, who said that they had become "more worried about letting kids out alone".[4] Mirlinda's reflections on the event is a reminder of what feminist scholars have pointed out for a long time, namely that vulnerability must be understood as a social rather than a bodily phenomenon. The vulnerability discourse has often been used as an explanation for why women have been assigned to the private sphere of the home, whereas men have been associated with public spheres. In similar ways, children's mobility is being limited with reference to their own safety. The children's fear when facing the older boys did not reflect a natural vulnerability, but was in itself the effect of a particular vulnerability discourse. This article thus responds to the question raised by Pedersen and Holbraad (2013: 2), concerning "what visions of the future and of time itself are at stake when security becomes an issue for people".

Online ambivalence

The internet has come to occupy a highly ambivalent position in Norwegian homes. 96 % of the population in Norway has access to the internet from home, and Norwegian children spend more and more time online (Vaage 2015). Ruckenstein (2013) points to how the prevalence of online worlds can be understood as a response to how children's everyday lives outside the home have been put under stricter control, and therefore subject to more limitations than before. Simultaneously inside and outside the home, the internet has led to a colonization of the safety of home by bringing the outside world in. Through the autumn and winter, Resa and his friends spent time online almost every day, where they played games, watched videos, exchanged messages with friends, and

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[4] "Foreldre redde etter Sigrid-forsvinningen". Tv2.no, 19.08.2012. (Accessed 4 April 2015)

created animated films. Besides the video sharing website YouTube, MovieStarPlanet was the most popular website among the children, an interest they shared with a large share of Norwegian children at the time (Liestøl 2014). On the website, which the children usually referred to as "Movie", they navigated avatars around in colourful environments while exchanging self-composed posters and animated films with friends from school. Several parents had a strained relationship to the internet at home. On the one hand, they wanted their children to have access to digital tools that could assist them in their school work. On the other hand, several parents had little knowledge about how the internet worked, and told me that they saw internet at home as a potential threat to the children's safety. In a conversation with me, one mother sighed with resignation at how she was unable to regulate what she saw as her son's excessive use of the internet. She called for stricter law regulations, and expressed among other things that it should be an easy task for the government to close down the internet at night. Like many of the parents and teachers, she was worried about what dangers the children exposed themselves to online. This new dimension of the vulnerability discourse, where children are exposed to dangers within the house, has been a recurrent theme in news media as well as in much research on children's online sociality (see for example Staksrud et al. 2013). Several parents demanded to know the passwords the children used on the various websites, and in some cases it was only the parents, and not the children themselves, who knew the passwords. For both parents and children, the internet brought along new forms of future-oriented fear that contributed to limiting children's movements online.

The children themselves also described the internet as an occasionally dangerous place. During a classroom discussion on what the teachers called "internet safety" ("nettvett"), one child said, "If you say where you live you can be kidnapped", and another added, "Your family can be taken, too". A third referred to a news story where

someone "got killed" after "writing on Facebook".[5] In a conversation with me, a girl elaborated on the dangers that existed online:

> Some people ask, for example, can we meet in that place. And then if I say yes, what if it's a thief, what if it's a grown-up man who steals or yes, so, I don't like it. But if it's for example someone who says that, eh, for example someone who has Skype, then I can go on Skype and I can see the person. But I've never done that, sometimes I get a bit afraid of that. Because if you agree to meet someone on Skype, then they might find out who you are.

Online, like in the neighbourhood, the children explored the world by moving between the safe and the unsafe. On Movie, every user is provided a house of their own, where they can furnish different rooms where avatars can meet. Here, the children could visit their classmates without leaving their own room, and exchange messages and watch videos together. There were several striking parallels between the treehouse building in the forest and the building of houses on Movie, such as how they both realized the fantasy of having a room of one's own that could be shared with friends. The children talked about their creations as if they were physically existing places, and in both cases the children established safe homes that were understood in contrast to the unsafe outside. Unlike the neighbourhood, which constituted a limited territory, the website could offer practically unlimited space for creating their own rooms. The affective economy of fear operated according to other principles online than in the neighbourhood, as it was always possible to create new, safe spaces if the safety of home was being threatened. In the neighbourhood, fear contributed to coordinating

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[5] This was a reference to an incident in the Netherlands in the autumn of 2012, described as the "Facebook murder": http://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/nederland/nederlandsk-15-aaringdoemt-for-facebook-drap/a/10045492/ (Accessed 7 April 2015)

bodily and social space, such that only some bodies were given access to particular spaces. Where fear in the neighbourhood barred the children from places they wanted to be, the lack of compliance between bodily and social space online made it possible for the children to establish safe homes without interruptions from siblings, older bullies, or kidnappers.

Movie also offered the children opportunities to explore topics like fear, kidnapping, death, and grief by making animated films that they shared with their friends. A number of the films took place in spooky forests and haunted houses, with titles such as "The scary forest" and "Lost in the forest". In the films they also acted out a number of abduction scenarios, where the kidnapper took the shape of fictional characters such as witches, trolls, aliens, and vampires. Several films dealt with issues like death, such as when one boy created the film "I have cancer" which he shared with his friends. After a fight with his mother, another boy created the film "Kill mom then we can watch TV forever". Several studies have pointed out how the internet provides an increasingly important arena for sharing personal experience with death and grief. Miller (2014: 256), for example, has described what he terms "the public sharing of suffering" among Facebook users in Trinidad, where illness and death among friends and relatives is increasingly being shared online. Christensen and Sandvik (2013) have shown how Danish parents who have lost a child use the website Mindet.dk to express and share grief with others in a similar situation, for example by lighting digital candles for each other and for their own children. Making and sharing animated films on Movie allowed the children to confront difficult issues such as death with their friends, often outside adult control.

For the children in Kristiansand, new technology came hand in hand with hope and optimism. Grosz (2001: 75) points out that new technologies "are ripe, as it were, for various imaginary schemas, projected futures, dreams, hopes, and fears". New technologies, in other words, bring along new, and formerly unthinkable, futures. On the internet, the children approached fear and death by creating material manifestations of the object of fear. Rather than understand fear as something that exclusively puts

limits on mobility (see for example Hubbard 2003), an emphasis on the futurity of fear can also contribute to making sense of how new spaces of possibility can arise in the form of hope. This requires, however, that the object of fear is available for reflection and not, as in David's disappearance, invisible and faceless.

Fear of the invisible

Faced with David's disappearance, it was a sense of paralysis rather than hope that kept Resa occupied. On the day he disappeared, it did not take long before the terms "Child Welfare Service" ("barnevern") and orphanage ("barnehjem") started circulating among the children. A school employee, who appeared to know more than the children about what had happened, had in a moment's carelessness used the word "barnevern" in a conversation with some of the children in David's class. Until then, the teachers had made care not to use the word in front of the children when talking about what had happened, and they found it unsettling that the children know knew about the involvement of the Child Welfare Service[6] without receiving any more information about what had happened. If this were a different school in a different neighbourhood, one teacher told me, they would have told the children that this would not happen to them. In this school, however, this would not be the case. This was, the teacher said, far

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[6] In Norway, state-financed protection of children has existed since the end of the 19th century, and has been considerably expanded since the mid-20th century. The Child Welfare Service operates with two forms of interventions, either through economic and social "support interventions" ("hjelpetiltak"), or through "care interventions" ("omsorgstiltak") that involve short-term or long-term relocation of children to foster homes or child care institutions. 80 % of cases involve support interventions, whereas the remaining 20 % involve temporary or permanent separation of parents and children (Moufack 2010). The number of children under care interventions has gradually increased since the early 2000s, and in 2007 there were 7 700 children under care intervention. Socioeconomically marginalized families are overrepresented in statistics of Child Welfare Service contact (Moufack 2010).

from the first time children in this school were taken away by the Child Welfare Service, and moved to a temporary foster home in a different part of the city.

Resa was familiar with the terms "barnevern" and "barnehjem". He described the latter as a place where everyone has to go to bed early, but apart from that he knew little about what living in an orphanage involved. He also knew little about the "barnevern", and how they worked. The most important aspect of what had happened, for Resa, was that someone had come into David's home and taken him from his family. Visiting grandparents in his parents' home country, he told me, it was not unusual for children to be abducted, and on several occasions his father had chased away burglars who had tried to gain entrance to his grandparents' house through the roof:

> The adults say that if someone knocks at the door we are not allowed to open it. Because at night there are people going around to beg money. And if they see the children, they will take the children and kill them and eat their flesh, because they are so hungry.

Now, as a similar threat manifested in Resa's closest peer group, it turned out that the home could not offer total safety. For Resa, words like "home", "safety", and "family" were nearly synonymous, and David's sudden disappearance from his home erased the otherwise clear boundaries between the safety of home and the dangers outside. The fact that the "barnevern" was involved was no satisfactory explanation for Resa, and he did not let go of his description of the event as a kidnapping. Resa's despair after his friend disappeared was further intensified after an event a few days later, when David's father met Resa and his friends and asked if they had seen his son. For Resa, this was yet another confirmation of what he had said all along: David had been taken away from his family, against his and his parents' will.

Fear usually has an object, which is based on specific ideas about who and what can be considered a threat. Resa's response to David's disappearance, however, shows how fear does not depend on a concrete object, but to the contrary is intensified when the object of fear is invisible. David's disappearance opened the way for a frightening question for Resa: Could this happen to him, too? Unlike fear that is "contained in an object" (Ahmed 2008: 67), like the older boys who took over their treehouse in the forest, fear of the faceless "barnevern" surfaced as a generalized experience of uncertainty. Fear of the invisible and the faceless is a recurrent topic of classic and modern myths, and its newest manifestation can be found in the internet phenomenon Slender Man. The character is a humanoid, but faceless monster, who according to urban myths online kidnaps and eats children. Fear of the invisible and faceless entails that fear is no longer linked to concrete persons or objects, but rather becomes a potential aspect of the surroundings. As Ahmed (2008: 69) puts it: "the loss of the object of fear renders the world itself a space of potential danger". In contrast to the concrete kidnappers who materialized in the children's animated films, often in the shape of witches and trolls, "barnevernet" remained an invisible threat.

When it became clear that David was not going to return to the class, a teacher suggested that they could write letters to him that could be delivered to him at his new school. The whole class wrote and drew letters in the same format and style that they usually used for birthday cards for their classmates, with messages such as "Good luck in your new school" and "You are cool". Among the cards, however, one letter stood out. On Resa's card (Figure 3) he wrote: "Your dad is looking for you he doesn't know where you are", followed by "he asks us but we don't know". Later, Resa told me he wrote this to help David, hoping that he could assist in reuniting him with his parents.

Figure 3: Resa's letter to David: "Hi David I miss you I hope you get new great friends. Your dad is looking for you he doesn't know where you are he asks us but we don't know".

Several international media stories in recent years have described how the Norwegian government wrongfully takes children from immigrant families by force,[7] a suspicion that was shared by several of the parents I came to know in Kristiansand. Many parents were admittedly positive to the work done by the Child Welfare Service, but among those who were critical, emotions were strong. One parent accused "barnevernet" of distorting facts in their documents to portray them as bad parents, and claimed that "barnevernet" conspired with the police and the school to find ways to remove children

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[7] "Nightmare in Norway: Indian couple fights to get children back". http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/nightmare-in-norwayindian-couple-fights-to-get-children-back-568348 (Accessed 13 April 2015).

from their parents. Another parent pointed to the large, fancy houses where people with leading positions in "barnevernet" supposedly lived, and asked me rhetorically how they could possible afford this. For these parents, the profit motive was central; "barnevernet" stole immigrant children to give to childless Norwegian couples, and the families were then given money from the government. For both children and parents "barnevernet" constituted an often invisible entity, and the reactions to David's disappearance illustrate how the interaction between visibility and invisibility is a central dimension of the affective economy of fear.

Following David's disappearance, the school took several measures to try to get the Child Welfare Service to come to the school, to, as one teacher put it, show their faces to the children. It took several weeks, however, before a representative from "barnevernet" did show up in the classroom, and in the meantime "barnevernet" remained a faceless object for the children.[8] In a situation characterized by powerlessness, Resa's letter expressed a hope that he could make a difference, and that he could affect the future. Resa's attempt to communicate his secret message failed, however, as his letter was put aside before the pile of greetings reached David in his new school.

Conclusion

This article has explored safety and fear in children's lives, taking as a point of departure an incident where a group of children experienced the sudden disappearance of one of their friends. I have shown how the affective economy of fear surfaces through establishing, maintaining, and challenging the boundaries between the safety of home and the dangers threatening outside. Both treehouse building in the forest and the

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[8] The local Child Welfare Service did engage in community outreach, and participated in parent meetings and other arenas to provide information about the work they did. There were, however, no organized measures to provide information directly to the children in the neighbourhood.

establishment of homes online illustrate how the safety of home is an ongoing process which is both shaped by and contributes to shaping children's understanding of uncertainty and fear. I have shown how fear involves a projection of future harm, and that the future as such can have particular effects on the present. A central finding is that fear is intensified in cases where it is directed at something invisible and faceless. The analysis shows how Ahmed's emphasis on the affective economy of fear can be supplemented by a perspective that takes into account how fear of the future continuously moves between the visible and the invisible.

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Questionnaire findings[1]

1) Which of these websites have you visited? You can put more than one X.	
Google	95%
MovieStarPlanet	95%
YouTube	95%
Nrk Super	90%
123spill	85%
Spillespill	80%
Disney Channel	70%
GoSupermodel	70%
ItsLearning	65%
Kizi	65%
1001spill	55%
ClubPenguin	55%
Facebook	50%
Happy Studio	50%
MoshiMonsters	50%
StarDoll	45%
MineCraft	35%
1001jentespill	30%
Friv	30%
Hotmail	30%
Lego	30%
Netflix	25%
Filmrommet	15%
VG	15%

2) What do you enjoy doing on the internet?	
play games	55%
MovieStarPlanet	50%
YouTube	35%
Google	15%
listen to music	15%
NRK Super	15%
Club Penguin	10%
watch films	10%
take photos	5%
Facebook	5%
homework	5%

3-4) Which of these do you have at home / in your room? You can put more than one X.	at home	in room
PC	95%	75%
TV	95%	55%
books	90%	90%
dvd-player	85%	50%
Nintendo DS	85%	65%
iPad/tablet	75%	55%
Playstation	55%	30%
Wii	55%	25%
XBox	55%	25%
blu-ray-player	45%	20%
web-camera	45%	20%
mac	30%	5%

[1] Translated from Norwegian by the author. Data was collected from twenty respondents aged eight or nine in November 2012. With the exception of one student who left the class and was replaced by a new student, the composition of the school class remained the same over the duration of fieldwork.

5-6) Do you have a mobile phone / email address? Put one X.

	mobile	email
my own	85%	45%
shared	0%	15%
no	15%	40%

7) What rules do you have for using computers and video games at home?

daily time limit	35%
age limit	30%
no rules	30%
share with siblings	5%
no spending money	5%

8) How often do you do these things?

	daily	weekly	seldom
watch film / TV/YouTube	40%	55%	5%
Play computer / video games	30%	70%	0%
use the internet	40%	60%	0%
use mobile phone	35%	40%	25%
visit library	0%	55%	45%
eat candy	5%	80%	15%

9) Which of these things have you done on the internet? You can put more than one X.

played games	95%
listened to music	90%
learned new things	80%
met friends	70%
met new friends	70%
was hacked	60%
saw someone swear	50%
spent money	45%
saw someone bully	45%
had a boy/girlfriend	40%
visited adult sites	10%

10) How did you learn to use a computer?

father	35%
mother	25%
myself	25%
sister	20%
brother	15%
cousin	10%
friend	5%

Spørreskjema

Navn: _____

1) Hvilke av disse nettsidene har du vært på? Du kan sette flere kryss.

[ ] YouTube   [ ] StarDoll   [ ] MoshiMonsters
[ ] Nrk Super   [ ] Hotmail   [ ] Netflix
[ ] MovieStarPlanet [ ] Facebook   [ ] Filmrommet
[ ] GoSupermodel   [ ] Disney Channel   [ ] MineCraft
[ ] 123spill   [ ] VG   [ ] 1001spill
[ ] Happy Studio   [ ] Lego   [ ] ItsLearning
[ ] Google   [ ] Friv   [ ] 1001jentespill
[ ] ClubPenguin   [ ] Kizi   [ ] Spillespill

2) Hva liker du å gjøre på internett?

_____

_____

3) Hvilke av disse har du hjemme? Du kan sette flere kryss.

[ ] tv   [ ] DS   [ ] web-kamera
[ ] bøker   [ ] pc   [ ] Wii
[ ] dvd-spiller   [ ] mac   [ ] Playstation
[ ] blu-ray-spiller [ ] iPad/nettbrett   [ ] Xbox

4) Hvilke av disse har du på rommet? Du kan sette flere kryss.

[ ] tv   [ ] DS   [ ] web-kamera
[ ] bøker   [ ] pc   [ ] Wii
[ ] dvd-spiller   [ ] mac   [ ] Playstation
[ ] blu-ray-spiller [ ] iPad/nettbrett   [ ] Xbox

5) Har du mobiltelefon? Sett ett kryss.

[ ] ja, jeg har min egen telefon
[ ] ja, jeg deler telefon med noen andre
[ ] nei

6) Har du epost? Sett ett kryss.

[ ] ja, jeg har min egen epost
[ ] ja, jeg deler epost med noen andre
[ ] nei

7) Hvilke regler har du for å bruke data og tv-spill hjemme?

_____

_____

8) Hvor ofte gjør du disse tingene?

	Hver dag	En eller flere ganger i uken	Sjelden / aldri
ser på film / tv / YouTube	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
spiller data / tv-spill	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
bruker internett	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
bruker mobil	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
går på biblioteket	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
spiser godteri	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

9) Hvilke av disse tingene har du gjort på internett? Du kan sette flere kryss.

[ ] spilt spill   [ ] blitt hacket   [ ] brukt ekte penger
[ ] hørt på musikk   [ ] sett noen som bannet   [ ] vært på voksensider
[ ] møtt venner fra skolen   [ ] sett noen som mobbet   [ ] lært noe nytt
[ ] fått nye venner   [ ] fått kjæreste

10) Hvordan lærte du å bruke data?

_____

_____

Tusen takk for hjelpen!
Hilsen Espen

Sociogram
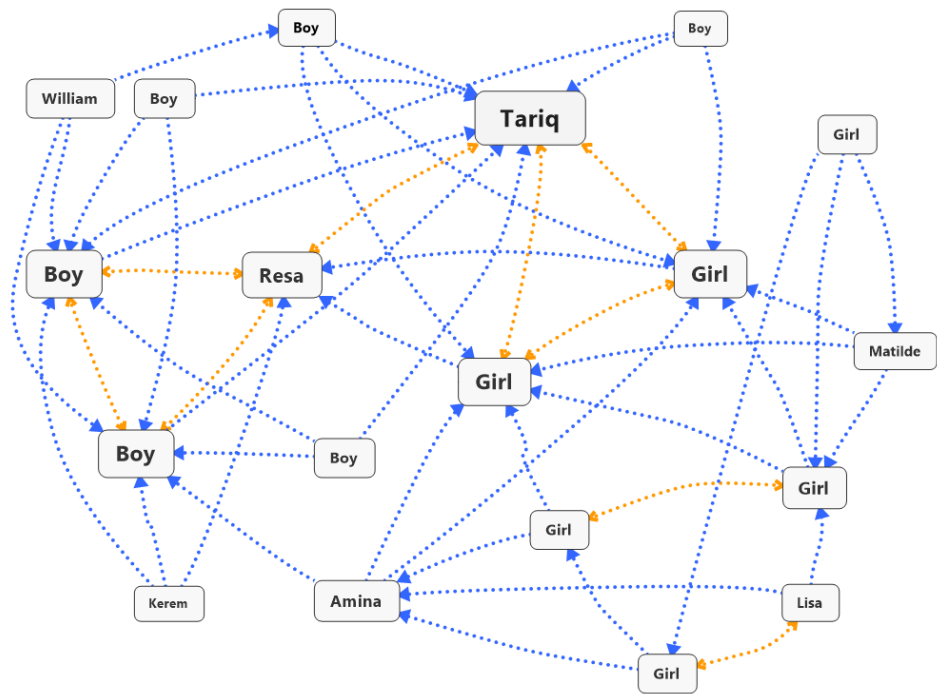
The above sociogram was created in June 2013, based on a survey among the twenty children in Kristiansand. Each child was given a sheet of paper, and asked to write down the names of the three children in their class they play the most with, and the names of the three children they play the least with. One participant chose to withdraw during the activity, and has not been included in the sociogram.

The sociogram can be read as follows: Each child is represented by a box, and identified either as a boy or a girl, or, in the case of the focal children, by their pseudonyms. Larger font size indicates more incoming arrows, i.e., more respondents who have put this particular child's name as one of the three people they play the most with. Blue arrows indicate a one-way choice, whereas yellow arrows indicate mutual relationships. The above sociogram only includes data on who the children said they played the most with. The graph below also includes data on who the children said they played the least with.

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN
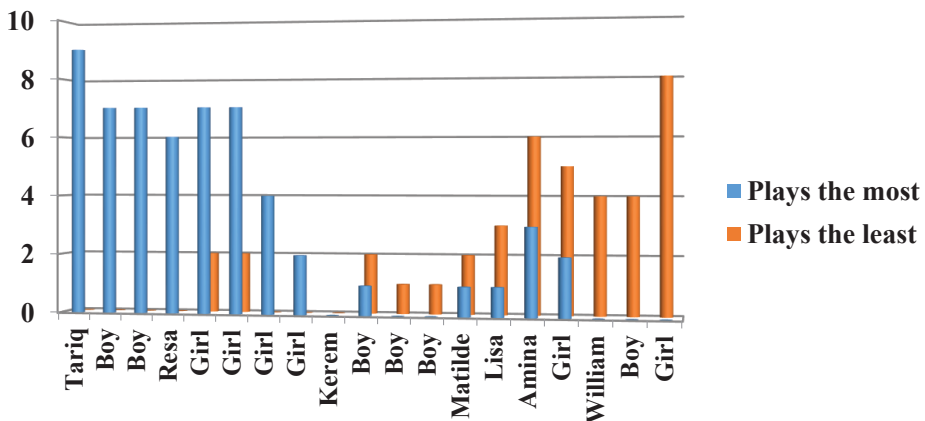
2.februar 2012

Til foreldre og foresatte for elever på tredje trinn ved xxxxxxxxxx skole

Mitt navn er Espen Helgesen, og jeg holder på med en doktorgrad ved Universitetet i Bergen. Forskningsprosjektet mitt handler om hvordan barn lærer å lese og skrive. Jeg ønsker å gjøre feltarbeid blant barn, lærere og foreldre ved xxxxxxxxxx skole fra februar til desember 2012 for å lære om hvordan barn bruker tekst i og utenfor klasserommet. Målet med prosjektet er å bidra til mer kunnskap om hva som motiverer barn til å lese og skrive.

I denne tiden vil jeg være tilstede i klasserommet, i friminutt og på SFO, og snakke med barna om lesing og skriving. Jeg vil også bruke lydopptak av barnas samtaler, og be om kopier av det de tegner og skriver. Jeg håper også å snakke med foreldre og søsken, og være med på det som skjer utenfor skolen slik som skoleutflukter og fritidsaktiviteter.

Etter feltarbeidet skal jeg skrive en doktorgradsavhandling, som etter planen skal være ferdig i 2015. I den ferdige teksten vil alle navn være byttet ut med pseudonymer, og det vil ikke være mulig å identifisere personer eller familier som blir beskrevet.

Jeg håper dere vil være positive til å delta i prosjektet. Jeg vil gjøre mitt beste for å forklare for barna hva forskningsprosjektet handler om, og vil innhente muntlig godkjennelse fra dem. Jeg håper på et godt samarbeid, og vil gjerne svare på alle spørsmål dere har underveis.

Jeg trenger tillatelse fra foreldre og foresatte til alle barna som skal delta i prosjektet i form av en underskrift. Alle som deltar kan velge å trekke seg når som helst i prosjektet, og trenger ikke å oppgi en årsak til dette.

Med beste hilsen,
Espen Helgesen

Jeg gir herved tillatelse til at Espen Helgesen kan innhente og lagre opplysninger om min sønn/datter under feltarbeid ved xxxxxxxxxx skole i forbindelse med sitt forskningsprosjekt fra 2012 – 2015. Alle opplysninger vil anonymiseres underveis, og ingen personer kan identifiseres i publiserte forskningsresultater.

Dato: ………………..   Navn: ………………..……………..……………..

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN

November 2012

Samtykke til lagring av intervjudata i forbindelse med forskningsprosjekt

Jeg gir herved tillatelse til at Espen Helgesen kan lagre lydopptak og skriftlige opplysninger innhentet i forbindelse med sitt doktorgradsprosjekt fra 2012-2015.

Jeg har blitt informert om at alle opplysninger anonymiseres underveis, og at ingen personer kan identifiseres i publiserte forskningsresultater. All innsamlet data vil bli slettet når prosjektet er ferdig.

Jeg har også blitt informert om at jeg kan trekke tilbake denne tillatelsen når som helst i prosjektperioden, uten at jeg trenger å oppgi en grunn.

Sted og dato: _____ Navn: _____

MELDESKJEMA

Meldeskjema (versjon 1.2) for forsknings- og studentprosjekt som medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt
(jf. personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter).

1. Prosjekttittel

Tittel	The minority drive: Children of immigrants in early education

2. Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Institusjon	Universitetet i Bergen	Velg den institusjonen du er tilknyttet. Alle nivå må oppgis. Ved studentprosjekt er det studentens tilknytning som er avgjørende. Dersom institusjonen ikke finnes på listen, vennligst ta kontakt med personvernombudet.
Avdeling/Fakultet	Det samfunnsvitenskapelige fakultet	
Institutt	Institutt for sosialantropologi	

3. Daglig ansvarlig (forsker, veileder, stipendiat)

Fornavn	Mary Bente	Før opp navnet på den som har det daglige ansvaret for prosjektet.Veileder er vanligvis daglig ansvarlig ved studentprosjekt.
Etternavn	Bringslid	
Akademisk grad	Doktorgrad	Veileder og student må være tilknyttet samme institusjon. Dersom studenten har ekstern veileder, kan biveileder eller fagansvarlig ved studiestedet stå som daglig ansvarlig.Arbeidssted må være tilknyttet behandlingsansvarlig institusjon, f.eks. underavdeling, institutt etc.
Stilling	Førsteamanuensis	
Arbeidssted	Institutt for sosialantropologi, Universitetet i Bergen	
Adresse (arb.sted)	Fosswinckelsgt. 6	
Postnr/sted (arb.sted)	5007 Bergen	NB! Det er viktig at du oppgir en e-postadresse som brukes aktivt. Vennligst gi oss beskjed dersom den endres.
Telefon/mobil (arb.sted)	55589255 /	
E-post	Mary.Bringslid@sosantr.uib.no	

4. Student (master, bachelor)

Studentprosjekt	Ja ○ Nei ●

5. Formålet med prosjektet

Formål	Målet er å forstå sosial mobilitet blant barn av innvandrere i dagens Norge gjennom å studere kommunikasjon mellom hjem og skole sett i lys av innvandrerfamiliers utdanningsambisjoner. Dette vil bli gjort gjennom deltakende observasjon i klasserom og på barnas fritid blant elever ved en barneskole i Kristiansand i perioden januar-desember 2011. Prosjektet innebærer også semistrukturerte intervjuer med elever, lærere og foreldre.	Redegjør kort for prosjektets formål, problemstilling, forskningsspørsmål e.l. Maks 750 tegn.

6. Prosjektomfang

Velg omfang	● Enkel institusjon ○ Nasjonalt samarbeidsprosjekt ○ Internasjonalt samarbeidsprosjekt	Med samarbeidsprosjekt menes prosjekt som gjennomføres av flere institusjoner samtidig, som har samme formål og hvor personopplysninger utveksles.
Oppgi øvrige institusjoner		
Oppgi hvordan samarbeidet foregår		

7. Utvalgsbeskrivelse

Utvalget	20 elever på 3.trinn ved en barneskole i Kristiansand, samt deres daglige omgangskrets (lærere, venner, foreldre og andre familiemedlemmer). Utvalget suppleres med intervjuer av lærere ved en annen barneskole i samme by, og aktører i det offentlige mottakssystemet (morsmålslærere og integreringskonsulenter).	Med utvalg menes dem som deltar i undersøkelsen eller dem det innhentes opplysninger om. F.eks. et representativt utvalg av befolkningen, skoleelever med lese- og skrivevansker, pasienter, innsatte.

Rekruttering og trekking	Utvalget er gjort ved å opprette kontakt med rektorer ved flere barneskoler i Kristiansand, hvorav en skoleklasse er valgt ut i samråd med rektor.	Beskriv hvordan utvalget trekkes eller rekrutteres og oppgi hvem som foretar den. Et utvalg kan trekkes fra registre som f.eks. Folkeregisteret, SSB-registre, pasientregistre, eller det kan rekrutteres gjennom f.eks. en bedrift, skole, idrettsmiljø, eget nettverk.
Førstegangskontakt	Jeg har hatt møte med rektor og lærere i Kristiansand 7.desember 2011, og i samråd med disse avtalt å starte forskningsprosjektet i midten av januar 2012. Planen er å presentere meg for barnas foreldre på et foreldremøte ved skolen i januar, og begynne feltarbeid i skoleklassen etter at skriftlig samtykke er innhentet fra alle foreldre.	Beskriv hvordan førstegangskontakten opprettes og oppgi hvem som foretar den. Les mer om førstegangskontakt
Alder på utvalget	■ Barn (0-15 år) ■ Ungdom (16-17 år) ■ Voksne (over 18 år)	
Antall personer som inngår i utvalget	Ca. 100	
Inkluderes det myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Begrunn hvorfor det er nødvendig å inkludere myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse.
Hvis ja, begrunn		Les mer om inklusjon i forskning av myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse

8. Metode for innsamling av personopplysninger

Kryss av for hvilke datainnsamlingsmetoder og datakilder som vil benyttes	□ Spørreskjema ■ Personlig intervju ■ Gruppeintervju ■ Observasjon □ Psykologiske/pedagogiske tester □ Medisinske undersøkelser/tester □ Journaldata □ Registerdata □ Annen innsamlingsmetode	Personopplysninger kan innhentes direkte fra den registrerte f.eks. gjennom spørreskjema, intervju, tester, og/eller ulike journaler (f.eks. elevmapper, NAV, PPT, sykehus) og/eller registre (f.eks. Statistisk sentralbyrå, sentrale helseregistre).
Annen innsamlingsmetode, oppgi hvilken		
Kommentar		

9. Datamaterialets innhold

Redegjør for hvilke opplysninger som samles inn	Informasjon om bruk av muntlig og skriftlig språk i hverdagen. Informasjon om foreldre og barns tanker om fremtid og karriere.	Spørreskjema, intervju-/temaguide, observasjonsbeskrivelse m.m. sendes inn sammen med meldeskjemaet. NB! Vedleggene lastes opp til sist i meldeskjema, se punkt 16 Vedlegg.
Samles det inn direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Dersom det krysses av for ja her, se nærmere under punkt 11 Informasjonssikkerhet.
Hvis ja, hvilke?	□ 11-sifret fødselsnummer □ Navn, fødselsdato, adresse, e-postadresse og/eller telefonnummer	Les mer om hva personopplysninger er NB! Selv om opplysningene er anonymiserte i oppgave/rapport, må det krysses av dersom direkte og/eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger innhentes/registreres i forbindelse med prosjektet.
Spesifiser hvilke		
Samles det inn indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	En person vil være indirekte identifiserbar dersom det er mulig å identifisere vedkommende gjennom bakgrunnsopplysninger som for eksempel bostedskommune eller arbeidsplass/skole kombinert med opplysninger som alder, kjønn, yrke, diagnose, etc. Kryss også av dersom ip-adresse registreres.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		

Samles det inn sensitive personopplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, hvilke?	□ Rasemessig eller etnisk bakgrunn, eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning □ At en person har vært mistenkt, siktet, tiltalt eller dømt for en straffbar handling □ Helseforhold □ Seksuelle forhold □ Medlemskap i fagforeninger	
Samles det inn opplysninger om tredjeperson?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Med opplysninger om tredjeperson menes opplysninger som kan spores tilbake til personer som ikke inngår i utvalget. Eksempler på tredjeperson er kollega, elev, klient, familiemedlem.
Hvis ja, hvem er tredjeperson og hvilke opplysninger registreres?		
Hvordan informeres tredjeperson om behandlingen?	□ Skriftlig □ Muntlig □ Informeres ikke	
Informeres ikke, begrunn		

10. Informasjon og samtykke

Oppgi hvordan utvalget informeres	■ Skriftlig ■ Muntlig □ Informeres ikke	Vennligst send inn informasjonsskrivet eller mal for muntlig informasjon sammen med meldeskjema. NB! Vedlegg lastes opp til sist i meldeskjemaet, se punkt 16 Vedlegg. Dersom utvalget ikke skal informeres om behandlingen av personopplysninger må det begrunnes. Les mer om krav til informasjon og gyldig samtykke, samt om forskning uten samtykke
Begrunn		
Oppgi hvordan samtykke fra utvalget innhentes	■ Skriftlig □ Muntlig □ Innhentes ikke	Dersom det innhentes skriftlig samtykke anbefales det at samtykkeerklæringen utformes som en svarslipp eller på eget ark. Dersom det ikke skal innhentes samtykke, må det begrunnes.
Innhentes ikke, begrunn		

11. Informasjonssikkerhet

Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger erstattes med et referansenummer som viser til en atskilt navneliste (koblingsnøkkel)	Ja ● Nei ○	Har du krysset av for ja under punkt 9 Datamaterialets innhold må det merkes av for hvordan direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres.
Hvordan oppbevares navnelisten/ koblingsnøkkelen og hvem har tilgang til den?	Personlig passordbeskyttet PC. Bare jeg har tilgang	NB! Som hovedregel bør ikke direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet.
Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger oppbevares sammen med det øvrige materialet	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvorfor oppbevares direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet?		
Oppbevares direkte personidentifiserbare opplysninger på andre måter?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Spesifiser		

Hvordan registreres og oppbevares datamaterialet?	☐ Fysisk isolert datamaskin tilhørende virksomheten ☐ Datamaskin i nettverkssystem tilhørende virksomheten ☐ Datamaskin i nettverkssystem tilknyttet Internett tilhørende virksomheten ☐ Fysisk isolert privat datamaskin ■ Privat datamaskin tilknyttet Internett ☐ Videoopptak/fotografi ■ Lydopptak ■ Notater/papir ☐ Annen registreringsmetode	Merk av for hvilke hjelpemidler som benyttes for registrering og analyse av opplysninger. Sett flere kryss dersom opplysningene registreres på flere måter.
Annen registreringsmetode beskriv		
Behandles lyd-/videoopptak og/eller fotografi ved hjelp av datamaskinbasert utstyr?	Ja ● Nei ○	Kryss av for ja dersom opptak eller foto behandles som lyd-/bildefil. Les mer om behandling av lyd og bilde.
Hvordan er datamaterialet beskyttet mot at uvedkommende får innsyn?	Passordbeskyttet PC	Er f.eks. datamaskintilgangen beskyttet med brukernavn og passord, står datamaskinen i et låsbart rom, og hvordan sikres bærbare enheter, utskrifter og opptak?
Dersom det benyttes mobile lagringsenheter (bærbar datamaskin, minnepenn, minnekort, cd, ekstern harddisk, mobiltelefon), oppgi hvilke		NB! Mobile lagringsenheter bør ha mulighet for kryptering.
Vil medarbeidere ha tilgang til datamaterialet på lik linje med daglig ansvarlig/student?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, hvem?		
Overføres personopplysninger ved hjelp av e-post/Internett?	Ja ○ Nei ●	F.eks. ved bruk av elektronisk spørreskjema, overføring av data til samarbeidspartner/databehandler mm.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		
Vil personopplysninger bli utlevert til andre enn prosjektgruppen?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, til hvem?		
Samles opplysningene inn/behandles av en databehandler?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Dersom det benyttes eksterne til helt eller delvis å behandle personopplysninger, f.eks. Questback, Synovate MMI, Norfakta eller transkriberingsassistent eller tolk, er dette å betrakte som en databehandler. Slike oppdrag må kontraktsreguleres Les mer om databehandleravtaler her
Hvis ja, hvilken?		

12. Vurdering/godkjenning fra andre instanser

Søkes det om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for å få tilgang til data?	Ja ○ Nei ●	For å få tilgang til taushetsbelagte opplysninger fra f.eks. NAV, PPT, sykehus, må det søkes om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten. Dispensasjon søkes vanligvis fra aktuelt departement. Dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for helseopplysninger skal for alle typer forskning søkes Regional komité for medisinsk og helsefaglig forskningsetikk
Kommentar		
Søkes det godkjenning fra andre instanser?	Ja ○ Nei ●	F.eks. søke registereier om tilgang til data, en ledelse om tilgang til forskning i virksomhet, skole, etc.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		

13. Prosjektperiode

Prosjektperiode	Prosjektstart:16/01/2012	Prosjektstart Vennligst oppgi tidspunktet for når førstegangskontakten med utvalget opprettes og/eller datainnsamlingen starter.
	Prosjektslutt:30/06/2015	Prosjektslutt Vennligst oppgi tidspunktet for når datamaterialet enten skal anonymiseres/slettes, eller arkiveres i påvente av oppfølgingsstudier eller annet. Prosjektet anses vanligvis som avsluttet når de oppgitte analyser er ferdigstilt og resultatene publisert, eller oppgave/avhandling er innlevert og sensurert.
Hva skal skje med datamaterialet ved prosjektslutt?	■ Datamaterialet anonymiseres □ Datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon	Med anonymisering menes at datamaterialet bearbeides slik at det ikke lenger er mulig å føre opplysningene tilbake til enkeltpersoner.NB! Merk at dette omfatter både oppgave/publikasjon og rådata. Les mer om anonymisering
Hvordan skal datamaterialet anonymiseres?	Alle personnavn og navn på skoler erstattes med pseudonymer.	Hovedregelen for videre oppbevaring av data med personidentifikasjon er samtykke fra den registrerte.
Hvorfor skal datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon?		Årsaker til oppbevaring kan være planlagte oppfølgningsstudier, undervisningsformål eller annet.
Hvor skal datamaterialet oppbevares, og hvor lenge?		Datamaterialet kan oppbevares ved egen institusjon, offentlig arkiv eller annet. Les om arkivering hos NSD

14. Finansiering

| Hvordan finansieres prosjektet? | Universitetsstipendiat | |

15. Tilleggsopplysninger

| Tilleggsopplysninger | | |

16. Vedlegg

| Antall vedlegg | 0 | |