A Childhood at Refuges

Children with multiple relocations at refuges for abused women

Sabreen Selvik

Thesis for the Degree of Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)
University of Bergen, Norway
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Abstract

Domestic violence interrupts the home environment and relations of many families, causing thousands of mothers and children yearly to flee home and seek protection in refuges for abused women.[1] Some children may experience several relocations at the same or different refuges and may spend large parts of their childhood in refuges. Little research, if any, has been done on children who experience multiple relocations at refuges. This dissertation contributes to filling a gap in the national and international research literature, as there is no authoritative work on children with repetitive stays at refuges, and gives a voice to this group of children who have been marginalized in research. The dissertation points out some of the main challenges children and adolescents with multiple refuge relocations face as a result of their moves in and out of refuges. It also employs children's voices to explore their perceptions of their school experiences in Norway while living or relocating at refuges.

The first part of this study is based on a scope literature review to map the range and gaps in the literature on this group of children. The review shows major discrepancies across the Nordic countries (Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, and Sweden) regarding which data are collected (if any), how the data are presented for this group of children, and the help and services provided in general for children at refuges. It also identifies three major challenges these children face: their prolonged exposure to domestic violence, disruption of close relationships, and repeated disruptions in school and preschool attendance. According to the available literature on the impact of domestic violence on children, these challenges suggest reasons for concern regarding the possible high risk for these children of developing social and psychosocial difficulties, limited access to resources that can help develop their resilience to violence, and school failure and dropout.

The second part is based on a qualitative approach using semi-structured interviews with 20 children and adolescents (aged 7–16) who had at least one previous stay at a refuge. They were recruited from five Norwegian refuges located in different cities. The interviews were analysed using the coding system of Charmaz's constructivist approach to grounded theory as a method. The data analysis produced two concepts: recognition and control/thought control. These concepts were used as guidance for the choices of theoretical framework: the concepts of mutual recognition (Schibbye 2009) and self-efficacy and thought control (Bandura 1997).

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[1] The word "refuge" will be used as an abbreviation for "refuge for battered women" throughout this dissertation.

The fieldwork shows the complexity of the living conditions of these children. Their "normal" everyday life is fragmented and divided between home and refuges. These repetitive stays can last for days, weeks, or months at a time which means that there could be children who spend large parts or even the majority of their childhood at refuges. Thus, for these children, domestic violence is not an isolated incident but part of their everyday life. At school, children describe receiving little if any teacher support. They describe five different types of recognitions of their situation (formal, forced, practical, third-party, and coincidental recognition). Except in cases of formal recognition, children express ambiguity and uncertainty regarding their teacher's involvement with and knowledge of their situation. The majority of children struggled with concentration difficulties triggered by thoughts about secrecy, safety, insecurity about the future, and flashbacks of violence. However, children were mostly left on their own to deal with these difficulties while at school. Only a few managed to control these difficulties through strategies such as imaginative safety, recreational learning, healing talks, physical activity, divertive play, and creative explanations.

The findings of this dissertation suggest reason to be concerned about children with multiple refuge relocations at refuges for abused women. Their life experiences show a breach of the rights of the child as stated in several articles in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The findings call for policy makers and the agencies involved in supporting these children to rethink their polices and routines and revaluate their cooperation procedures. A better registration system may help in identifying these children. However, this may require adaptations in refuge systematic registration and case transfer routines, a reconsideration data retention regulations, and rethinking options for a common registration base for Norwegian refuges. Schools, and especially teachers, play an important role in shaping children's beliefs, not only about their social and academic abilities at school, but also in their abilities to persevere under difficult life circumstances. The lack of teacher support revealed in this dissertation calls for further research to understand the needs and difficulties teachers face, in order to tailor interventions that can support them in fulfilling their role, duties, and obligations towards these children. Further research in different fields is needed to expand the body of literature on this group of children.

Enclosed

Article 1: Children with Multiple Stays at Refuges for Abused Women in the Nordic Countries: Challenges, Conclusions and Causes for Concern.

Article 2: Children with Multiple Refuge Stays and Their Experiences of Teacher Recognition.

Article 3: School Strategies of Children with Multiple Relocations at Refuges for Abused Women.

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Appendix 1: Regulations from the Norwegian Directorate for Education on the general plan for teacher education dated December 21, 2015
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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

Violence against children is a global social, public health and human rights problem with potentially devastating effects (cf. Jernbro, Eriksson &Janson, 2017; Hillis, Mercy, Amobi, and Kress, 2016; Finkelhor et al. 2015; Radford et al. 2013; Radford et al. 2011; Kloppen et al., 2015). Its pervasive nature is universally recognized and almost all nations (196) have ratified the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)[2], which recognizes the right of children to freedom from violence. Hillis et al. (2016), in a systematic review study of thirty-eight reports for 96 countries on past-year prevalence of violence against children, show that a minimum of 50% of children in Asia, Africa, and Northern America experienced violence in the previous year. Globally, they estimate that over half of all children (1 billion children) aged 2–17 have experienced violence. Understandings of violence against children vary widely across these regions, which can result in misleading interpretations of its prevalence level across countries and contexts (Unicef, 2017). A number of children seek protection from the violence with their non-abusive parent (usually the mother) at refuges for abused women. However, refuges for abused women can have different roles in different countries, and in some countries may not exist at all. In countries where refuges do exist, however, a number of children experiencing domestic violence seek shelter there along with the non-violent parent. Some children seek shelter at abused women's refuges only once in their lives, while others may spend much of their childhood in and out of refuges.

Research on children's experiences of domestic violence and living at refuges for abused women has thoroughly documented that unstable and stressful living conditions can have serious detrimental consequences for child development and psychological and physical health. Despite such consequences, there have been no national (in Norway) or international studies on the group of children who spend their childhood in and out of refuges. However, when surveying previous research done on children's experiences of violence and/or living at refuges for abused women (cf. Chanmugam (2009) in the USA; Øverlien, Jacobsen, & Evang (2009) in Norway; Mullender, Hauge, Imam, Kelly, Malos and Regan in (2002) in the United Kingdom; Hogan and O'Reilly (2007) in Ireland, Stanley (2011) in the UK; Bracewell (2017) in the UK), it is noticeable that a number of the children participating in this research have

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[2] Throughout this dissertation, information about the UNCRC and its articles are obtained from
http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx

experienced multiple refuge relocations. Therefore, one will occasionally encounter their thoughts and perceptions of their realities in this research.

This doctoral research takes a child-centered approach and examines the phenomenon of "childhood at refuges" through the lens of children's perspectives on their relocations and the challenges they live with, rather than purely from the adult point of view. It sees children as experts on their own world and, in the words of James and Prout (1990 p.7), assumes that their "social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspective and concerns of adults". Following the UNCRC, a main concern of this research is to let children's own voices be heard by observing their right to express their opinion, as addressed in Article 12, which states, "States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child," and Article 13, which emphasizes children's right to freedom of expression: "The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice."

1.1 Aim and research questions

This dissertation seeks to help fill a gap in the literature on the school experiences and needs of children who experience multiple relocations at refuges for abused women. It helps build a research knowledge base by exploring children's own perspectives on their life situations and experiences at school. It hopes to contribute to the awareness, knowledge, and competence of the agencies who work with children and the policy makers who can make a difference in children's lives.

The research agenda for this article-based dissertation can be summarized in the following question:

How can we understand children's experiences of multiple relocations at refuges for abused women?

The dissertation comprises this synopsis and the three articles. The research question is answered through these three articles. Article 1 is entitled *Children with Multiple Stays at Refuges for Abused Women in the Nordic Countries: Challenges, Conclusions and Causes for Concern.* This article reviews the Nordic research literature on children with multiple refuge

relocations. It asks: What do we know from previous studies about children who live in refuges for abused women in the Nordic countries? What do we know about children who have stayed multiple times at such refuges? Based on these findings, what might be some of the main challenges for children who experience multiple refuge stays? (Article 1 was published in 2014 in the Nordic Journal of Social Work). Article 2 is entitled *Children with Multiple Refuge Stays and Their Experiences of Teacher Recognition.* This article gives children's perspectives on the realities of attending school while living at a refuge, including teacher support and their understanding of teacher reactions. It asks: What characterizes the relationship between children with multiple refuge stays and their teachers? What kind of support do teachers provide? (Article 2 was published in 2016, at the European Journal of Social Psychology). Article 3 is entitled *School Strategies of Children with Multiple Relocations at Refuges for Abused Women.* This article explores the strategies children adopt at school when their situation is not recognized or only partly recognized by their teachers. It asks: How do children with multiple refuge relocations deal with their life circumstances while at school? (submitted to the Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research on December 28, 2017)

The following chart illustrates the line of thinking that generated the three articles:
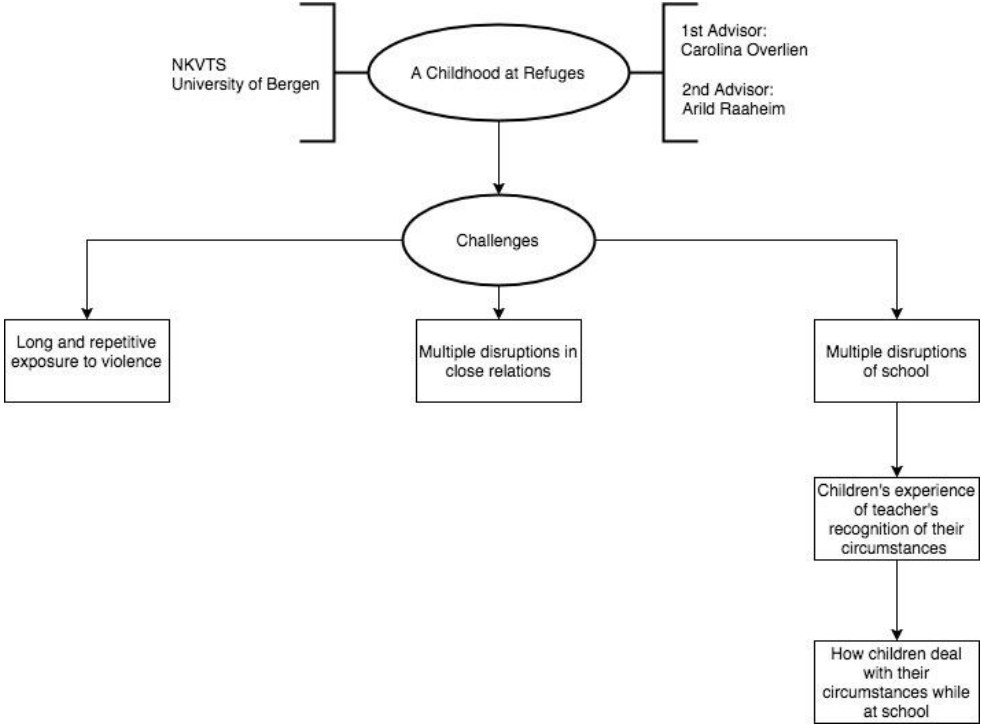
1.2 The organization of the dissertation

This dissertation follows the constructivist approach to grounded theory as designed by Charmaz (2014). Issues related to how and when existing literature should be used during a grounded theory study continue to spark debate (Dunne, 2011). An important concern in grounded theory is the desire to avoid imposing a predetermined understanding and existing frameworks on the research. The theory claims that it is contradictory to state a fixed theoretical framework or do a literature review of the studied field beforehand. Theories are developed from the data, rather than being used inductively to understand the data (Charmaz, 2014). Charmaz (2006, p. 165) suggests that delaying the literature review can help "to avoid importing preconceived ideas and imposing them on your work. Delaying the review encourages you to articulate *your* ideas." The concern here is based on the idea that a detailed preliminary literature review would lead the researcher to subconsciously develop his or her own perspective on certain issues, which could eventually bias the course of research by "contaminating" the processes of data collection, analysis, and theory development (Glaser, 1998). Glaser (1998, p. 68), one of the founders of grounded theory, also argues that engagement with the existing research through a literature review prior to entering the field may result in external "rhetorical jargon" intruding on the research. However, several authors, including McGhee et al. (2007), Nathaniel (2006) and Glaser (1998) himself, acknowledge the difficulty of this issue for many researchers, especially PhD students. This is because the processes of research funding, ethical approval, and progression through the doctoral program greatly depend upon the production of an extensive literature review and a well-defined research question or questions prior to commencement (Dunne, 2011). According to Dunne (2011, p. 117), "it would be both unfortunate and unconstructive to sacrifice the numerous advantages derived from conducting an early literature review based on a concern about what impact extant ideas *might* have on the researcher." When doing grounded theory one begins with the method chapter, because the fieldwork/data collection and its analysis is the research starting point.

The organization of this dissertation takes both this debate and the practical constraints of my PhD program into consideration. The chapters that follow are ordered in a specific way to guide the reader from the very beginning through how I implemented the constructivist grounded theory approach coding system (see method) and the changes and choices I made throughout the research. The chapters follow the order in which I conducted my research and fieldwork.

Chapter 2 describes the background for my research. A preliminary literature review of my study topic was necessary to receive funding. This purpose was achieved with minimal "contamination" of my work in the field due to the fact that my chosen topic is, as yet, an area that has been little researched. The preliminary literature review was of great importance for developing an objective research question and proving the academic necessity of my research proposal. It also served as a starting point for my first article (presented in chapter 5). To strengthen the transparency and reflexivity of my work, I decided to begin with the background chapter, in order to give readers an overview of the knowledge I brought with me from the literature to the field. Taking into consideration that fieldwork is the starting point in grounded theory, the following chapter, chapter 3, is the method chapter. This chapter gives a preview of the research design and how grounded theory was used as an analysis method rather than a theory-developing approach. The chapter also gives an overview of my data analysis and shows how using a grounded theory coding system guided my choice of the theoretical framework. The unusual placement of the theoretical framework in chapter 4, after the discussion of method, reflects the deductive nature of grounded theory and shows how my fieldwork guided my choice of Schibbye's (2009) conception of mutual recognition and Bandura's (1997) self-efficacy as a theoretical framework. These theories were used in the data analyses in articles 2 and 3, respectively. Chapter 5 presents a short summary of the key findings of the three articles. Chapter 6 pursues a broader discussion of my findings, suggests research contributions and offers concluding remarks.

1.3 Terminologies

The definition of the term "violence" is a topic of debate among researchers (cf. Calvert et al., 2017; Hamby, 2017; Sue, 2017; Turner, Finkelhor, Shattuck, Hamby, & Mitchell, 2015; Yllö & Torres, 2016). According to Hamby, there are four approaches in the scientific literature to defining violence (exemplar, social psychology, the public health, and the animal research), which all have both strengths and limitations. However, Hamby (2017) further argues that elements of all of these definitions are needed for a functional scientific definition, and suggests that a precise definition of violence must include four key elements so as to include acts of violence while excluding acts of self-defense, accidents, horseplay, etc. Accordingly, Hamby (2017) defines violence as a behavior "that is intentional… unwanted…nonessential…and harmful" (p. 168). Domestic violence is one type of violence in which these elements are well integrated (Hamby, 2017). Following Hamby (2017), this dissertation understands domestic violence in terms of these four elements.

There are various labels and definitions in the literature to describe children's difficult childhood experiences, including "maltreatment," "abuse," "neglect," and "violence." According to Gilbert et al. (2009), child maltreatment and neglect are often divided into several categories of abuse, including emotional, psychological, sexual, and physical abuse and neglect. Definitions of child maltreatment can vary widely among and within countries, cultures and professions (Word Health Organization, 2002). These differences can be attributed both to worldwide diversity in standards and expectations for parenting practices and to an absence of reflection on the complex circumstances of children's lives within the universal standards of children's rights to well-being and protection (Aadnanes, 2017; Nadan, Spilsbury & Korbin, 2015). According to Øverlien (2010, 2012), terminologies and conceptualizations can vary greatly because the research field is multidisciplinary (although mostly dominated by psychology and sociology). However, the overlap between domestic violence and child maltreatment has raised questions over the years as to whether experiences of domestic violence should be included in the definition of maltreatment (cf. Edleson, 1999; Calheiros, Monteiro, Patrício & Carmona, 2016; Postmus & Merritt, 2010). Edleson (1999) argues against such inclusion for two reasons. First, not all children who experience domestic violence show negative developmental problems, and some even demonstrate coping abilities. Second, defining these children's experiences as maltreatment may risk placing blame on the mothers, with the potential consequence of separating children from their mothers. Others suggest that domestic violence should be recognized as a type of child abuse because of the potential harm it may cause children (Kloppen Haugland, Svedin, Mæhle & Breivik, 2015; Callaghan et al., 2015; Øverlien, 2010).

The use of the terms "trauma" or "traumatic experience" to define children's experiences of domestic violence is most common in the medical and psychological literature, where measures of the child's trauma symptoms can be based on medical and psychological diagnostic criteria (Van der Kolk, 2017). Terr (1991) divided all of the trauma-stress conditions of childhood into two rough categories: type I and type II childhood traumas. She explained that the symptoms of "children suffering from type I traumas, the results of one sudden blow, differ in certain ways from children suffering from type II traumas, the results of long-standing or repeated ordeals" (p.11). Although these traumatic experiences do not always mean that children are traumatized, a meta analysis study by Alisic, Zalta, Van Wesel, Larsen, Hafstad, Hassanpour, & Smid (2014) shows that traumatic experiences imposed on others (interpersonal trauma) may increase the risk of symptoms, compared with non-

interpersonal trauma experiences. According to Øverlien (2012), children's experiences of domestic violence can therefore be understood as a "potentially traumatic experience."

In this dissertation, "domestic violence" is understood in accordance to Hamby's (2017) definition and will include not only adult "intimate partner violence" but also any experiences of violence occurring in a domestic setting. This understanding of the term includes children as co-partners in the violence, both as cohabiters in the home environment and in relation to the abuser. It recognizes that children, like adults, can be direct victims of all forms of domestic violence, including physical, emotional, and sexual violence as well as psychological violence, including coercive control. It also acknowledge children being at risk of experiencing an overlap of violence: of both experiencing intimate partner violence and themselves directly being victims of other forms of violence (Apple & Holden, 1998; Ankomah, 2006)

The use of different terminologies in research regarding children in the context of domestic violence began in the 1970s with the phrases "to witness" and "to observe." These terminologies have been debated and discussed (cf. Stanley, 2011; Øverlien & Hýden, 2009), with some researchers arguing that they are insufficient and fail to entirely address children's experiences of domestic violence. According to Øverlien (2012, p. 24), the term "children experiencing domestic violence" includes "all children who see, hear and experience the effects of physical, sexual, material and economic violence that one of their parents/caregivers exposes the other to". Thus, children do not observe domestic violence at a distance, but rather experience it with all their senses and react to it in different ways (cf . Finkelhor, Turner, Shattuck, & Hamby, 2015; Stanley, 2011; Radford et al. 2013; Øverlien 2012, 2016; Callaghan, Alexander, Sixsmith, & Fellin, 2015; Jernbro et al., 2017; Hillis et al. 2016). Nowadays, the phrases "to witness" and "to observe" have been exchanged for "to experience," which is mainly used in the UK and Nordic countries, and "to expose," which is mostly used in North America. However, according to Goddard and Bedi (2010), the term "exposure" tends to assign children a passive role in relation to violence as it does not reflect children's voices. In this dissertation I consistently use the terminology of "children who experience violence." This group includes all children who see, hear, and experience the effects of the physical, emotional, sexual and material/economical violence between their parents.

1.4 The "good childhood"

Childhood has been a debated concept for decades among theoreticians, who have offered many different views on what constitutes childhood and how it is to be understood (cf. Woodhead 1996; Aries 1962; Mayall 2002; Lee 2001; Corasaro 1997; Prout 2005; Qvortrup 2009; James & James 2012; Buckingham 2013; Archard 2014; James & Prout 2015; Solberg 2015; Graf, 2015). Childhood can be universally understood most simply, and irrespective of culture, "as the early phase of the life-course of all people in all societies. It is characterized by the rapid physiological and psychological development and represents the beginning of the process of maturation to adulthood" (James & James, 2012, p. 15). However, cultures vary in the way they understand the biological growth and development of children and their ideas about children's needs, welfare and best interests, producing different conceptions of childhood (Woodhead, 1996; Graf, 2015). Archard (2007) introduced the distinction between the concept of childhood and conceptions of childhood in order to capture the idea of the social construction of childhood. Simply put, he explains that "to have a concept of 'childhood' is to recognize that children differ interestingly from adults; to have a conception of childhood is to have a view of what those interesting differences are" (Archard, 2004, p. 27). The many historical and theoretical differences in conceptions of childhood around the globe are grounded in different assessments of when childhood begins, into what phases it should be divided, which criteria distinguish it from adulthood, and what elements are critical in determining a "good" childhood (Graf, 2015). Some theoreticians argue that focuses on children's protection and vulnerability are key components of a "good childhood" (Rawls, 1971; Noggle, 2002). Their thoughts are grounded in the Piagetian and Kohlbergian tradition of developmental psychology, which perceives children as dependent, fragile, lacking in strength, and having inferior knowledge and work skills. Scholars with a child-centered perspective emphasize children's agency, perceiving them from a very early age as competent social and moral actors in their own right (cf. Graf, 2015; James & Prout, 2015; Solberg, 2015; Alderson, 2008; Axford, 2008; Mayall, 2002; Franel, 2012; Alanen, 2005). They emphasize the social status of children as a group and show how their unequal power relationships with adults regulate their lives in society (Graf, 2015). Theoreticians of both schools, however, argue for the best interests of children and their well-being.

Asking what constitutes a "good" childhood will generate different answers both across Europe and among countries with child-centered perspectives, such as Norway, Finland and Denmark. Such differences may be detected in policy documents or in understandings of concepts such as pedagogy, socialization, and rights, which may lead to

different outcomes as regards children's daily experiences (James, 2008). Political decisions manifested in white papers, action plans, and laws may have a major impact on how childhood is constructed in a given society: how children are perceived, what rights they are accorded or denied, and thus what services they are provided (cf. NOU, 2017:12; Bufdir, rapport 1/2015; Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2013). For example, Finland's understanding of the requirements for an optimal childhood is defined in the Ten Pillars of a Good Childhood formulated by the Decade for Childhood organization. Finland uses these pillars to guide its policy, education, and childrearing practices (Pulkkinen, 2012).

In Norway, the concept of a "good" childhood is highly influenced by the UNCRC. After the Norwegian government incorporated the UNCRC into its human rights act in 2003, domestic law concerning children and family was changed to meet the intentions of the UNCRC regarding children's rights (Kjørholt, 2008). These rights include children's right to play, go to school, be part of the neighborhood, move freely in the physical environment, and structure their time according to their own needs (Kjørholt, 2008; Kvello, 2008). Special attention is given to childhood and violence in the national strategy "Childhood comes but once" (2014–2017) (*Barndom kommer ikke i reprise*)[3], developed by the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion (2013). The strategy underlines the importance of childhood experiences for individuals' lives, stating that "violence and abuse are painful experiences that increase the risk that children or adolescents will develop mental and physical health problems, both in childhood and later in adulthood… children who are humiliated or offended may become sick adults. Overloads in childhood can lead to reduced quality of life and reduced opportunity to participate actively in society, which in turn can lead to social isolation, unemployment and as a result economic problems " (page 12). It also states that "children, youth and their families should get the right help at the right time. The service provider shall be accessible and services shall work across the disciplines for the benefit of the child" (p. 10). And it argues that a holistic understanding of the needs of children and adolescents may require the cooperation of many service agencies, including health care institutions, child protective offices, preschools, and schools. An important element in this strategy is that "children's own experiences and feedback should be sought and included in the knowledge base" (p. 10) as part of the competence enhancement program for professionals in the field. The main aim of the strategy is to fight violence against and sexual

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[3] https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/bld/brosjyrer_bua/barndommen_kommer_ikke_i_reprise.pdf

abuse of children and youth and help ensure their safe upbringing, good health, and quality of life (Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2013).

The adoption of the UNCRC in Norwegian policy, as well as the existence of several non- governmental children's advocate organizations that advocate for and protect children's rights (e.g. Barneombudet, Reddbarna, and Sofia stiftelsen), have strengthened children's voices, rights, and active role in society. However, the most recent supplementary report from the Norwegian Ombudsman for Children (Barneombudet) in 2017 [4] and the Official Norwegian Report (NOU, 2017:12) "Failure and Betrayal" (*Svikt og svik*) show gaps in the implementation of the UNCRC in Norwegian policy, and a failure of public services in cases where children and adolescents experience violence, sexual abuse and neglect. Similar findings are also reported in other Western countries such as in the Swedish Official Report (SOU, 2017:112). Flåm and Handegård (2015) found similar shortcomings in the help provided to children by Norwegian family protective services after family violence. Their study calls for better inclusion of children in family therapy, which implies "talking not only solely about or on behalf of the child. It means talking with. It asks for 'with-ness' work, more than about-ness work" (Flåm & Handegård, 2015, p. 83). The findings of the first scope study in Norway on prevalence and experiences of violence among high school students (18– 19 years old) (Mossiege & Stefansen, 2007–2015) show a slight decline in these students' childhood experiences of domestic, sexual and mild forms of physical violence[5]. However, experiences of severe forms of violence[6] remained stable. Regardless of the different policies and public service gaps affecting the concept of childhood and children's rights, a common description of a "good" childhood in Norway, as in other Western countries, includes stability, physical space, stable routines and security (ideally in the form of two biological parents), a safe home with space to play, and access to nature (Graf, 2015; James & Prout, 2015; Kjørholt, 2008).

Asking children what constitutes a "good childhood" generates key elements similar to the adult perspectives above. Among children, however, factors such as gender, ethnicity, and economic background may generate differences in their ideas of a "good childhood" (Halldén, 1994). Significant indicators for children include relationships with others, the importance of agency and control, safety and security, and how these elements contribute to their sense of self (Fattore, Mason & Watson, 2009). Children also prioritize family and friends (Mayall,

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[4] Cf. http://barneombudet.no/2017/09/26/a-hort-folg-lanseringen/
[5] Shoving, stroke with flat hand, pinching, lugging
[6] Punching with a fist or an object, or violence that causes injuries or need for medical support

2002: Morgan, 2005; Dunn & Layard, 2009). They value social relations and their community for helping create a sense of belonging (Adams, 2011). In a study by Morgan (2005), children also listed having enough to eat and drink, fun, respect, love, and being happy as categories important to their well-being and a "good" childhood. In Adams (2011), children emphasized hobbies and play with friends and family as important indicators of a good childhood. Some children have also described a few less positive sides of being a child, such as restrictions on their activities or not being allowed to go to places they want to go, i.e. restrictions of their freedom of movement and choices. However, when children living at refuges for abused women are asked for their thoughts on a "good" life they highlight elements of everyday life. These children narrate their perceptions of the "good" life after their refuge stay as something pleasant and joyful (Øverlien, 2011). Like children living at the refugee centers, however, their thoughts were marked by uncertainty about the future, worries about friends, family, and hopes for a better future. They emphasize several indicators of the "good" life: residential stability (getting a new home), economic stability (mother having a job), educational stability (going to school), contact with family and friends (who can visit them at home), safety (a safe home without violence, being safe at a place without feeling fearful), a life without lying (having to keep their life at the refuge a secret), succeeding in living on their own without the abuser. They describe the "good" life as a hope for an "ordinary life": in other words, a life of children going to school, adults going to work, having dinner in a safe home, friends visiting, and cuddling with pets.

1.4.1 A childhood at refuges

Conceptions of "good childhood" and the kind of childhood parents can give their children depend not only on general social conditions but also on the living conditions of individual families. In Norway there are substantial similarities in the conditions of upbringing for all children, but there also exist large variations for certain categories of children, including children living with mentally or physically ill parents and children living in poverty. For children, the time they spend at a refuge may be described as the life situation Meyer (1999) calls the "waiting room" (Øverlien, 2011). Like refugee children in Meyer's (1999) study, the everyday lives of children living at refuges for abused women are also marked by ambiguity and uncertainty about the future. They are waiting at the refuge, perhaps worrying about family and friends while hoping for a better, safe life without violence.

Global migration has a huge impact on children and their childhoods (Wells, 2015; Fass, 2005). Bowstead (2017) defines the "forced displacement" of women and children fleeing

abuse as a significant and distinctive phenomenon of internal "forced migration," of similar importance in the lives of children as international migration. In her study, 98% of families' internal journeys in the United Kingdom were made by women with their children seeking to access formal services. The interviewed women ascribed their displacements to their abusive relationships and threats of violence. Children were a key factor in their decision to seek help. They sometimes relocated miles from home to access support services (Bowstead, 2017). Similarly, in Brownridge's (2006) study in Canada, mothers frequently reported that children are the reason they stay with, leave, or return to the abuser. Fear of single parenthood or having their children grow up without a father figure were reasons for staying with or returning to the abusive partner. A mother might also return to her abuser and give him "a second chance," especially after her first stay at a refuge (Brownridge, 2006; Bufdir, 2016). In one study (Vatnar & Bjørkly, 2009) of women victims of domestic violence in Norway, 64.5% of the women interviewed reported staying in the violent relationship because they still loved the abuser, while 51.6% stayed for the sake of their children. This means that a number of children relocated multiple times to one or several refuges, as their mothers moved back to a partner who remained abusive or were forced to change refuges after the abuser discovered their location. A 2007 study exploring Irish children's stories of domestic violence showed that some children may also have to cope with moving between different homes, such as the homes of friends and other family members, a number of times before arriving in refuges as their mothers seek to flee the violence (Hogan & O'Reilly, 2007). The process of living in and out of refuges means that many of these children spend large parts of their childhood in refuges.

In many of these moves, whether to the refuge or back home, children are neither involved in the planning and decision-making nor informed of the decision in advance (Mullender, Hauge, Imam, Kelly, Malos & Regan, 2002; Øverlien, Jacobsen & Evang, 2009). In a number of studies on children living at refuges, the majority of children, if not all, experienced the move to the refuge as sudden, abrupt, and at times incomprehensible and confusing (Bracewell 2016; Mullender et al. 2002; Hogan & O'Reilly, 2007; Øverlien et al., 2009). In a Norwegian national mapping study of children's experiences of living at refuges (Øverlien et al., 2009), nine of the 22 children interviewed had experienced multiple refuge relocations. Children in this study described their first move to a refuge as an "escape" that was frightening, dramatic, and unpredictable. The logistics involved in their constant relocations and multiple refuge stays inevitably led to absence from school or changes of school. Teenagers residing at the refuge in the American study by Chanmugam (2009)

experienced up to 18 school changes as a result of their refuge relocations. Such disruptions can take place at any time during the school year and children can miss out on weeks or months of education as well as contact with friends and other key adults (Øverlien et al., 2009; Hogan and O'Reilly, 2007; Mullender et al., 2002).

Children as young as eight in a 2002 British study by Mullender Hague, Imam, Kelly, Malos, & Regan (2002) of child perspectives on domestic violence had a clear understanding of the repetitive pattern of their encounters with abuse. These children articulated the difficulty of both the sudden interruptions to relationships they experienced when moving to the refuge, and the planned ones when moving from the refuge. They explained how sad and difficult it was for them to leave their home, possessions, pets, school, preschool, friends ,and family without saying a last goodbye (Mullender et al., 2002; Øverlien et al., 2009). Some children with multiple refuge stays express strong negative feelings towards the abusing person. One 12-year-old girl in Mullender's (2002) study expressed feeling hatred toward the abusers as a result of her frustration at repeatedly changing refuges and schools. Many shared the experience of sorrow at saying goodbye to their friends at the refuge when it was time to move out. They knew from their previous experience that it would be difficult for them to stay in touch with or meet these friends again (Øverlien et al., 2009). In Hogan and O'Reilly's study (2007), teenagers had a clearer picture of not wanting to return home to the abusive person. They also spoke about their perception of domestic violence as becoming a normal way of life. They described their feelings of confusion and insecurity during the process when their mothers decided to return to the batterer. In Marthinsen and Torjussen master study (2007), a child who had spent much of his life in different refuges expressed a negative vision of the future. He was unsure if he would grow up, and he wondered if he should stay in a refuge for the rest of his life. Many of the younger children expressed the wish that violence would end and that they would either reunite with both parents or move with their mother and siblings to a new place (Mullender et al., 2002).

Chapter 2: BACKGROUND

2.1 Refuges as temporary 'home'

The meaning of home touches at the core of one's personal life. It is a multidimensional concept described in the literature in various ways as related to house, family, haven, self, gender, and a place where one comes from. Other researchers have also studied the notion of creating or making home and the "ideal home" and considered notions of being-at-home (Mallet, 2004). According to Mallet (2004, p. 63), "The boundaries of home seemingly extend beyond its walls to the neighborhood, even the suburb, town or city. Home is a place but it is also a space inhabited by family, people, things and belongings – a familiar, if not comfortable space where particular activities and relationships are lived…home is a virtual place, a repository for memories of the lived spaces. It locates lived time and space, particularly intimate familial time and space."

Children come to refuges in different ways: through the police, child welfare services, family, and friends or other avenues. All, however, come in the company of an abused parent, seeking safety from violence at the refuge as a temporary "home" (Øverlien et al., 2009; Grieder & Chanmugam, 2013; Bracewell, 2017). Descriptions of a refuge as a "home" can be found in the words of abused women and refuge employees in the literature (cf. Hughes, 2017; Campbell, 1994). However, children and adolescents living at refuges often address the refuge as a temporary "safe place" in relation to their violent home (Øverlien, 2011; Chanmugam, 2009; Bracewell, 2017). They often refer to the refuge as a "place" rather than a "home." It is a place where they get help and seek protection. When they speak of home they describe their own room, toys, pets, clothes, and personal belongings. They also talk about home as a place where they can have friends over and can shower as much as they want (Øverlien, 2011; Øverlien et al., 2009). Home is a place where they can relax, located within their social network and close to their school and leisure activities, a place they seem to miss and wish to return to if and when the violence ends (Bracewell, 2017; Hogan & Oreilly, 2007; Mullender et al., 2002; Øverlien et al., 2009; Chanmugam, 2009). Thus, "home" seems to be associated with feelings of comfort and privacy, while the refuge is an "intervention arena": a place where they get help, support, and safety (Øverlien, 2011, 2011b). Adolescents in Chanmugam's (2009) study designated their brief refuge stays as "homelessness" rather than a "home" and described their several refuge stays as "being homeless several times." Thus, understanding refuges as temporary "homes" can be seen more as an adult construct than a child-oriented understanding.

2.2 The position of children in the refuge ideology

For decades refuges have provided safety to children with their mothers. The refuges established by activist women liberation movements in the 1970s were one of the first forms of domestic violence interventions in the Western countries (Paradiso de Sayu & Chanmugam, 2016; Midjo, 1992). The ideals behinds the women's movement in Norway were based on women's fellowship and sisterly solidarity (Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2010). The women's aid movement in England "stressed the importance of helping women to take control of their own lives, of encouraging self-determination, and of giving power to women whose experience has been mainly one of powerlessness" (Pahl 1985 p. 26). The work of this movement made it" possible for women to talk about and understand abuse, and this thematic openness laid the foundation for the origins of the refuge movement\" (Jonassen, 1989, p. 4). Their aim was initially, and remains, to offer women immediate safety from violence through temporary accommodation (Bracewell 2017; Chanmugam, 2017; Midjo, 1992). Over the years, the refuge movement has played an important role in strengthening the rights of women and their children by bringing this topic up for general social debate and by informing and influencing legislators and politicians (Chanmugam, 2009; Øverlien et al., 2009).

The ideology behind the refuge offered a platform for practicing feminist ideals (Pahl, 1985) by focusing on women and their experiences of domestic violence. However, according to Midjo (1992) it did not pay attention to children, either as "affected" by their experiences of witnessing violence against their mothers or as "followers" to the refuge (Midjo, 1992). During the early stages of the refuge movement, advocating for children's needs and rights may have been perceived as counter-productive to achieving equal rights for women. Working with children at refuges was also a lower-status job, compared to working with adults (Bracewell, 2016).

The history of the position of children at refuges is relatively undocumented. However, changes in their position from "followers" to "service users" may have been influenced by a shift in research since the late 1970s which saw children move from being "passive victims" and "silent witnesses" of violence to an active role of being "exposed to" and "experiencing" the violence (Mclntosh, 2003; Edleson, 1999; Jouriles et al., 1998; Øverlien, 2012, 2011; Mullender et al., 2002). Awareness that violence toward abused women also affects their children was highlighted in a 1990 book by Jaffe et al., *Children of Battered Women*. Since then, extensive research on children and domestic violence has illuminated the long- and short-term difficulties domestic violence can cause children, their perspectives and

needs (Øverlien 2010, 2012; Holt et al., 2017; Stanley, 2011; Løvgren, Stefanesen & Mossige, 2017, Bracewell, 2017). The increase in the societal awareness of children as independent actors and rights subjects together with the growing interest in research on issues related to children who experience violence may be linked to an increased focus by refuges on children rather than just mothers (Harding, 1997; Jans, 2004; Øverlien, 2010b). This new focus encouraged an awareness of children's needs and offered recommendations and guidance in the choice and implementation of services (cf. Holt, Devaney & Øverlien, 2017; Stanley, 2011; Buckely et al., 2007; Mullender et al., 2002). Accordingly, refuges developed services such as one-on-one talks, play therapy, safety planning, group talks, mother-child interventions, and school arrangements (Mullender et al., 1997; Bakketeig et al., 2014). Research has not only contributed to the process of rethinking refuge work with children and the position of children as service user, but also stimulated the production of new national policies to secure rights for children as service users (Bufdir, rapport 1/2015).

2.2.1 Children's position in the Norwegian refuge

In Norway, the collaboration among refuge services, research, and policy has been a driving force behind improving the position of children at refuges and the services they receive. Since their establishment in the 1970s, refuges have made a significant contribution to putting domestic violence in the public eye and on the political agenda, and this has been followed by increased interest from the research community (Øverlien et al., 2009). In Norway, as in other Western countries, the dominant research interest has been the living conditions and experiences of women who experience domestic violence. However, children have been mentioned as part of women's experiences (cf. Jonassen, 1989; Midjo, 1992). For example, Mjdio (1992) argued for the necessity of providing children with their own services, such as separate rooms for children at refuges, and employing professionals to do different activities with children. Although the starting point for these services was to offer mothers "relief" from their care commitments, they can also be seen as a step toward shedding light on children living at the refuge and providing them with services.

According to Solberg (2001), the first studies of children's refuge experiences were fragmented and small in scope (cf. Holmsen, 1999; Olsen, 1998; Øyen, 1996), reflecting the unsettled position of children. A focus on children as service users first appeared in Solberg's (2001) study titled "Focus on young users at the refuge," and was inspired by new Norwegian and international childhood research which defined children as active social citizens with their own rights (cf. Alanen, 1988 ; James & Prout, 1990; Ulvik, 1997). This broke with the

common, "authorized" way of thinking and writing about children in refuges as "passive victims" and paved the way toward allowing children to become more visible actors and "service users" at refuges. Solberg (2001) study showed that refuge workers had some understanding of children's needs. This provided a platform for discussing what services children needed, what was already offered, and how these offerings could be expanded. However, their views on the services provided to help children process their experiences of violence were more complex. Some had regular conversations with children, while others did not offer this service (Solberg 2001). In subsequent years, more refuges employed persons with higher education in fields germane to working with children (Jonassen, 2004; Bufdir, 2017).

In 2008–2012 the so-called "turning point" action plan initiated by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police Service (2007) tied domestic violence closely to the national agenda, recognizing it as an important social problem. It emphasized that state institutions should be better at preventing, detecting, and safeguarding individuals from violence. As part of this action plan the Ministry commissioned the Norwegian Center for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies (NKVTS) to study the situation of children and adolescents in refuges. A study by Øverlien et al. (2009) mapping the help and services provided to children at Norwegian refuges brought attention to the generally ambiguous status of children at refuges and challenged refuges to rethink whether they defined children as "service users" or "accompanying persons" (cf. Øverlien, 2011). The same study found that refuges focused more on older children than younger ones and that follow-up after the refuge stay was mainly based on the mothers' needs. Furthermore, the authors argued that the authorities should address and reconsider whether refuges should continue their approach in which caregivers were treated as primary persons and children as secondary persons at the refuge (Øverlien et al., 2009). The study may be seen as a "turning point" for the position of children in Norwegian refuges. In 2009, Norwegian authorities launched the Refuge Act, which emphasizes that children and men are independent refuge users and should be offered services on an equal footing with women. This means that men experiencing domestic violence can seek protection with their children in the men's section at the refuge. This is specified in the Refuge Act, paragraph 1 (cf. Bufdir, rapport 1/2015).

The NOVA evaluating report by Bakketeig et al. (2014), which assessed whether municipal refuges developed their services in line with the requirements of the Refuge Act, showed that although such development is still in an early phase, services for children have improved and refuge employees have gained more competence regarding this group.

However, children accompanying their fathers do not have the same access to services (such as playrooms and social activities) as children accompanying their mothers (Bakketeig, Madsen & Stefansen, 2014). The NOVA report does not evaluate school services or the existence of school alternatives provided for children at the refuge. In sum, children in Norway have legal rights as service users at refuges. Refuge services are continuously developing to meet the needs of its new group. However, there are discrepancies in the help provided by different refuges (Bufdir, 2016) and in the services offered to children, depending upon whether they accompany their father or mother (Bakketeig et al., 2014).

2.3 Refuge system

Across countries, refuges offer a low-threshold temporary safe place for victims of domestic violence (Bracewell, 2017; Øverlien et al., 2009; Chanmugam, 2009). Staying at a refuge is often free of charge for users and does not require referrals. Refuges may receive funding from a combination of resources, including individual community donors as well as government and private charitable foundation grants (Chanmugam, 2017). Funding can vary based on how refuges are positioned within the social systems.

In Norway in 1982, the refuges adopted an ideological platform that viewed violence against women from a gender and power perspective. Important elements of the platform were that the refuges should have a position that was free from religion and politics, as well as a requirement for full public funding. Discussions around these key elements in the platform led to the division of the refuge movement into two umbrella organizations: the Norwegian refuge association (*Krisesenterforbundet)* established in 1990, and the Refuge Crises Centre Secritariat (*Krisesentersersekriteriatet*) established in 1994 (Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2010b; Jonassen & Skogøy, 2010). The refuges were first established as private foundations (*stiftelser)* and initially relied on volunteer labor and funding from donors and charity grants. Most of the refuges in Norway were established in the period 1980–1985 and staffed by volunteers (Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2010 b). The new act of refuge service, which took effect on January 1 2010, imposed responsibility on all municipalities in the country to offer their inhabitants services according to the requirements of the act of refuge service (*krisesenterloven*) (Jonassen & Skogøy, 2010; Bufdir, rapport 1/2015). From 2011 the municipalities became responsible for the operating expenses of the refuges. As a result of the Act of refuge services, the county governor (*fylkesmann*) in each municipality is responsible for following up on the refuge work (Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2010 c)

2.4 Refuge services

Refuge services often operate according to the principle of empowerment: "help to self-help." Refuges usually do not offer treatment but rather provide guidance and one-on-one talks and assist users in contacts with other support services. Discrepancies in capacity, competence, and services exist among refuges within the same country and among refuges in different countries (Bracewell, 2017; Poole et al., 2008; Jonassen, Sogn, Olsvik & Hjemdal, 2008; Bakketeig, Madsen, Stefansen, Smette, 2014). Bracewell's (2017) study also shows that programs provided for teenagers living at refuges in England can vary in terms of goals, scope, and format.

Refuges have, over time, developed a variety of services, such as counseling, support groups, advocacy, and information and referral for long-term needs like housing and employment (Chanmugam, 2017). Although a substantial need for service development was addressed in Mullender et al.'s UK study (1997), the observed refuges even then used a range of approaches, styles, and techniques when working with children, including one-on-one work (through play and individual conversation), children's meetings, and group work, and working with and through the mother.

In 2009, the mapping study in Norway by Øverlien et al. encouraged refuges to reevaluate their services in terms of activities offered to children, routines, methods used in working with children, and allocation of resources. The study revealed that children in some refuges lacked information about where they lived, why they were there, and what would happen to them in the future (Øverlien et al., 2009). Øverlien (2011, p.78) identified a conflict of perspectives between children and mothers, where one is subordinate to the other. She argued that "rules, working methods and choices that could have been beneficial for the child are overruled for the sake of the mothers at the refuges." However, since the launching of this study, changes have been made in regulations, services, and methods for working with children (cf. Bakketeig et al., 2014). Yet, refuge statistics for 2016 show variation in the refuge services offered to children (Bufdir, 2016).

In Norway, there has been a shift toward better arrangements for children at refuges as regards staff competence (recruiting qualified adults to work with children) and services (leisure activities, indoor and outdoor play areas) since the passage of the act of refuge services (*krisesenterloven*) in 2009 (Bakketeig et al., 2014). In 2016, 39 of the 47 available refuges reported having employees who primarily worked with children, compared with 31 of the 50 refuges in 2009 (Bufdir, 2017, 2010). There has also been a noticeable increase in the systematic mapping of children's needs for help and protection (28% of children in 2014

versus 41% in 2016), and a growing tendency to provide children with their own primary contact at a refuge (child coordinator) and follow-up plan (Bufdir, 2017). Another positive development in child refuge services is the increase in assistance offered for the youngest children, from infants up to five years, which can be attributed to the increase in the number of qualified staff. All the refuges state that they cooperate with child protective services and 14 refuges had signed a written cooperation agreement in 2016, up from 10 in 2014. They also report that for most the children, contact with child protective services is established either before or during the refuge stay. It is also worth noting that increasingly more refuges are cooperating with schools to facilitate children continuing to attend either their own or another school during their refuge stay (Bufdir, 2017). Refuges also offer support and assistance to adults and children not living at the refuge, a group called "day-clients" (*dagbrukere*) In 2016, 1.4 out of 2471 day users were children (35 child) who utilized different services at the refuge, such as conversation services and leisure activities, or received follow-up at home.

The most recent available Norwegian refuge statistics from 2016 show that the most common form of support provided to children at Norwegian refuges is assigning a primary contact person. In over half of all refuge stays, children were offered an orientation that included information about the refuge, its offerings, and why the child was there. In nearly half of all stays, children were offered systematic mapping of their needs for help and protection and access to leisure activates. Conversation with staff, with or without the parent present, was offered respectively in 36.9 and 39.3 % of the stays. Very few refuges, in fewer than 6% of the number of refuge stays, themselves offered school or preschool for children who could not continue at their previous schools. However, in about 340 stays, the refuge facilitated transport to school or established cooperation with the child's school or preschool and offered group talks for resident children. The statistics show that refuges take minimal part in cooperative meetings with interdisciplinary groups around the child (just 21 refuge stays). In almost 87 of the refuge stays, children were offered no assistance.

2.5 The refuge environment

According to Grieder and Chanmugam (2013), the physical environment of the refuge can have a potential effect on the well-being of violence survivors. Living at a refuge may also have its disadvantages. Residence may lack privacy because of crowded conditions in small quarters and having to share common facilities. Adolescents in Chanmugam's (2009) study termed the refuge a "prison" because of its tight security measures, high fences, locked doors,

surveillance cameras, and security windows and because procedures such as curfews, signing in, and strict rules created a feeling of being controlled. Bracewell (2017) reported similar findings in one of the few studies on teenagers living in refuges in England. This study revealed that absence of space or space restrictions were important issues for adolescents, who further expressed that access to lounges designed for their age groups was not always available. According to Hogan and O'Reilly's (2007) study in the UK, outdoor areas may be small or non-existent. Thus, the refuge environment may differ in its structure, furnishings, and regulations from children's prior experiences of "home" (Grieder & Chanmugam, 2013).

Refuge environments in Norway bear some similarities to the descriptions above. However, there are great discrepancies among the 47 refuge environments in Norway. Refuges cover a large geographic area. This means that some residents travel many miles from their home to get there. At the refuge each family is given a room upon arrival. The common area is shared between all the other families and includes a living room, kitchen, shower room and toilets, washing room, playroom, and in some cases an outside area. Living at a refuge offers little privacy and children can overhear other families' problems, threats, and worries and see women crying or with bruises (Øverlien et al., 2009). Most refuges have tight security, including locked entrance doors with security cameras, and most have secret addresses. Many have a set of regulations that new families must abide by, including restrictions on sharing the refuge address with others and having visitors over, curfews, and restrictions on pets (Øverlien 2011; Øverlien et al., 2009; Eidheim & Solgunn, 1986).

2.6 Children living at Norwegian refuges

In 2016, annual statistics from Norwegian refuges reported that 1,490 children were living at refuges with a parent (usually the mother) and these children had made a total of 1,822 refuge stays. Of these, 36 children came with their fathers. Over half had parents from immigrant backgrounds. Children stayed on average 21 days, and children with parents from immigrant backgrounds stayed longer than children of ethnic Norwegian parents. Almost half of children living at refuges were five years old or younger, 32% were 6–10 years old, and 22% were 10 years old or older. In most cases (8 of 10) the abuser was the biological father; in a few cases the abuser was the stepfather. In rare cases the abuser was the mother, a grandparent or other family member, an acquaintance, or an unknown person. Most children did not meet the abuser during their refuge stay. Among those who did so, children under five had the most frequent meetings with the abuser. Refuge employees reported that 6% of children had

impaired functions such as cognitive difficulties (concentration and memory problems, ADHD, autism) and /or physical impairments.

2.6.1 Children with multiple stays at Norwegian refuges
Statistics on children with multiple refuge stays fall into two periods, 2003–2007 and 2014–2016 (see Table 1). During the first period, the number of children with multiple stays increased annually after 2005. For undocumented methodological and statistical reasons, this group of children was omitted from the annual statistics reports and became an "invisible" group for the period 2008–2013.

Despite the lack of statistics after 2008, we know that the number of residents (men and women) with children who returned to their abuser after their first stay at a refuge is higher compared to those without children (Nersund & Govasmark, 2009). In 2008, 24% of mothers returned to the abuser after their first stay at the refuge. This figure fell to 23% in 2009 and rose to 40% in 2010 (Bufdir 2010, 2011). Equivalent statistics are not available for 2011. A new child registration form was developed in 2014. In 2016, 187 children were registered having multiple relocations, where 25% of the children had two or more refuge stays. Children with mental or physical impairments are reported to have a higher percentage of multiple refuge relocations than new refuge residents (Nersund & Govasmark, 2009; Bufdir 2010 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015; see table 1: Numbers of children with multiple stays in Norwegian refuges (2003-2016).

2.7 Children's perspectives of life at the refuge
Most children and teenagers living at refuges for abused women express positive feelings about their refuge stays (cf. Fosberg, 2001, 2008; Hogan & O'Reilly, 2007; Øverlien et al., 2009; Chanmugam, 2009; Mullender et al., 2002; Bracewell, 2017). In the UK, children in a study by Mullender et al. (2002) appreciated experiencing safety and the opportunity to talk to someone. At the refuge, children experience safety by being removed from the violent environment, but also by planning for a safe environment after they leave. Safety planning is a process of ongoing assessment of risk, resources and priorities to maximize the child's safety. It is empowering for children as it provides them with a feeling of control over their situation by including them in decision-making (Chanmugam & Kimberly, 2012). In other studies, children and teenagers have expressed relief at seeing their abused parents receive assistance during their stay (Hogan & O'Reilly, 2007; Chanmugam, 2009; Mullender et al., 2009). In studies by Forsberg (2001, 2008), children reported experiencing feelings of unity and support from living with other families in the same situation.

Children in this research seemed to be sensitive to the kind of contact and help they experienced from the employees at the refuge. Some described refuge employees as "helpful" when they felt that they were "good" with them, as for example a refuge employee who spent time with them and talked to them. Others referred to a refuge employee as "not as good" because they felt that even when the employee asked about them, the children could tell that they were not really concerned and were mostly busy helping the mother (Mullender et al., 2002, p. 102). Some children also described negative experiences, such as missing family and friends, and some described being bored because options for indoor and outdoor play were limited and restricted at the refuge (Bracewell, 2017; Chanmugam, 2017, 2009; Forsberg, 2001). Some found it scary to experience other women's reactions (Wilén, 2010). In Mullender et al. 2002 and Hogan and O'Reilly 2007, the cleanliness of the refuge was an issue for some children, especially those who had lived at different refuges and could compare facilities and services.

Children in Norwegian refuges describe experiences similar to the above. In Øverlien et al. (2009) children and teenagers described the move to a refuge as an "escape" that was frightening, chaotic, dramatic, and unpredictable. However, they also described the refuge as a "safe place" (Øverlien, 2011) and appreciated the opportunity to talk to refuge workers about their experiences at home, sharing their fears, concerns, and other feelings (Øverlien et al., 2009). In a master's thesis by Berg (2013), teenagers living at refuges said that they found ways to relax, play, and participate in activities they liked at the refuge. Similar findings were reported in earlier studies on children living at refuges (cf. Solbeg, 2001).

Children expressed different feelings about living at refuges. Some said they were bored because they could not go outside and there was little to do at the refuge. Life at the refuge was also described as a "passive life" with nothing to do but watch TV (Øverlien, 2011b). Others described a lack of privacy and feeling cramped when living with many other families, for example having to share a toilet, kitchen, and living room utilities with many others (Solberg, 2001; Berg, 2013; Øverlien et al., 2009). Some described trouble or good times they had had with other children (Øverlien el al., 2009).

2.8 School agency and domestic violence

Equal opportunity for children, including those experiencing domestic violence, is an important principle in the Norwegian inclusive school policy. The principles of "a school for all" are closely related to the development of the welfare state in Norway during the twentieth century (Hilt, 2016). Inclusive settings at school may mean different things in different places

around the world. According to Skjørten (2007, p.145-167) it "embrace[s] all members of the community, irrespective of age, social and economical background, emotional, sensory, physical or cognitive functioning, cultural backgrounds and experiences." According to Skaalvik and Skaalvik (2009), in an inclusive school setting, the child's achievement of experiences of belonging, wellbeing, self-acceptance and self-belief are important requirements for their learning outcome. Without them, their academic achievement may be weakened. Despite notions of inclusion, different groups of children may still be excluded at school. An example is minority language pupils (Hilt, 2016).

School is particularly important for pupils who experience domestic violence, as it may be one of the few places outside home where they can socialize with peers and adults other than their parents (Chanmugam & Teasley, 2014; Øverlien, 2015). Ideally, it is at school that their home situation can be recognized and reported to the authorities. School provides one of the few opportunities—for some maybe the last—for children to receive help in the form of interventions or teacher support, and losing that opportunity may have serious consequences (Øverlien, 2015, Erikson et al., 2013, Buckly & holdt, 2012; Øverlien, 2012; Sterne et al., 2010). Brymer et al. (2013) describe school as an arena for "Psychological First Aid help" where social support (from fellow pupils or teachers) can help stabilize a life in crisis. At school children may get "psychological support" (Nordtveit, 2015). School may also provide these children with a "return to normality" and "a nurturing environment." It can act as "an instrument for coping and hoping" and can offer children a space to "deal with the difficulties in their lives and find reasons to believe in a better future" (Winthrop and Kirk 2008, p. 640-641). According to Garcia and Pomeroy (2011), maintaining school attendance, routines, and relations can be stabilizing for children during stressful circumstances.

School experiences can evoke a variety of powerful lasting images that can affect pupils throughout their school life and follow them even into adulthood. It can bring images of excitement, exuberance, and joy, but can also frustration, anxiety, and pain (Peterson, 2014). Fredrick and Goddard (2010) have shown how school experiences of individuals in Australia who experienced abuse and neglect during their childhood and adolescence were affected by the help provided at school. Teachers provided academic rather than counseling support. Consequently, all 14 informants in the study left school by age 16. They reported different reasons for dropping out: first, to avoid violence as a result of bullying from other pupils and changing schools due to frequent residential instabilities; second, because they experienced a prolonged lack of confidence and family support. Similar findings were also reported by Sunde and Raaheim (2009) in a study in Norway of how early pupil-teacher

school experiences had lasting effects on the educational and work choices made by adults later in life. In a qualitative doctoral study by Nielsen (2015) of young women aged 16–20 who experienced difficult life events, stories about themselves, family, and school played a prominent role. Stories about family centered around experiences with parent separation, family violence, and parental substance abuse. These young women reported experiencing otherness and alienation at school. These experiences were closely linked to general unhappiness, academic difficulties, and bullying. Their difficult family relationships, including their impact on the women's ability to pay attention in class and get good grades were not addressed in school. Accordingly, the women experienced exclusion both socially and academically. Their school days became an unpleasant experience, especially when they themselves were considered to be the problem. These studies show the powerful position that school and especially teachers have on pupils' experiences of inclusion, and the perceptions they acquire of school based on their positive or negative experiences.

Pupils' perception of school can affect their academic motivation, their feelings of social engagement, and their identification with their school. School experiences can be influenced by a number of issues related to academic achievement; stress about schoolwork; social relationships; feelings of safety and belonging, experiences of rules and regulations; teacher– pupil relations: relations with other pupils; and accommodation of pupils' academic and social needs (Hallinan 2008; Pyhältö, Soini and Pietarinen 2010, Milam, Furr-Holden & Leaf, 2010 Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2009, 2013; Wubbels et al., 2012). Studies show that adolescents who perceive school negatively and do not feel a sense of belonging and commitment to their school are more likely to participate in various risk behaviors, such as substance use, problem drinking, school dropout, and involvement in bullying and fighting (Bonell et al. 2017; Markham 2015; Bonell et al. 2013; Yossi et al. 2010).

2.8.1 Children living at refuges' right to education in Norway

Education in Norway is compulsory for all children for the first ten years. According to the Norwegian Education Act (*opplæringsloven*) (1989) paragraph 2, this also includes children with physical handicaps, the mentally disabled, and children living at different institutions. The act of refuge services (*krisesenterloven*) (2009) paragraph 2 stresses that children living at refuges have the same rights as children in the general population and clearly states that municipalities are responsible for accommodating their needs. Under Norway's Education Act (1998), children have the right to continue their schooling even if they have special needs. However, the Act does not clearly explain how these rights may be secured for children who

cannot attend school for safety reasons and may therefore experience long absences (Education Act 1998). Most schools in Norway are located within walking distance of the child's environment. However, refuges may be stationed miles from a child's home and this may make it difficult for children continue attending their school, participate in after-school activities, and visit friends (Øverlien et al., 2009). The Act of the Refuge Services states that children «…have the right to continue at their regular elementary school, even if the refuge is located outside their home municipality or home-county (opplæringslova S8-1)» (Bufdir rapport 1/2015, p. 18). According to the Education and Children's Act, children living in a refuge have the right to attend school, during their stay, in the municipality they reside in. However, this may require facilitation by refuge staff, who may need to help children with transport to school or other needs (Eik 2017).

Paragraphs 2-1 and 7-1 of the Education Act stipulate that the municipality is responsible for helping children who cannot attend ordinary school. Pupils are entitled to free school transport if the distance from school exceeds certain limits, which are different for different age groups. If the road is particularly dangerous and difficult, pupils in grades 1–10 are entitled to school transport regardless of distance (Opplæringsloven, kapittel 7. Skyss og innlosjering). The Act of the Refuge Services also stresses that "If the child cannot use the ordinary school, the municipality must facilitate alternative solutions, such as offering teaching at the refuge" (Veilederen til Krisesenterloven, p. 18). The Education Act (1998) also states that children are entitled to a safe school environment and education adapted to their needs.

2.8.2 School experience of children living with violence and staying at the refuge

As stressed by Chanmugam, Kemter, & Goodwin, (2015), there is little research that specifically focuses on the educational needs and experiences of children at refuges. However, in the literature on children living at refuges for abused women and on the impact of domestic violence, it is noticeable that children often refer to school as a "safe place," "a haven away from home" (Buckley et al., 2007), "a relief from violence" (Erikson et al., 2013), "an escape from their situation" (Mullender, 2002), or "a way to get away from troubles at home" (Chanmugam, 2009). Hence, school is not just a place where they are to socialize and learn specific knowledge, attitudes, and skills, it is also a place where they gain distance from their difficult home situation (Erikson et al., 2013) and can get help (Øverlien, 2015; Erikson et al., 2013). Yet school experiences vary according to the complexity of the situation. School may, for example, resemble a stage where conflict between parents is played

out, a place where the abuser can threaten them, or a place where they may experience being invisible and unnoticed by others (Øverlien, 2015; Natland & Rasmussen, 2012; Frederick & Goddard, 2010; Erikson et al., 2013). A number of the children in a 2007 study by Buckley et al. on the impact of domestic violence did not have positive or successful experiences of school. Some feared being bullied if their situation was uncovered; others had a rough time with their teacher because of difficulties concentrating and struggles doing their homework when things were chaotic at home. Although some children may never show any signs of difficulties, school disruptions can be an overloading experience even for capable pupils, as they risk losing key adults and peers important to them and whom they may draw on for strength to endure the violence they are experiencing (Mullender et al., 2002).

School disruptions are a clear challenge for children and adolescents living at refuges (Bracewell, 2016; Sterne et al., 2010; Mullender et al., 2002). Such disruptions occur partly for safety reasons and an increased risk of abduction or harm from the abuser. Geographical distance is also a challenge, especially when children are relocated to refuges miles away from their home or in different cities (Mullender et al., 2002; Øverlien et al., 2009; Øverlien 2012; Sterne et al., 2010; Chanmugam 2009; Bracewell 2016). Refuges, on the other hand, may lack formalized cooperation and have poor communication with local schools to facilitate temporary school enrollment for the children living there (Chanmugam et al., 2015). They may also lack schooling alternatives when security risks are too high for the child to leave the refuge (Øverlien et al., 2009; Bracewell, 2017). The length of the refuge stay can also be an obstacle to school continuity. This is because the mother and/or the refuge employee may consider the time at the refuge too short for the child to start in a new school, especially knowing that the child may have to change schools again after the refuge stay is over (Øverlien et al., 2009). In addition, children's need for time off from school, the length of stay at the refuge, school holiday, and mothers being too exhausted to take their children to school are all reported factors that may hinder school continuity (Bufdir, 2015). In Bracewell's (2016) study in the UK on how refuges meet the needs of teenagers, over half of the 20 participating teenagers had lived in two or more refuges or alternative temporary accommodation. Teenagers reported that they were rarely given the opportunity to express their views concerning their school or refuge changes. Their school change or absence seemed to have been a source of anxiety both on the academic and the social level, and it intensified their feelings of difference and embarrassment (Bracewell, 2017).

2.8.3 School experiences of children at Norwegian refuges

Forty percent of school-aged children experienced full or partial interruption in school attendance. Reported reasons for the interruptions included safety, distance, and lack of transport options, as well as the child's need for peace and quiet and holiday breaks (Bufdir, 2017). There are, with the exception of Øverlien 2015 and Huang and Mossige 2012, few studies that directly or indirectly describe the school experiences of children living with violence and/or at refuges in Norway. The available quantitative and qualitative studies on children's experiences of domestic violence and of living at refuges (cf. Øverlien et al., 2009, 2012; Mossige & Stefansen, 2007, 2014; Mossige, Huang, Straiton, & Roen, 2016; Solberg, 2001; Natland and Rasmussen 2012) often refer only indirectly to school challenges. The studies that focus on school experiences directly are few and take the form of small studies such as master's theses (cf. Berg, 2013, Marthinsen &Torjussen, 2007; Eik, 2017).

Schoolchildren in refuges can have various feelings and concerns regarding going back to school. In Berg's study (2013) some teenagers looked forward to returning to school and meeting their friends and teachers again. They described school as a place where they finally could relax, something that they seldom felt at home. At the same time they were concerned with how they would be greeted in school by friends and staff and also worried about having to explain their absence. Other children were nervous that they would be faced with excessive demands and that the teacher would not take their situation into account. In Øverlien et al. (2009), some children also described school as a place where they could forget their problems, while others were ambivalent about returning out of fear that the abuser might discover their whereabouts, cause them physical harm, or kidnap them. Similar findings are also seen in international studies (i.e. O'Reily 2007, Mullender et al., 2002). Regarding academic achievement, children experienced knowledge loss and gaps and problems with concentration and attention that made it difficult to follow class instructions and complete schoolwork (Berg, 2013; Øverlien, 2012). Adolescents in Natland and Rassmussen study (2012) on school inconsistency, explained their school dropout as a result of domestic issues that had led to their failure to hand in schoolwork.

2.9 Impact of domestic violence on children and adolescents

Experiences of situations that include mistrust and aggressive behavior from closely related persons are especially overloading for children. Domestic violence distinguishes itself from other traumatic experiences because it disrupts the basic sense of security and trust the child often feels toward its caregivers. Research shows that children exposed to violence against

one parent have a higher risk of developing emotional and behavioral problems, both as children and later as adults (Brandtzæg et al., 2011; Stanley, 2011).

The impact of domestic violence on children and adolescents has been the subject of intensive research since the mid-1980s. Scholarly reviews in different scientific fields have produced a general consensus on the significant negative effects of domestic violence on children's (cf. Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998; Jouriles et al., 2001; Kitzmann et al., 2003; Hester, 2007; Holt, Buckley & Whelan 2008; Øverlien, 2010; Iratzoqui & Watts, 2016; Stanley, 2011; Holt, Devany & Øverlien, 2017; Stanley & Humphreys, 2015; Callaghan et al., 2015; McDonald et al., 2016; Yoon et al., 2016;). For example, early life experiences of domestic violence have been associated with behavioral problems in children (Loman, Gunnar, & Early Experience Stress, 2010), impaired cognitive functioning including language disorders (Cobos-Cali et al. 2017), and reduced well-being (Cook et al., 2005; Pechtel & Pizzagalli, 2011), difficulties with social relations and psychological health (Cloitre et al. 2017; Huang and Mossiege 2012), and problems with externalizing and internalizing and overall adjustment (Vu et al. 2016). The findings in Vatnar's Norwegian qualitative study of 157 women's past childhood experiences with domestic violence (2009) underline the long-term effects of those experiences and show that children exposed to physical violence between parents have a three times greater risk of experiencing intimate partner violence as adults than children who themselves were beaten as a child. Several recent studies report similar findings with regard to the influence of childhood experiences of domestic violence on adolescent dating victimization, and later on adult intimate partner victimization (cf. Boeckel Viola, Daruy-Filho, Martinez, & Grassi-Oliveira, 2017; Iratzoqui & Watts, 2016; Gage, 2016; Hellevik et al., 2015; Thoresen & Hjemdal, 2014; Wood & Sommers, 2011).

The literature also shows that children, like adults, react differently to violence. Siblings in the same family can have different reactions and roles in a violent context. Age, ethnicity, gender, and experiences of disability may all affect how children experience and react to violence (Stanley, 2011; Mullender et al., 2002). According to Mullender et al. (2002) and Underdown (2007), age is decisive for how a child understands, absorbs, and reacts to the experience of domestic violence. Infants and toddlers' experiences of domestic violence will naturally differ from those of older children because of their restricted mental development, and experiences and limited capacities to share their life experience with others. School-aged children have more knowledge and resources to understand what is happening and to physically protect themselves (Mullender et al., 2002). A qualitative study by Graham et al. (2017) shows that participant's beliefs about and understandings of their domestic violence

experiences during childhood can have an effect on their adjustment as adults. Those who believed that their abuser was debilitated from mental illness or substance abuse or was cruel (i.e. took pleasure in the violence) experienced greater mental problems and poor relationship quality. According to Gripe (2012), other characteristics of experiences of domestic violence that may affect the severity of children's reactions are frequency, duration, severity, and proximity. Children who experience domestic violence often feel threatened and report post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Boeckel et al., 2017).

2.9.1 Children's reactions at school

As stressed by Øverlien (2015), school is an important arena where pupils' reactions to their experiences of domestic violence and sexual abuse can be observed and reported. Pupils' reactions can manifest in different ways. Some may internalize their reactions. They may appear withdrawn and not motivated to learn and may be categorized by their teacher as "daydreamers." Others may externalize their reactions. They may be labeled "troublemakers" and difficult pupils (Moylan et al., 2010; Bowes et al., 2009; Evans, Davies, & DiLillo, 2008). Schools may define such reactions and behaviors as disorders or learning difficulties. For example, "troublemakers" who cannot sit still may mistakenly be categorized as having attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), rather than suffering from the stresses they are actually undergoing. "Daydreamers," displaying inattentiveness and lack of concentration, may be identified by professionals as struggling with attention deficit disorder (ADD) instead of PTSD, anxiety, or depression as a result of experiencing violence (Moylan et al., 2010; Boeckel et al., 2017). Similar tendencies between professionals such as teachers and psychologists were also underlined in the Norwegian Official Report "Failure and betrayal" (NOU, 2017). Children who experienced violence were given medical help for (ADHD) symptoms for many years rather help to stop their home experiences of violence (NOU, 2017).

Bullying and being bullied are other potential examples of externalizing and internalizing reactions to domestic violence. A Study by Espelage, Low, and De La Rue (2012) on the relationship between peer victimaization, family violence, and psychological outcomes of 998 pupils in the fifth to eighth grades highlights the correlation between domestic violence and different forms of peer victimization. The study also reveals that teenagers who experience severe forms of violence, run a higher risk of experiencing psychological difficulties and being involved in other forms of violence.

The symptoms and reactions children experience as a result of domestic violence can interfere with their ability to learn. A number of studies confirm that pupils may struggle with temporary cognitive failure, lowered social competence, reduced academic achievement, after experiences of domestic violence and traumatic experiences as a result of problems with focus and concentration (Schultz & Langballe, 2016; Øverlien, 2015; Chanmugam & Teasley, 2014; Byrne & Taylor, 2007). Adolescents in a study by Schultz and Langballe (2016) on the survivors of Utøya spoke about the "overload" of too much homework and too many tasks. They easily became overwhelmed and could not handle more than one thing at a time.

2.10 The teacher's role

Teachers are an essential source of support for children experiencing domestic violence and sexual abuse. They can provide one of the few opportunities for these children to receive help outside their home in the form of interventions, teacher support, or as part of preventive education (Alisic, 2012; Alisic, Bus, Dulack, Pennings, & Splinter, 2012; Nordtveit, 2015; Øverlien, 2015; Erikson et al., 2013; Raundalen & Schultz, 2016). They see pupils on a daily or yearly basis, get to know them personally, and can follow their development, learning and well-being at school. Thus, teachers have a unique possibility to follow up with pupils and provide them with help, care, advice, and/or strategies to deal with different situations when needed (Erikson et al., 2013; Øverlien, 2015). However, several factors can influence the role teachers play. These include their views of the consequences of exposure to domestic violence on pupils, their understanding of children's reactions and coping strategies, knowledge of how to provide support in practice, uncertainty about their role, and practical difficulties in implementing help strategies (Alisic, 2012). Teachers' education and understandings of their legal duties and obligations are also important factors in understanding their actions in encounters with children experiencing domestic violence (Øverlien & Moen, 2016; Øverlien, 2015). Similar findings have been reported by Albæk, Kinn, & Milde (2018) regarding the challenges faced by professionals working in different fields in addressing child adversity. The beliefs teachers hold about their competence, knowledge, skills, and personal capacity when meeting pupils experiencing difficult life situations is of great importance in order to recognize and act according to these children's needs (Dyregrov, 2006; Bandura, 1997, 1998). The following sections examine these issues using examples from the Norwegian context.

2.10.1 Teachers' Uncertainty about their: Role, Duties and Obligations

The dilemma of how to balance the school's educational role when a number of children need help dealing with traumatic stress and engaging in learning also exists at the level of the individual teacher (Ko et al., 2008; Alisic, 2012). Teachers in a number of studies have expressed uncertainty about their role and how to effectively assist children after traumatic exposure and domestic violence (Alisic, 2012, Alisic, et al. 2012; Byrne & Taylor, 2007; Wang, 2014). Teachers in Ko et al. (2008) described their role as "voluntary" or "extra-role behaviour"; i.e. actually that of a psychologist or a mental care health professional. The extent to which teachers feel that providing emotional support to pupil's experiencing adverse events is an "in-role task" rather than "extra-role behaviour" may be significant for their actions (Somech & Oprakta, 2009). According to Kos, Richdale and Hay (2006), teacher's "attitudes" toward taking up a psychological task, such conversing with pupils about a difficult issue, can be mediated by their feeling of competence, but, in line with Somech and Oprakta (2009), can also be related to their definition and understanding of their "duty" and "obligations" to children experiencing difficult life events.

In Norway, the responsibility of teachers toward children experiencing difficult life situations is laid out clearly in the regulations issued by the Norwegian Directorate for Education on the general plan for teacher education (see regulations dated December 21, 2015 see appendix 1). It mandates that by graduation, prospective teachers should be knowledgeable about children and young people in difficult life situations, including knowledge of violence and sexual abuse, and should be able to identify special needs of children and youth, including identifying signs of violence or sexual abuse, and take appropriate action (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2015). This is important since, by law, it is mandatory for Norwegian teachers to notify and report all forms of child abuse and neglect to child protective services. Teachers have three different mandatory notification duties (Øverlien, 2016). First, they have an obligation to be observant circumstances in a child's life that may require support from child protective services (*oppmerksomhetsplikt*). Second, teachers have an obligation to inform authorities if they have "reason to believe" that a child is being subjected to any form of abuse or neglect (*meldeplikt*). Third, teachers have a preventive duty (*avvergsplikt*) to inform the police or child protective services if they are "sure" or think it is "most likely" that a child has been exposed to such crimes (Øverlien, 2016). A doctoral study by Holte (2012) found that uncertainty about their role may be one reason Norwegian teachers are reluctant to address violence and inform authorities. Consequently, some of these teachers chose to avoid talking with children about the violence.

Similar findings are also reported in other masters' theses on teachers and school counsellors in a number of Norwegian cities (cf. Wego, 2017; Wang, 2014). However, as of the time of publication of this dissertation, the website of the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training did not list crisis management protocols (*beredskap og krisehåndtering*) for domestic violence. There are, for example, no recommendations for how schools and teachers should react, what actions they should take, and what help ought to be provided to these children. The website focus is rather on school management of terror threats, bullying, and natural catastrophes (cf. Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2016 & appendix 2).

2.10.2 Teacher's feelings of competence

Previous research also shows that teachers' beliefs about their own competence influence their choice of action and tend to predict their ambitions, attitudes toward innovation and change, practices, and use of strategies (Skaalvik & Skaalvik 2009; Bandura, 1997,1998). In a study in the Netherlands by Alisic (2012), teachers said they lacked competence to support pupils exposed to traumatic experiences and needed more theoretical and practical knowledge on this issue. They needed to know how and when to talk with pupils about a difficult issue and when and where to refer pupils to specialized services. Similar findings are reported among professionals from different work background in Albæk et al. (2017) review study were they expressed "feeling inadequate," i.e. lacking the necessary resources (experience and knowledge) to explore child adversity. Albæk et al. (2017) explain the feelings of inadequacy experienced by professionals as an externalization of the causes to their difficulties of emotional overload and uncertainty. Professionals in their study often referred to emotional discomfort and overload when addressing child adversity, and requested guidelines, knowledge, and guidance to improve their skills rather than interventions to help them regulate their emotional discomfort and provide them with strategies to handle uncertainty.

In Norway, despite an increased political focus and efforts to improve teacher competence, teachers and school counselors still express feeling a lack of competence and knowledge in this field (Wego, 2017; Wang, 2014; Aarhuus, 2013; Idsøe, 2013; Lindland & Kabal, 2012). Some teachers thought that their school overall lacked the competence to address issues of domestic violence and that they ought to receive more courses, while others thought competence varied from one teacher to another (Idsøe, 2013). Counselors continue to report a lack of a comprehensive and thorough plan that focuses on pupils and gives them skills to master both life and learning, regardless of whether they have experienced trauma or not. For example, preventive education is taught randomly, not systematically, and how it is taught

depends in large part on the teacher's confidence about the topic (Raundalen & Schultz, 2016). Teacher struggles with feelings of incompetence can be partly explained by inconsistent training. According to Øverlien and Holen Moen (2016), student teachers in recent years have received more education about violence and abuse, yet, most consider their education insufficient preparation for their future profession. They described their education as sporadic and their program as lacking a clear focus on issues related to this topic. However, the regulations issued by the Norwegian Directorate for Education on the general plan for teacher education (December 21, 2015 see appendix 1) mandate that by graduation prospective teachers should have knowledge about children and young people in difficult life situations, including knowledge of violence and sexual abuse, and should be able to identify special needs of children and youth, including identifying signs of violence or sexual abuse and quickly take appropriate action (see Utdanningsdirektoratet 2016 appendix 2).

2.10.3 Teachers' experiences of emotional discomfort

Fear of making the child's situation worse may be an emotionally overloading thought for many professionals working with children experiencing adversity. Albæk et al. (2017) found that several factors hindered professionals from detecting or reacting to their knowledge of a child's experiences of adversity for "fear of making it worse." They feared their inability to predict the outcome of their actions on the child. In Kraft and Eriksson (2015) and O'Malley Kelly and Cheng (2013), professionals said they might avoid talking to children about their adverse experiences for fear of inflicting more harm on them. They were worried about causing children fear, triggering flashbacks from the abuse, or exposing them to added abuse if the abuser found out about their disclosure.

In Alisic (2012), teachers talked about the emotional burden of working with these children. This included issues like taking these problems home or being reminded of personal experiences, and possibilities for of receiving support from colleagues. Teachers may also feel the need to protect themselves from the potential emotional burden of listening to children's painful stories (Alisic, 2012). According to Øverlien (2015) teachers may feel reluctant to work with traumatized children as they may wish to protect children from painful memories. Similar findings were reported in relation to the generated theme "facing evil" in Albæk et al. (2017). This theme described professional apprehension toward working with children whose experiences of adversity induced emotional discomfort in the professionals, including feelings of shame, frustration, despair, anger, and blame. Like the adults in Albæk et al. (2017), children may preserve their secret out of feelings of shame, self-blame, fear of what will

happen or disbelief, concern for self or others and loyalty to their parents, and many children refrain from sharing their experiences with friends or adults in their surroundings (Morrison, 2016; Eriksson & Näsman, 2008).

2.10.4 Teacher's beliefs of capacity: Self-efficacy

Teachers' perceptions of their capacities and abilities are of great importance to their motivation, efforts and the choices they make for and on behalf of their pupils. According to Dyregrov (2006) these beliefs are important for them to be able to recognize and act according to these pupils' needs. How teachers react, and what they do or refrain from doing can have long-term consequences for traumatized pupils' behavior at school, motivation to learn, school satisfaction, and well-being (Erikson et al., 2013, Øverlien, 2015, Danielsen, 2010, 2009; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2013, 2009). Teachers' self-efficacy, defined by Bandura (1998) as their beliefs about their capacity to perform under different sets of conditions with whatever skills they have, has a powerful impact (Bandura 1998). The findings of Øverlien and Holen Moen (2016) regarding student teachers' perspective of their insufficient education regarding violence and abuse are significant, since according to Woolfolk (1998) and Tschannen-Moran et al. (2001), teachers' beliefs about their abilities and competence may begin developing early in their teacher education. Research on the development of teacher efficacy beliefs among student teachers reveals that once their efficacy beliefs are established they appear to be somewhat resistant to change.

Previous research shows that self-efficacy influences teachers' choice of activities and how much effort they spend on them, how long they persist with struggling students or when confronting obstacles, how they deal with failures, and how stressful it is to cope with demanding situations at school (Bandura 1997, 1998). Teachers' beliefs tend to predict their ambitions, attitudes toward innovation and change, practices and use of strategies (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2009, 2014). Thus, their perceptions of capacities and abilities are of great importance to their motivation, efforts, and the choices they make for and on behalf of their pupils. Bandura (1997/1998) argues that perceived self-efficacy results from diverse sources of information and he proposes four general sources of efficacy-building information: verbal persuasion, vicarious experiences, physiological arousal, and mastery experiences. According to him, mastery experiences are the most powerful influence in fostering efficacy, as these kinds of experiences provide direct feedback regarding capabilities (Bandura, 1997). However, Bandura reminds us that individual capacity is not enough, since "personal agency operates within a broad network of socio-structural influences" (Bandura, 1997, p. 6). The

theory therefore "extends the analysis of mechanisms of human agency to the exercise of collective agency" (Bandura, 1997, p. 7). Collective efficacy is defined by Bandura (1997, p. 477) as "the groups' shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to produce given levels of attainments." Related studies show that group efficacy consensus has the strongest effect on collective teacher efficacy, and this within-group consensus may differ between schools (Newmann et al., 1989).

2.10.5 Teachers' theory implementation into practice

Teachers can facilitate a pupil's recovery by providing "coping assistance," e.g. by including emotional processing (in the form of conversations), distraction, reinstitution of familiar roles and routines, and classroom interventions (Alisic, 2012). However, the difficulties teachers have in providing pupils with optimal support can also be related to their day-to-day experience of applying their knowledge in practice. In Alisic (2012), teachers talked about the difficulty of negotiating a good balance between conflicting demands in the classroom. First, it can be hard to balance attending to one child's needs during a lesson versus the group needs. Second, teachers also said that it can be challenging to weigh the amount of trauma focus versus focus on a pupil's normal life. Third, teachers experienced difficulty in finding the balance between giving extra attention to pupils without placing them in an outcast position.

In practice, help from teachers can take different forms. It can take the form of a "silent action" (*taus handling*) (Øverlien, 2015) or as the teenagers call it in Dyregrov's (2008) study, "silent care" (*taus omsorg*). Both describe a teacher's silent reactions in the form of actions that make pupils feel seen, respected, and confirmed without being questioned, commented on, or corrected (Øverlien, 2015). According to Raundalen (2008) and Alisic (2012), adult-child conversations that in which children feel seen, heard, and confirmed can have the same effect as a therapeutic conversation. According to Schultz and Langballe (2016), such conversation can be part of trauma-informed teaching in the form of what they call a "learning conversation". Their approach is based on Howard Bath's (2008, p. 17) trauma-informed care which "involves actions to strengthen three pillars: safety, connections, and managing emotional impulses." They differentiate between the "learning conversation" (*læringssamtale*) and the "student-teacher conference (*elevsamtale*) which is mandatory for teachers to provide pupils with at least twice a year. The "learning conversation" is an extra conversation that comes after the pupil has experienced a difficult life situation. It entails that the "teacher and pupil converse about- and chart the pupil's

learning possibilities" (Schultz & Langballe, 2016, p.227, author translation). They argue that in order for the teacher to be able to help the pupil, it is important to know to what degree, in what way, and for how long the pupil's learning capacity has been reduced. Therefore, the teacher's "knowledge of what works well and what makes learning difficult, must be the basis for a systematic testing of the measures taken to promote learning" (Schultz & Langballe, 2016, p.227, author translation). They base this conversation on a proactive perspective, which means that the "læreren i kraft av sin rolle som har ansvar for å ta initiativ til slike samtaler" (Schultz & Langballe, 2016, p.227, author translation). A doctoral study by Morisson (2016) on the factors that prevent children from disclosing childhood sexual abuse identifies the "opportunity to tell" as one of the factors that affect such disclosure, and consequently encourages agencies working with children to provide children with structured and safe opportunities that enable disclosure.

Chapter 3: METHOD

3.1 Method: Article 1

The first article attached to this dissertation is a literature scoping review of the Nordic research on children living at refuges for abused women, with special focus on children with multiple refuge relocations. A scoping review was selected because of the scarcity of research on children with multiple refuge relocations. In line with Peters, Godfrey, Khalil, McInerney, Parker, & Soares (2015, p. 1), "scoping reviews are…particularly useful when a body of literature has not yet been comprehensively reviewed…They may also be undertaken as exercises in and of themselves to summarize and disseminate research findings, to identify research gaps, and to make recommendations for the future research." The purpose of scoping reviews is both to map a large range of literature and to pinpoint its gaps (Ehrich et al., 2002). They are concerned with identifying what we know and do not know about specific phenomena (Anderson et al., 2008) and aim to identify the nature and the potential size and scope of the research literature. They also attempt to be systematic, transparent, and replicable (Grant & Booth, 2009; Levac, Colquhoun & O'Brien, 2010). Scoping reviews allow for synthesis and analysis of a wide range of research and other non-research data resources in order to provide greater conceptual clarity about a specific topic (Davis et al., 2009). One such topic in my own research was personal communication. The data gathered in the first article was drawn from different resources:

- databases at Bibsys, SveMed, idunn.no, Ovid, NORART, LIBRIS, and bibliotek.dk;
- website of the refuge for abused women in the Nordic countries, which were search for relevant data (Lokk, Nok, krisesentersekriteriatet, roks, kvinnojouren, ensijaturvakotienliitto, kvennathhvarf);
- statistics from the annual refuge reports in the Nordic countries found in the above mentioned websites;
- personal communications with fellow researchers in the field stationed in Finland and Iceland, to ease language barriers;
- personal communication with umbrella organizations in Finland and Sweden;
- related Nordic websites, also searched for relevant studies (NKVTS; ATV Regjering.no; Socialstyrelsen).

3.2 Method: Articles 2 and 3

3.2.1 Involving children experiencing domestic violence in research

"Listening to children" is a relatively new approach in current research being done "with" children who experience domestic violence and children living at refuges for abused women (cf. McGee, 2000; Solberg, 2001; Mullender et al., 2002; Cunningham & Baker, 2004; Hogan & O'Reilly, 2007, Buckley, Holt & Whelan, 2007; Eriksson, Källström Cater, Dahlkild-Öhman, & Näsman,, 2008, Øverlien el al. 2009, Chanmugam, 2009; Stanley, 2011; Radford et al., 2011; Bracewell, 2017; Callaghan et al*., 2015; Mossige et al., 2016; Holt et al., 2017; Øverlien, 2016). This approach emphasizes that "children's own perceptions and actions in all areas of their lives deserve separate study if existing gaps in our understanding are to be filled" (Mullender et al., 2002 p.22). Involving children in research has enhanced our knowledge of their experiences of domestic violence, its long and short-term consequences, and what it is like for a child to live with violence on a day-to-day basis. Such knowledge is important for professionals in three domains: practitioners working with children and adolescents, researchers developing interventions and treatment methods, and government officials whose decisions can make a difference in the lives of children and adolescents (Holt et al., 2017).

This new wave in research embraces the right of children to express their views on matters concerning them and their right to freedom of expression. Both rights are well established in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and are addressed in several of the convention's articles. For example, Article 12 states that "the child who is capable of forming his or her own views [shall have] the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child", and Article 13 states that "the child shall have the right to the freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds." The UNCRC encourages a child-centered research perspective that recognizes children as "social actors" with their own experiences and understandings and argues that "children need to be taken seriously as social agents and as active constructors of their own social worlds" (Øverlien & Hydèn, 2009, p. 480). It conceptualizes their participation as an "extension of their membership rights to citizenship" (Ben-Arieh & Boyer, 2005, p 33). However, Article 36 also assigns adults the responsibility to protect children from harm when involving them in research: "States Parties shall protect the child against all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare" (UNCRC). The obligation of the researcher to provide children with both participation and protection when involving them in research can be seen as the core of an

ongoing debate about how and how much children should be involved in research. Despite a recent increase in studies engaging children's voices in research, however, they still participate in research much less than adults (Øverlien and Holt 2017; Kimball 2016; Øverlien, 2010; Mudaly & Goddard, 2009; Cunningham & Baker, 2004; McGee, 2000).

A child-centered research perspective entails not only "listening to children" verbally but also listening to their nonverbal language (Solberg, 2014; Evang & Øverlien, 2015). It requires particular attention to a number of necessary measures, including choice of method, data analysis, and research implementation (Hydén, 2014). It also raises a number of dilemmas, risks, and concerns, and has ethical, legal, and methodological implications that have been long debated in research where researchers report their own experiences in a range of contexts (cf. Holt et al., 2017, Carte & Øverlien, 2013, Solberg, 2014; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Abebe, 2009; Bone 2005; Graham, Powell, Taylor, Anderson & Fitzgerald, 2013; Ebrahim, 2010; Mudaly & Godard, 2009). In the following sections I will discuss these issues and implications in relation to my own research. I have organized them into the following categories: moral dilemmas (vulnerability); ethical issues with regards to the adult-child relationship (consent, confidentiality, and concern for well-being); and methodological challenges having to do with research design and data collection methods (grounded theory research design, interviews).

3.2.1.1 Moral dilemmas: Vulnerability

Some children are more vulnerable than others when their needs, as commensurate with their age and developmental stage, are not met. Vulnerability is often the result of a combination of factors affecting the child, the child's family, and their living environment. These factors can change as the child develops (Cooke, 1994). For example, differences in how children react to different life circumstances can be influenced by their age, ability to make sense of the situation, personality, environmental resources, and relationships with others (Grip, 2012; Stanley, 2011; Mullender et al., 2002). However, neither the causes nor the level of vulnerability for children and their families are static and both may change in response to life events, so that vulnerability can fluctuate noticeably over time (Cooke, 1994). Children experiencing domestic violence can certainly be considered a vulnerable group as a result ofliving under unsafe and unstable conditions and growing up in stressful environments. But does this mean that their participation in research is not legitimate? Can it place them at risk of harm? Is their participation not in their "best interests"?

One argument for the legitimacy of doing research with vulnerable groups is that doing so can improve support for such groups. Backe-Hansen (2001, p. 106) argues that it is "particularly important that these users or client groups become involved so that their point of view, reactions and criticisms become available." Understanding children's experiences of violence, including their thoughts, fears, actions, and perspectives, is important for developing professional practices and interventions that work for children based on children's own understanding of their needs. It better equips professionals with the knowledge to develop support interventions suitable for these children (Carter & Øverlien, 2013; Becker-Blease & Freyd, 2006). Further, involving children who experience domestic violence in research that describes their living conditions, needs and life situations may have an empowering effect on them. Children can, for example, feel empowered by knowing that their participation might help professionals working with children to better understand and help other children in similar situations in the future (Carter & Øverlien 2013).

Mudaly and Goddard (2009) stress that researchers should consider the risk of causing further harm in all child abuse research that involves children who have been abused. Thus, "specific measures that address their rights to protection and care must be integral to the research design" Mudaly and Goddard (2009, p. 269–270). They recommend utilizing child-centered counseling techniques as part of the research interview to provide children with a safe place where they feel they will be heard and given time to think. Such techniques might include the use of activity books for the research, involving children in taking photos, or making diaries, drawings, or videos. Many children may at some point be made particularly vulnerable because of experiences of poverty, political violence, natural disasters, or war (Backe-Hansen, 2012). Therefore, it can be important to reflect on the sort of questions they are asked in the course of the research, to avoid the possibility of reactualising past difficult experiences (Kjørholt, 2012). Many of the children participating in my research come from countries where there is a risk that they will have experienced one more of these difficult life situations, in addition to their experiences of domestic violence. To protect children in my study from the possibility of reactualising past experiences, I used child-centered counseling techniques in the research interview. For example, I allowed reasonable space for interactive communication with children about the topic, aim, and outcome of the research. During this process I explained that my research did not involve them elaborating directly on the violence they had experienced, but it would engage them in conversing and reflecting about the services and help they received in their daily lives in and out of refuges.

The concept of the "child's best interest" certainly implies protecting children from harm and being overloaded with responsibility. However, allowing children to influence important decisions in their lives also lies at the heart of this concept (Kvello, 2008; Bellon, 2002). According to Halila and Lötjönen (2003, p.36), "children can make valid decisions if they are given adequate, non-coercive information about research in the language they understand. They can weigh the benefits and harms depending on the views they have about the world they experience and about things that are important to them." Children as young as four are capable of choosing whether they want to take part in research about topics of concern to them, as long as they get to decide when and where it suits them to do so (Øverlien, 2017). Thus, giving children the right to choose to participate in research reinforces their integrity as complex human beings with unique thoughts and emotions. It compels us to treat them as "active beings" with unique input on and comprehension of themselves and their surroundings, and not as "human becomings" waiting to acquire the cognitive and social skills of mature adult rationality (Prout & James, 1997, Balen, Blyth, Calabretto, Fraser, Horrocks, & Manby, 2006). In line with the research ethics discussed above and embedded in the moral principles of the Declaration of Helsinki for the protection of human research subjects, my research takes into consideration the well-being of participating children, as stated in paragraph 6 of the Declaration, and the child's right to participation (Giordano, 2010).

3.2.1.2 Consent

The processes of obtaining ethical approval and informed consent for children's participation in research vary greatly across European countries. In the absence of any international consensus for ethical standards on conducting research with children, these processes are governed by national laws and regulations. In Norway, the consent of the child, whether verbal or written, must be secured before conducting research. However, under Norwegian law regarding research consent, children under 16 may participate in research but need parental consent (Holt et al., 2017).

Parental consent is not always possible to obtain. In some cases there may be a conflict of interest between parent and child. In the context of domestic violence and abuse, consent is a complicated issue. In cases where children are recruited to talk about their experiences as a result of or in connection with domestic violence, parents (especially the abusive parent) may, for instance, be reluctant to give consent for fear that the child might disclose unwanted information about the family (Kinard, 1985; Backe-Hansen, 2012; Hart, 2012; Cater & Øverlien, 2014).

In the case of children living at refuges, the special circumstances in which the family finds itself makes getting consent from both parents difficult. When mothers and children come to a refuge they often do so secretly, without the knowledge of the husband/father. This secrecy is important to their safety. Refuge employees take an oath of confidentiality that prevents them from contacting the father and informing him of the whereabouts of mother and child. For the same reasons, researchers are cautious about contacting the father to ask for his consent, as doing so may jeopardize the child's safety (cf. Solberg, 2001; Mullender et al., 2002; Øverlien et al., 2009; Buckley et al., 2007). Therefore, in my research, the mother's written consent for her child's participation and the verbal consent of the child were vital for its legality (see appendix 3 information letter and consent for the mother, and appendix 4 information letter and consent for the refuge).

However, in some cases consent from the mother may be hard to obtain. Mothers may feel want protect their children from further harm and therefore refuse to let them participate in research that might remind them of previous experiences of violence. On the other hand, it is important to note that, if a mother gives consent only reluctantly, children might not feel comfortable participating. Even if they want to participate, a sense of loyalty toward their mother can hinder them from participating freely and voicing their opinions without reservation (Mullender et al., 2002; Øverlien, 2012; Backe-Hansen, 2012).

For the interviewer, sensitivity to children's nonverbal language throughout the interview is necessary to make certain of not only their well-being but also their consent. When children signal their discomfort with answering certain questions, fidget, or avoid eye contact with the researcher, these can all be signs that it is time for a break, but also that they want to discontinue the interview (Holt et al., 2017; Gamst, Langballe, Raundalen & Øvereeide, 2006). Even when children are aware that they have the right to discontinue their participation with any consequences, it can at times be difficult to say so. Accordingly, the terms "ongoing consent" (Holt et al., 2017), "fluid consent," (Larkins, 2014) and "provisional consent" (Flewitt, 2005) all define consent "as a continuing process" (Cashmore, 2006 p.971) that goes beyond the initial agreement to participate and seeks to ensure children's consent throughout the research processes. This can be achieved through awareness and sensitivity to the child's body language, whereby the researcher continuously evaluates the situation for the child during the research, and if necessary decides, in agreement with the child, to discontinue his or her participation (Holt et al., 2017). In my research, I continuously evaluated children's verbal and nonverbal language, both through observation and by verbally asking them about their feelings regarding their participation both during and after the interview session.

3.2.1.3 Confidentiality

The protection of privacy, as stated by Maldy and Goddard (2009) is a basic right of all research participants and therefore assuring them anonymity is of importance. Particularly in the presentation of research results, securing participant anonymity is essential in order to ensure their confidentiality and privacy (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). I knew that by the end of my study, many of the participating children and their mothers might have returned to their abusers, and their safety was therefore vital. For this reason, children were recruited for this study from several refuges, and their personal information, including names and locations, was not reported, with age and gender being the sole exceptions. Ensuring the confidentiality of child research participants requires that whatever they disclose be respected and safeguarded by the researcher. Such an agreement is important for children to feel confident that parents or other professionals will not have access to what they disclose (Graham et al., 2013). This can be especially salient for children who experience domestic violence, as they may wish not to overload the abused parent or may be afraid of the abusive parent or the involvement of the child welfare system (Raundalen, 2008; Mullender et al., 2002).

There can be an extra aspect to confidentiality when doing fieldwork with children who experience domestic violence. In such cases, confidentiality must be weighed against the researcher's "obligation to report" to the child welfare office any disclosure by the child of abuse or harm from another person (Cashmore, 2006, Kinrad, 1985). In Norway, this obligation to report is mandated as a "personal duty" (meldeplikt) (Øverlien, 2015). In such cases, it may be difficult for children to understand the meaning of confidentiality versus the obligation to report. With respect to the right of children to freely choose to participate in research and to choose what they disclose, it is important to inform them about the researcher's "obligation to report" at the beginning of the interview. This information may affect their decision to participate or make them decide to hold back information (Carter & Øverlien, 2013). According to Carter and Øverlien (2013), children's decisions about what to reveal and what to withhold are linked to how much they trust the researcher to keep his or her word. Building trust is therefore essential. Thus, children in my research were provided with this information at the beginning of the interview and were reminded of it as necessary during the interview session. I took time to clear up any misconceptions they had, explain why I was obligated to report to the authorities, and tell them how this reporting would be done if necessary. By providing the children with this information, my aim was to reassure

them of my trustworthiness and honesty in the hopes of counteracting their possible fear of reporting.

The issue of confidentiality can include yet another dimension: the dissemination of results, which some children may understand as a breach of a promise (Backe-Hansen, 2012). In my research, the research process and the importance of disseminating the results were thoroughly explained to children and their mothers before starting the interviews. Children were given the opportunity to anonymize their own names by choosing "nicknames." Both mothers and children were offered the opportunity to receive a written copy of the results.

3.2.1.4 Concern for well-being

Concern for the well-being of child research participants is one of the rights declared in Article 36 of the UNCRC, which addresses the responsibility of adults to protect children from all forms of prejudicial exploitation. Interviewing children about sensitive topics can stimulate unwanted emotions or memories (Solberg, 2014; Kjørholt, 2012; Mudaly & Goddard, 2009). Sensitivity by the interviewer to the child's nonverbal language throughout the interview is necessary to help ensure the child's well-being. For example, if children signal that they are not comfortable answering particular questions, the interviewer should not repeat the question, insist on an answer, or ask more questions on the same topic. If necessary, the interviewer should be prepared to stop the interview earlier than planned. According to Solberg (2014) when children feel appreciated and understood by a listening adult (i.e. the researcher), it can provide them with a supportive experience that can be helpful during a difficult life situation (Solberg, 2014). Similarly, in other studies, children who experience domestic violence have expressed a need to be seen, reassured, and listened to, and can therefore experience the interview situation as a meaningful one (cf. Mullender et al., 2002; McGee, 2000; Stanley, 2011).

Like adults, children may feel the need to talk about their experiences and perhaps say more than what is expected: so-called "over-disclosure" (McGee, 2000; Mudaly, 2002; Mudaly & Goddard, 2001; Øvereide, 2009). However, recent research (cf. Callaghan 2017; Evang & Øverlien 2015) shows that children can, in fact, regulate and manage their experiences of disclosure. In Evan and Øverlien (2015), an analysis of verbal and nonverbal discourse by children aged 4–7 about domestic violence showed that these young children were able to communicate important aspects of what it means to live in a family with domestic violence in ways that allowed them to regulate, limit, and take the lead in the interviews. A European study by Callaghan et al. (2017) on children's and adolescents'

disclosure of domestic violence stressed that they can be articulate, strategic, and reflexive communicators. Their findings show that children and adolescents can manage disclosure in three different ways: by practicing self-silencing (i.e. being silent or choosing silence); by finding ways to manage disclosure safely; and by speaking with many voices, e.g. shifting between adult, child, and professional voices when narrating their stories. Although not all dimensions of the research can be measured beforehand, the awareness of potential distress may lessen probable negative experiences of research participation (Mudaly & Goddard, 2009).

In my research, I paid careful attention to over-disclosure during the interview so that children would not feel that the interviews were humiliating or exploiting. Over-disclosure was avoided by gently reminding children of the topic of discussion whenever they moved to a topic that was not part of the interview. Concern for their well-being included not only choosing what type of questions to ask during the interview, but also my responsibility to inform the authorities if a child disclosed experiences of ongoing abuse and/or a need for further help. During my fieldwork such concerns arose in two cases, for two children who disclosed for the first time their difficulties in controlling flashbacks of their experiences of domestic violence. After speaking with the children and in agreement with them, I informed the non-violent parent and the refuge employee of these difficulties and that the children might need further professional help.

3.2.1.5 Adult-child relationship in research

Adults are authority figures for children and may therefore prevent them from freely expressing their opinions and thoughts (Backe-Hansen, 2012; Alldred, 1998). Curtin (2001 p. 297) explains the role that adult authority can play in conversations with children "when an adult asks children questions, the children may think there is a right answer that the adult, as the authority, already knows. As a result, children may try to guess at an answer instead of expressing their own thoughts." Power in the adult-child relationship and its effect on how comfortable children feel revealing and freely discussing their thoughts with researchers has been debated in the context of using interviews with children as a research method (Solberg, 2014; Gamst, 2011; Buckley et al, 2007; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). There have been few discussions, however, of how researchers can manage this power difference, which is an issue especially salient in domestic violence research (Carter & Øverlien, 2013). According to Carter and Øverlien (2013), a balance between "closeness" and "distance" to the child is important in order to mitigate such a circumstance. This can be established by clarifying the

role of the researcher at the very beginning of the research. Clearly delineating the role of the researcher will help children clarify faulty expectations regarding any possible mixed feelings of friendship or assistance toward the researcher**.** It may, eventually, regulate the dynamics in the interview session and support the researcher in maintaining his or her role. Carter and Øverlien further recommend occasionally reminding children of the researcher's role during the interview, as they may get carried away and forget. In my research this clarification took place at the beginning of the interview process (see interview). To maintain distance and avoid confusing my role as a researcher with that of a helper, children were directed to contact the refuge employees if they needed support after the interview session.

A common research finding is that many children living in refuges have not spoken about their difficulties, worries, and thoughts concerning their situation to many people or perhaps to anyone before their refuge stay (Solberg, 2001, 2014; Carter & Øverlien, 2013). According to Hart (2012), children who have been deprived of attention and affection from adults can rapidly develop an attachment toward researchers who express interest in their lives. They might feel abandoned when the research is over and the person they have learned to call a **"**friend" is gone. Establishing a rapport with children is important in order for them to open up and feel comfortable talking to researchers. However, for them, a kind adult who pays attention to them can become a friend. Other children living in refuges might also confuse the role of the researcher with that of a helper, like any other adult working in the refuge. In such cases, it can be frustrating for children when they disclose their needs to the researcher without seeing an effect on their immediate situation (Kjørholt, 2012).

In my research I used three different approaches to strengthen the power position of the children involved in my research. First, I gave them the position of the expert on my research topic. According to Curtin (2001), by clarifying their own role and conveying their desire to learn from the child, researchers can reduce the power discrepancy between researcher and child. Second, I gave children the freedom to participate in or drop out of the research project whenever they wanted. I did not treat the interview guide as a checklist but instead tried to give children a free space to talk about matters of concern to them. According to Backe-Hansen (2012), such freedom can be empowering for children as it gives them a sense of control and can therefore help correct the power imbalance in their relationship with the researcher. Third, I explained to children that "children know best what children need" and that their perspectives on their needs could help adults working with children to better understand the needs of children living at refuges. This knowledge could improve the quality of services offered to children experiencing domestic violence and living at a refuge.

According to Backe-Hansen, "children and young people may give altruistic reasons for participating in research, arguing that they want to help others in the same situation as themselves" (2012, p.116). The idea that they might benefit others by voicing their opinions may indirectly provide them with a sense of empowerment (cf. Buckley et al, 2007; Carter & Øverlien, 2013; Stafford et al, 2007; Bracewell, 2017). Many of the children in my study had experienced losing friends after having to change homes and make multiple refuge stays. Thus, the issue of relationships was an important topic that I was sensitive to when conducting research on this group of children. Special attention and priority were given to the children with regard to the aforementioned relationship issues throughout the research process.

3.2.2 Research design

The design of the present study is qualitative and uses grounded theory following Kathy Charmaz' constructivist approach. The study design involved collecting data through empirical investigation using interviews with children who had experienced multiple refuge relocations for abused women in Norway.

3.2.2.1 Grounded theory

Grounded theory (GT) was first developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 as a standpoint from which to defend qualitative research at a time when quantitative research had gained dominance in sociology, as in other fields. The common perception of qualitative research, at that time, was that it was mainly of exploratory use or of use for constructing more precise quantitative instruments. In Charmaz's words, the aim of grounded theory is "to move qualitative inquiry beyond descriptive studies into the realm of explanatory theoretical frameworks" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6). Glaser and Strauss responded to the methodological debate and the criticism of qualitative research in their day in their initial statements of grounded theory, which they developed through their studies of the social organization of dying in 1965. Both Glaser and Strauss brought different traditions from their disciplines and research experiences to the construction of what is now called "classic grounded theory." Strauss, for example, emphasized field research and viewed individuals as active agents, while Glaser's quantitative research training aimed at creating an analogous codification of qualitative methods. Grounded theory is an innovative methodology that allows for "the discovery of theory from data" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 1). It starts with the raw data gathered and systematically raises the conceptual level of analysis while retaining a solid base

in the data. Therefore, it promotes "developing theories from research grounded in data rather than deducing testable hypotheses from existing theories" (Charmaz, 2006, p.4).

Grounded theory is an effective research strategy for investigating understudied topics (Payne, 2007; McCann & Clark, 2003). The approach is widely used in qualitative research and is particularly suited for explorative studies. A number of unique methodological elements differentiate grounded theory from other research methodologies. These include its constant comparative analysis, which demands doing data collection and analysis in a concurrent rather than linear sequence; systematic guidelines; memoing (i.e. shorthand writing, free-writing); and theoretical sampling (Dunne, 2011).

Grounded theory argues that its practitioners must "learn not to know' (Glaser 1992). This can means avoiding engagement with the literature, but may also include the researcher's preconceived ideas, assumptions, problem statement, interview protocols, or extensive review of literature and understandings prior to entering the field of study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In Glaser and Strauss (2014): 'Without preconceptions our minds are free to see things as they are so we can apply with trust in a favorable outcome" (2014, p. 48).

3.2.2.2 Constructivist approach to grounded theory

Shortly after the initial formulation of grounded theory, it was apparent that there were a number of "philosophical differences between Glaser and Strauss in the process of theory generation with different emphasis on induction, deduction and verification and also in the form that theory should take" (Heath and Cowley 2004, p.143), and since its initial development, various divergent forms and adaptations of grounded theory have emerged (cf. Wells, 1995; Cooney, 2010; Strauss and Corbin 1997; Bryant & Charmaz 2010). The constructivist approach to grounded theory is one such approach. It builds on and revises the original statements and strategies of Glaser and Strauss, and argues that theorists can adopt the guidelines of grounded theory without importing its positivist assumptions. The constructivist approach differs from the classical version of grounded theory by taking a different direction as regards data collection and epistemology. In contrast to Strauss and Glaser's positivist approach, which perceives "reality as unitary and, for most part, self-evident," the inherently relativist constructivist approach "assumes multiple, layered realities that shift and change under different conditions" (Bryant & Charmaz 2010, p.408) and perceives grounded theory as an interpretive theory. In contrast to Glaser and Strauss's strict guidelines for data collection, Charmaz's constructivist approach treats grounded theory strategies as flexible guidelines and has its roots in social constructionism. This means that

the researcher is part of the research process. As Charmaz (2006, p.129) states: "We interact with the data and create theories about it. But we do not exist in a social vacuum." Thus, the constructivist acknowledges the interaction between the participant and the views of the researcher and therefore stresses that the theory developed is an interpretation of both. Unlike Strauss and Glaser, constructivists "argue that all knowledge flows from standpoints, both those preceding inquiry and occurring within it" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010, p. 408). Therefore, they allow researchers to engage in reflexivity during the research process by being attentive to both their own and the researched standpoint. The data thus gathered and analyzed is a product of both shared experiences and relationships with the participants and other means of data such as observation (Charmaz, 2014). In other words, the constructivist approach encourages researchers to approach the studied phenomenon with an open, rather than an empty mind (Charmaz, 2006 & 2008).

In my research I explore the process of spending a childhood "in and out of refuges." Given the scarcity of pre-existing knowledge on this process, grounded theory corresponds to the purpose of my research: to study in depth an unexplored phenomenon. The constructivist approach to grounded theory gave me room to bring my preconceptions, knowledge and experiences into the field. It offered me space to reflect on my own assumptions through contentiously interacting with the data when analyzing and through writing memos (see 3.2.2.4.5 data analysis using grounded theory method). Prior to the fieldwork, I attended a five days course with Charmaz which provided basic knowledge on how to develop and plan a grounded theory project (see appendix 5).

3.2.2.3 Recruiting procedures and getting access

Existing research on the various gatekeeping systems indicates that they are mostly adult-centered. They continue to regard children as dependents who require protection from issues and questions that "might upset them" or "make them worry" and therefore may deny children the opportunity to participate in research (Mulday & Goddard, 2009; Backe-Hansen, 2012). The gatekeeping systems in my research fall into three groups: refuge administration, child coordinators, and mothers as detailed below:

3.2.2.3.1 Gatekeeper 1: Refuge administrators

At the very beginning of the study, as part of the recruiting process, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to present my project at the yearly refuge seminar organized by the The Norwegian Crises Centre Secretariat (*Krisesentersekreteriatet*) umbrella organization in June 2014. This gave me the chance to present my project to refuge staff at all levels from cities

across Norway. Between January and May 2014 I was in telephone contact with 18 different refuge administrations (gatekeeper 1), followed by emails with an enclosed informational letter and contract of participation (see appendix 3). Twelve of the refuges I contacted chose to participate and signed and returned the participation contract. Thereafter, each refuge administrator appointed a contact person (gatekeeper 2) at the refuge: a staff member who primarily worked with children (child coordinator). According to Wanat (2008), gatekeepers at the top of an organization may deny research even after acceptance is gained at the lower level. Therefore, being granted access by administration may, for various reasons, not always guarantee cooperation.

In the case of my research, only five of the twelve participating refuges took an active part in the process of recruiting informants. There might be many reasons for this. The pressure of the workload for the refuge employees, the feasibility of implementing the research with the refuge resources, or a responsibility to protect the informants from harm could all be reasons that might hamper cooperation.

3.2.2.3.2 Gatekeeper 2: The child coordinators

The majority of refuges in Norway have one employee working with children, while a few may have several child coordinators (Bufdir, 2016). The child coordinators helped inform colleagues about the research project, contacted potential informants based on written criteria, and obtained consent from mothers and children to participate in the study. The child coordinators played an important role in reassuring mothers and building a safe bridge between mothers and the researcher. The researcher was contacted when a family agreed to participate (see recruiting criteria appendix 6).

At the time I did my fieldwork, there was no accessible, systematic registration of the target group at the refuges. In addition, written documents that might confirm children's previous stays at a refuge are usually shredded two years after their last stay. This means that children who return to the same refuge after more than two years can be registered as first-timers, unless they are recognized/identified by a longtime refuge employee. Therefore, the recruitment process relied on the ability of child coordinators to identify these children, and this was dependent upon on how long they had worked at the refuge.

A number of refuge coordinators explained their inability to participate as a result of their limited experience with this group of children, either because of the

recent establishment of their refuge, or because they were new to their positions and therefore had a limited overview of the target group over the last several years. At one refuge, the child coordinator had to investigate whether this specific group of children existed at their refuge under its former administration. Another coordinator at a different refuge said that the very small, almost nonexistent number of children in this group at their refuge over the last five years was related to an increased frequency of reports to child protective services when mothers returned to their abusers.

Others cited the conditions of the children as a reason for not recruiting. Two child coordinators expressed concern about a possible informant and decided not to recruit the child based on their evaluation of the child's conditions.

In addition, at any given refuge, employees may have varying attitudes toward doing research with children. This may affect coordination among staff in following up on the established cooperation with the researcher, which can affect the recruiting process. Further, many coordinators have a demanding workload, which may be one reason why some did not answer follow-up emails or phone calls, were not available, or forgot to follow up with previously promised assistance.

3.2.2.3.3 Gatekeepers 3:Mothers

Mothers, the third level of gatekeepers, received the informational letter describing the study. Understandably, they had a protective point of view and were mostly skeptical about participating. According to the refuge employees, and based on my direct conversations with the mothers, they wanted their children to forget their experiences and therefore did not want them to remember the violence in conversation with the researcher. The majority of mothers were reassured by the fact that the researcher was a former refuge employee as a relief, and this played a role in their agreeing to allowing their children to participate. Not all mothers consented to their children's participation. One might reason that these women had incentives for avoiding having their children participate in research. However, it was noticeable that mothers who allowed their children to participate were those who either had made the decision to leave the abuser, or who had already moved to a safe home without him. The child coordinator contacted me when a family consented to participation.

3.2.2.4 Informants

The target group was children aged 6–16 who had made at least one previous stay at a refuge. A condition of participation was that the children be living in a safe environment at the time of being interviewed, in order to ensure their emotional and physical safety. Informants were

gathered from five different refuges in different cities in Norway, to increase both anonymity and the possibility of recruiting enough participants during limited fieldwork.

During the fieldwork period in 2013–2014, a total of 20 children were recruited. The refuges these children were recruited from are organized under two umbrella groups: The Norwegian Crises Centre Secretariat (*Krisesentersekreteriatet*) and Norwegian Crises Organization (*Krisesenterforbundet*). The recruited children had experienced between two and seven relocations at the same or different refuges for abused women. Seven were boys and 13 girls. In addition to the 20 informants, five potential interview candidates were excluded from the study for ethical reasons, including emotional condition as evaluated by the refuge employees, safety, and last but not the least willingness to participate. Some children were not included because of an absence of consent from their mother or refuge, on both the administrative and employee levels. Child protective services were involved in nine of the cases and the police in two cases. The participants can be divided into three age groups. The following table gives a detailed breakdown of the number of children in each group and age and gender.

Age group/number and gender	4-7 years		8-12 years		13-16 years	
Number	4		12		4	
Gender	3 boys	1 girl	4 boys	7 girls	0 boys	4 girls

The majority of the participants (16) had an Asian background; two were of Nordic origin and two from European countries outside of Norway. This is consistent with the annual statistics on the ethnic backgrounds of children living at Norwegian refuges. In 2016, 61% of children living at refuges for abused women in Norway had an ethnic background other than Norwegian (cf. Bufdir, 2016). All children spoke fluent Norwegian except for two. These two spoke English well. Since the researcher spoke both English and Norwegian, there was no need to hire an interpreter. Two of the informants had special needs and the interviews were shortened to accommodate their needs. Informants were given the opportunity to choose their anonymized research "nickname."

3.2.2.5 Interviews
The qualitative interview is one of the most-used methods for exploring children's perspectives and thoughts on their lives, including their experiences of violence (cf. Mullender et al., 2002; Buckley et al, 2007; Øverlien et al., 2009; Chanmugam, 2009;

Bracewell, 2017). However, interviews can have pitfalls, including their formal structure, the fact that children may struggle with wanting to give the "correct" answer, and the dynamics of adult-child relationships. Therefore, interviews need to be designed and tailored to meet children's needs (see also the sections above on vulnerability, adult-child relationship) (Greene & Hogan, 2005; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Øvereide, 2009). Children are, for example, in constant development and therefore their needs and abilities to communicate differ according to their levels of development (Mudaly & Goddard, 2009; Carter & Øverlien, 2013; Solberg, 2014). Their verbal competence as observed in their ability to express and comprehend abstract ideas, reflexive abilities, interest in reflection may differ from child to child within the same age group as well as across age groups (Andenæs, 2012; Brinkmann, 2014; Solberg, 2014). Some children may demonstrate greater dependence on nonverbal language (pitch and tone of voice, facial expressions, and body language) and on silence as a means of communication (Callaghan et al., 2017; Mudaly & Goddard, 2009; Curtin, 2001).

In my research, I was sensitive to the fact that children and adults have different communicative styles. Therefore, I generally avoided using complex language, instead approaching children with "kid's language." The interview language was further adapted to each specific child's level of understanding and needs. Other nonverbal techniques, such as drawing, were also used to elicit children's perspectives. To avoid putting children in new settings, interviews were conducted at the refuge, except in the case of one family, where the interview was conducted during school for practical reasons. This was regardless of whether the family was living at the refuge at the time of the interview or had already moved out. The refuge was a familiar place. Conducting the interviews there made it possible to reduce unnecessary feelings of anxiety. I conducted all of the interviews except for three interviews that were conducted by my primary doctoral advisor, Carolina Øverlien.

The interviews took place in a separate room at the refuge. In most cases, this was the room/office that was used as a conversation room for children: a one-on-one conversation room or meeting room. Interviews were 30–45 minutes long and their duration was adjusted in accordance with the child's needs. All interviews were audio-recorded. Children were allowed to have a safe adult with them during the interview (Two children requested this: Lucinda, age 11, and Sjur, age 9). Three interview guides were developed, one for each of the different age groups (4–7, 8–12, 13–17) (see Appendix 7,8,9). Before data collection could begin, the project was registered with the Norwegian Social Science Data Service, NSD (see Appendix 10). Data collection took place in several phases of fieldwork and in parallel with

data analysis. Three interviews took place in two sessions with the same child, while the rest were done at different periods during the fieldwork.

3.2.2.5.1 Developing the interview guide

The interview guide was developed in two phases, before and after piloting. Both the design and questions were changed before the final version was reached. The purpose of the guide was to ensure that all interviews were initiated and conducted similarly and that themes were clearly introduced to the informants. The aim of the interview was to listen to children, not interrogate them. Therefore, I used interview guides as a preparation for the interview session, not as a checklist, and made use of the questions as needed to guide the co-production of data together with the children. Interviews were done in several different phases.

Phase one: Before piloting

The original plan was to gather data through "intensive interviewing" with children. The strength of this interviewing method in grounded theory lies in its conversational rules. The method "fosters eliciting each participant's interpretation of their experience" (Charmaz, 2006 P.25). It was thought that this method would be useful, as it permits in-depth exploration of a topic or experience (Charmaz, 2006). Constructivists emphasize that the interaction between interviewer and interviewee greatly informs how the interview develops and the direction it takes (Charmaz, 2008 & 2011). The first interview guide contained open-ended questions that invited participants to describe and reflect on their own experiences (Wolcott, 2009). The questions were based on previous research on children living at refuge for abused women (cf. Øverlien et al., 2009; Chanmugam, 2009), children experiencing domestic violence (Mullender et al., 2002; Buckely et al., 2007; Stanley, 2011), and crisis education (*krisepedagogik*) (cf. Raundalen & Schultz, 2006). The themes used in the guide were inspired by topics that children with multiple refuge relocations are occupied with, as expressed in previous studies of children experiencing violence and living at refuges for abused women (cf. Mullender et al., 2002; Solberg, 2001; Øverlien et al., 2009; Chanmugam, 2009). These themes included security, secrecy, school continuity, contact with friends, help at school, help at the refuge, life at the refuge (board, prisoned, activities, privacy), and differences between refuges. In addition, research indicated that children who go through multiple relocations have different school experiences. Some continued at the same school while living at a refuge; others changed schools or had to stop going to school. These experiences were also considered when developing the interview guide. The guide was divided into three sections: an introduction (information about the project and their rights);

background information about the child, their multiple refuge experiences, contacts with friends and social network; and a section on school experiences. The latter was divided into three categories: children who were absent from school, children who changed schools, and children who continued at their same school. At the end of the guide I also included a few questions about how children experienced of the interview session (see Appendix 7,8,9).

Phase two: After piloting
After piloting this template I found that children were more confused than encouraged to talk. Children needed concrete and direct questions. Reasons might be related to the chaos of thoughts and feelings these children were trying to deal with during their refuge stay and after their move. Direct questions seemed to help them sort out and reach their answers easily. A few of the interviews needed more effort on my part to ask questions and may feel to the reader like an interrogation. However, children responded to these questions in different ways. Some corrected my thoughts, saying, for example, "no, it was not like that"; others explained thoroughly to make me understand; and some ignored my questions and talked about something else. The latter response could be understood in a number of ways, for instance as a sign of disinterest, as a strategy for not disclosing, or a signal that the question felt irrelevant to their story.

Therefore, I changed the interview method to a semi-structured type of interview and produced three more interview guides, one for each age group (4–7, 8–12, and 13–17 years). The first part, the introduction, was not changed from the previous guide. The second section dealt with children's refuge relocations, with questions about their experiences of making multiple refuge stays and their thoughts about life at the refuge. Questions about security measures were linked to their refuge histories and the restrictions it entailed. The third section dealt with social networks and included questions about what kinds of contacts children had with family and friends during their refuge stays. The fourth section dealt with children's school experiences during their refuge stays. These questions were divided into three categories: children who did not attend school while living in a refuge, children who continued attending at the same school, and children who changed schools. The questions were intended to explore how children experienced their time at school and expectations, feelings and thoughts they linked to their time back in school. Some of the questions concerned their experiences with their teachers and possibly other adults at the school. It was desirable to investigate whether they experienced changes in their school day, school work or

homework, and transport to school, and whether they experienced any adjustments at school. The questions also explored their experiences with friends in the school context.

Although the new applied interview had a few direct questions, children were encouraged to talk freely, and I followed their lead to allow them to bring up topics important to them. For example, their strategies at school were not part of the interview guide, but was a topic they brought up themselves. The semi-structured interviews seemed to produce a friendly conversation and ensure both structure and room for children to initiate topics at their own pace. This method best served both my informants and my research as it permitted an in-depth exploration of their experiences while still providing them with necessary structure.

Implementation of interviews

1. Prior the interview

Prior to interviewing each child, I conducted a short conversation with the child's mother, when needed, to inform her about the research, answer questions, and clear up any misunderstandings. This conversation had a two-way effect. It helped lessen the worry and fear of some mothers regarding their child's participation in research, and it made children feel more comfortable in their contact with me when they saw I had a good dialogue with their mother. In addition, when it was possible, I spent half a day with the interviewees one day prior to the interview session to help them feel more relaxed about talking with an unfamiliar adult. The venue and timing of this activity depended upon how free the family was to move about outside the refuge. When safety was a concern, we would stay at the refuge, play games, eat a meal together, and chat as a way to get to know one another. This was not possible with all informants. However, I prioritized it whenever it was possible because I noticed it had a positive effect on the interviews.

2. At the beginning of the interview

After obtaining the mother's consent and spending time with the child I developed a degree of closeness with them in a secure way. According to Carter and Øverlien (2013) both closeness and distance to child informants are required for ethical research design. Closeness can be understood as the researcher's attempt to step into the child's world while treating each child as the expert of their own world. Since all research comes to an end, research also needs to involve distance for theoretical reflection that goes beyond the data to enable the development of theory and generalizability of knowledge. For this reason, at the beginning of each interview I took enough time to explain my role as a researcher and gave children time to reflect on it and ask questions about it, such as: What do researchers do? What do they not

do? What is research and why is it done? During the interview, when a child seemed to need support or to need to talk about a particular topic that was not part of the research, I referred the child to the refuge employee responsible for him or her. To solidify my professional distance to the children, it was important to draw a clear boundary between my role as a researcher and the role of a helper or a therapist (Carter & Øverlien, 2013), as discussed earlier in the section on the adult-child relationship.

To lessen the effect of the issue of power in my research, I took enough time at the beginning of the interview sessions to empower children by making sure they understood their rights with regard to their participation in the interview. I started each interview with a short introduction of myself. I said a little about myself and my background, where I work, and what I do, and gave them a chance to ask questions. In this way I was able to clear up misunderstandings regarding my role, their role in the research, and their expertise, as well as explain how their perspectives were of great importance to help adults be better helpers for children with experiences similar to their own. I explained that they had the right to participate or not, and to stop participating at any time. The aim of this chat was to provide children with empowerment through feelings of control: to let them feel autonomy and self-determination (see interview introduction appendix 10). Also at the beginning of the interviews, I allowed children to familiarize themselves with the audio recording equipment and engaged them in activities such as drawing or a game, depending on their preferences.

3. During the interview session

After introducing the project and myself, I tried to mitigate the formal structure and setting of the interview by using life-span drawings. At the beginning of the interviews, the children and I together drew life-span maps of their refuge stays that also identified their schooling and whom they had spoken to during their refuge relocations (refuge employees, teachers, officers from child protective services, friends, and family) (see Figures 1,2,3). I used these maps as the basis for the interview conversations. The maps made it easier for children to follow their line of thinking to identify, clarify and verbalize their feelings, and also meant they did not have to always look at the researcher while answering, as both researcher and child could focus on the map. Children were asked about the following topics: background, experience of multiple relocations, different experiences at the refuges, friends, and experiences at school (see interview guide, appendix 7, 8, 9).

3.2.2.5.2 Transcribing the data

The interviews were transcribed in as much detail as possible, with the goal of preserving nonverbal language, feelings, and tone of voice (Birkmann, 2014). They were directly transcribed using "word for word transcription." Transcriptions were made immediately after the interview session or the day following. I transcribed six interviews. The rest were transcribed by a professional linguist. Words indicating emotion (e.g. laughter, sadness and irritation) and voice guidance (e.g. irony, under- and overstatements, intonation, pauses, and emphases) were added in parentheses. They were noted as follows:

- pause: several dots after each other between sentences;

- emphasis / raised pitch of voice: **highlight the word;**

- drawing out words, long end of word or sound: repeating letters, e.g. verrrrrrry:

- nonverbal emotional expressions: marked in brackets in text, e.g. crying, sad, irritated, laughter such (smile, in tears);

- explanations of the text or extra information: brackets [......].

In transcription all names were anonymized and descriptions of areas/cities, streets, school buildings, and refuges were unidentified throughout the transcript. The audio files were kept until the end of the research project.

3.2.2.5.3 Data analysis using grounded theory

Grounded theory emphasizes studying processes through repeated interviews over time. It allows for comparing data longitudinally by returning to the field. This process begins as the interviewer develops tentative interpretations about the data using codes and emerging categories. Below, I explain how I used a constructivist grounded theory coding system to analyze my data.

1. Initial coding: Line-by-line coding

The first step after transcribing the interviews was initial coding. Codes are short labels assigned to segments of the data. They describe what is happening in the data and what it means. Initial coding identifies actions in segments in the data instead of applying pre-existing categories. Using an action language when coding curbs tendencies to use existing theories. The process of initial coding during fieldwork helps the researcher to identify areas that are lacking in the data collected. Simultaneous data collection and analysis allow for an in-depth understanding of the research problem while developing categories (Charmaz, 2014).

Initial coding was implemented using line-by-line coding, which means assigning a label to each line of the data. Although not every line contains a complete sentence that might

be important, the process can help recapture ideas that might otherwise be lost. This type of coding works particularly well for gathering detailed data about fundamental empirical problems or processes. Line-by-line coding helped "to identify implicit concerns as well as explicit statements" about the data (Charmaz, 2014, p. 50). This information helped to refocus my later interviews. Engaging in data analysis while collecting data brought me closer to my data. It challenged my preconceived notions of the data and helped spark new ideas. Thus, it offered insight into what kind of data to collect next. This process helped me separate my data into categories and therefore to see processes, as it provided me with space to take a critical and analytical approach to the data (see example of initial coding in appendix 11).

2. Focus coding

The second major stage in coding is focused coding. Codes in this phase are more directed, selective, and conceptual than in line-by-line coding. In focused coding one uses the most significant and/or most frequent earlier codes. This coding enables us to sift through large amounts of data and develop it further into categories (Charmaz, 2006).

This stage of coding requires decisions about which initial codes are most analytical and useful for categorizing the data. It is not a linear process and some respondents or events can make explicit what was implicit in earlier statements. Reaching these new understandings provides the researcher with new ideas to investigate further by returning to the respondents and exploring these implicit topics. This process helps the researcher become involved with the data by acting upon it rather than reading it passively, and helps the researcher to check his or her perception of the data. Focused coding helps the research move across interviews and compare participant experiences, actions and interpretations. Focused codes emerge through comparing data to data, and when these codes are then compared with the data it helps in refining them (Charmaz, 2014) (see example of a focus coding in appendix 11).

3. Theoretical coding

Theoretical coding comes after focus coding and specifies possible relationships between the emerging categories developed in the previous stage. Constant interaction with the data collected through free writing memoing (see appendix 12) helped to continuously point out new topics of interest in the data. As a result, I added new questions about emerging categories to my interview guide so that I could fill in the data gaps by asking more questions about specific topics. Re-collecting data by going back to the field is one of the strengths of grounded theory. This process is called "theoretical sampling." It is a process in which one inductively develops a theory through "testing" hunches. Gathering more data helps to check,

refine and further define our major categories (Charmaz, 2006). Through theoretical sampling, the analysis of the data becomes more abstract and generalizable, categories become more precise and defined, and links between categories become more visible. This process increases the focus on the research's theoretical statements, builds up justification for the concepts in the theory, and makes it possible to follow the emerging storyline suggested by the data. When new data no longer sparks new theoretical insights or reveals new properties of the theoretical categories, then one can say that the categories are saturated (Charmaz, 2006, 2011 & 2012; Urquhart, 2012).

In my research, I was able to gather data over time by going back to the field while doing the analyses. However, reaching the theoretical sampling was challenging for several ethical and practical reasons. First, some children did not want to participate in a follow-up interview for personal reasons. Other children moved back home to the abuser during the research process, so contacting them for a second interview might have jeopardized their safety. In other cases mothers did not permit follow-up interviews, and still other families moved to a secret address, changed contact numbers, or even in rare cases changed names. Locating them could have put their safety at risk.

These obstacles in the field were a challenge to the analytical process. Not being able to continue the theoretical sampling of the data collected to some extent hindered the data from becoming more abstract and generalizable and kept certain categories from becoming more precise and defined and links between categories from becoming more visible. One solution to the problem of not being able to go back to the same informants in the field was to go forward instead, exploring new thoughts by conducting new interviews with new informants instead of repeating interviews with the same informants. This meant including new participants in the same age group in order to further investigate certain questions. This was implemented whenever possible over several phases of the data collection. However, in my research, I used the emerging concepts such as recognition and control/thought control, to guide my choice of a theoretical framework which I used in the analysis of my data.

3.2.2.6 Memoing
Memo writing is an intermediate step between data collection and analyzing codes early in the research process. It can be done in different ways, including clustering (shorthand pre-writing), free writing (writing continuously for at least 8 minutes) (Charmaz, 2014). It provides a space to make comparisons between data and data, data and codes, codes and categories and later on categories and concepts. Memo writing provides an opportunity to

make comparisons and connections within the data and can help crystallize questions and directions to pursue further in later interviews. In my research I used free writing. In other words, memos document the research process, and provide the researcher with opportunity to ask: What relationship one code has to the other? And what will happen under certain conditions and with given variables? When writing memos I established preliminary working definitions for my focused codes that crystallized later into permanent definitions. During this process I found, for example, that the majority of children expressed uncertainty when talking about how much their teachers knew about their situation: "I think so"; "I believe so": "the first teacher knew, but not the second teacher." Subsequently, in my memos I began to ask questions such as: What makes these children think that way? How do children define their teacher's recognition of their situation? What do they mean by the teacher's recognition of their situation? What is it like for them to be in this situation? Memo writing made me see that children's uncertainty about whether their teacher recognized their situation condensed a series of implicit meanings and assumptions. For instance, the understandings they have made to understand the teacher's unawareness of their situation. Children had their own understandings of their teachers' behavior, for example: "maybe because she followed me to the taxi"; "the teacher knew because we had a teacher-student conference"; "I think so because all of a sudden I had to talk to the school nurse"; "yes because I had to tell her"; "yes I told the teacher because she wondered why I changed schools." Thereafter, I began to define categories and their characteristics in the focused codes, such as practical recognition, formal recognition, forced recognition, coincidental recognition, and third-person recognition. Going through this process made me look for codes that include condensed meanings (see other examples of memoing appendix 12).

3.2.3 Transparency, reflexivity, reliably and validity

An important aspect of doing research is that it is thorough and produces valid and reliable results. Validity in quantitative research refers to the repeatability of a given research, while reliability is "the extent to which an experiment, test, or any measuring procedure yields the same result on repeated trials" (Carmines & Zeller, 1979, p 11). Therefore, elements of how the research was conducted, the results obtained, the data analyzed and conclusions reached based on an appropriate use of analytical tools and theories are important to validate written research. These elements and this way of thinking are more applicable to quantitative than qualitative research (Günther, 2006; Jokar, 2004). Unlike quantitative research that primarily deals with numerical data and statistical interpretation, qualitative research deals with non-

numerical information and its phenomenological interpretation. Quantitative and qualitative research also differ in the sense that the human emotions and perspectives of the researcher and participants are perceived as undesirable biases in quantitative research, while in qualitative research they are essential, inevitable, and add extra dimensions that enrich the findings. Therefore, doing interviews with a group of participants cannot simply be replicated with another group of participants. In qualitative research, validity refers to the "appropriateness" of the tools, processes, and data; in other words, "whether the research question is valid for the desired outcome, the choice of methodology is appropriate for answering the research question, the design is valid for the methodology, the sampling and data analysis is appropriate, and finally the results and conclusions are valid for the sample and context" (Leung, 2015, p. 3). Reliability, on the other hand, is understood by qualitative researchers as "consistency." In qualitative research, consistency includes a margin of variability for results and a measure of tolerance, "provided the methodology and epistemological logistics consistently yield data that are ontologically similar but may differ in richness and ambience within similar dimensions" (Leung, 2015, p.3). Transparency and reflexivity are two concepts that are central to qualitative research and the grounded theory method. In the following sections, I reflect on issues related to transparency and reflexivity in my research and describe the means I used to achieve them.

3.2.3.1 Transparency

According to Bringer, Johnston, & Brackenridge (2004), grounded theory could be perceived as an excellent example of transparency in action. This is clearly demonstrated in the grounded theory recommendation to keep detailed memos that help advance the researcher's thinking as a method for conceptual development (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Through these memos researchers can easily share their line of thinking with readers, as well as how they reached their conclusions. Using qualitative analysis programs such as NVIVO within a grounded theory study provides extra clarity regarding how categories developed and concepts emerged (Richards, 2002).

To ensure transparency in my research, I have thoroughly explained how the research was carried out and the adjustments I had to make. I have also tried to be transparent about the way I gathered my data and designed the fieldwork. I have provided information about how I did my work in order for others to be able to follow the fieldwork and better understand my thinking in the data analyses. Making this information available to readers is important so

that they have the opportunity to decide for themselves to what extent bias may exist in my research or in the reporting of my results.

3.2.3.2 Reflexivity

Reflexivity in research can be seen as the thoughts and position of the researcher in relation to the topic of study. The background and position of the researcher will affect their topic of investigation, the methods used, the findings considered, and the way conclusions are framed. Entering the field of research with "the knower's mirror" will systematically affect knowledge construction at every step of the research process. The personal and professional experiences of the researcher, pre-study beliefs about the nature of the field and what needs to be investigated, personal perspectives, and theoretical background can all impact the framing of the research study (Malterud, 2001).

Integrated into the guidelines of grounded theory are several mechanisms that relate to reflexivity. For example, one central element of grounded theory is the process of "memoing," which is fundamentally based on reflective thinking. Memos, in the words of McCann and Clark (2003a, p. 15), "reflect the researcher's internal dialogue with the data at a point in time." When writing memos, Suddaby notes (2006, p. 635), the researcher is "continuously aware of the possibility that you are being influenced by pre-existing conceptualizations of your subject." This kind of reflective thinking can be an effective mechanism for reducing the chances of focusing on preconceived ideas and deducing hypotheses from existing theories that may "contaminate" grounded theory development. Therefore, according to Dunne 2011, "there is no reason…why memoing could not form an integral component of an early literature review, whereby the researcher could reflect on the ideas to which they have been exposed while engaging with existing literature." He further argues that early memoing, during the early literature review can outline both the new ideas the researchers are exposed to alongside their preconceptions and values and the way their thinking can change during the research process.

I approach my research topic with experience from the field and ideas about what the realities of children with multiple relocations look like, what their challenges are, possible sources of distress and difficulties, etc. However, most of my experience comes from one refuge and from my own personal point of view. Being fully aware of this compelled me to question every step of my fieldwork to eliminate any bias as much as possible. I started memoing at the very beginning, during my preparation for the project. During this phase and throughout through the various research processes, memoing let me dialogue with and reflect

on my preconceived ideas and previous working experiences and the theoretical background I brought to the field.

3.2.4 Challenges in the field

3.2.4.1 Researchers' preconceived ideas

Although research on the needs of children with repeated stays in refuges is lacking, I nevertheless have preconceived ideas and assumptions about the realities and needs of these children from my seven years of experience working at a refuge for abused women. According to Backe-Hansen (2012), it is difficult for researchers not to use themselves and their own experiences and educational knowledge as a reference point when doing research on children. Researchers were children themselves once and may have their own children now. I approach the field with ideas about what it is like for children to experience multiple stays at a shelter, to change or drop out of school or kindergarten, or to lose contact with friends and family. I have also frequently observed these children's refuge experiences and have a general understanding of their situation and possible needs. However, memoing gave me space to come to terms with my own assumptions through contentiously interacting with the data.

3.2.4.2 My role as a researcher and a previous refuge employee

My previous refuge work experience has aided me throughout my research. It has opened doors to contacts with refuge employees and helped me obtain consent from mothers and their children, as discussed earlier in the section recruiting procedures. As a former refuge employee myself, I understood their work and its daily challenges. This probably gave some of them confidence that I was not there to gain access to them from an outsider point of view, although my topic of research was not about their work. However, according to grounded theory, my previous working experience can also be a contaminant, rather than a strength addressed in the section above. In addition, my previous experience of talking with children living at refuges provided me with sufficient training in predicting difficult situations and gave me the competence and confidence to talk with children about various sensitive topics.

The role of researcher, as opposed to helper, when communicating with these children was a new one for me and not an easy position to take during the fieldwork. Thus, reflecting on my research role during this project came in handy through memoing together with discussing these reflections with my advisers. Further, setting clear protocols before implementing the research project was of great support to balance my role as researcher and previous refuge position during the fieldwork (see also reflections under adult-child

relationship in research). Again, my role as a trustworthy researcher was also supported by being based at the Norwegian Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies, a well-established center in Norwegian society and facilitated my access to the field.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

Theories help explain what is happening in the field. They can have both an attention-guiding and a selection function. Theories can lead our attention away from something as well as toward something. This means that some aspects of the studied phenomena can claim our attention while others might possibly be left out. According to Høydahl (1992), theories may help determine how broadly or narrowly researchers focus their attention in the field. Accordingly, theories may influence how researchers think and act in the field, and may direct the lens through which they understand the phenomena under study. In this dissertation I decided to wait to select my theoretical framework until the data was analyzed. However, I used the findings in the data to guide my choice of theoretical framework, rather than the other way around. Two main concepts emerged from the data: *recognition* and *thought control*. I present my choice of theory below.

4.1 Recognition

Recognition is a "vital human need" that gives us a deeper understanding of ourselves and continuity in life (Tayler, 1992). The ways we are perceived and characterized by others affect how we are recognized (or recognize others) and contribute to our quality of life. Acts of recognition permeate many parts of our everyday life, and through them individuals develop a sense of who they are and the value accorded to them (Markell, 2003). Perceptions of identity, self-worth, and self-esteem depend fundamentally on what feedback an individual receives and how this is provided by others and by society as a whole. Accordingly, individuals who experience inadequate recognition (i.e. are not recognized or are portrayed in a one-sided or negative way by their surroundings or by societal norms) will experience difficulties in successfully relating to themselves as valuable human beings (cf. Bowlby 1979, Bandura 1997, Honneth, 1995). However, the concept of recognition means more than rewards for achievements. It implies, according to Hegel, the ability to adopt the perspectives of others and perceive things from their subjective experience (Hegel, 1807/1977). According to Fraser (2000, p. 109), "the Hegelian idea [is] that identity is constructed dialogically, through a process of mutual recognition." Since the early writings of Hegel (1807/1977), the concept of recognition has been debated in depth and it has been used differently by

contemporary political and social theorists (cf. Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1992; Fraser, 1995). However, as suggested by Hegel and Honneth, "not only does recognition play the crucial role of forging practical identity and facilitating individuals' self-actualization, but failures of recognition are a significant form of moral injury. In fact, the harm to individual agency wrought by forms of misrecognition means, as Charles Taylor explains, that '"due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people…[but] a vital human need" (Anderson, 2009, p. 26).

I have chosen Schibbye's (2002) conceptualisation of mutual *recognition* as a guiding theoretical framework for my research in the second article below, in order to understand what characterizes the relationship between pupils and their teachers at school. I chose this theoretical framework based on the statements made by the children in my study about how their situation was recognized by their teachers. Children described being recognized through: feelings of being heard, talking to the teacher in formal conversations, feelings of being seen a due to extra attention in class, feelings of being understood through talking to a teacher's assistant or school nurse, feelings of being accepted and noticed at a new school, and feelings of certainty that the teacher knew about their situation. The ways that children described being recognized directed my choice of Shibbye's concept of mutual recognition, because this choice defines elements similar to those the children were occupied with: to listen, to understand, to accept and tolerate, and to confirm. Thus, I chose a framework that could describe how children perceived recognition by teachers in terms of the same elements they themselves mentioned.

Schibbye's four elements of mutual recognition offer a tool for understanding these children's experiences of recognition at school. In addition, Schibbye's line of thinking suits my study of relational processes between adults and children, for three reasons. First, it perceives children and adults as having equal worth in their interactions. Second, it is attentive to how partners mutually create the conditions for one another's actions. Third, it is sensitive to self-reflection in interaction (i.e. the ability to see oneself from the perspective of the other). In order for a teacher to understand a child, the teacher must also possess self-insight: what Schibbye calls "self-reflection."

4.1.1 Schibbye Dialectical relationship theory: The concept of mutual recognition

Dialectical relationship theory is primarily used in psychotherapy, but is also relevant professionals who work with children, such as educators (Schibbye, 2002). Inspired by Hegelian philosophy, the idea of reflectivity and reciprocity is central in the between the processes in one's own self and in relation to others (Schibbye, 2009).

In Schibbye's (1996, 2002, 2009) dialectical understanding of relations, the concept of mutual recognition is central. She describes it as to see something again, to "re-cognize." It entails differentiation, support, acknowledgement, and reinforcement, and implies the ability to focus on and value the experiences of others. According to Schibbye, providing recognition is not something we have or a method we acquire; rather, it is the way we are in interaction with others. An important aspect of this concept is the ability of the individual to shift from his or her own perspective to that of another person and to confirm the right of the other person to that experience. For individuals, self-reflexivity, including the ability to have thoughts about their own thoughts, to be aware of their own feelings, values and assessments, and to differentiate between what goes on in their own self and someone else's, is a precondition for being able to shift perspectives. Without a self-reflexive attitude, individuals can risk taking their own perspectives for granted, making them unable to adopt the point of view of another. According to Bae (2012), mutual recognition as described by Schibbye embraces two fundamental opposing needs which human beings experience in relationships with others: attachment/closeness and differentiation/individuality. It also emphasizes that in this kind of interaction, partners are of equal worth regardless of age and position, and draws attention to how they mutually create the conditions for one another's reactions.

Schibbye (2009) presents four elements important to achieve mutual recognition: to listen, to understand, to confirm, and to accept and tolerate. These elements are intertwined and simultaneously precondition one another. For example, to be able to understand one ought to listen, and to be able to confirm one ought to understand.

4.1.1.1 To listen

According to Schibbye (2009), "to listen" is not just to hear words, but to listen without preconceived ideas, objections, or reservations. It implies that the listener is emotionally available and shows interest. This type of listening makes the other person feel important, appreciated, and truthful. To be able to understand, the listener should not only focus on the words that are spoken, but also be aware of the other person's nonverbal expressions, including body language, tone of voice, and eye gaze. In other words, listening is not the same as hearing; in listening, we hear more than the verbal message. One ought to listen beyond the words, to avoid hearing one's own prejudices and listen without "pre-assessment." Listening also means hearing with openness and closeness. The listener is available and willing to be moved by the other person. This can be threatening, because it challenges our experience of having control of our boundaries. Listening with openness means being open to changing how

we think, believe, and perceives things and situations. Thus, this way of listening creates processes within the self that, for some, might be too much to handle. For example, hearing another person's concealed cry for help, or hearing someone talk about their difficulties, may trigger similar feelings of pain or discomfort in the listener (Schibbye, 2009).

4.1.1.2 To understand

To understand is to be able to tune into another person's feelings and needs. It implies an inner, not an outer, understanding. For inner understanding, it is not enough for the listener to have knowledge of the experiences of the other person. It is also important that the listener is able to empathize with the other person based on their own previous experience. An inner feeling of comprehension can develop in the person being listened to when he or she experiences that the listener understands how they feel through a comment or a remark. Such an understanding can help create a bond of trust between the listener and the other person, and allow the latter to open up and talk about these shared feelings, possibly leading to a new understanding of those feelings. To understand is to share an understanding of each another's experiences. As a listener, it is important to be able to feel the other's physical discomfort, for example in connection to feelings such as shame, fear, and insecurity. However, these feelings are not about the listener's own experiences, but about the listener's knowledge of these feelings from his or her own previous experiences. Such knowledge brings intimacy and harmony to relationships, and may be an important element of an open, genuine dialogue (Schibbye, 2009).

4.1.1.3 To accept and tolerate

To accept and tolerate is to acknowledge that others have the right to their experiences and perspectives, free from judgment, criticism, or correction by the listener. The listener does not necessarily accept the actions of the other, but does show acceptance of his or her experience. In other words, to accept is to accept the rights of another person to his or her experience and tolerate its existence. For example, many children who experience domestic violence struggle with feelings and experiences they might find unacceptable and difficult to talk about because of feelings such as shame and guilt. However, when feelings that children may experience as negative are met by a listener with warmth, understanding and accept, it may be easier for children to open up and let go of feelings that may have been restricting their dialogue. When others feel ownership of their experience, it can then be possible to change the experience through mutual dialogue (Schibbye, 2009).

4.1.1.4 To confirm

To confirm implies that the listener is focused and present in the given conversation and can therefore respond adequately to the other's experiences and expressions. To confirm does not mean that the listener agrees with the other person, tries to satisfy a wish, or gives legitimacy in the form of a subject-object relation. To understand can mean to "match feelings" in the dialogue with the other person in a way that provides awareness of the other's own needs. When, for example, children approach a teacher about experiences of violence, they need confirmation of their fears and insecurity, but they are also making an indirect request for help. Therefore, if the teacher reacts to such contact by making a report to the authorities, this can be seen as a direct confirmation of that child's need. However, to confirm adequately, the listener needs to sensitively detect the responses of the other person and adjust his or her methods of confirmation accordingly (Schibbye, 2009).

4.2 Thought Control

Difficult life situations may be accompanied by intrusive thoughts of worries and stress. Most people develop strategies to control these stressful thoughts and adapt to their environment. Some for example, may switch off unwanted thoughts by keeping busy reading novels, watching television, or engaging in other recreational activities to distract themselves (Wells & Davies, 1994; Bandura, 1997). Others may choose to entirely suppress what is on their mind (Wegner 1989). Still others may change their environment to escape their problems, or seek social support (Joss, Spira & Speigel 1994; Wells & Davies, 1994). People may also use punishment, such as telling themselves that something bad will happen if they think the unwanted thoughts, or may challenge the validity of their thoughts through reappraisal (Wells & Davies 1994). Some of these strategies are more adaptive than others. However, according to Badura (1997), the process of eradicating intrusive thoughts by gaining mastery over what triggers them is the most powerful way to gain control over them. This is what he calls "thought control efficacy." I chose Bandura's self-efficacy as a framework for understanding the strategies children use at school because of the way this theory takes into account the centrality of "human agency" in the lives of children struggling against adversity. For Bandura, agency is central to understanding how children surmount enormous hardships and develop into efficacious, caring, and productive adults. He believes that children who experience impoverished or disordered home lives can play a proactive role in shaping the course of their lives by cultivating "interests that bring satisfactions and save them from becoming engulfed by the turbulent home life" (Bandura 1997, p 172). Bandura suggests that 'personal attributes operate interactively with environmental aids in achieving…redirection of

life paths. The personal and social resources enable them eventually to free themselves from their troublesome improvised lives' (Bandura 1997, p 173). However, it is not adversity alone that builds human capacity to overcome difficulties, but rather adversity and social support. Such combination may inspire a sense of personal efficacy and self-worth and provides paths to success can promote what Bandura (1997) calls 'masterful resilience'. This line of thinking is useful when trying to understand the agency of children who have experienced multiple refuge relocations by looking at the different strategies they have developed at school.

4.2.1 Self-efficacy theory and thought control

Human functioning is enabled by a sense of control. Individuals who believe in their ability to pursue action to control and solve a problem have what Bandura calls self-efficacy. Belief in one's "can do" cognition provides a sense of control over one's environment (Scholz et al. 2002). This sense of belief increases motivation to mobilize forces, reduces distress and increases commitment to decisions (Bandura 1997). These beliefs influence what sort of action people pursue, how long they endure in the face of problems, their resilience to difficulty, how much stress and depression they experience in coping with life demands, whether their thoughts are self-hindering or self-aiding, and the level of accomplishment they achieve. A high level of self-efficacy is related to: Positive emotions, effective problem solving, life satisfaction, and to strong feelings of well-being and high self-esteem (Bandura, 1997, Flammer, 1990; Danielsen et al., 2009, Gilman & Heubner, 2003). Such beliefs are important for pupils' adjustment at school and in their immediate environment. For example, they are fundamental for pupils' motivation, efforts to learn, educational choices, and mobilization of coping strategies (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2013, Bandura, 1998). As Bandura (1997) points out, school is an important agent in cultivating self-efficacy. At school, children learn a great deal about their cognitive abilities and intellectual efficacy from teacher feedback on the cognitive skills they master (Bandura, 1998). Besides teaching academic skills, teachers are also involved in regulating pupil activity levels, communication, and peer relations. Educators can therefore play an important role in shaping children's beliefs about their social and academic abilities at school. A strong positive relationship with a teacher can make a pupil more motivated to spend extra time and energy to be successful. It can also protect pupils from poor school performance related to unsupportive home environments, and act as a protective factor that reduces the risk of a number of problem outcomes (Øverlien, 2012, Øverlien et al., 2009, Hamre & Pianta, 2001).

This sense of belief can be acquired in response to four different kinds of experiences: 1) personal mastering (interpreted results of one's previous performance); 2) verbal persuasion in the form of feedback that encourages effort; 3) vicarious reinforcement through observing others perform tasks; and 4) physiological and emotional state (personal energy and emotional level). According to Bandura (1997), mastery experiences are the most powerful influence in fostering efficacy as they provide direct feedback regarding one's own capabilities.

Individuals exposed to difficult life situations that exceed their own resources may use efficacy beliefs in different ways to attain control over their environment. Some may attain control through changing their existing realities (primary control). Changing established environments through primary control requires additional forms of personal efficacy and may be difficult for children in complicated and threatening life circumstances that are beyond their capacity to change. Another way of exercising control is accommodation to existing realities (secondary control) (Bandura, 1997). The latter largely involves controlling one's thinking to reduce aversion to a life situation that is difficult to modify (Bandura, 1997). So-called thought control efficacy—the ability to manage one's own thought processes and exercise control over consciousness—can help regulate how individuals feel and behave and thus has a vital role in maintaining emotional well-being. The cognitive processes involved in exercising control over thinking can take many forms and may involve, among other things, lowering expectations, reducing aspirations, favorably comparing one's difficulties with the difficulties of others, viewing one's difficult situation as an improvement compared to the past, focusing on the positive parts of one's existing realities, feeling optimistic faith in the future, finding one's priorities, or engaging in joyful activities related to personal interests (Bandura, 1997). Thought control efficacy may therefore play a significant role in how children manage unwanted "flashbacks, worries or fears" in order to accommodate to their realities.

The cognitive processes of efficacy beliefs, involving the exercise of personal control over affect, action, and thought, are essential in enabling individuals to mobilize and sustain their coping efforts. This control plays a vital role in the self-regulation of emotional states, which affects how people feel, think and act. Consequently, it may play a key role in stress reactions and in how people cope in threatening situations, which is perceived to exert an effect on their performance independent of their level of ability (Bandura, 1997). Belief in their powers of control can influence how people attend to potential threats and how these are perceived and cognitively processed (attentional and construal processes). A strong belief can stimulate people to adopt strategies and courses of action to change their difficult

environments and to alleviate their stress and anxiety (transformative action processes) (Bandura, 1997).

4.3 Crossing fields between mutual recognition and self-efficacy

Children's early experiences of recognition and of control are centered in the family, through interactions with responsive parents or other adults in their environment (Schibbye, 2009; Bandura, 1997). Both Schibbye's conception of mutual recognition and the sense of control in Bandura's theory of self-efficacy operate interactively with the environment and upon one another. An interaction based on Schibbye's elements of mutual recognition allows for the development of trust, closeness, and social connectedness, which are important characteristics in a relationship for nurturing a sense of control. In the case of the children in my study, their feeling of social connection to a teacher whom they can trust and feel close to is necessary to be able to receive the teacher's guidance, make use of the teacher-provided opportunities for self-development and emotional support, and model the teacher's constructive coping strategies. On the other hand, it can be difficult for teachers to provide children with mastery experiences that build their sense of control without recognizing their needs and the conditions creating these needs. The sense of personal control is an important tool for children experiencing adversity to overcome their difficulties and redirect their life paths. According to Bandura (1997), a control belief in childhood "predicts less distress and high enlistment of social support for successful adaptation in adulthood" (p173). Children's beliefs in their ability to implement solutions to their difficulties develop in interaction with their environment and through social connectedness to a variety of other caring adults outside the family, including their teachers. Supporting children's agency requires mutual recognition, which helps enable children to develop a belief in their own abilities and sense of control.

Chapter 5: Findings

In this chapter I will present the findings of the three articles attached below, with reference to the main research question of the dissertation.

The first article, ***Children with multiple stays at Nordic refuges for abused women: Conclusions, challenges and causes for concern***, summarizes existing qualitative and quantitative statistical data on children living at refuges for abused women in the Nordic countries. It examines what we know about children in refuges and focuses especially on the group of children who experience multiple refuge relocations. Although a significant number of qualitative studies in the Nordic countries take a child-centered and rights approach to children who experience domestic violence, substantial knowledge gaps still exist with regard to children living at refuges. With some exceptions, most previous studies have investigated children's perspectives on the violence they experience, rather than issues specifically related to their situation as service users of refuges. As my article highlights, no previous research on the group of children who experience multiple refuge relocations. However, their perspectives may occasionally be encountered in the literature, since a number of child informants in previous studies have experienced multiple refuge relocations. In general, statistics collected on children living at refuges for abused women in the Nordic countries display great inconsistencies in terms of their availability, scope, and details, especially with regards to children with multiple relocations. These statistics also show that the help offered to children differs greatly across refuges within the country and between the Nordic countries. However, the growing number of facilities for children at Nordic refuges reflects a growing awareness on the part of refuges regarding the effects of domestic violence on children, and also indicates a progression in their perception of children from "followers" to "service users."

The article highlights three challenges fundamental to the lifeworlds of children with multiple refuge relocations and discusses the effects these challenges can have on their well-being and mental health. The challenges are: prolonged and repeated exposure to domestic violence, repeated disruption in close relations, and repeated absence from schools and preschools. Considering these challenges, many of these children may be in need of professional help. Without suitable help, this article concludes that these children are a vulnerable group who may be at increased risk of failing or dropping out of school and/or experiencing psychosocial and behavioral difficulties. The article calls for including children with multiple refuge relocations in statistics, providing them with targeted interventions at school and individual plans to ensure their safety, and doing research that involves them as informants in order to explore all aspects of their lives, including their school experiences.

The scarcity of research on different aspects of the lives of children with multiple refuge relocations is the starting point for the second article, ***Children with multiple refuge relocations for abused women and their experiences of teacher recognition.*** This article involves these children as informants to study their experiences and perspectives about one aspect of their lives: school. Children in this study said that they were often not listened to by their teachers, and that only rarely was their situation acknowledged by their teachers and became the impetus for starting a conversation with them. Children had several rather different understandings of and opinions about the factors that hindered dialogue with their teachers. Some believed their teachers did not talk with them because of time constraints; others felt their teachers did not think their situation was important; a few perceived their teachers as unwilling to talk. The majority of children believed that their teachers, somehow and at some point, migh have known about their situation, including refuge stays and experiences with domestic violence, but chose not to talk about it or react to it. In general children showed great uncertainty as to whether and how much their teachers knew about their situation. However, they balanced some of their uncertainties with a variety of observations they were able to make of their teachers' behavior and what they understood to be signs of possible recognition of their situation. Some children said their teachers initiated a formal teacher-student conference about their situation: what we term *formal recognition*. Others thought that their teacher must have known about their situation but may have decided not to talk because the teacher knew the child was talking to other adults, such as the school nurse or teacher assistant, which we term *third- party recognition.* Some children experienced recognition in the way the teacher provided nonverbal guidance through school routines that were new as a result of their refuge stay: so-called *practical recognition.* A few children were frustrated by their teachers' reluctance to talk and were courageous enough to demand that the teacher listen, forcing their story upon the teacher in what we term *forced recognition*." Others experienced recognition when their teachers unintentionally struck up casual conversations with them that coincidentally gave the teachers previously unknown about the children's situation: *coincidental recognition*. The article concludes that teachers' failure to talk to children not only leads children to doubt whether teachers are aware of their situation, but also may confirm to them that their home situation is not considered a school issue. Without an open dialogue with a child, a teacher cannot evaluate the child's needs and thus may not be able to provide the child with suitable help. The article calls for further research to investigate and understand the school experiences of children with multiple refuge relocations.

The third article, *School strategies of children with multiple relocations at refuges for abused women,* follows up on the latter call. It explores what children do when their situation at school is not fully recognized by their teachers. These children described having difficulties concentrating in class, completing classwork, and following class instructions. These difficulties were triggered by thoughts of safety, secrecy, and insecurity, or flashbacks to the violence. Children worked hard to find strategies to control these thoughts. However, not all children succeeded in finding such strategies, leading to problems functioning at school or even, in a few cases, dropping out.

This article identifies six different strategies. First, some children overloaded themselves with classwork because they struggled with flashbacks and thoughts of violence and felt that the joy of "learning reduces unwanted thoughts." Second, others were troubled by thoughts about their safety, for example fears that their abuser might appear at school. They used a strategy of "imagining safety" at school (i.e. how teachers or other adults would protect them if the abuser appears) to shift their attention from danger to safety. Third, some confided in a close friend at school and used "talking for relief" with their friend to control their painful thoughts about violence. Forth, a few used running as a strategy to tackle unwanted physiological emotional reactions resulting from painful thoughts. "Doing physical activity" allowed them to change their bodily reactions from stress to neutral physical tiredness. Fifth, the majority of children used interacting with friends as a strategy to control difficult thoughts. They experienced that "playing diverts thoughts" and provided them with a free zone away from their stressors. The last strategy was "creating explanations" as a way of controlling what information about their situation their immediate environment received. This strategy relieved them from the stress produced by having to keep their life at the refuge a secret. We also found that teachers were aware of neither the troubles children struggled with nor the strategies they used to overcome their difficulties.

The article concludes that children's multiple refuge relocations and school transitions provide them with few opportunities to gain control. However, the absence of teacher awareness, accommodation and support, and their limited engagement call for immediate governmental action, not only to clarify the roles and responsibilities of teachers, but also to develop interventions targeted to support teachers in this important role.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The findings of this dissertation provide, for the first time in the literature, insight into the childhoods of children making multiple relocations at refuges for abused women. The study also present key issues that are important to our understanding of these childhoods and the challenges they entail, with particular attention to school. The theoretical implications of these findings add to the ongoing debates around the concepts of a "good childhood" and "inclusion." In addition, the use of grounded theory as a method in the field of education and with children brings new dimensions to its use and limitations. This chapter will discuss the above in light of the findings and in addition view them through a new lens. I will conclude with the practical and theoretical contributions of this dissertation.

6.1 A Childhood at refuges, A "good childhood"?

The societal change manifested in policy, culture, and economic circumstances can lead to continual change in the concept of childhood across time, in a given society, and between societies (James and James et al., 1998). Therefore, it is essential to perceive children as "children of their own time," and they should be understood from the possibilities and limitations of their time (Blom, 2004). According to Weisner (2014) many authors state that it is better to talk about "childhoods" in the plural. This understanding is lent further support by the different international and cross-cultural ways in which childhood is recognized, institutionalized and understood.

A childhood at a refuge might be described as a secluded world within the world, where there exists a multitude of childhoods. For example, Nina's childhood has so far been dominated by constantly being on the move. For Peter, his home was a place to which he could not invite friends because of the unpredictable aggressions of his father. Camille's childhood is characterized by "identity disguise" owing to the fear that the abuser might discover their whereabouts. These childhoods may, for the most part, be described as the opposite of the Western ideal of what a childhood should be. In Norway, as in many other Western countries, there exists an idealized and somewhat romanticized view of childhood (Nilsen, 2008). The normative understanding of a "good childhood" includes stability, physical space, routines and security (ideally in the form of two biological parents), a safe home with space to play, and access to nature (Graf, 2015). In many ways, life at a refuge does not fit the normative understanding of a "good childhood." Yet, for many of children, the refuge is a place where they do find safety, a place to play, routines, and receive intervention perhaps for the first time in their lives (Øverlien, 2011). Children also describe other aspects

of life at the refuge that they value but that may not fit the norm, such as living together with many children and being able to feel solidarity against their experiences of domestic violence. For many children, the periods they spend at the refuge may resemble not only "time off" from the violence, when they can "recharge" their capacity to withstand the difficulties of their life circumstances, but also a feeling of belonging to a small "community" within their community, with whose members they share many similarities.

However, a childhood lived in and out of refuges also means long and repetitive experiences of domestic violence and multiple disruptions in relationships and school attendance, which can be harmful for children. As described in this dissertation, children in this position may be at a higher risk for developing psychosocial and behavioral difficulties such as school failure and dropout. The childhoods of children with multiple refuge relocations are marked by experiences of unpredictability, uncontrollability (e.g. regarding when or where their next move will be) and to experiences of more than one event or even type of domestic violence. According to trauma research, these three elements are important ingredients in understanding childhood trauma experiences (cf. Tareen et al., 2007; Herman, 2015). For these children each refuge relocation can provide temporary safety. However, the fact that the abuser may be after them may force them to flee abruptly and may also affect their feelings of safety, security, and control and their relationships with others. These experiences are at odds with the elements that children in previous studies valued as important for a "good childhood" and which influenced their sense of self and belonging (cf. Fattore et al., 2009; Adams, 2011). A life of constant change may also limit their possibilities to experience an "ordinary life," including going to school, having a stable home, having an income and having friends during the process of refuge relocation, all part of the "good life" as described by children living at refuges for abused women in Øverlien (2011).

Although there has been little research into the experiences of children who make repeated refuge stays, it is possible to draw comparisons between their life experiences and, for example, refugee children (cf. Lidén, Seeberg, & Engebrigtsen, 2011; Seeberg, 2009), homeless children (cf. Moore & McArthur, 2011; Maness & Khan, 2014), children placed in out-of-home care, such as foster children and children living in institutions (cf. Spånberger Weitz, 2011; Backe-Hansen, Havik & Backer Grønningsæter, 2013), and children living in war zones (cf. Thabet & Thabet, 2015). All of these children, by virtue of their status as children, are entitled by law to the same rights, such as schooling, health services, and child protective services, in the nations that have ratified the UNCRC, including Norway. Yet many of them are repeatedly forced to leave their homes, and are often exposed to stressful life

events, such as domestic violence, mentally ill parents, family breakdown, and disruption in school attendance. These life experiences may shape different and complex patterns in their everyday lives, where they may struggle to find spaces that provide them with a sense of belonging or ways to justify and understand their difficult life experiences (Spånberger Weitz, 2011; Aadnanes, 2017). They may, according to Spånberger Weitz (2011), be intensively occupied with how they connect their experiences into a meaningful understanding of who they are and which life they ought to live. Many of these children may experience a feeling of uncertainty about the future and may see new adults and playmates enter their lives and quickly disappear (Seeberg, 2009). They may also experience unpredictability as a result of their situation and in response to their abrupt moves and experiences. They may struggle more with medical illnesses and may have more academic and behavioral problems (Maness & Khan, 2014). A study by Moore and McArthur (2011) on homeless children shows that school can provide a sense of belonging. However, what is unique regarding the children studied in this dissertation and children living in out-of-home care are their close relationship to the cause of their difficult life experiences: "the abuser," who was once a father or a mother figure. Thus, the "abuser" is not a natural disaster or poverty or the military that may affect a number of others at the same time. Looking more closely at the abrupt relocations of both children placed in out-of-home care and those with multiple refuge stays, one finds a number of similarities in their challenging living conditions. The descriptions of the lives of foster children and adolescents in a Norwegian study by Backe-Hansen et al. (2013), "Foster home for children's needs" (*Fosterhjem for barns behov*), shows that many foster children and adolescents experience a number of relocations, changes of school, and disruptions to close relationships. Most of these children also experience abuse and maltreatment for a long time before being moved from their biological families. For many, the move may be against their will and can be unprepared and sudden. The study also notes that a number of these children may be relocated among different foster homes and some may even move back to their biological family and away again. Like the children in this dissertation, some foster children and adolescents may feel uncertainty about their future and confusion about the plans made by child protective services (Backe-Hansen et al., 2013). A Norwegian study by Lehmann et al. (2013) showed that over half of the foster children met the criteria for one or more DSM-IV disorders. Their most common disorders were grouped under three diagnostic categories: emotional disorders, ADHD, and behavioral disorders. Similarly, in the Norwegian refuge statistics (Bufdir, 2016), children with multiple refuge relocations are reported to struggle most with psychological, behavioral and emotional difficulties. However, the difference

between these groups clearly lies in the fact that children living at refuges for abused women are under the responsibility of their accompanying non-abusive parents, while foster children are in the custody of municipal child protective services. In the first case, it is the parent who ought to ensure the child's needs and rights, such as the right to attend school, the right to protection, and basic needs. However, when the child is in municipal custody, several different agencies work to secure the child's rights, as regulated by Norwegian child protection legislation (*barnevernloven*). Although the quality of the help provided foster children by child protection services is debated (cf. Dæhlen, 2017; Backe-Hansen et al., 2013; Ødegård, A., Lohne & Willumsen, 2015; Alver, 2009), the rights of foster children are clearly addressed in law, allowing the issue to be publicly questioned, studied, criticized, followed up, and researched. For example, children living in out-of-home care in Norway have not only the right to protection in the form of police protection orders, but also the right to file a motion to move back to their biological parents (Angel, 2009).

Children living at refuges for abused women share the same legal rights, but it is the abused parent accompanying them to the refuge who is responsible for securing these rights. However, in the midst of their own difficult situation, abused parents may find it overloading to follow up and coordinate with agencies to secure their children's rights to schooling and, protection and support for other possible needs. For children with multiple refuge stays, their relocations are due to ongoing fear of the abuser who constantly prevents them from feeling safe and wants to cause them harm. Experiencing harm from a person with whom one might have a close relationship may be extra-overloading and can make these children feel that their experiences of violence do not end with the refuge stay. Life at the refuge may, in the words of Channmugam (2017) "[present] them with both opportunities and risks" (p.19).

The kind of childhood individuals experience can heavily influence their adulthood and the entire course of their lives (Mandelli et al., 2015; Van Niel et al., 2014). According to Graf (2015, p.5), "nearly all the competencies and freedoms that are valued in adulthood….have to be grounded and developed in childhood." A childhood marked by high levels of instability, constant stress, fear, and domestic violence may have lifelong consequences. A childhood without violence is not only an important part of the definition of a "good childhood," but also a child's right under Article 19 of the UNCRC, which states that all children ought to be protected from all types of violence and abuse and if maltreatment occurs the state ought to provide the necessary support and treatment. Although Norwegian policy as laid out in governmental strategies such as "Childhood comes but once" (*Barndommen kommer ikke i reprise*) emphasizes that children who experience domestic

violence are to be provided essential support, according to Øverlien (2011), many children at refuges for abused women are provided with limited cooperation with the child and adolescents Psychiatric Unit (*Barne og Ungdom Psychaitri*). According to Callaghan et al. 2015 study in the UK, few children who experience violence receive the help they are entitled to. Proper help for victims of violence can, according to Finkelhor and Tucher (2015), be hampered by the fragmentation of the response system around them. Similarly, in a study in the USA by Sumner et al. (2015), surveillance systems, programs, and policies to address violence often lack broad, cross-sector collaboration around the victims to help them end the violence. These studies call for a holistic approach to help victims of violence and better collaboration between the helping agencies involved. There are many stakeholders in the childhoods of children living at refuges, including parents, teachers, refuge employees, child protective workers, and politicians, who can influence children's experiences of a "good life"/ "good childhood" by providing adequate conditions for them to flourish. It is important that individuals in different institutions interact across their systems and complement each other to achieve effective lasting support systems around the children who experience domestic violence. By doing so, children can be allowed to pursue an active role in constructing their experience of a "good childhood" as they themselves understand it.

6.2 School inclusion

Equal opportunity for children at school is an important principle of Norwegian policy on inclusive education. To experience equal opportunity at school, however, children need the opportunity to attend school in the first place. In the case of the children in this dissertation, even though Norwegian law states that school attendance is a child's right and duty, their equal opportunity to take part in the school environment was disturbed a number of times by disruptions and change . In an inclusive school setting, every child and his or her experiences are unique. Some children may live in poverty but have parents that take responsibility, help them with schoolwork, support them through difficulties, and make sure they get proper sleep. Others may come from wealthy families but have parents who are not available to meet their daily needs and may engage in domestic violence. As discussed in this dissertation, children who experience violence at home, have to move to a refuge, and live at a secret address once or more than once during their childhoods may be extra vulnerable at school. They may, for example, carry the burden of their experiences of domestic violence, living at a secret address, going through one or more disruptions in school attendance, and/or worries and uncertainties. School may be an unsafe arena where they feel extra vulnerable because the abuser can find

them, which is precisely what forces them to move, change schools or leave school (Eriksson et al., 2013). Such experiences and thoughts may be an obstacle to learning. Thus, children should not be burdened with keeping secrets regarding their experiences of violence or living at refuges. The experiences of these children will mean that they have different needs in an inclusive school setting and according to Øverlien (2016) all children should be able to "take part in the social and educational community, including those who have been up half the night "looking after mom" or who had to go to school without breakfast because the fridge was empty" (p. 30). A school for all is a school that provides "equal education within a unitary school" (Raundalen & Schultz, 2006, p.58). The aim of a comprehensive school/school for all, according to Raundalen & Schultz (2006, p.58), is that "…all pupils should be included in a social, professional and cultural community, with the school community as a common arena." In an inclusive setting, it is important that the school, especially the teacher, treats domestic violence as a school issue, where attention is paid to children's needs and the school environment is adjusted to include them. These adaptations can cover a large spectrum of needs, both short and long term. For example, the need for environmental accessibility for a physically handicapped child is as crucial as dialogue for a child who is emotionally disturbed. Whether a child misses out on instruction because of inattentiveness due to emotional difficulties or physical disabilities that prevent them from reaching the classroom because of environmental obstacles, their learning process and thus their learning opportunities at school are similarly hampered. Thus, both the environmental facilities at school and an open dialogue can be equally important tools for these two children to provide them with equal opportunities for inclusion at school (i.e. to attend classes and make sense of their instruction).

In an inclusive school, teachers have a key role in facilitating equal opportunities for learning, development, and participation in a safe school environment. However, considering the distance between inclusion as ideology and practice, as Uthus (2013) points out in her doctoral dissertation, it is necessary to focus on and understand the teachers' practices as well as their values. She argues that an inclusive school requires teachers who have the desire and willingness to handle the different needs represented by children. Uthus (2013) observes that "inclusion is 'a practice,' but equally it is what an individual teacher 'is' or 'represents'" (Uthus, 2013, p. 13, author's translation).

The importance of the teacher's role has been pointed out in several parliamentary white papers and action plans in Norway (Bergman, Øverlien, Holen Moen report, NKVTS work in process). However, the uncertainty described by children in this dissertation

regarding their teachers' unclear and somehow vague reactions may also be understood as an indication of the teachers' own uncertainty or perceived understanding about their role, duties and obligations. These are all clearly explained in the parliamentary white papers and action plans, but there seems to be no clear common understanding as to the implementation of these guidelines across different spheres: governmentally, educationally, and in practice in the field (in schools). For example, on the one hand, teacher uncertainty about their role and responsibilities toward children who experience domestic violence may be reinforced as a result of not being clearly defined as part of the Norwegian Education directory webpage (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2016 appendix 2). On the other hand, as described in a Norwegian study by Øverlien and Holen Moen (2016), teacher education instruction on the topic of violence is inconsistent and provides insufficient knowledge. New graduates may be confused about their role towards children who experience domestic violence if their education and training has not prepared them to meet the requirements set out by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (*Utdanningsdirektoratet*). From these examples one can conclude that at present, government policy (in the form of white papers and action plans) is ahead of its implementations in the field.

Given the policy of inclusive education in Norway and the situation of children making multiple stays at refuges for abused women, how can the needs and rights of these children be managed at schools? The experiences of the children in this dissertation stress the importance of initiating and creating opportunities for an open dialogue between students and teachers and point out the need for teachers to approach students with understanding and knowledge, accommodation, and flexibility.

6.2.1 Open dialogue with the child

Letting children be equal partners in dialogue can address their role as competent actors and may offer them a sense of control that can be a source of strength. Teachers are important conversation partners for children. Creating an open dialogue between the teacher and child in which the child is treated equal partner means that the teacher, following Schibyye's concept of mutual recognition (2009), listens, understands, tolerates, accepts, and confirms the child's experiences. The goal is to understand the child as an active person in this dialogue with his or her own thoughts, understandings, and actions. In line with the findings of this dissertation, a study by Aadnanes (2017) found that young people who experienced childhood abuse and maltreatment also wanted social workers to talk and listen to them, take them seriously, inform and involve them, and provide predictability and continuity. In other words, both the

young people in Aadnanes's study and the children in this dissertation are asking adults to not give up on them, but be patient and give them with the trust they need to facilitate disclosure of their experiences.

Initiating an open dialogue also means seeing and interpreting children's expressions and actions as expressions of their feelings, intentions, and wishes. The majority of children in this dissertation complained of concentration difficulties and struggled to control difficult thoughts without help from a teacher. For a number of these children it may be impossible to engage in the learning process without working hard to manage these intrusive thoughts. On the other hand, for the few children who managed to find strategies to control these thoughts, their active role can make them "invisible' to the teacher." In an open dialogue, the adult must also dare to empathize with children and to ask them about their situation and what they feel is difficult. This kind of dialogue is what Schultz and Langballe (2016) call a "learning conversation." However, in order to allow openness to converse about difficult topics it is crucial to: show that one cares by asking, establish a common understanding by talking about what the child is interested in, elaborate, explain and help children to make sense of their experiences, help children to set limits and control their environment through providing alternatives, but last and not least to provide opportunities for such a conversation.

An open dialogue also requires openness between the teacher and the agencies working with the child, including the refuge, the police, child protective services, etc. This is important for the teacher's understanding of the child's situation and needs. Without an open dialogue between the teacher and these agencies it can be difficult to make accommodations for the child's safety and sense of control. For example, the issue of a safety plan at school needs to be discussed jointly by the school (teacher), police, refuge, and child to avoid misunderstandings that could endanger the child's life. Having a clear safety plan may ease the child's fear and anxiety, such that they may not need to work intensively on finding strategies such "imaginative safety" to calm their feelings.

In the dialogue between teacher and agencies, the child is also an important actor. Children are experts on their own worlds, needs and priorities. Including them in these meetings can reduce the struggle between their needs for disclosure and secrecy. When children know how much and what the teacher knows, this may lessen their feelings of uncertainty towards the teacher and balance their continuous interpretations of the teacher's reactions, which might not always correspond to the teacher's real motivation. Children in this dissertation interpreted their teachers' reluctance to begin an open dialogue with them as the possible result of unwillingness, lack of time, knowing that the child was talking to a third

person, or thinking that the situation was not serious enough. Being left alone with these thoughts may not provide feelings of closeness to the teacher and hence possibilities for disclosure.

6.2.2 Understanding the child's needs

Understanding children's reactions and their needs for supportive educational, social, and physical accommodations at school, both during and after a refuge stay, can be crucial for their learning and social integration. However, in order to offer customized teaching that accommodates their needs, it may be important to establish an open dialogue with the child. Understanding the needs that children with multiple refuge relocations themselves identify, through open dialogue, can make it easier to provide the right help at a critical phase in their lives. An open dialogue between the teacher and the child/adolescent acknowledges the role of the latter as competent actors. The findings of this dissertation add a new facet to our understanding of children as victims of violence, showing how their active role and their competence at finding strategies can make them and their reactions and struggles "invisible" to classroom teachers. Therefore, children who experience domestic violence and do not fit the reactions that are well-described in the literature may, as in the case of children in this dissertation, be left to find support in their own strategies. Children in this dissertation used strategies like focusing heavily on schoolwork, exercising, talking with friends, and playing to manage flashbacks of violence and control painful thoughts. As Mullender et al. (2002) argue, "Each child reacts as an individual. There is no one pattern of responses and no syndrome to sum up the impact of their experiences" (Mullender et al. 2002, P 2). Thus, it may be essential for teachers to investigate these children's needs regardless of whether they display typical reactions or not.

However, understanding also requires teacher knowledge of the impact domestic violence has on children and their needs. Without this awareness it is difficult for teachers to adapt the school environment and instruction to children's needs and facilitate their learning processes and feelings of belonging. Similarly, without an understanding of their own needs as teachers, it can be difficult for teachers to approach children with understanding. Teachers also have needs, which can differ based on their work experiences, personal experiences, education, and self-beliefs. The needs of teachers can include: educational competence, practical support, emotional discomfort, self-efficacy, and an understanding of their role and duties. Educational courses about children experiencing domestic violence may be beneficial for some teachers but not for others. As Albæk et al. (2017) argue, knowledge and working

experience alone are not enough to improve professionals' screening of adverse child experiences because they cannot resolve challenges such as emotional discomfort and complexity-induced fear of making it worse. They recommend that to improve their competence, professionals need ongoing on-site coaching, immediate objective feedback on performance, and interventions that address their emotional distress and the complexity of abuse rather than providing simplified solutions such as guidelines and assessment tools. Therefore, identifying teacher needs before providing support is of great importance for enhancing teacher feelings of competence and efficacy in their role. Understanding also means developing a common view across the governmental, educational, institutional and personal spheres as to the role of the teacher when meeting children who experience domestic violence and sexual abuse. Setting governmental expectations without establishing a common understanding in the other spheres may cause a gap in the field regarding the implementation of the teacher's mandatory responsibilities and may therefore lead to variation in the quality of teacher support across schools and among teachers within the same school.

6.2.3 Accommodation of the child's needs

Accommodating children's needs can allow them to feel a sense of belonging and engagement in the school environment. However, since children (like adults) may react differently to domestic violence, help and services must be adapted to their individual needs and differences, life situations, age and developmental stage, level of comprehension, and particular beliefs (Mullender et al. 2002). Without this understanding, teachers and other school staff might locate the problem with pupils when it really stems from their home environment. Making accommodations to meet children's academic, emotional, and practical needs is an important pillar of the inclusive school. Uthus (2013) defines such accommodation as a form of inclusion practice governed by teacher actions and values. Teacher actions, in the form of choice of educational goals, content, and methods, can ensure children an education that accommodates their needs. Such accommodation may allow children to enjoy mastering experiences, inspire feelings of belonging and offer them the opportunity for equal participation on the academic, social, and school community levels. By offering this accommodation, teachers are then able to give children challenges that develop their self-esteem and belief in their skills and abilities. Without this accommodation, children may, for example, engage in school activities that do not provide feelings of mastery and can negatively shape their beliefs about their academic abilities. According to Bandura's self-efficacy theory (1997), such beliefs can reduce their motivation to learn and the effort they

put into schoolwork. Poor performance in school as a result of difficulties doing class activities may lead to negative school experiences which can increase the risk of dropping out. Accommodation also means adjusting the school environment to meet children's emotional needs, addressing feelings of safety, fear, and anxiety. This may require adjusting the school environment according to a safety plan developed in collaboration with the child, the police, the refuge, and other agencies.

However, accommodation also requires school administrations to facilitate teachers providing children with suitable support. For example, a teacher who feels educationally or emotionally inadequate in encounters with children who experience domestic violence might not find the confidence to approach them in open dialogue and thereby meet their needs in a suitable way. Accommodation also means that schools should provide teachers with a well-defined contingency plan to support and guide their choices if at times they are stressed or insecure about their duties and role. Meeting a child who has experienced domestic violence and/or lived at refuges for abused women is fortunately not a common experience for all teachers. Therefore, teacher needs may differ in approach, form, and quantity. Some teachers might benefit from case coaching, help in class administration, or access to a support forum that allows space for discussions around other teachers' experiences with similar groups of children. Others may need basic knowledge about the impact of domestic violence on children and their needs. Therefore, accommodation of the individual teacher's needs is crucial for his or her ability to accommodate the needs of pupils.

6.2.4 Flexibility when meeting the child's needs

Flexibility requires that the teacher is able to follow the child's lead and be sensitive to the child's signals and unspoken wishes. It can mean helping children finding alternative solutions that are tailored to the difficulties they may experience as a result of their life circumstances. In practice, for example, it might mean reorganizing the child's timetable, cutting down on schoolwork or exempting the child from exams, and/or giving the child reminders about activities or homework. In this way, teachers can not only display an understanding of children's needs by being flexible about academic requirements, but also demonstrate recognition of the situation through acceptance and tolerance of those needs. Providing children with guidance and engaging in finding explanations together with the children may help strengthen their tolerance of and resistance to their experiences of violence and instability.

However, flexibility also means providing teachers with this same possibility. Without a school policy that provides teachers with the flexibility to manage, for example, their work hours and/or receive classroom assistance/support as needed, it can be difficult for teachers to facilitate dialogue opportunities with children in need. Lack of teacher support, as described in this dissertation, also needs to be understood in light of the school's accommodation to their needs so that they can fulfill achieve their responsibilities as stated in the national education policy and parliamentary white papers (cf. educational plan nettside and white papers). Flexibility on the part of the school administration means also providing teachers with resources to balance the conflicting demands of the children's needs in the classroom (Alisic 2012). Providing teachers with, for example, a drop-in assistant teacher may alleviate the teacher's feelings of class imbalance by giving extra attention to pupils who need it, which does not come at the expense of the other pupils. Time flexibility is necessary for teachers to spend more time with children who need it.

In sum, the elements presented above, in the relationship between teachers and children who experience domestic violence, are intertwined as they simultaneously precondition one another. For example, an open dialogue that allows the child to share his or her struggles and thoughts may help the teacher to understand and thereby accommodate the child's needs, for example by referring the child to other agencies for more help. However, understanding the importance of this open dialogue is required for its initiation. Accommodation requires an understanding of the child's reactions and needs which can be acquired through dialogue with the child and other agencies. For example, when Nina (see article 2) spoke with her new teacher and told about her concentration difficulties, the teacher could offer accommodation by occasionally calling on her in class to help her stay concentrated without placing her in an outcast position. Again, providing flexibility requires understanding. For example, when David's teacher met David (see article 2) with acceptance after he did not do his homework, and said he could turn it in the next day, she offered him flexibility without understanding the context of his difficulties with homework. Asking him to bring in his unfinished homework the next day not only piled up the amount of work he had during a difficult phase of his life, but was also a possible indicator that his teacher did not understand the circumstances.

6.3 Methodological contributions, reflections and limitation

This dissertation's methodological contribution is centered on its transparency around the use of grounded theory in the field of education. This method has long been used in the nursing

field and especially with adult participants (cf. Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Thus, examples of its procedures, limitations, and modifications are mostly provided through data applicable to the nursing field. The rich description in chapter 3 of this dissertation of its research design, method, and data analysis can allow other researchers to benefit from the transparency around its procedures and make use of it in other settings. Another methodological contribution is in the use of grounded theory with children living at refuge for abused woman. Arguably, the use of grounded theory with this group of children can be considered a methodological contribution because of the scarcity of research using this method with a group of children that is hard to reach. Although other studies have employed the method to study adults' childhood experiences of domestic violence (cf. Aadnanse, 2017), very few if any use grounded theory as a method to explore children's experiences. Thus, this dissertation demonstrates the potential of grounded theory and the need to implement modifications when using with this group of children in the field.

The choice of grounded theory offered a systematic method with which to study the everyday school experiences of children with multiple refuge relocations. The use of a coding system which describes the data using action verbs provided closeness to the children's voices when attempting to understand the patterns of their experiences with their teachers. However, some adjustments needed to be made when applying this method with children, such as the content and type of the interview used. Other adjustments were also made regarding such issues as returning to the field and reaching sample saturation. This dissertation shows the need to make methodological adaptations in order to fully implement grounded theory with child informants (cf. Interviews in chapter 3).

In articles two and three I explain that the final step in grounded theory, "theoretical sampling," was not possible to reach, owing to the small sample size and the limited possibility for repeated interviews. However, looking back again at this stage of data coding, several of the codes developed (such as formal recognition and imaginative safety) seemed to be promising abstract tools for analyzing the data. These codes are less action driven and more abstract. In retrospect, upon reflection, I might call them "tentative theoretical codes." However, theoretical coding was rendered impossible because the process of gathering more data that focused on elaborating and refining these codes and the relationship between them to reach the process of "theoretical sampling" was limited. Therefore, the aim of grounded theory was limited in this dissertation and changed during the fieldwork from a theory-generating method to a data analysis method.

The use of semi-structured interviews may have diverted children in this dissertation from topics of their own interest and instead led them to follow the interviewer's research agenda. Using other types of interviewing, such as unstructured interviewing or intensive interviewing, both of which use open-ended questions, might have fostered more talk by children about their own experiences with topics they themselves were concerned about. These types of interviews may therefore facilitate conveying the narrative from the children's perspective without being influenced by the interviewer (Wildemuth, 2016; Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, 2008). Combining participatory observations with interviews can help remove the pitfalls involved in interviewing children and thus make children's responses better understood. Observation is a method sensitive to the dynamics of the observed phenomena and the context it is presented in. Therefore, data collected under such conditions makes it possible for the researcher to see connections and point out factors that might be ignored in an interview (Spradley, 2016; Wolcott, 2009). Observation may bring insightful information, especially when interviewing young children whose language abilities are not well developed and where body language is central to understanding what they are trying to tell us. Using classroom participatory observation as a complementary method could offer more insight into the data, including insights into the class environment, teacher accommodation of children's needs, and children's reactions and behavior in class.

6.4 Research contribution, practical implications and further research

This research sheds light on a marginalized group of children in research and puts them on the research agenda, both nationally and internationally. It provides an insight to their experiences both by gathering their scattered voices in previously published articles that included research conducted on children living at refuges and their perspectives on their experiences with domestic violence, and by engaging them as experts on their life worlds. The knowledge produced in this dissertation may fill a research gap in the literature on children with multiple refuge relocations. The dissertation provides important knowledge about the realities of these children at school, their perspectives on their needs and difficulties, and the unseen strategies they use to deal with their situation. It also provides insight into their understanding of how teachers recognize aspects of their private lives.

At school, experiences of recognition are often perceived to be acts of positive attention as a reward for achievements. An example of achievement recognition might be receiving words of praise from a parent or teacher for doing well on an exam. However, recognition can also imply negative attention. Examples might include being bullied at school because one is a foreigner, or receiving negative feedback from the teacher for being late to

class or for not doing homework. Recognition at school is often connected to school experiences and issues. However, the findings of this study suggest a new understanding of how teachers may provide recognition of issues related to the child's private sphere. The findings describe teachers' cautiousness and distance through approaches using verbal and/or nonverbal recognition: verbally, through formal, coincidental, and forced recognition, and nonverbally, through practical and third-party recognition. Children's descriptions of these types of recognition also underline their active role in attentively and sensitively observing possible acts of teacher recognition of the disturbing issues in their private sphere.

By presenting perspectives of children with multiple refuge relocation on their school experiences as expressed by the children themselves, this dissertation contributes to the debate on the implementation of the concept of inclusion in a school for all. It also shows how some groups of children, like those studied here, may experience exclusion of their experiences of violence and refuge stays at school. In addition, it contributes to the special education field by providing an in-depth understanding of the processes behind some children's invisible reactions to violence at school. These understandings may be important in detecting and identifying the struggles of children even when they show no signs of reactions. In general, the findings of this dissertation provide novel knowledge about a new group of children that may be of benefit in other research and generate new questions for further researchers.

On the practical level, the knowledge generated in this dissertation may be essential to providing children with suitable help. This knowledge, based on children's experiences, is important for schools, refuges for abused women, police, and child protection offices. According to the parliamentary white paper "Childhood comes but once" (*Barndom kommer ikke i reprise*) (Ministry of Children, equality and Social Inclusion, 2010b), feedback from children's experiences ought to be included in the knowledge base of various agencies. This research has created awareness of this group of children on the political level (Child, Adolescents and family directory, *barne- ungdom og familie directory (Bufdir)*) and had a number of positive impacts in the field. In terms of national statistics in Norway, focus on this group and their absence from previous statistics experienced a turning point in 2014 after the publication of the first article in this dissertation. Statistics on children with multiple refuge relocations were added after being absent since 2008. Percentage statistics for these children expanded in the following years to include more information on their lives and experiences. In the most recent published statistics from Norwegian refuges (2016), children with multiple refuge relocations receive special focus, being defined as a group with special characteristics

and needs. More information is also provided regarding their school experiences and physical and psychosocial difficulties. In addition, children with multiple refuge relocations are also now included in the Bufdir electronic refuge manual for employees working with children at refuges for abused women, which will be launched in 2018. Last but not least, the findings of this thesis have important implications for public policy to improve the quality of life for the group of children studied and ensure their healthy mental, physical and psychological development.

This study has provided a first insight into the lives of children with multiple refuge relocations at refuges for abused women. Further research using diverse approach is needed to expand our knowledge of their perspectives and experiences. Longitudinal research approach can for example provide further knowledge on their lives after their refuge stays, their school achievement and social life, reactions, strategies and needs. There is also a need to develop studies regarding children experiences of help and follow up from different agencies.

6.5 Concluding remarks

Norway's policy adoption of the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in its domestic law on children and families, together with the engagement of various non-governmental Norwegian organizations for children's rights and well-being, reflect a political and societal awareness of children as social actors and show a consciousness of their right to voice their views on matters important to them. The life experiences children share in this dissertation are complex and may prevent them from attaining a number of the rights laid out in the articles of the UNCRC. For example, a childhood of constant disruption in school attendance and relationships can hinder children from realizing their right to education (Article 28). The Service Refuge Act of 2009 (*krisesenterloven*) endorses children's active role and rights as service users of refuges. However, multiple relocations, whether back to the abuser or on to a new refuge, without consideration of the child's opinion in the process, can interfere with both the recognition of children as service users and their right to express their thoughts on matters important to them as stated in Articles 12 and 13 of the UNCRC. Again, children's refuge stays can last for days, weeks, or months at a time, which means that there could be children who spend large parts, if not most of their childhood, fleeing from violence at refuges for abused women. Being constantly on the run from violence can in turn challenge these children's right to live in a safe and stable environment (Article 24) that helps them reach their full potential (Article 27). Although the refuge stay may provide children with a temporary safe place, their multiple relocations mean that

domestic violence is not a onetime incident but part of their childhood, which can interfere with their right to protection from harm or maltreatment (Article 19). Although the dissertation indicates that several agencies can be engaged with supporting the children, including the police, child protective services, schools (teachers) and refuges, these children still experience prolonged periods of instability, insecurity and limited teacher support. Children experiences of a childhood at refuges may both challenge the involved agencies' responsibility to protect children from harm (addressed in Article 36) and the child's right to receive help (Article 39).

The life experiences and difficulties for children with multiple refuge relocations at refuges for abused women, as addressed above, may require rethinking legal policies and the routines at refuges, child protective services and schools. They may also require a reevaluation of the cooperation between these agencies. Addressing legal policies may start by evaluating how they provide for or limit the protection of these children in their immediate environment. It may also require reevaluating to what extent and how the policies protect children from possible psychological and physical harm caused by the abuser. One example is how visitation policies and/or contact with the abuser during and after the refuge stay may best serve the interest of the child. The refuges, child protection services and schools, may need to reevaluate their procedures for notifying the authorities (*meldeplikten*) about children experiencing multiple relocations. However, the problem of identifying this group of children may hinder agencies from notifying to the authorities. It requires rethinking issues of refuge registration, case transfer routines, data retention regulations under the Norwegian Data Protection Authority (*Datatilsynet*), and possibilities for a common registration base for Norwegian refuges. The cooperation of different agencies may protect children from experiencing relocations and increase their chances of receiving help. However, a clear division of labor among the agencies and a reevaluation of the strengths and limitations of their cooperation are also needed.

School appears to be an arena where children with multiple relocations can break free from their thoughts of experiences of violence. However, the limited teacher support experienced by children in this dissertation calls for several actions to be taken, both at school and in teacher education programs. As a first step, the challenges and needs of teachers meeting children experiencing domestic violence ought to be investigated. Second, the teachers should be provided with a written guide that underscores the importance of their role and advises on possible ways to help these children. Third, there is need to integrate knowledge about violence into the teacher education curriculum and training and to have this

instruction take place over several years rather than being 'sporadic and inadequate', as noted by the student teachers in Øverlien and Moen (2016). Finally, the school should have a clear contingency plan (*beredskapsplan*) for responding to cases of domestic violence, specifying the teacher's duty and obligations.

The strategies developed by some children in this study to deal with their situation at school, underlines the importance of school as an intervention arena. In fact, merely attending school, playing with friends and engaging in schoolwork and activities, can positively influence their ability to deal with their difficult circumstances. Teachers have a central role in both accommodating the children's needs and communicating their perspectives to the various supporting agencies. School attendance is a basic right of children in Norway. In order for children with multiple stays at refuges to attain this right and to benefit from school as an intervention arena, it is important to facilitate their access to school, to provide them with safety and to accommodate their needs. The predicaments of the children interviewed in this study show that much is still to be done to achieve this goal.

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Appendix 1

Regulations from the Norwegian Directorate for Education on the general plan for teacher education dated December 21, 2015

Forskrift om rammeplan for praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning

Hjemmel: Fastsatt av Kunnskapsdepartementet 21. desember 2015 med hjemmel i lov 1. april 2005 nr. 15 om universiteter og høyskoler (universitets- og høyskoleloven) § 3-2 annet ledd.

§ 1 VIRKEOMRÅDE OG FORMÅL

Forskriften gjelder for universiteter og høyskoler som tilbyr praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning, og som er akkreditert etter lov om universiteter og høyskoler §§ 1-2 og 3-1. Forskriftens formål er å sikre at institusjonene tilbyr praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning som er profesjonsrettet og basert på forsknings- og utviklingsarbeid og erfaringsbasert kunnskap. Utdanningen skal ha høy faglig kvalitet og skape helhet og sammenheng mellom fagstudier, pedagogikk, fagdidaktikk og praksisopplæring. Utdanningen skal forholde seg til opplæringsloven og gjeldende læreplaner for grunnopplæringen. Utdanningen skal kvalifisere til å ivareta opplæring om samiske forhold, herunder kjennskap til den statusen urfolk har internasjonalt, og samiske barn og ungdoms rett til opplæring i tråd med opplæringsloven og gjeldende læreplanverk.

§ 2 LÆRINGSUTBYTTE

Kandidaten skal etter fullført praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning ha følgende samlede læringsutbytte definert som kunnskap, ferdigheter og generell kompetanse.

Kunnskap
Kandidaten
- har inngående fagdidaktisk og pedagogisk kunnskap for relevante trinn
- har bred forståelse for skolens mandat, opplæringens verdigrunnlag og opplæringsløpet
- har inngående kunnskap om og evne til å holde seg oppdatert på gjeldende lov- og planverk for profesjonsutøvelsen
- har bred kunnskap om barne- og ungdomskultur og barns og ungdoms utvikling og læring i ulike sosiale og kulturelle kontekster
- har bred kunnskap om læringsstrategier, læringsarenaer og arbeidsmetoder generelt og særlig i respektive fag
- har kunnskap om barn og unge i vanskelige livssituasjoner, herunder kunnskap om vold og seksuelle overgrep, og om barn og unges rettigheter i et nasjonal og internasjonalt perspektiv

Ferdigheter
Kandidaten
- kan planlegge, gjennomføre og reflektere over undervisning basert på forsknings og utviklingsarbeid og erfaringsbasert kunnskap
- kan lede og legge til rette for undervisningsforløp som fører til gode faglige og sosiale læringsprosesser
- kan bruke varierte arbeidsmetoder, differensiere og tilpasse opplæring i samsvar med gjeldende
- læreplanverk, og skape motiverende og inkluderende læringsmiljø
- kan beskrive kjennetegn på kompetanse, vurdere og dokumentere elevers læring, gi læringsfremmende tilbakemeldinger og bidra til at elevene kan reflektere over egen læring og egen faglige utvikling
- kan identifisere særskilte behov hos barn og unge, herunder identifisere tegn på vold eller seksuelle overgrep. På bakgrunn av faglige vurderinger skal kandidaten raskt kunne iverksette nødvendige tiltak

Generell kompetanse
Kandidaten
- kan formidle pedagogiske og fagdidaktiske problemstillinger på et avansert nivå
- innehar en profesjonell holdning og kan kritisk reflektere over faglige, profesjonsetiske og fag- og utdanningspolitiske spørsmål
- kan med stor grad av selvstendighet videreutvikle egen kompetanse og bidra til både kollegers og
- skolens utvikling
- kan bygge relasjoner til elever og foresatte, og samarbeide med aktører som er relevante for skoleverket

§ 3 STRUKTUR OG INNHOLD
Praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning skal kvalifisere for undervisning. Praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning består av følgende komponenter:
- 30 studiepoeng pedagogikk
- 30 studiepoeng fagdidaktikk
- Minst 60 arbeidsdager praksisopplæring som inngår som en integrert del av pedagogikk og fagdidaktikk
Fagdidaktikken skal knyttes til fag i studentens fagkrets som gir undervisningskompetanse.
Praksisopplæringen skal være veiledet, vurdert og variert. I siste semester skal studentene ha en sammenhengende praksisperiode med særlig fokus på selvstendig opplæringsansvar.
Studentene skal ha praksis både på grunnskole og i videregående opplæring. Studenter med fagbakgrunn i fellesfagene i videregående opplæring skal møte elever på ulike utdanningsprogrammer i løpet av praksisopplæringen. Studenter som er tilsatt i skolen, bør ha minimum 50 prosent av praksis på annen skole enn egen arbeidsplass. For studenter med fagbakgrunn i utøvende kunstfag kan inntil 50 prosent av praksis foregå i kulturskolene og inngå i kravet om 60 dager.
3

§ 4 NASJONALE RETNINGSLINJER, KJENNETEGN OG PROGRAMPLAN
Det er utarbeidet nasjonale retningslinjer for praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning og indikatorer for hva som kjennetegner praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning av høy kvalitet. Med utgangspunkt i forskriften og nasjonale retningslinjer skal den enkelte institusjon utarbeide programplan for praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning med bestemmelser om faglig innhold, herunder inkludere samiske emner, praksisopplæring, organisering, arbeidsformer og vurderingsordninger.
Programplanen skal vedtas i institusjonens styre.

§ 5 FRITAKSBESTEMMELSER
Eksamen eller prøve som ikke er basert på rammeplan for praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning, kan gi grunnlag for fritak, jf. § 3-5 i lov om universiteter og høyskoler. Utdanning som kan gi grunnlag for fritak må omfatte praksisopplæring.

§ 6 OPPTAK
For å bli tatt opp til praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning må søker ha
- en mastergrad som inneholder minst ett relevant fag som gir kompetanse til å undervise, jf. forskrift 23. juni 2006 nr 724 til opplæringsloven kapittel 14
- en bachelorgrad i utøvende eller skapende kunstfag med minimum 180 studiepoeng i kunstfaget eller
- en bachelorgrad i idrettsfag med minimum 180 studiepoeng i faget

§ 7 IKRAFTTREDELSE OG OVERGANGSREGLER
Forskriften trer i kraft straks. § 6 om opptak trer i kraft for studenter som tas opp fra og med opptak til studieåret 2017.

Studenter som følger forskrift 13. desember 2005 nr. 1454 til rammeplan for praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning, har rett til å avlegge eksamen etter denne inntil 31. desember 2019. Fra dette tidspunkt oppheves forskrift 13. desember 2005 nr. 1454 til rammeplan for praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning.

Appendix 2

Utdanningsdirektoratet

https://www.udir.no/kvalitet-og-kompetanse/beredskap-og-krisehandtering

Appendix 3

Nasjonalt kunnskapssenter
om vold og traumatisk stress a/s

Kirkeveien 166 (bygning 48)
N-0450 Oslo
Tlf.: +47 22 59 55 00
Faks: +47 22 59 55 01
e-post: postmottak@nkvts.unirand.no

Org. nr.: 986 304 096

.... den,…………………

Informasjon til mor om prosjektet "En barndom på krisesenter"

Mitt navn er Sabreen Selvik, jeg er spesialpedagog og jobber med et doktorgradsprosjekt om barn som opplever å bo flere ganger på krisesenter. Formålet er å samle kunnskap som kan brukes til å styrke hjelpeapparatet, barnehage og skole i møte med disse barna.

Målet for prosjektet er å bringe frem barnas egne stemmer og perspektiver om deres behov og erfaringer de sitter med. Barnets voldshistorie hjemme er ikke temaet for dette prosjektet. Hovedfokuset ligger på barnets opplevelse og tanker om hvordan det er å komme tilbake på krisesenteret, oppfølgingen det har fått på krisesenter, barnehage og skole, og hvordan institusjonene best kan hjelpe barn i deres situasjon.

Det vil bli benyttet lydopptak under intervjuet. Innsamlet data anonymiseres og lydopptaket vil makuleres senest ved prosjektslutt 30.06.2016. Tilgang til innsamlede data vil være begrenset til meg selv og mine veiledere på prosjektet Carolina Øverlien, som jobber ved NKVTS og Arild Raaheim, som jobber ved Universitetet i Bergen. Under selve intervjuet hvis barnet ønsker å ikke svare på noen av spørsmålene, vil dette ønsket bli respektert. Intervjuet vil avlusettes om barnet ønsker eller viser tegn på det. De og Deres barn er fri til å avslutte deltagelsen når som helst uten ytterligere forklaring og uten å påvirke Deres forhold til krisesenteret. Informasjon som blir samlet om Deres barn vil bli anonymisert for å sikre at ingen vil gjenkjenne den når resultatene av forskningen blir presentert. Jeg håper De vil være med på dette prosjektet. I så fall ber jeg om at De fyller ut den vedlagte samtykkeerklæringen som er nødvendig for å formalisere deltakelsen.

Nedenfor er det litt informasjon om meg selv og veilederene mine Carolina Øverlien og Arild Raaheim.

Sabreen Selvik: Jeg er utdannet ved Universitetet i Oslo og har jobbet med barn i ulike sammenhenger som barnehage, kompetansesenter, barne- og ungdomspsykiatri og krisesenter. Jeg har 7 års erfaring i samtaler med barn som har opplevd vold hjemme gjennom jobben min på krisesenteret. Jeg er 39 år gammel, gift og mor til tre barn. Kontakt informasjon er Tlf: 93899303 og e-post er: sabreen.selvik@nkvts.unirand.no.

Carolina Øverlien: Leder for avdelingen Vold og traumer-barn og ungdom ved NKVTS. Har mange års erfaring i samtaler med barn og ungdom om vold i hjemmet. Kontakt informasjon er Tlf: 22 59 55 03 og e-post er: carolina.overlien@nkvts.unirand.no.

Arild Raaheim: Professor i universitetetspedagogikk ved Universitetet i Bergen og ved Norges Handelshøyskolen (NHH). Har skrevet mange bøker om læring og undervisning. Kontakt informasjon er Tlf: 55 58 25 55 og e-post er: Arild.Raaheim@iuh.uib.no.

Vennlig hilsen,
Sabreen

8,27 x 11,69 in

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Appendix 4

Nasjonalt kunnskapssenter
om vold og traumatisk stress a/s

Kirkeveien 166 (bygning 48)
N-0450 Oslo
Tlf.: +47 22 59 55 00
Faks: +47 22 59 55 01
e-post: postmottak@nkvts.unirand.no

Org. nr.: 986 304 096

Informasjon til ansatte ved krisesenteret

Tema for forskningsstudie
Tema er barn som opplever gjentatte opphold på krisesenter i løpet av oppveksten. Et hovedanliggende er å bringe frem barns egne stemmer og perspektiver på problemene de lever med. Formålet med dette er å samle kunnskap som kan brukes til å styrke hjelpeapperatetet, barnehager, skoler i møte med disse barna. Vi håper at fortåelsen av behovene barna selv identifiserer vil gjøre det lettere å gi riktig hjelp i en kritisk fase av barnas liv.

Målgruppen
Målgruppen for studien er barn som bor gjentatte ganger på krisesenteret. Mange opplever midlertidig stopp av barnehage og skole. Andre kan av sikkerhetshensyn ikke ha kontakt med familie, venner og sosiale nettverk for øvrig.
Prosjektet baseres på intervjuer med barn. Målgruppen for studien er:
- Barn i alder 4-17 år.
- Har minst ett tidligere opphold på krisesenter.
- Bor under trygge omgivelser ved krisesenteret.
- Barn trenger ikke å beherske norsk. Tolk vil bli brukt i disse tilfellene.

Betydningen for forskningsprosjektet
Betydninge av prosjektet kan oppsumeres på tre ulike nivåer. Akademisk vil studien fylle et tomrom i faglitteraturen siden det ikke finnes forskning på denne målgruppen verken i nasjonal eller internasjonal sammenheng. Samfunnsmessig kan forskningen gi en viktig forebyggende virkning på målgruppens utfordringer iforhold til skole, sosialrelasjoner og psykiskhelse. Sist, men ikke minst vil studien svare på den etiske fordring som ligger i FNs konvensjon om barnets rettigheter artikkel 12 som sier: «Partene skal garantere et barn som er i stand til å danne seg egne synspunkter, retten til fritt å gi utrykk for disse synspunkter i alle forhold som vedrører barnet, og tillegge barnets sysnpunkter behørig vekt i samsvar med dets alder og modenhet».

Forskningsinstitusjon
NKVTS har ansvaret for Forskningsstudien hvor Carolina Øverlien er prosjektleder og hovedveileder. Studien er også tilknyttet Phd programmet ved Universitetet i Bergen (Uib), med Arild Raaheim som veileder.

Kontaktinformasjon
Sabreen Selvik (stipendiat)
Postadresse: Kirkevegen 41/ 5072, Bergen
Telefon nr: 938 99 303
Email: sabreen.selvik@nkvts.unirand.no

www.nkvts.no

Appendix 5

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Gesundheit

Institut of Nursing

Performance Record Course „International Summer School 2013"

Name Sabreen Selvik ....

Achievement: ....

The Summer School 2013 in Grounded Theory (GT) enables nurses and other health professionals with basic knowledge in qualitative research to develop and plan their own GT project.
Participants will be able
- to describe the historical, philosophical and theoretical foundations of Grounded Theory;
- to critically discuss different traditions within Grounded Theory as a research method;
- to explain the need for, aims of and procedures in Grounded Theory;
- to identify, describe and critically appraise projects in nursing and other health sciences;
- to develop and plan a Grounded Theory project;
- to conduct data collection and analysis in Grounded Theory;
- to reflect on the role of researcher in the field.

Criteria	passed	failed
Participant creates and critiques questions for intensive interviewing.	x	
Participant develops an interview- guideline.	x	
Participant demonstrates her, his skills and knowledge in initial and selective coding.	x	
Participant uses Memo Writing to raise codes to categories.	x	
Participant is able to evaluate the saturation in data analysis	x	
Participant peer critique GT-Writing	x	
Participant identifies the characteristics of GT articles	x	
Participant is able to recognize characteristics of Symbolic Interactionist approaches in GT writing	x	

Performance passed: ☒ yes   ☐ no

Place, date: Winterthur, 30.08.2013

Signature of the responsible person:

Prof. Dr Lorenz Imhof

Zürcher Fachhochschule

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Appendix 6

Recruiting criteria for children

1. Children are aged 4–17 years.
2. Children have at least one previous stay at a refuge.
3. Children are living under safe conditions at the refuge or had moved to a safe home away from the abuser.
4. Children do not need to speak Norwegian. Interpreters were used when necessary.

Appendix 7

Barn 4-6 år

Introduksjon
Denne delen vil inkludere presentasjon av intervjueren, informasjon om målet med intervjuet, informasjon om selve intervjuet og om barnets rett til å avslutte samtalen uten betingelser, samt informasjon om båndopptaket og hvem som kommer til å høre det og hva jeg kommer til å gjøre med det etterpå. Barnet får også mulighet til å stille spørsmål det lurer på.

Bakgrunnsinformasjon
- o Hvor gammel er du?
- o Hvor mange søsken har du?
- o Hvor gammel er de?
- o Husker du hvor mange ganger du har bodd på krisesenter?
- o Bodde du på dette krisesenteret eller på flere?
- o Hvem bodde du sammen med på krisesenteret?

Tiden hjemme etter første opphold på krisesenter
- o Hvordan kjentes det å komme hjem igjen etter å ha bodd her første gangen?
- o Hva tenkte du da dere kom hjem etter å ha bodd på krisesenter første gangen?

Flytting til Krisesenter for andre/tredje .... gang
- Visste du at dere skulle til krisesenteret når dere kom hit andre gangen?
- Hvordan kjentes det når du visste at du og mamma skulle tilbake til krisesenteret?

Tiden på krisesenter andre/tredje gangen
- Hvordan kjennes det å komme tilbake til krisesenteret?
- Er det noen du kjenner her fra forrige gang?
- Er det noen du har lyst å se igjen fra forrige gang du bodde her?
- Har du snakket med noen på krisesenteret om at du har bodd her en gang før?
- Hvordan føles det å bo her for andre eller tredje gang?
- Siden du har bodd her så mange ganger, kan du fortelle meg hva som er bra med å bo på krisesenter?
- Og hva er dårlig?

Nettverk
- Traff du familien din (tanter/onkler/kusiner) mens dere bodde på krisesenteret?
- Hvordan føltes det?
- Traff du eller fikk besøk av noen av vennene dine mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- Hvordan kjentes det?

Barnehagen/skole
På bakgrunn av barnets svar på det følgende spørsmålet velges det videre gruppespørmål 1,2, 3 eller en kombinasjon:
- Gikk du i din egen barnehage/skole mens du bodde på krisesenteret?

1)Hvis barnet var borte fra all barnehage/skole:
- Hvordan var det å være borte fra barnehagenen/skolen?
- Var du borte fra skolen under hele oppholdet på krisesenteret?
- Er det noe de voksne i barnehagen/på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg mens du var borte?
- Er det noe de voksne i barnehagen/på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg da du kom tilbake?
- Hvordan var det å komme tilbake til barnehagen/skolen da du flyttet fra krisesenteret?
- Hvordan var det å snakke med vennene dine om at du bodde på krisesenteret?
- Har noen voksne i barnehagen/på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var for deg å bo på krisesenteret?

2)Hvis barna gikk midlertidig i en annen barnehage/skole under oppholdet på krisesenteret
- Hvordan var det å gå i ny barnehage/på ny skole mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- Ble du kjent med andre barn eller voksne?
- Hvordan var det å følge med i barnehagen/på skolen mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- Har noen voksne i barnehagen/på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var å bo på krisesenteret? Hvem?
- Hvordan var det å snakke om det?
- Er det noe de voksne i barnehagen/på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg?
- Er det noe annet du tenker på som du skulle ønske at de også hadde gjort for at du skulle ha det bra i barnehagen/på skolen?

3) Hvis barnet fortsatte i sin barnehage/skole under oppholdet på krisesenteret
- Hvordan gikk det med skolearbeidet ditt mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- Hvordan var det for deg å følge med på undervisningen mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- Har noen voksne i barnehagen/på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var for deg å bo på krisesenteret? Hvem?
- Hvordan var det å snakke om det?
- Er det noe de voksne i barnehagen/på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg? Fortell mer!
- Er det noe annet du tenker at de voksne i barnehagen/på skolen kan gjøre for at du skal ha det bra når du er i barnehagen/på skolen?

Flytting fra krisesenteret for andre/tredje ..... gang
- Visste du på forhånd at dere skulle flytte hjem (for andre/tredje gang) mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- Hvordan kjentes det?
- Hvordan kjentes det å flytte fra krisesenteret siste gangen? Fortell mer!
- Hva ville du skulle hende da dere flyttet fra krisesenteret den siste gangen?

Utdypende spørsmål
- Fortell mer!
- Kan du forklare mer?
- Hvordan kjentes det?
- Jeg vil gjerne høre mer om dette!
- Dette er interessant, kan du fortelle mer?

Avslutning

Det avsluttes med å takke barnet for deltakelsen og all den nyttige informasjonen hun/han har delt med forskeren. Barnet blir spurt om det er noe mer hun/han har lyst til å dele som det ikke ble spurt om. Jeg spurte barna også om de kan fortelle hvordan de opplevde intervjuet. Vi avslutter med å snakke om et annet tema som er interessant for barnet.

Appendix 8

Barn 7-12 år

Introduksjon
Denne delen vil innebærer presentasjon av intervjueren. Informasjon om målet med intervjuet. Informasjon om selve intervjuet og om barnets rett til å avslutte samtalen uten betegnelser. Informasjon om bånd opptaket og hvem som kommer til å høre det og hva kommer jeg til å gjøre med det etterpå. Barnet får også mulighet til å stille spørsmål om det de lurer på.

Bakgrunnsinformasjon
- o Hvor gammel er du?
- o Hvor mange søsken har du?
- o Hvor gammel er de?
- o Hvor mange ganger husker du at du bodde på krisesenter?
- o Bodde du de gangene på dette krisesenter eller på flere?
- o Hvem bodde du sammen med på krisesenteret?

Tiden hjemme etter første oppholdet på krisesenter
- o Hvordan kjentes det å komme hjem etter du bodde her første gangen?
- o Hva tenkte du når dere kom hjem etter du bodde på krisesenter første gangen?

Flytting til Krisesenter andre/tredje .... gang
- o Viste du at dere var på veie til krisesenter når dere kom hit .... gang?
- o Hvordan kjentes det når du viste at du og mamma skal til krisesenter igjen?
- o Hva tenkte du da at det kommer til å skje?

Tiden på krisesenter andre/tredje .... gang
- o Hvordan kjennes/kjentes det å komme tilbake til krisesenter?
- o Er det noen du kjenner her fra forrige gang? Hvem?
- o Er det noen som du ønsket å treffe fra forrige gangen du bodde på her? Hvem?
- o Er det noe som har blitt annerledes på krisesenteret fra forrige gang du var her?
- o Har du snakket med noen på krisesenter om at du bodde her en gang før?
- o Hvordan var det for deg å bo på krisesenter flere ganger?
- o Siden du har bodd her så mange ganger, kan du fortelle meg om hva det som er bra med å bo på krisesenter?

Netverk
- o Hadde du kontakt med familien Far/søsken/tanter/onkler/kusiner når dere bodde på krisesenteret?
- o Traff du eller fikk du besøk av noen av dine venner mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o Hvordan kjentes det?

Skole
Basert på barnets svar på det følgende spørmål velges det videre gruppe spørmål 1,2, 3, eller en kombinasjon:
- o Gikk du på din skole de gangene du bodde på krisesenter eller på en annen?

1)Hvis barnet var borte fra sin skole og gikk ikke på en annen:
- o Hvordan var det å være borte fra din skole?
- o Var du borte fra skolen under hele oppholdet på krisesenteret?
- o Hvordan kjentes det å komme tilbake på skolen din etter du flyttet fra krisesenteret?
- o Hvordan var det å snakke med vennene dine om at du bodde på krisesenteret flere ganger?
- o Har noen voksene på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var for deg å bo på krisesenteret? Hvordan kjentes det?

2)Hvis barna fortsatt på en annen skole under oppholdet på krisesenter
- o Hvordan var det å gå på en ny skole mens du bodde på krisesenter?
- o Ble du kjent med andre barn, voksene?
- o Hva hadde du mest behov for på skolen mens du bodde på krisesenter?
- o Hvordan var det for deg å følge med undervisningen på skolen mens du bodde på krisesenter?
- o Fikk du hjelp av voksene på skolen når du trengte det? Hva slags hjelp? Av hvem?
- o Har noen voksene på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var for deg å bo på krisesenteret? Hvem?
- o Hvordan kjentes å snakke om det?
- o Er det noe som de voksene på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg?

3) Hvis barnet fortsatt på sin skole under oppholdet på krisesenter
- o Hvordan var det for deg å fortsette på din skole mens du bodde på KS?
- o Hva hadde du mest behov for på skolen mens du bodde på krisesenter?
- o Hvordan var det for deg å følge med undervisningen på skolen mens du bodde på krisesenter?
- o Fikk du hjelp av voksene på skolen når du trengte det? Hva slags hjelp? Av hvem?
- o Har noen voksene på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var for deg å bo på krisesenteret? Hvem?
- o Hvordan kjentes å snakke om det?
- o Har noen voksene på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var for deg å bo på krisesenteret? Hvem?
- o Hvordan var å snakke om det?

Flytting fra Krisesenter for ..... gang
- o Viste du på forhånd at dere skulle flytte hjem andre/tredje gangen du bodde fra krisesenter?
- o Hvordan kjentes det?
- o Hvordan kjentes det å flytte fra KS siste gangen? Fortell mer!
- o Hva ville du at det skulle hende når dere flyttet fra krisesenteret siste gangen?

Utdypende spørsmål
- • Fortell mer!
- • Kan du forklare mer!
- • Hvordan kjentes det?
- • Jeg vil gjerne høre mer om dette!
- • Dette er interessant kan du fortelle mer!

Avslutning

Det avsluttes med å takke barnet for deltakelsen og alt nyttig og nytt infomasjon barnet har delt med forskeren. Barnet blir spurt om det er noe mer hun/han har lyst to å dele med oss og som ikke ble spurt om. Jeg spurte barna også om de kan fortelle hvordan de opplevde intervjuet. Til slutt avslutter vi helt med å snakke om et annet tema som er av interesse for barnet.

Appendix 9

Barn 13-17 år

Introduksjon
Denne delen vil inkludere presentasjon av intervjueren, informasjon om målet med intervjuet, informasjon om selve intervjuet og om barnets rett til å avslutte samtalen uten betingelser, samt informasjon om båndopptaket og hvem som kommer til å høre det og hva jeg kommer til å gjøre med det etterpå. Barnet får også mulighet til å stille spørsmål det lurer på.

Bakgrunnsinformasjon
- o Hvor gammel er du?
- o Hvor mange søsken har du?
- o Hvor gammel er de?
- o Husker du hvor mange ganger du har bodd på krisesenter?
- o Bodde du på dette krisesenteret eller på flere?
- o Hvem bodde du sammen med på krisesenteret?

Tiden hjemme etter første opphold på krisesenter
- o Hvordan kjentes det å komme hjem igjen etter å ha bodd her første gangen?
- o Hva tenkte du da dere kom hjem etter å ha bodd på krisesenter første gangen?

Flytting til Krisesenter for andre/tredje .... gang
- • Visste du at dere skulle til krisesenteret når dere kom hit andre gangen?
- • Hvordan kjentes det da du visste at du og mamma skulle tilbake til krisesenteret?
- • Hva tenkte du kom til å skje?

Tiden på krisesenter etter første gangen
- o Hvordan kjennes det å komme tilbake til krisesenteret?
- o Er det noen du kjenner her fra forrige gang?
- o Er det noen du har lyst å se igjen fra forrige gang du bodde her?
- o Er det noe som har blitt annerledes på krisesenteret siden forrige gang du var her?
- o Har du snakket med noen på krisesenteret om at du har bodd her en gang før?
- o Visste de voksne som jobbet på krisesenteret at du hadde bodde her en gang før? (Var det noen som kjente deg igjen?)
- o Hvordan føles det å bo her for andre eller tredje gang?
- o Hva gjorde du mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o Hva hadde du mest behov for når du bodde her for ...... gang ?
- o Siden du har bodd her så mange ganger, kan du fortelle meg hva som er bra med å bo på krisesenter?
- o Og hva er dårlig?
- o Er det noe de voksne som jobber på krisesenteret kan gjøre for at barn som bor her så mange ganger som du skal ha det bra?

Nettverk
- • Traff du familien din (tanter/onkler/kusiner) mens dere bodde på krisesenteret?
- • Hvordan føltes det?
- • Traff du eller fikk besøk av noen av vennene dine mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- • Hvordan kjentes det?

Skole

På bakgrunn av barnets svar på det følgende spørsmålet velges det videre gruppespørmål 1,2, 3 eller en kombinasjon:
- Gikk du i din egen barnehage/ skole mens du bodde på krisesenteret?

1)Hvis barnet var borte fra sin skole og gikk ikke på en annen:
- o Hvordan kjentes det å være borte fra skolen?
- o Var du borte fra skolen under hele oppholdet på krisesenteret?
- o Er det noe de voksne på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg mens du var borte?
- o Er det noe de voksne på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg da du kom tilbake?
- o Hvis ikke, hva skulle du ønske de hadde gjort?
- o Hvordan kjentes det å komme tilbake til skolen da du flyttet fra krisesenteret?
- o Hvordan var det å snakke med vennene dine om at du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o Har noen voksne på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var for deg å bo på krisesenteret? (Hvordan kjentes det?)

2)Hvis barna fortsatt på en annen skole under oppholdet på krisesenter
- o Hvordan kjentes det å gå i ny på ny skole mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o Ble du kjent med andre barn eller voksne?
- o Hvordan føltes det?
- o Hva hadde du mest behov for på skolen mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o Hvordan var det å følge med på skolen mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o <mark>Hva kan</mark> lærerne gjøre for at det skal bli lettere for deg å følge med undervisningen på skolen?
- o Fikk du hjelp av de voksne på skolen når du trengte det? Hva slags hjelp? Av hvem?
- o Måtte du be om hjelp selv eller ble du spurt om du trengte det?
- o Har noen voksne på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var å bo på krisesenteret? Hvem?
- o Hvordan kjentes det å snakke om det?
- o Følte du at læreren hadde forståelse for situasjonen din? Fortell mer!
- o Er det noe de voksne på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg mens du var borte?
- o Er det noe de voksne på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg da du kom tilbake?
- o Hvis ikke, hva skulle du ønske de hadde gjort?

3) Hvis barnet fortsatt på sin skole under oppholdet på krisesenter
- o Hvordan gikk det med skolearbeidet ditt mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o Hvordan var det for deg å følge med på undervisningen mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o Hva hadde du mest behov for på skolen mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- o <mark>Hva kan</mark> lærerne gjøre for at det skal bli lettere for deg å følge med undervisningen på skolen?
- o Fikk du hjelp av de voksne på skolen når du trengte det? Hva slags hjelp? Av hvem?
- o Måtte du be om hjelp selv eller ble du spurt om du trengte det?
- o Har noen voksne på skolen snakket med deg om hvordan det var å bo på krisesenteret? Hvem?
- o Hvordan kjentes det å snakke om det?
- o Følte du at læreren hadde forståelse for situasjonen din? Fortell mer!
- o Er det noe de voksne på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg mens du var borte?
- o Er det noe de voksne på skolen gjorde som kjentes godt for deg da du kom tilbake?

       o   Hvis ikke, hva skulle du ønske de hadde gjort?

Flytting fra Krisesenter for ..... gang
- Visste du på forhånd at dere skulle flytte hjem (for andre/tredje gang) mens du bodde på krisesenteret?
- Hvordan kjentes det?
- Hvordan kjentes det å flytte fra krisesenteret siste gangen? Fortell mer!
- Hva ville du skulle hende da dere flyttet fra krisesenteret den siste gangen?

Utdypende spørsmål
- Fortell mer!
- Kan du forklare mer?
- Hvordan kjentes det?
- Jeg vil gjerne høre mer om dette!
- Dette er interessant, kan du fortelle mer?

Avslutning
Det avsluttes med å takke barnet for deltakelsen og all den nyttige informasjonen hun/han har delt med forskeren. Barnet blir spurt om det er noe mer hun/han har lyst til å dele som det ikke ble spurt om. Jeg spurte barna også om de kan fortelle hvordan de opplevde intervjuet. Vi avslutter med å snakke om et annet tema som er interessant for barnet.

Appendix 10

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

NSD

Harald Hårfagres gate 29
N-5007 Bergen
Norway
Tel +47-55 58 21 17
Fax +47-55 58 96 50
nsd@nsd.uib.no
www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Sabreen Selvik
Nasjonalt kunnskapssenter om vold og traumatisk stress
Kirkeveien 166, Bygning 48
0407 OSLO

Vår dato: 08.10.2012	Vår ref:28430 / 3 / KS	Deres dato:	Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 13.10.2011. All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 16.09.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

28430	*A Childhood at Shelters: Children with repetitive Stays at Shelters for Battered Women*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Unirand AS, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Sabreen Selvik*

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

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

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

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

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2014, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Katrine Utaaker Segadal

Kontaktperson: Katrine Utaaker Segadal tlf: 55 58 35 42
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Appendix 11

Examples of initial coding and focus coding Sample

Data from the interviews	Initial coding	Focus coding	Concept
Peter: I told the teacher exactly what I have told you.. that it was so difficult to be there [at the refuge]	Informing the teacher about living at the refuge	Acquiring recognition by forcing their story (Forced Recognition)	Recognition
Sjur:..I told the teacher [first teacher] that…that mom and dad quarreled.	Informing the teacher about home quarreling		
Dina: I think he [the teacher] knew a little because they [the school] announced that I had to talk to the nurse...	Talking to the school nurse	Acquiring recognition through adults other than the teacher (Third-party Recognition)	Recognition
Kristine: …the best conversation I have had was with an assistant at school	Talking to the assistant		
Johan:…because she [the teacher] says now the taxi is has come.. she comes to me and says Johan the taxi drove through..	Perceiving teachers' knowledge because of help with the taxi	Acquiring recognition through teacher's practical help (Practical recognition)	

Appendix 13

Memo sample

Memo 1: Peter

Not having the social support from teachers and not being allowed to share things with friends because of the secrecy (demand from the refuge together with possible difficult feelings of shame or guilt), might have stimulated for some children their motivation to do something about it? ..I need to look more into that.. Changing the environment and circumstances at school seem to be or might be difficult. However, working with their thoughts, can that be a way to stabilize their feelings? Can Peter earlier experiences of sharing the burden of this thoughts and story with the refuge worker have benefited his feelings of mastery? And in a way be one of the reasons why he is one of the few have dared to do that with the teacher?

Memo 2: Kristin and Nina

The teacher meant a lot for children's experiences at school. Like Kristin (13years) expressed that school has become better with a new teacher who wants all the children to have it well/ do well at school. Kristin have experienced an earlier teacher who shouted a lot on pupils in class and demanded a lot of them. At that time Kristin was living at home with the abuser. Her experience of violence at home became alive in class as a result of all the shouting (flashbacks). At home she experienced lots of shouting as her parents argued a lot. Experiences of screaming/shouting in class could have awakened unwanted feelings of fear, anxiety. The Assistant in class seems to provide Kristin with a safe space to talk and to release herself from carrying her thoughts to herself. I need to Look more into: What characterizes their relation? Similarly Nina also connected with a teacher at her second new school. She felt closeness and openness to a teacher she didn't know before. She stresses the teachers knowledge of her situation as a key to her feelings of being seen. Ask further Nina to elaborate about this experience.

Table: 1

Table 1. Numbers of children with multiple stays in Norwegian refuges (2003-2016)

Year/ Number of children	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total number of children	1155	1229	1486	1488	1420	1506	1734	1994	1725	1763	1746	1507	1570	1490
Number of children with multiple stays	232 17%	147 12%	163 11%	238 16%	284 20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	215 After their first stay 14% of the number of stays	294 19%	187 13%

Reference: Bufdir (2003-2016)

Figure 1: Ninas Life- span at the refuge
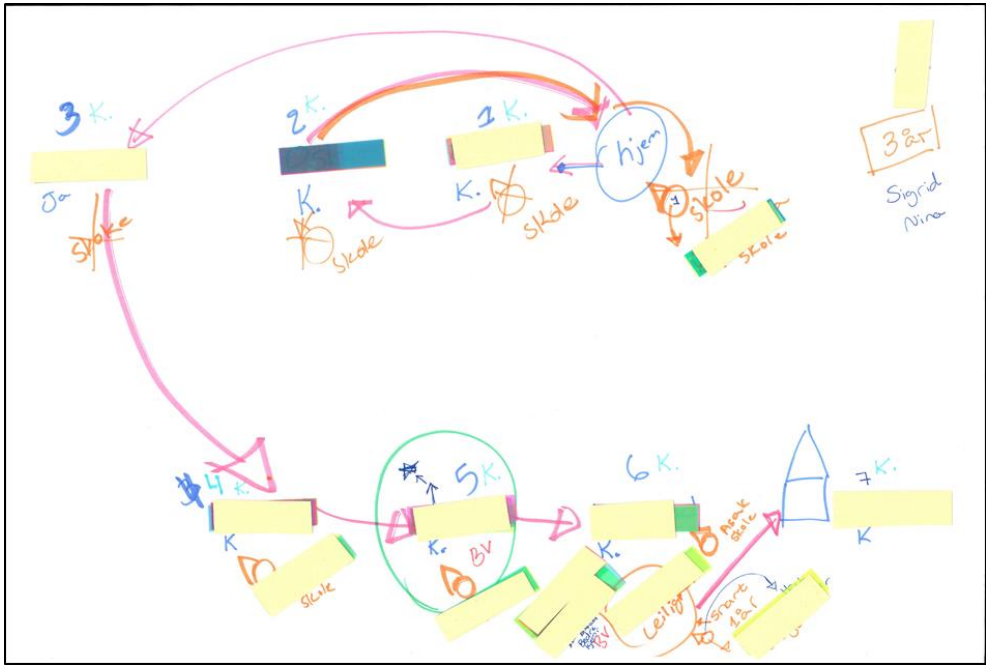
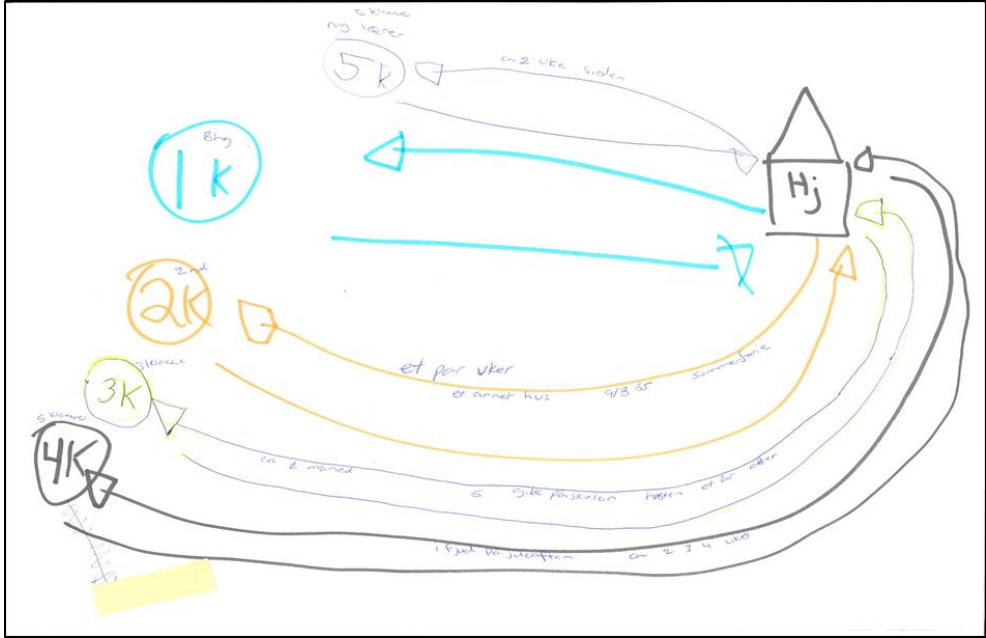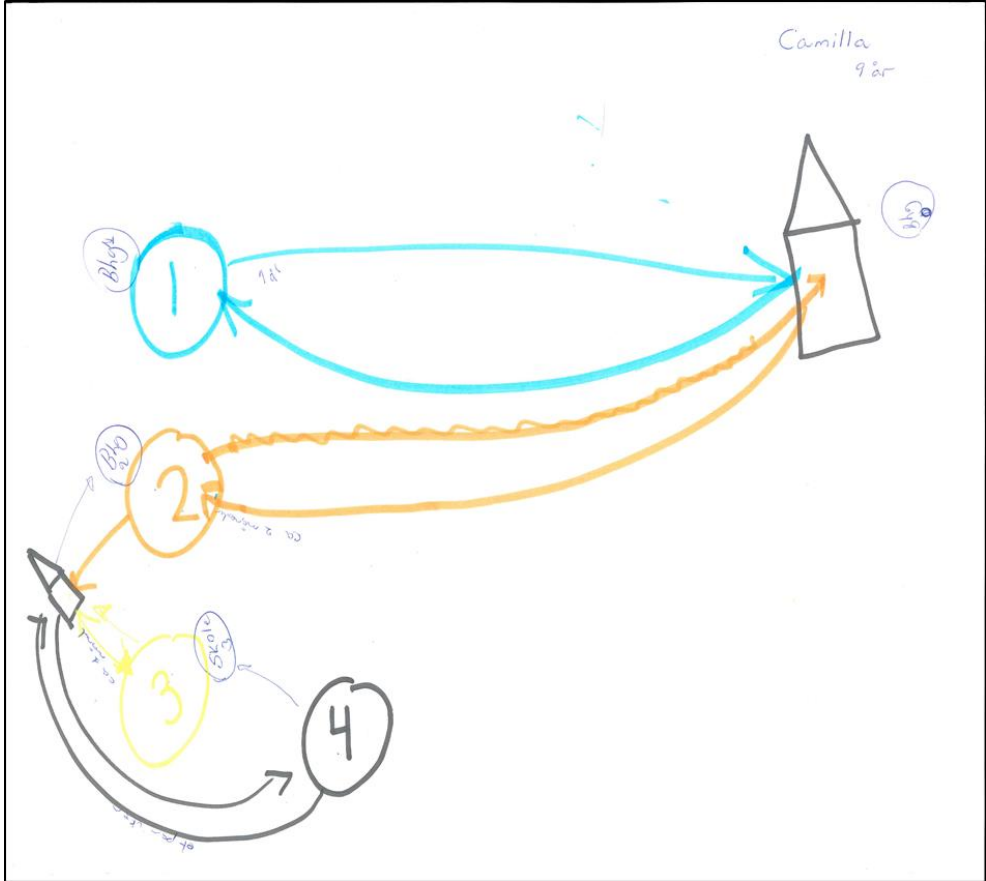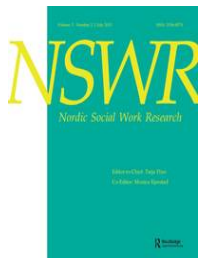**Figure 2: Peter Life-span at the refuge**

Figure 3: Camille's Life-span at the refuge

Children with multiple stays at Nordic refuges for abused women: conclusions, challenges, and causes for concern

Sabreen Selvik & Carolina Øverlien

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Children with multiple stays at Nordic refuges for abused women: conclusions, challenges, and causes for concern

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This article sheds light on the situation of children in refuges for abused women in the Nordic countries, with a special focus on children with multiple stays. Almost as many children as women live in refuges, but research on this marginalised group of children is scarce. This article overviews and summarises existing quantitative and qualitative data to examine what we know about children in refuges in a Nordic context (Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway and Sweden). The literature shows that focus on children at the refuges is gradually increasing. However, major discrepancies among the Nordic countries exist in terms of which data are collected (if any), how it is presented, and what services and help are provided to children. The article also identifies and discusses some of the challenges faced by children with multiple stays at refuges: their prolonged exposure to domestic violence, disruptions in close relationships and repeated disruptions in preschool and school attendance. The available literature suggests reason for concern in regard to the risks of developing social and psychological difficulties, limited access to resources that can help develop resilience to violence, and school failure and drop-out. The article calls for further research on this particularly vulnerable group of children.

Keywords: children; domestic violence; resilience; refuge; school

Introduction

Domestic violence leads thousands of mothers and children every year to leave home and seek protection in refuges for abused women, in the Nordic countries and worldwide. Hogan and O'Reilly (2007) noted in their research that before escaping to a refuge, many mothers and children have already experienced multiple disruptions, moving among friends and family, and perhaps even to new communities and schools.

Mothers who have been abused often report that their children are an important factor in the decision to leave, stay with, or return to their abuser. In Brownridge (2006), mothers reported that fear of single parenthood or having their children grow up without a father figure may motivate a decision to stay with an abusive partner or to return after leaving. Women may also feel forced to return to an abuser for financial reasons, because they have difficulty finding housing, or because they fear deportation (Olsen 1998; Behrens 2002; Larsen 2005; Kvennaathvarf Àrssk`yrslur 2012). Women additionally tend to give abusers 'a second chance', especially after their first stay at a refuge (Vatnar and Bjørkly 2010). Reasons for abusers' violent behaviour are often complex and require therapeutic interventions over a span of time. Many abusive men, however,

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provide their partners with a 'promise of change' without participating in therapy (Askeland et al. 2012). This means that many children make multiple stays at one or several refuges as their mothers move back to partners who are still abusive. In previous studies, other mothers and children report changing refuges for safety reasons: the abusive partner may have discovered their whereabouts, requiring them to change location to remain safe (Mullender et al. 2002; Larsen 2005; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009).

In recent years, a number of qualitative studies have contributed to an increased understanding of the lives of children who experience domestic violence (e.g. Forsberg 2001; Mullender et al. 2002; Larsen 2005; Hogan and O'Reilly 2007; Cater 2007; Eriksson and Näsman 2008; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009; Kristinsdóttir 2011). A significant number of these studies come from the Nordic countries, and many of them have a child-centred, rights-oriented approach. Although the issue of children who experience domestic violence has entered the research agenda in the Nordic countries, however, substantial knowledge gaps still exist (Näsman, Källström Cater, and Eriksson 2008). One area that calls for more research is that of children in refuges. Most studies on service users of refuges in the Nordic countries have focused on the adults (primarily women). The studies that have focused on children have, with a few exceptions (e.g. Forsberg 2001, 2008; Solberg 2001; Behrens 2002; Almqvist and Broberg 2004; Larsen 2005; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009), investigated children's perspectives on the violence rather than issues specifically related to their situation as residents and service users of refuges. Previous studies have generally included only one or a few refuges or been limited to a small group of informants. They come in the form of short reports or small studies (e.g. Støren 1990; Midjo 1992; Olsen 1998; Holmsen 1999; Solberg 2001; Kronborg 2005; Marthinsen and Torjussen 2007).

Statistics collected in Norway, Iceland, Finland and Denmark indicate the existence of a group of children who stay multiple times at refuges. These children have experienced two or more stays during their lifetime at the same or different refuges. Their stays can last for days, weeks or months at a time (Table 1, page 4) (Norway 2003, 2007; Kvennaathvarf Àrssk`yrslur 2012; Denmark 2012). This indicates that there could be children who spend a large part or even the majority of their childhoods at refuges for abused women. Little research, if any, has been done on these children. We therefore know little about the challenges they face as a result of moving multiple times

Table 1. Statistics on children with multiple stays in the Nordic countries (2012).

Country	Denmark	Sweden	Norway	Iceland (Reykjavik)	Finland
Number of children at refuges	1982	1483**	1763	87	1204
Number of children with multiple stays	75* (11%)	No statistics available	No statistics available since 2007	35 (40%)	120 (10%)
Average stay in days	66	11 (ROKS) 43.7 (SKR)	31	24	17

*This percentage is calculated out of 747 children, out of the total number, who stay more than one week and have completed the child registration form.
**This number is the sum of the total number of children living at the refuges presented in ROKS' and SKR's statistics for 2012 (549 and 934 children, respectively).

from their homes to refuges, or from one refuge to another, and how the moves may impact their everyday lives. In this article, therefore, we ask: what do we know from previous studies about children who live in refuges for abused women in the Nordic countries? What do we know about children who have stayed multiple times at such refuges? Based on these findings, what may some of the main challenges be for children who experience multiple stays?

Method

This article summarises findings from studies on children living at refuges in the Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland and Finland), in order to shed light on children experiencing multiple stays at these refuges. The data gathered draw on various resources. First, the following databases and (keywords) were used to locate related studies: Bibsys (child family social work, barn og krise, barn og krisesenter, children and domestic violence), SveMed (kvinnojou*, krisesent*), idunn.no (barn, krisesent*, kvinnojour), Ovid (barn, krise, vold), NORART (krisesentre barn, krisesentre aktiverer barn, krisesenter familievold barn, krisesentre barn, kvinner vold mishandling krisesentre), LIBRIS (kvinnojour, barn) and bibliotek.dk (kvinderkrisecenter og børn). Second, the statistics from the annual refuge reports in the Nordic countries were studied, from the first available statistical report with commentary in 2002–2003 until 2012. This time period was chosen to ensure that important information was not missed, in the knowledge that some topics in the statistics collected change from year to year. Third, personal communications were used in all countries, but especially in Finland and Iceland because of language barriers.[1] Fourth, links to the various national organisations of Nordic women's refuges were searched for relevant data. These organisations are: in Norway, the Crisis Centre Secretariat (Krisesentersekretariatet, www.krisesenter.com) and Norwegian Crises Organisation (NOK, www.norskkrisesenterforbund.no); in Denmark, the National Organisation of Women's Shelters (LOKK, www.lokk.dk); in Sweden, the Swedish Association of Women's Refuges and Young Women's Empowerment Centres (SKR, www.kvinnojouren.se) and the National Organisation for Women's Shelters and Young Women's Shelters in Sweden (ROKS, www.roks.se); in Finland, the Federation of Mother and Child Homes and Shelters (www.ensijaturvakotienliitto.fi); and in Iceland, the Women's Shelter (http://www.kvennaathvarf.is). Fifth, other related Nordic websites were also searched for related studies: in Norway, the Norwegian Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies (NKVTS, www.nkvts.no) and the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion (BLD, www.regjeringen.no); and in Denmark, the National Board of Social Services (www.socialstyrelsen.dk). The research conducted for this article was performed by both authors, with the corresponding author assuming greater duties regarding statistical data and reports.

Results

Nordic refuge yearly statistics

Collecting statistics on children in refuge

In general, statistics from Nordic countries show, with some discrepancies, a gradually increasing focus on children in refuges. A careful examination of the statistics, however, finds inconsistencies in their presentation in terms of availability, scope and details. Thus, it is difficult to do a cross-comparison or draw general conclusions.

Statistics on children living in refuges in Sweden, for example, include only the number of children provided or refused housing annually, along with the total duration of their stay, and the statistics are collected by the two organisations SKR and ROKS. In Norway and Denmark, national statistics reports are compiled with commentary and analysed by external agencies such as the National Board of Social Services in Denmark. They include details such as age, notifications made to child welfare services and approximate length of stay. In Finland, there are no nationwide statistics covering all Finnish refuges.[2] In this article, statistics presented from Finland come from the 12 refuges that are members of the Federation of Mother and Child Homes and Shelters. This covers approximately 60% of the shelters in Finland. Similarly, statistics from Iceland cover only the Women's Shelter in Reykjavìk.

All of the Nordic countries keep statistics on the total number of children staying at refuges each year (Table 1, page 4). There are almost as many children as women living in refuges in these countries – in Finland, there are more children than women. However, it is important to mention a serious shortcoming of the statistics presented. The numbers are not exact because of imprecision in filling out the registration forms. Some children may therefore either not be counted or counted as adults. In other cases, because of anonymity when registering children, the same child can appear several times in the statistics if the child has had more than one stay at the refuge during the year. Therefore, figures concerning children should be considered as an estimate.

Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland also gather socio-demographic data on children living in refuges. An overview of the 2012 data from these countries shows some similarities in regard to both their content and their findings. The majority of children living at refuges in these countries are under the age of 13. More than half of these children are seven years old or younger. Children with non-Nordic ethnic backgrounds are over-represented compared to their proportion of the population in general. They also stay longer at the refuges and return multiple times compared to children with non-ethnic Nordic backgrounds. The number of days that children spend at Nordic refuges has increased. Today, the average stay for children (including Sweden) ranges from 11 to 66 days (Kvennaathvarf Àrssk`yrslur 2012; Barlach and Stenager 2013; Nersund and Govasmark 2013).

Statistics on children with multiple refuge stays

Statistics on children who stay multiple times at refuges are available in Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland (Table 1, page 4). Denmark and Iceland have collected statistics on these children since 2002. Statistics in Norway are only available for the period 2003–2007. The last statistics available are from 2007, showing 20% of children making multiple stays (284 out of 1420 children). However, we know that in 2012, 197 out of 1023 residents (men and women) with children under 18 went back to the abuser after their first stay at the Norwegian refuge. In Finland, statistics on children's multiple stays have been systematically collected since 2009. In 2012, 10% of all children had experienced multiple stays. This percentage includes both children and adults.[3] However, this number describes quite well the situation for children, considering that roughly three-quarters of the residents come with their children, and the total number of children is larger than the adults. Statistics in Iceland stands out as the percentages of these children are as high as 40% in 2012. The reason for this high percentage in Iceland is thought to be attributable to external conditions such as housing availability. In Denmark, the percentage of children who stayed at a refuge during the year 2012 is 11%. However, this

number doubles if we include children who have stayed at a refuge anytime during their lifetime. Furthermore, compared to previous years, statistics from 2012 also show an increasing tendency for women with accompanying children to move to a new residence, and to a lesser extent back to the abuser. This tendency may be attributed to the significant and more comprehensive support provided by municipalities to women with children, as compared to women without children (Jonassen 2004, 2005; Hirsch and Nørgaard 2008; Nersund and Govasmark 2011, 2012, 2013; Barlach and Stenager 2012, 2013; Kvennaathvarf Àrssk`yrslur 2012).

Norwegian statistics indicate that about one in five women return to an abuser after their first stay at a refuge. Of those women, mothers had the highest return rate: 24%, compared to 20% of women without children (Nersund and Govasmark 2009). Danish statistics indicate that children who live at refuges for a week or less are among those most likely to move back to an abuser (Børjesson 2009). They also underline that almost twice as many non-Danish as Danish children move back to perpetrators (19%, compared to 10% of Danish children) (Tilia and Hansen 2006).

Recent statistics emphasise that few of the children with multiple stays in these countries receive aid from child protection services. In 2012, for example, Norwegian refuge statistics noted that refuges did not notify child protection services in 22% of cases where residents moved back to the abuser after their first stay. Neither had child protection services been previously involved in the lives of these families (Nersund and Govasmark 2011, 2012, 2013). There is also a possibility that children may move, with their mothers, among refuges in the Nordic countries. However, to date, there are no statistics documenting this.

Children's experiences

General experiences of children at a refuge

A small number of studies have investigated how children themselves view the process of moving to a refuge, living at the refuge and moving out of the refuge. These studies show that children are often neither involved in planning or deciding to move to or from a refuge, nor informed about the changes that will result. As a consequence, many children described their first move to a refuge as an 'escape'; as such, it is frightening, dramatic and unpredictable. The children found it difficult to leave their homes, possessions, pets, schools, kindergartens, friends and family without the chance to say goodbye (Holmsen 1999; Forsberg 2001, 2008; Solberg 2001; Larsen 2005; Marthinsen and Torjussen 2007; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009). However, involving children in the process of moving to the refuge is quite difficult and in many cases impossible, as it can put their lives and their mothers' lives at risk.

Children also disclosed varying experiences and thoughts about life at the refuge. Most children articulated positive feelings about their stay. For example, mothers in Solberg's study (2001) emphasised that children were positively surprised when they arrived at the refuge and did not want to leave at the end of their stay. Children have described the refuge as a place where they felt safe and protected from the violence of their abusers. At the refuge, they could relax, play and engage in activities they enjoy. They also experienced feelings of togetherness and support from living with other families in the same situation. Furthermore, children valued talking with refuge employees about their experiences at home, sharing their fears, worries and other feelings. They also expressed relief to see that their mothers were supported by the employees at the refuge. However, some children described negative experiences, such as missing family

and friends and being bored, since options for indoors activities may be limited and outdoor activities restricted. Some mothers also observed that their children were frightened at the refuge as a result of other women's reactions (Forsberg 2001, 2008; Solberg 2001; Larsen 2005; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009; Wilèn 2010). The children's experiences of moving to the refuge, living at the refuge and moving out may also depend on the seriousness of the violence experienced. Children in refuges are not a homogeneous group; their experiences differ regarding such things as the kinds of violence experienced, whether they have been directly abused themselves, and the frequency of the violence (Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009).

Experiences of children with multiple stays at refuges

Looking through previous Nordic research done on children living at refuges, it is noticeable that a number of the children interviewed talked about their experiences of staying multiple times at refuges (e.g. Behrens 2002; Larsen 2005; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009; Marthinsen and Torjussen 2007). This group of children reported more restrictions in preschool and school attendance, and complained about limited freedom of movement outside the refuge. For them, life at the refuge quickly became 'slow'. Meanwhile, those who were able to go to school expressed hesitation in making close friendships there, as they found it difficult to trust others and were afraid of gossip. A few of these children were found to be more attentive and sensitive to the kind of contact and help they experienced from the employees, as compared to children who were at a refuge for the first time (Behrens 2002; Larsen 2005; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009). They also had more mixed feelings and expressed uncertainty about their future. In Marthinsen and Torjussen's study (2007), for example, one child informant had spent much of his life in different refuges. He seemed pessimistic about his future, he was unsure if he would ever grow up and he wondered if he would live in a refuge for the rest of his life. In Larsen (2005) and Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang (2009), children with multiple stays at refuges have learned that it may be difficult for them to keep in touch or meet their friends at the refuge again.

Disruptions in attendance at preschool and school

For a number of children, having to stay with their mothers at a refuge means missing school or preschool. A number of children in Denmark drop out of school or preschool as a result of threats from the abusers, or threats of abduction. A long commute to school is also reported as a reason for temporary absence. The most recently calculated Danish statistics on school and preschool attendance are from 2009; they show that three-quarters of 1004 children had to drop out of school or preschool after they moved to a refuge. This was particularly pronounced for the youngest children (0–6 years), where the figure was around 80% (Barlach and Stenager 2010). To avoid these interruptions, and so that children can stay involved in after-school activities and continue to spend time with friends, older children in Iceland often stay with relatives or friends while their mothers are at a refuge (Kvennaathvarf Àrssk`yrslur 2012). There are no available statistics on school and preschool attendance in Norway and Sweden. However, Øverlien (2012) and Eriksson, Bruno, and Näsman (2013) point out that preschool and school attendance is a problematic issue for children living in refuges in these countries as well. These statistics are similarly not available in the Icelandic and Finnish refuge annual reports (Kvennaathvarf Àrssk`yrslur 2012).

Provided help and support

In the Nordic countries, refuges for abused women are first and foremost low-threshold service institutions that offer help and protection primarily to abused women. The extent to which refuges accept children and adolescents, male or female, up to the age of 18, varies from refuge to refuge and among countries. In Sweden, each refuge itself decides whether, for example, to allow a 17-year-old boy to stay at the refuge with his mother, based on an overall assessment of the situation; in Norway, refuges are required by law to accept all children up to the age of 18. Similarly, the obligation to report to the child welfare office varies among the Nordic counties. In Norway, the refuges have had an obligation to report since 2006. However, the variation in cases and situations, and the risk of the mother feeling rejected or distrusted and as a result not wanting to seek help again, may in practice result in a notification not being made.

Nordic refuges share a growing awareness of the effects of domestic violence on children. The available research and statistics show, however, that help offered to children differs among refuges in the same country and among the Nordic countries in terms of competence, quality and capacity. The countries also differ in whether and how they collect data on this matter. Sweden has no available national statistical documentation of services provided to children in refuges. Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland provide statistics and information on services, but differ in the scope and details of their presentation.

Statistics in these countries show that the number of employees with professional degrees qualifying them to work with children has increased over the past decade. However, the methods used by these professionals when working with children vary (e.g. Arnell and Ekbom 1999; Raal 2001; Holmsen 2011). Many refuges offer children individual talks with or without the parent, outdoor playgrounds and leisure time activities organised by the refuge or charitable organisations. Few refuges offer group talks, help enrolling in a new preschool or school, assistance for children's visits with non-resident parents or follow-up after the children move out (Behrens 2002; Jonassen et al. 2008; Forsberg and Pösö 2008; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009; Nersund and Govasmark 2011, 2012, 2013; Tit and Hokkanen 2010; Øverlien 2010b; Barlach and Stenager 2012).

The issue of help and support services is closely linked to the status of children in the refuges. Recently, this status has been progressing in the Nordic refuges. However, such a process takes time. In June 2009, the Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget) passed a law, unique in the Nordic context, that concerns all refuges in Norway and regulates the help and services they provide for children. Briefly, Norwegian refuges are expected to provide services for victims of domestic violence, regardless of sex or age. Therefore, children can no longer be treated as 'followers'; however, in practice. this is the case in some refuges in Norway (Barnet- og Likestillingdepartementet 2008–09; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009). Another example of new legislation that gives children at refuges the benefits of services took effect in Denmark in 2008. It requires municipalities to provide children with up to 10 h of psychological services while they live with their mothers in refuges. According to statistics from LOKK, however, not all municipalities fulfil these requirements (Børjesson 2009). Refuges in Finland are a third example. Although some refuges have developed client-oriented child work, whether children are seen as a client group still varies from refuge to refuge (Terhi 2010).

Trauma exposure and mental health screening

There are reasons to believe that children living in refuges with their mothers may constitute a particularly disadvantaged and sensitive group, and should not be seen as generally representative of children who experience domestic violence. Statistics from Norway, Denmark and Iceland indicate that more than 80% of these children have heard or seen violence against one of their parents or siblings. Over half have experienced prolonged exposure to violence, lasting over a year. Over half have also been exposed to more than one type of psychological, physical, material and sexual violence. Cases where a mother reported sexual abuse of her children by the abuser are quite infrequent and reported only in Norway (0.9% in 2012) and Denmark (2% in 2012) (Nersund and Govasmark 2011, 2012, 2013; Barlach and Stenager 2012, 2013; Kvennaathvarf Àrssk`yrslur 2012).

Studies from Sweden show that two-thirds of children at refuges had psychological difficulties that required treatment and one-third fulfilled all the criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Almqvist and Broberg 2004). Behrens (2002) and Fjeldvang and Jarud (2011) report that children living at refuges had varied psychological reactions to experiencing domestic violence. Many of these children were classified as needing professional help. Children with multiple stays were pointed out in the Danish statistics as the most overloaded group of children at the refuges (Barlach and Stenager 2013).

Discussion

Drawing on the findings described in the literature, this discussion highlights three challenges that can be seen as fundamental to children who experience multiple stays at refuges and their lifeworlds. The first is prolonged and repeated exposure to domestic violence. The second is repeated disruptions to relationships. The third is repeated disruptions in school and preschool attendance.

Long and repeated exposure to domestic violence

The literature provides a solid understanding of the short- and long-term effects of domestic violence on children. It documents the variety of physical, emotional, behavioural, cognitive and/or social problems that children are at risk of developing as a result of domestic violence (McGee 2000; Hester et al. 2007; Hoel et al. 2010; Øverlien 2010a; Heltne and Steinvåg 2011; Brandtzæg, Smith, and Torsteinson 2011). Children's reactions, however, depend on a number of issues, among them the characteristics of the violence itself: its form, frequency, duration, proximity and severity (Grip 2012). Age is also an important factor in explaining variations in children's reactions. According to Underdown (2007), younger children exhibit more problems. Children as young as one can show trauma symptoms or high stress levels when confronted with verbal conflict (Bogat, DeJonghe, and Levendosky 2006). Children living under severe and prolonged domestic violence are more likely to develop long-lasting behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (Sterne et al. 2010). A study by Rossman (2000) shows that children who have experienced violence over 75% of their life demonstrate more serious symptoms of PTSD than children who have experienced violence for shorter periods of time. Multiple moves and stays at refuges mean that for many children, domestic violence is not a onetime incident but part of their day-to-day life.

Contrary to previously held beliefs, children who repeatedly experience domestic violence do not become desensitised to the violence. In fact, studies show that children growing up with domestic violence actually become more sensitive to violent acts and have stronger reactions to aggressive behaviour and conflicts (Adamson and Thompson 1998). Hence, there are reasons to be concerned about the mental health of children who are forced repeatedly to flee their homes in response to domestic violence.

It is important to acknowledge, however, that a number of longitudinal studies show that many children who have experienced domestic violence show no sign of behavioural problems or psychological difficulties and exhibit resilience to overloading experiences. A number of studies confirm a close relationship between children's personal resources, such as self-esteem, cognitive and verbal abilities, and coping strategies (Rutter 1985, 1987, 2007). Other studies also assert the importance of environmental resources, arguing that a child's personal resources alone might not be adequate to promote resilience. Environmental resources including relationships with others, the number and length of exposures to overloading life experiences, and the family situation and neighbourhood are all important factors influencing children's resilience (Jaffee et al. 2007).

It is well established in previous research that unstable living environments, characterised by repeated separations, moves and disrupted relationships and school attendance, may affect the environmental resources necessary to support resilience. Disruptions can affect the intimacy of key relationships, such as those with family members, friends and teachers, and thus the kind of support the child can receive from these individuals when in need (Bowlby 1979; Øverlien 2012; Eriksson, Bruno, and Näsman 2013). On the other hand, the short visits made to refuges by children with multiple stays might provide them with a 'violence-free space' necessary to restore their strength in the face of violence.

Repeated disruptions in close relationships

Domestic violence distinguishes itself from many other potentially traumatic experiences as it is accompanied by disruptions to the basic security and trust children often associate with their caregivers. Such experiences may cause children to fear caregivers, and prevent them from turning to them for security (Heltne and Steinvåg 2011). Recurring exposure to frightening situations may repeatedly disrupt the relationship these children have to their parents.

It is important to acknowledge the complexity of the abused mother's situation, which has to be understood in the context of the violence that she has been living with. However, from a child's perspective, parents experiencing domestic violence risk becoming preoccupied with their own feelings and reactions and engage less fully with their children. If a parent fails to engage with a child's basic emotional and physical needs, this will not only disturb the child's relationship to its caregiver but may also lead the child to experience feelings of neglect. According to Radford and Hester (2006), however, children show fewer behavioural and emotional problems if mothers compensate for their experiences of domestic violence by being more supportive, sensitive, and responsive to their needs. Findings from Holden et al. (1998) show that abused mothers need a minimum of six months after coming out of a violent relationship to recover their maternal skills. There might be reason to believe that mothers who make multiple stays at refuges will have difficulty finding the necessary time to recuperate as caregivers and repair their relationships with their children. Moreover,

Bancroft and Silverman (2002) emphasise that inconsistency in the abused mother's parenting style, if she adjusts her behaviour around her abuser to avoid conflict, may be confusing for the child. The mother's unstable parenting style can be understood in the context of violence as a strategy to protect children from exposure to violence.

While some children are loyal to their abusive father and wish to move back to him, it can be difficult for others who have experienced safety and a 'violence-free' environment at a refuge to move back to an abusive father whom they may fear (Cater 2007; Øverlien, Jacobsen, and Evang 2009). If this experience is repeated, it can affect a child's ability to trust that the mother can protect him or her.

The repeated disruption of close relationships may create an insecure and unpredictable environment for a child to grow up in (Bowlby 1979). Restoring these relationships can be challenging, since it requires extra energy and resources that children may lack as a result of their unstable living conditions. According to Sterne et al. (2010), children may intentionally distance themselves from friends, and may be unenthusiastic about expending the effort necessary to form new relationships.

The need to maintain secrecy can also be an obstacle to peer relationships both while living at home or at a refuge. Many refuges have secret addresses and thus restrictions regarding visitors. As a result, living at a refuge can be a barrier to both maintaining old friendships and making new ones. For those refuges where visitors are allowed, distance can be a problem. Not all communities have refuges in the child's neighbourhood, so having friends over and continuing to attend the same school or preschool can be difficult for many (Larsen 2005; Øverlien 2012; Eriksson, Bruno, and Näsman 2013). If children find themselves in this situation repeatedly, not only may it be both overloading and stressful, but it may also, according to Jaffee et al. (2007), restrict their access to supportive interaction with friends and family members who could enhance their resilience. On the other hand, refuges can provide children with the chance to meet others in the same situation and to experience talks with employees that can help support their resilience.

Repeated absence from preschool and school

Many children who stay in refuges with their mothers not only drop out of school or preschool, but may also have to change schools for safety reasons. Teachers and school nurses may be among the few adults whom children can confide in and who are able to change a child's situation by notifying child welfare services or calling in other appropriate supporting institutions (Mullender et al. 2002, Øverlien 2012; Eriksson, Bruno, and Näsman 2013). However, statistics show that schools and preschools send few reports to child welfare offices (Nersund and Govasmark 2011, 2012; Barlach and Stenager 2012, 2013). There might be a number of reasons for this. Knowledge about domestic violence – what to look for and how to act upon those observations – is central. Teachers might also feel uncertain or afraid of getting involved or interfering in others' lives (Ødegård 2011; Holte 2012). In Øverlien and Sogn's 2007 study, students in Norway training to become teachers and preschool teachers reported, during their final months of studies, that they did not feel competent to talk with children about domestic violence. Similar findings also come from Sweden (Eriksson, Bruno, and Näsman 2013).

Preschool represents an important phase in preparing a child for school. At this age, children develop cognitively, emotionally, and socially through play and contact with other children. Repeated absence from preschool can influence the child's development, and consequently can influence later success in school (Torgesen 2011). Alternatively,

changing preschools for short periods while living at a refuge can also be difficult. The process of adjusting to a preschool can be demanding for many children (Brandtzæg et al. 2011). Having to repeat the process multiple times can be stressful and cause the child to develop feelings of insecurity, depending upon his or her age and previous experiences.

Many children living in refuges in the Nordic countries have short absences from school or change schools during their stays because of safety reasons. A temporary new school can provide a platform for learning, but the learning process may be interrupted if children experience school as stressful, unsafe or tiring. They may, for example, be stressed about how things are at home in their absence and frequently worry about their mother or younger siblings at home or at the refuge. Such thoughts and worries can cause problems with concentration and in following class activities and teaching (Mullender et al. 2002; Øverlien 2012; Eriksson, Bruno, and Näsman 2013). Children may be battling with emotional, behavioural and social difficulties in reaction to their life circumstances which can also prevent them from learning effectively, behaving in class and achieving their potential (Mullender et al. 2002; Sterne et al. 2010). Poor peer relations and social skills can influence a child's social engagement and the development of identification with the school. Hence, children may find it hard to identify as part of the school's community and may feel like outsiders, which in turn may affect the extent to which they finish or succeed at school (Markussen 2010).

Concluding remarks

Children who make multiple stays at refuges for abused women are a vulnerable group. The effects of violence combined with the challenges posed by inadequate support and professional help can mean that these children might be at higher risk of failing at or dropping out of school and of experiencing psychological and social difficulties. Including these children in the statistics on children in refuges in the Nordic countries would be a first step toward making them visible. Secondly, these children need targeted interventions aimed at supporting their performance in school and their social relationships. If and when their mothers move back to their abusers, the children need individual plans to ensure their safety. Finally, considering their severe and prolonged exposure to violence, many of them may need professional treatment. The scarcity of knowledge on these children calls for further research that involves them as informants in order to explore all aspects of their experiences with domestic violence and its impact on their lives.

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Notes

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2. As confirmed by Myllylä (email dated 12.03.2013) and Laaksonen (email dated 20.12.2013 and 18.06.2014).
3. Mentioned by Laaksonen (in an email dated 11.12.2013).

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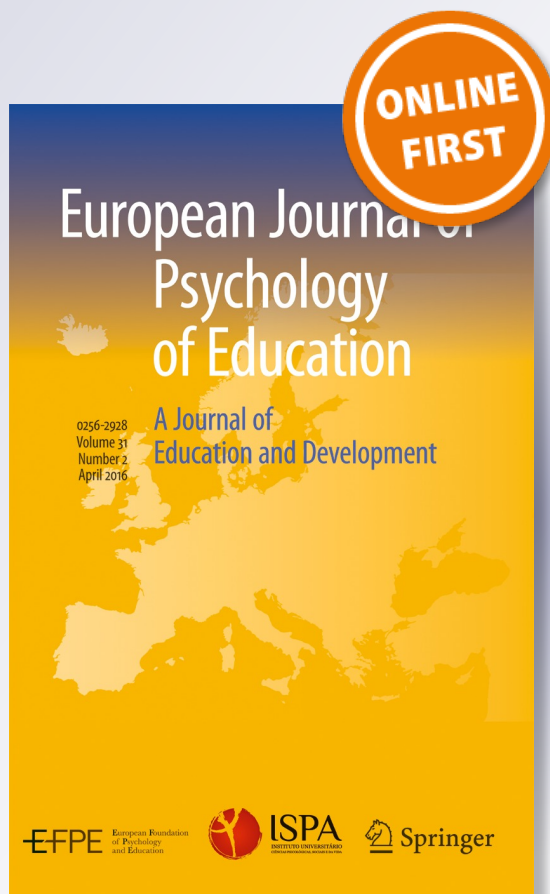
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Children with multiple stays at refuges for abused women and their experiences of teacher recognition

Sabreen Selvik[1,2] · Arild Raaheim[2] · Carolina Øverlien[1,3]

Abstract Numerous children around the world are forced to make multiple moves with their mothers in and out of refuges for abused women. Each time, they experience a sudden upheaval of their familiar environment. For these children, domestic violence and flight from violence is not an isolated event but part of their upbringing. Few statistics and little research exist on their living conditions and experiences. This article adopts the children's perspective, examining the ways their teachers recognize their situation and offer them support. Experiences were collected in qualitative interviews with 20 children of ages 6–16 residing at Norwegian refuges. The choice of "mutual recognition" (Schibbye 2009) as a theoretical framework was inductively generated from the data. The constructivist grounded theory coding system was implemented as a data analysis method (Charmaz 2014). The analysis produced five different forms of teacher recognition—formal, practical, third-party, forced, and coincidental—through which teachers offered children various forms of support.

Keywords Recognition · Domestic violence · School · Teacher · Children

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Introduction

Many children seek protection with their mothers at refuges for abused women, which provide them with a safe place to stay for a period of time. For some children, however, the violence does not end after their first refuge stay and they must seek protection repeatedly throughout their childhood. Frequently, the relocations disrupt their education. Children in a study conducted in the USA by Chanmugam (2009) attended from 4 to 18 different schools in their lifetimes as a result of repeated refuge stays.

Although knowledge about the life situations of children with multiple refuge stays is limited, research has shown that these children fear being stalked by their abuser, that they are fearful when they move schools, that some are ambivalent about schooling and their futures, and a few are notably more sensitive about their privacy (e.g., Øverlien et al. 2009; Chanmugam 2009; Hogan and O'Reilly 2007; Buckley et al. 2007; Stafford et al. 2008; Mullender et al. 2002). Changing schools, or returning to a school after moving away, poses a number of challenges, including knowledge gaps, missed instruction, and interrupted social relationships (Chanmugam et al. 2015). These children share three unique life experiences which may have serious life consequences: long and repeated exposure to domestic violence, repeated disruption of close relationships, and disruption of preschool and school attendance. As a result, these children may have a higher risk of developing social and psychological difficulties, and a high risk of failing or dropping out of school (Selvik and Øverlien 2014).

Educational disruption can lead to overload for even the most capable pupils, as they risk losing supportive relationships with both staff and peers (Sterne et al. 2010; Mullender et al. 2002). The fact that school change may be abrupt and unprepared also increases its negative impact on the child (Øverlien 2012). Hence, a positive relationship with their teacher may become a particularly important source of support, as the teacher may be one of only a few non-parent adults in their lives whom they meet on a daily basis (Øverlien 2015; McColl 2005; Mullender 2004). Teachers may also be better equipped than other adults to understand children and their life worlds, and thus more likely to recognize when a child is struggling with experiences of domestic violence (Øverlien 2015; Sterne et al. 2010). In Norway, it is mandatory for teachers to notify and report all forms of child abuse and neglect to child protection services (Øverlien 2015).

The teacher's role in relationships with children who have experienced domestic violence has increasingly been a focus of research, politics, and teacher education (Øverlien 2015; Chanmugam and Teasley 2014; Ollis 2014; Utdanningsdirektoratet 2013; Justice-and Emergency Affairs Department 2013; Alistic 2012; Hughes 2012; Sterne et al. 2010). In Norway, a new study by Øverlien and Holen Moen (2016) showed that although students teachers in recent years have received more education in this area, the majority still considered it insufficient and desired a clearer focus on issues related to this topic in their educational program. This presents a dilemma, as the guidelines on crisis management of the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training clearly require teachers to report, accommodate, and follow up on children who experience domestic violence (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2013). In addition, although all pupils are entitled to free health services provided by a school nurse to promote their health and wellbeing, in practice this service is limited because of cuts in school nurse staffing in a number of Norwegian counties (Norges offentlige utredning 2003). Similarly, a survey by Buland et al. (2011) found that funding for school counsellors has been reduced, so not all schools have a counsellor.

Teachers in studies from across nations report that they lack necessary knowledge and skills to work with children exposed to domestic violence (Gudmundsen 2014; Aarhuus 2013; Idsøe 2013; McKee and Holt 2012; Alisic et al. 2012; Byrne and Taylor 2007). Corresponding findings from the child's perspective have appeared in a number of studies (Øverlien 2015; Berg 2013; Stanley et al. 2012; Buckley et al 2007; Almqvist and Broberg 2004). An American study by Young et al. (2008), which evaluated the effects of a domestic violence training program for professional educators, found teachers were insufficiently familiar with school safety policies and procedures. Some studies also show that teachers express uncertainty about their role in interacting with children who live with domestic violence or at abused women refuges, which may be one reason they are reluctant to address the violence and inform authorities (Wang 2014; Alistic 2012; McKee 2009).

No statistics are available on schooling and school experiences for children living at refuges in Norway. We do not know what schooling alternatives, if any, are provided, nor what type of help teachers provide. Using interviews with children who have made multiple stays in refuges, this paper explores their experiences of teacher support, aiming to answer the following questions: What characterizes the relationship between children with multiple refuge stays and their teachers? What kind of support do teachers provide?

Teacher recognition

Acts of recognition pervade many aspects of everyday life. Our perceptions of identity, self-worth, and self-esteem depend fundamentally on what feedback we receive and how it is provided, from other individuals or from society as a whole (Honneth 2005; Markell 2003).

Recognition is often associated with positive attention: praise, reward for achievements, or agreement and positive confirmation (Bae 2012; Møller 2012; Schibbye 2009). However, the concept of recognition is wider. It implies the ability to perceive things based on the subjective experiences of other people (Hegel and Wood 1991; Schibbye 2009). In Schibbye's (1996, 2002, 2003, 2009) dialectical understanding of relations, the concept of mutual recognition is central. Mutual recognition includes the ability to shift from our own perspective to that of the other and to confirm the other's right to his/her experience, values, and feelings. Self-reflexivity is defined as the ability to have thoughts about our own thoughts, to be aware of our feelings, values, and assessments, and to differentiate between what goes on inside our self and the other's self. Without a self-reflexive attitude, we risk taking our own perspective for granted, making us unable to adopt the perspective of another. Although this concept was developed in the field of psychotherapy, as Bae (2012) has argued, it is also applicable to the interaction between teachers and children, because it emphasizes the equal worth of partners, regardless of age and position, and highlights the way partners mutually create the conditions for one another's reactions.

Schibbye (2009) operationalizes the concept of mutual recognition through four intertwined elements that simultaneously precondition one another: listening, understanding, acceptance and tolerance, and confirmation. According to Schibbye, to listen is more than just hearing words; it is hearing without preconceived ideas and objections. For a teacher, this means being emotionally available and showing interest in and openness to a child's experience. Such listening makes the child feel important, appreciated, and truthful. Therapeutic understanding is internal and not just external. Through external understanding, the teacher shows sympathy, cognitive recognition, and acceptance. Doing so is especially supportive when the child is in a

situation of great insecurity, inner chaos, and confusion. Internal understanding implies the teacher's capacity to share his/her feelings and experiences with the child; it requires an ability to express empathy and compassion for the child's internal state, wishes, and feelings. Within a vast discourse in the literature about what constitutes empathy (eg. Swan and Riley 2012; Davis 1996; Hoffman 1982), and in line with Rogers (1951), Fonagy et al. (1991) and Fonagy and Target (1996), Schibbye perceives empathy to be the ability to reflect on one's own mental state, believes and feelings when understanding others' and the capacity to sense the inner world and feelings of others as if they were one's own. This is crucial for the child, to develop tools for internal appraisal and the ability to self-acknowledge and understand his/her experiences. To accept and tolerate is to acknowledge that the other's experiences and perspectives without judgment, criticism, or correction. This requires teachers to differentiate between their internal experiences and feelings and those of the child, and to acknowledge the child's as equally valid. Confirming implies that the teacher is focused and present in the interaction and can respond adequately to the child's experiences and expressions (Møller 2012; Schibyye 2009).

Parents play a crucial part in providing recognition and support. However, parents experiencing domestic violence, in the face of their own overwhelming problems, may begin to concentrate on their own feelings and reactions and become less sensitive to their children's needs (Bancroft et al. 2011; Frederick and Goddar 2010). Research shows that children who experience domestic violence are at increased risk of other forms of abuse and neglect, such as emotional violence (Finkelhore et al. 2015). If parents cannot provide the necessary recognition and support, the teacher may become a "key adult." Therefore, how teachers react and what they do or refrain from doing is particularly important in their encounters with these children.

Method

Given the paucity of research on children with multiple refuges stays in general, and their school experiences in particular, we set out to interview children with multiple refuge stays. We focused on their school and refuge experiences, rather than their experiences of domestic violence. In order to conduct research that allowed our subjects' views and perspectives to be ascertained, we approached our data with inductive analyzing method Charmaz's (2014) constructivist approach to grounded theory. Grounded theory aims to develop theories from research grounded in data, rather than deducing testable hypotheses from existing theories. However, in this research, this approach served to guide our choice of theory generated from the data. In other words, we did not approach the data with the existing theories; we rather approached the data to guide our choice of theories. This allowed for closeness to the data and provided the possibility to learn about a phenomenon in-depth through empirical investigation from the perspective of the participants (Creswell 2013; Charmaz 2006, 2014).

Ethical concerns

Following researchers in the sociology of childhood/childhood studies (Hutchby 2005; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis 1998; James et al. 1998), we argue that children should be taken seriously as social agents and as active constructors of their own social worlds, and

as such, should be treated as competent informants and experts on their own lives. However, the recognition of children as "social actors" has created a field with new ethical dilemmas and responsibilities for researchers (Cater and Øverlien 2013). The ethical dimensions of this project therefore received considerable attention. The study followed the ethical principles recommended for the social sciences in Norway and has been subjected to standard ethical investigations by The Data Inspectorate in Norway. Concerns regarding confidentiality, consent, and the child's wellbeing were central. To ensure confidentiality, data were collected from several refuges and personal information of participants was omitted. The mother's written consent together with the child's oral consent was obtained. Since mothers and children come to refuges in secrecy and without the knowledge of husbands/fathers, consent from the father was not required. During the interview session, the child was reminded of the focus of the interview and his/her nonverbal language was evaluated, to avoid over-disclosure and ensure ongoing consent (Schelbe et al. 2015).

Participants

Participants were children aged 6–16 with at least one previous stay at a refuge for abused women. During the period 2013–2014, a total of 20 children, 7 boys and 13 girls, were recruited through five refuges in different cities in Norway. The majority of the participants (16) had an Asian background; 2 were of Nordic origin and 2 from European countries outside Norway. During the fieldwork, 5 potential interview candidates were excluded from the study for ethical reasons (emotional condition of the child, safety, and willingness to participate).

Data gathering

Data were gathered through semi-structured interviews which allowed for comparability between interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). As the age span of the children was broad, three interview guides were developed, one for each age group (4–6, 7–12, and 13–18 years). The interviewer was sensitive to the spectrum of needs for children of different ages and developmental stages. The youngest children, for example, needed more breaks and opportunities to draw and play during the interview. At the beginning of each interview, children were asked to draw a map showing their refuge moves, their schools, and the people they spoke to about their refuge stays. To make the interview session interactive and co-productive rather than purely guided (Solberg 2014), this map was used as the basis for the interview and made the conversation as concrete as possible. Although the aim was to obtain interviews that put the child in focus and the interviewer in the position of listener rather than interrogator (Hydén 2014), we acknowledge that with some of the children, the interviews tended to take a "question-answer" form, perhaps as a result of the children's limited experience in verbalizing their thoughts about their refuges and schools. At the time of their interviews, children were living in safe circumstances away from the abuser. Most of the interviews were conducted on refuge premises. Four children were interviewed at school or in their new homes, for practical reasons. Interview length varied from 30 to 45 min. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Interviews were piloted and data from the three pilot interviews were included in the study. All interviews were carried out by the first author, except for three conducted by the third author.

Analyses

Data were analyzed in line with grounded theory methods (Charmaz 2006, 2014). Codes were organized with NVIVO 11, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software program. The data was line-by-line coded in the form of short labels/naming segments. Frequent and significant initial codes were sorted and organized under focused codes. Memos were developed from significant and frequent codes to answer questions such as How do children comprehend teacher acknowledgment of their situation? What do they notice of teacher efforts to support them? Through subsequent memoing, the concept of recognition emerged from the data. Five types of teacher recognition were described by the children: formal recognition, practical recognition, third-person recognition, forced recognition, and coincidental recognition. To complete the last level of coding (theoretical coding) in grounded theory would have required a larger sample group than the one in this study.

Findings

The children in this study had, over a short or long period of their childhood, experienced between 2 and 7 stays at the same or different refuges. They experienced these multiple moves, whether between home and refuge or between different refuges, as being constantly on the run. They described the moves as tiring, abrupt, and frightening. Some had been more or less confined to refuges for security reasons; others were forced to relocate to a different city; in a few extreme cases, children had to change identity and live undercover, with police assistance. Moves occurred at random times during the school year and resulted in both school absence and change of schools. Absence could vary from a few days to weeks or months, depending on the complexity of the child's situation and security measures. During school absentees, none of the informants had contact with their teacher or friends and only three had access to distance education at the refuge.

The following findings treat children's interviews both as descriptions of their experiences (inner states of mind) and as factual accounts of the state of affairs in schools. Below, we describe the kinds of recognition children in this study perceived from their teachers, and what support they received from teachers and other adults at school. The data show that informants experienced more than one kind of teacher recognition as a result of changing teachers, at the same or different schools.

Formal recognition

Formal recognition consisted of acknowledgement by a teacher in one-on-one conversation. Nina's story provides an example. Nina (age 11) had made 7 refuge stays and experienced long school absences over a 3-year period of continuous flight from domestic violence. She was able to attend school during three of the refuge stays, in different cities. Periods of schooling began and ended abruptly, lasting a few months each. For Nina, changing schools was "…kind of tough…because it was a totally new place and I didn't know anything…." Asked whether her teacher at her third school, during her fifth refuge stay, knew about her situation, she said:

Excerpt 1:
Nina: eh…eh..yeah..when I had a conference with my [school 2] teacher, he definitely knew, he asked me about how things were and such..yeah
Interviewer:…how did it feel to talk to him about it?
Nina: It was okay!..yeah
Interviewer: Could it [the talk] have been better in any way?
Nina: No…It was like…just fine…
Interviewer:…did you think talking with him helped?
Nina: ehh…maybe a little!
Interviewer: How?
Nina: ehh..I could let out my feelings…yeah
Interviewer: Do you mind saying what kind of feelings?
Nina: The knot in my stomach!

Norwegian schools usually schedule teacher-pupil conferences such as these at intervals throughout the academic year. The conferences focus on the pupil's academic development and educational needs. Pupils may also talk about their non-academic development (Elevorganisasjon 2012). Since Nina's teacher acknowledged her situation during a formal teacher-pupil conference, it may have offered a familiar, confidential, and safe environment for both of them. Following Schibbye (2009), we can say that Nina's teacher created mutual conditions for dialogue by speaking openly and confidently about his knowledge of her situation. His approach indicated interest in and openness to her experiences. This created the conditions for Nina's reaction: feeling safe enough to reveal some of the feelings she had been holding inside. These feelings seemed to be important blockages in Nina's learning and participation in class, as seen in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 2:
Nina: I talked better with the teacher [at school 2], so it was…well…a little easier to work in class and such…
Interviewer: How was working in class better? Was there something the teacher did?
Nina: Yes..the teacher..we somehow…(breath)..weeee..(pause)..we somehow got to..eh..answer more in class so we would follow along…and if you didn't raise your hand for a while, the teacher called on you…then you feel like you have to follow along so you know the answer…it forces you to follow along…Yes!…I think that was really good

This teacher encouraged Nina by actively calling on her to participate in discussions. He seemed to be sensitive to her responses, thus asked for her attention when it was needed. By using the same method with other pupils, he provided Nina with discreet support that allowed her to perceive his attention without feeling singled out from her classmates. This also helped her develop a sense of belonging among her new classmates—as indicated by her use of the word "we" about experiences in the classroom. Recalling Schibbeye's (2009) concept of mutual recognition, we can say that Nina's teacher showed understanding and acceptance of her needs and confirmed it by acting successfully to support her difficulties. His recognition resulted in supportive guidance in the classroom and emotional support in the teacher-pupil conference.

Practical recognition

This is a type of recognition in which a teacher may guide a student through new school routines resulting from a refuge stay. For example, Johan stayed twice at one refuge while continuing to

attend his regular school; the distance, however, made it difficult for him to use public transportation, so a taxi took him to school. When asked if his contact teacher knew about the refuge, he was uncertain and used phrases such as "I think so" or "I believe so." The uncertainty could be interpreted from the fact that his teacher did not acknowledge his situation openly and verbally, but only implicitly by providing practical help, e.g., by waiting in her office to walk Johan to the taxi. Johan understood the practical help to mean that she knew and understood his changed situation; thus, we may call this practical recognition.

Practical help with the taxi was the teacher support Johan noticed most. He struggled to turn in homework on time and describes his teacher's reaction:

Excerpt 3:
Interviewer: Did you sometimes not get your homework done?
Johan: Yes
Interviewer:…What did the teacher say?
Johan:Yeah…You have to do it for next time…
Interviewer: Does the teacher know about the refuge rules, that you have to go to bed early and sometimes you don't have time…?
Johan: No
Interviewer: No…You haven't told him or her?
Johan: (Shakes head for no)
Interviewer: Do you wish someone else had told the teacher about it?
Johan: No..it's really fine.

The teacher's response can be understood as an attempt to normalize Johan's school experience by treating him like the other children. It indicates, again following Schibbye (2009), an embedded empathy and tolerance from the teacher, generated out of her knowledge of Johan's situation. However, asking Johan to submit uncompleted homework the following day meant that his work piled up and may ultimately have increased his difficulties. Although the teacher's response can also be interpreted as unspoken acceptance and tolerance demonstrated through practical assistance, it did not offer Johan any clear acceptance of his experiences. Based on Johan's response, we understand that the teacher showed limited interest in understanding the cause of his struggles with homework and overlooked an opportunity to provide practical recognition of an academic kind, i.e., by offering extra help with homework. Moreover, Johan's response of not wanting the teacher to know or make allowances for him can again be understood as a reaction to the teacher's response, or as a possible indicator of feelings of shame, embarrassment, or secrecy (Dyregrov 2008; Sterne et al. 2010)—but it can also be interpreted as his way of preserving his pride and refusing to be a victim.

Third-party recognition

In cases of third-party recognition, children noticed acknowledgement of their situation and in some cases assistance from people at school who were not their teachers: the school nurse and the teaching assistant.

School nurse

Some teachers acknowledged a pupil's situation by transferring the child to the school nurse, who in turn initiated conversations about his/her situation. Six children in this study met with a

school nurse during their refuge stays. The intensity of their meetings and the topics of conversation differed. The data do not show if the meetings followed a general school policy or if there was a process of formal referral to the nurse.

Dina's experience is an example of this kind of recognition. She met with a school nurse during two refuge stays. At the time of the interview, Dina (age 14) had been in Norway for almost a year. In contrast to her first refuge stay, Dina's mother had been able not to return to the abuser, since the family received financial support from the social welfare office. When asked if her teacher knew about her situation, she said:

> Excerpt 4:
> Dina: I think…he knew a little because they [the school] announced that I had to talk to the nurse…I think they…explained something to him, because he asked me if I had any problems with my stepfather. So I think he knew something
> Interviewer:…did you feel that it was good that they knew something..?
> Dina: I actually didn't like it, but I guess everyone knew about it. Anyway, it was to help me. Interviewer:…do you feel teachers are different in their approach?
> Dina: The first teacher talked to me more, the other one helped me more. I think both of them were good.
> Interviewer:…and the other?
> Dina: Eh…
> Interviewer: Did he talk to you about the whole situation?…
> Dina:…he mostly helped me with school things, he didn't want to get into this thing [the home and refuge situation]
> …
> Interviewer:…would you have liked your teacher to talk about the situation at home..?
> Dina: I don't know really…I don't think they [both teachers] went into it very much… they knew I was talking with another person [the school nurse] because of it [the situation].

Dina was unsure who knew about her situation and how much they knew. This apparently made her school experience less comfortable. What she surmised about her teacher's knowledge she deduced from two circumstances: first, being sent to speak to the school nurse, and second, her teacher's sudden question about whether she had problems with her stepfather. Even though Dina experienced the conversations with her teachers, and their assistance with schoolwork, as helpful, she also thought that neither teacher engaged very much with her home situation, either because they were unwilling to, or because they knew the nurse was taking care of her. According to Schibbye's (2009) model, Dina's teacher did not provide her with a listening ear that could have led to a dialogue acknowledging her situation. The only person who communicated clearly and directly with Dina about her situation was the school nurse, whom she saw only on odd occasions.

Teaching assistant

Kristin (age 13) had made two refuge stays. The child welfare office had followed her case from the beginning and communicated with both the school and the refuge. Kristin described herself as often sad at school, so she would not be surprised if others assumed something was wrong. Kristin's interviewer asked if she spoke to her teacher about why she was sad:

Excerpt 5:
Kristin:…it was another teacher at the school that I talked to
Interviewer: What did you talk about?
Kristin:…how I was doing and stuff
Interviewer: And…how things were at home or at school?
Kristin: Both
Interviewer: Do you feel like the teacher changed things at school…after you…talked…?
Kristin:…not that I remember…It was…this teacher that I could trust and who understood…what I was going through
…
Kristin:…it's just how it was…this teacher sort of…helped me…
Interviewer: Was it your contact teacher?
Kristin: No..it was not…
Interviewer: Was it another subject teacher?
Kristin: No..it was really just an assistant…someone who helped…the teacher

It is clear from the interview that the person Kristin trusted was the teaching assistant. Following Schibbye (2009), he was able to internally understand and meet Kristin with empathy: in Kristin's words, he "understood what I was going through." In addition to offering emotional support and understanding through conversation, the assistant was focused and present, giving Kristin additional attention in class. It is quite likely that he communicated the content of their conversations to the teacher. However, according to Kristin, the teacher did not approach her or make changes in the classroom to accommodate her needs during the time that she lived with her abuser or during her refuge stay.

Forced recognition

It was rare for children to inform their teacher themselves about their refuge stays. This was, however, what Peter and Sjur did. They both "forced" their stories on their teachers, with differing outcomes. Peter (age 11) moved in and out of one refuge five times. He was able to keep attending school during these stays. His first refuge stay took place when he was in pre-school and his last during the fifth grade. Peter's teacher allowed for dialogue about his situation and gave him sudden relief from the burden of carrying his secret, which he associated with carrying a heavy load of rocks: "…keeping everything inside..keeping it hidden..it's like having a pile of rocks on top of you. But when you tell someone..it's just like taking it all away."

Sjur (age 9) had a different experience. He was interviewed a year after his last refuge stay. He had made two refuge stays, both at the same refuge, since starting school. After his first refuge stay, in the third grade, he moved to a new home away from his father, but continued to have supervised visits from his father. In the fourth grade, the child welfare office determined that these visits represented a risk for Sjur and moved him with his mother and siblings to the refuge. He was able to go back to the same school during both refuge stays, but changed teachers. In the interview, he stated that he had first "…told the teacher [first teacher] that… that mom and dad quarreled."

Excerpt 7:
Interviewer: How's school?

Sjur: School's going well…the teacher said I had to concentrate a little more about doing things [classwork] and let my thoughts come at home…not at school..

Interviewer:…Does the teacher know things weren't so good at home…?

Sjur: Yes

Interviewer:…does the teacher know you lived…at the refuge?

Sjur: I don't know…

…

Interviewer:…are there still a lot of times that you have to try to control your thoughts…?

Sjur: Yes

Interviewer:….what do you think about when you let your thoughts wander wherever they want?

Sjur:…mostly I think about how they used to quarrel in the evenings

Sjur was aware of and open about his difficulty concentrating, which affected his schoolwork. He related this difficulty to the fact that he struggled with memories of his parents quarrelling. According to Dyregrov (2010), experiences of strong intrusive memories are among the most common post-traumatic reactions exhibited by teenagers and children. Following Schibbye (2009), recognition requires a genuine ability and willingness to give the other the right to their experiences. The teacher's response in the interaction described above is based on a subject-object rather than a subject-subject point of view. We see this in her response as reported by Sjur: "…the teacher said I had to concentrate more…let my thoughts come at home…not at school…" This shows the teacher's external view, which does not accommodate Sjur's inner experience of struggling with memories of his parents quarrelling. Consequently, the teacher treats Sjur as an object; and as an object he can be directed, using a corrective rather than an understanding manner. Regardless of the teacher's reasons (perhaps including lack of expertise or insecurity in her role), according to this model, her behavior can be seen to lack the self-reflexive attitude necessary to adopt Sjur's perspective and display empathy by understanding his inner state (his memories of parents quarreling) as the underlying reason for his difficulty concentrating.

Coincidental recognition

Coincidental recognition occurs unintentionally, in casual conversations between the child and the teacher. The teacher does not know the child's circumstances and the child does not intend to talk about it. An example is the experience David had at his second school. He had stayed at three different refuges and attended two schools in different cities over only a short period of time because of serious safety concerns.

Excerpt 8:

Interviewer: Did they [the teachers] talk to you about it [living at the shelter]?

David: No

Interviewer: No…then how do you know that they know [you live there]?

David: Because I told them

Interviewer: All of them?…

David: Yes…they wondered why I started here…so I told them that I had moved from another refuge to this one [in the same city as the school]

…
Interviewer:…have they talked to you about it?
David: No

Reasons for the teachers' lack of knowledge might include poor communication between the refuge and the school or between the school's administration and its teachers; or the absence of a school crisis emergency plan for cases such as David's that required extra safety measures. Nonetheless, and contrary to the guidelines of the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, even when David gave his teachers the opportunity to learn about his situation, they still chose to avoid talking to him about it. In Schibbye's (2009) model, the teachers' choice to react more spontaneously and their refusal to talk about David's circumstances as he released bits and pieces of information withdraws all opportunities to mutual recognition. Nevertheless, David's initiative to inform teachers at a new school be a response meant to make him feel safe. He may have felt that the more adults who knew, the safer he would be at school.

Discussion

This study shows that children with multiple refuge stays express the feeling of often not being listened to by their teachers. Only rarely do teachers acknowledge their refuge experiences by initiating a conversation. Previous research has suggested several reasons that teachers may feel reluctant to do so. They may wish to protect children from painful memories or protect themselves from the potential discomfort of listening to children's painful stories, or they may have feelings of incompetence or uncertainty about their role (Øverlien 2015; Alistic 2012). The present research did not examine school policies and practices for managing concerns regarding these children. However, earlier research shows that identifying and supporting children who had experienced traumatic events were left to the discretion of individual teachers (Dyregrov 2006).

The children in our study had several rather different understandings of and opinions about the obstacles to dialogue with their teachers. Some believed their teachers did not talk with them because of time constraints; some felt their teachers did not think their situation was important; and others perceived their teachers as unwilling to talk, or deciding not to because they knew the child was talking to other adults. A few children were frustrated by their teachers' reluctance to talk and courageous enough to demand that the teacher listen by forcing their story upon them. Following Schibbye's (2009) concept of mutual recognition, for a child to feel understood, it is crucial for the teacher to be present, by addressing the child's situation and providing the child opportunities to express him- or herself. It is essential; therefore, that a teacher is able to communicate without reservation or preconceptions, in order for the child to feel valued and cared for. In providing this atmosphere, the teacher moves from being an authority figure to a confidante for the child. Children who have experienced domestic violence learn very early on that it is a family secret, and usually do not attempt to share the secret with others. For many children, feelings of shame, self-blame, fear, and loyalty to their parents make them reluctant to share their experiences with friends or adults in their environment (Hester et al. 2007). Therefore, when teachers refrain from asking about children's situation and avoid acknowledging their circumstances, they reinforce the notion that domestic violence belongs to the private sphere and is not a topic the child should discuss with others. Children may also interpret such behavior to mean that the teacher is ambivalent or does not

care, and therefore learn to believe that it is important to maintain a perfect family façade, no matter how painful their life is underneath. According to Radford and Hester (2015), this may make children feel lonely, hopeless, and disempowered. Unless a child receives explicit permission from the teacher to open up and talk about her or his situation, it will be difficult for the child to overcome these negative feelings. Moreover, feeling that a teacher does not care or is not sensitive to their needs may affect not only children's experiences at school but also their beliefs about who they are and what they can do and come to determine many of their choices in adulthood. A study by Sunde and Raaheim (2009) conducted among Norwegian male workers with little formal education shows that individuals with negative teacher experiences are less likely to engage in continuing education as adults.

Extensive research on this topic confirms the notion that pupils who feel their teachers care about them and treat them with understanding, fairness, and friendship exhibit higher scholastic competence, academic self-efficacy, and enjoyment and increased self-esteem, school satisfaction, and wellbeing (Sakiz et al. 2012; Drugli 2012; Danielsen et al. 2009, 2010; Hamre and Pianta 2008; Reddy et al. 2003). A few pupils in this study, such as Nina, had sensitive, responsive, and positive interactions with their teachers. This type of formal recognition resulted in supportive guidance in the classroom and emotional support in the teacher-pupil conference. It impacted both educational performance and the feeling of social belonging in school. According to Malecki and Demaray 2003, this kind of emotional support from a teacher, which consists of feelings of trust and love, rather than instrumental, informational and appraisal support, is the most unique and strongest contributor to student social skills and academic competence. Hence, pupils who perceive their teacher as supportive become more academically motivated (Federici and Skaalvik 2013). Caring support from an educator may provide pupils with experiences that nurture motivational and learning-related processes important to both learning and academic functioning.

Listening means also being sensitive to behavior, body language, and all the things that go unsaid (Schibbye 2009). Johan's difficulties with homework and Sjur's inability to concentrate in class were met with little awareness or sensitivity from their teachers. As underlined by Raundalen and Schulz (2006) and Schibbye (2009), it is crucial that teachers show understanding and acceptance by adapting schoolwork to accommodate children's temporary needs and resources. For instance, children may be tired or have trouble concentrating at school owing to lack of sleep or having too much on their minds (Sterne et al. 2010). In a number of studies, pupils who had dropped out of school attributed this to domestic issues. They reported little if any accommodation from teachers, which contributed to feeling that school was a nightmare (Frederick and Goddard 2010), feeling invisible (Natland and Rasmussen 2012), or feeling they were not believed (Dyregrov 2008) or had a bad teacher (Sunde and Raaheim 2009). For these pupils, school became the only thing they could choose to drop when their life as a whole became too much to handle (Øverlien 2015; Natland and Rasmussen 2012). Although teachers are meant to provide recognition to children, paradoxically, research suggests that they receive little training or direction in how to manage concerns such as these. Teachers are not therapists; however, they should have basic skills that would allow them to feel confident working with children in difficult life circumstances (Alisic et al. 2012). According to Schibbye (2009), providing children with recognition of their experiences is not a method teachers acquire; rather, it is a question of being self-aware in their interactions with children.

Many of the children in this study noticed or believed that their teachers, somehow and at some point, knew about their situation and refuge stays, but did not talk about or react to it.

They indicated uncertainty and suspicion about their teachers' knowledge of their situation. Children were hesitant when asked whether teachers knew about their refuge stay. In response to these uncertainties, some found confirmation of their assumptions in forms of practical and third-

party recognition, while others informed their teachers themselves (forced and coincidental recognition). It is easy to understand that in such cases, children could doubt not only whether teachers were aware of their situation but also whether they would allow and be open to dialogue about it. These experiences exemplify how partners create, in their interaction, the mutual conditions for each other's reactions (Schibbye 2009). Not knowing where a teacher stands, in combination with limited access to a school nurse or counsellor (if there is one), is particularly serious: these children, especially, need contacts with stable, secure, and predictable adults who can offer structure and safety in their otherwise chaotic life situations. The limited contact with the school nurse is problematic too since, according to Øverlien (2012), the nurse and the nurse's office can represent a kind of safety zone for children living in difficult conditions.

Children experiencing domestic violence may struggle in class. They may have concentration difficulties related to posttraumatic stress, lack of sleep, having too much on their minds, or flashbacks to violence from their abusers (Øverlien 2015; Chanmugam and Teasley 2014; Schultz and Raundalen 2006). Failure of teachers to talk to pupils about their home situation indicates to pupils that their experiences of domestic violence are not considered a school issue. This is of great concern, since research has shown (e.g., Øverlien 2015; Schultz and Raundalen 2006) that domestic violence can seriously impede the learning process and optimal development, which may cause pupils to struggle at school both personally and socially as well as academically (Øverlien 2015; Koutselini and Valanidou 2014; Sterne et al. 2010; Frederick and Goddard 2010). In order for teachers to adequately accommodate the needs of their pupils, the domestic situation ought to be recognized as a school issue.

Concluding remarks

Recognition by teachers of children with multiple refuge stays and their experiences helps validate children and is an essential element in providing them with necessary support. Without teacher recognition, children may risk to be left to cope on their own during a critical life situation and must themselves assume the responsibility of informing teachers about their situation. We need more knowledge about school absence and the experiences of children living in refuges and clear school contingency plans for children in difficult life situations. This research also calls for continuous education that provide professional teacher with theoretical knowledge as well as practical training, and better education and training for undergraduate teachers and preschool teachers that encompasses their judicial, social, and pedagogical responsibilities, in addition to emphasizing and clarifying the important role they play as adult in the lives of children experiencing domestic violence and living in refuges.

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III

School Strategies of children with Multiple Relocations at Refuges for Abused Women
Sabreen Selvik

Abstract

Worldwide, domestic violence forces many mothers with their children into refuges for abused women. Some children experience multiple residential relocations and continual schooling disruption. Limited research exists exploring these children's school experiences. This article examines their strategies at school. Data was collected in qualitative interviews with 20 children, ages 6–16, with multiple stays at Norwegian refuges. The choice of 'self-efficacy and thought control' by Bandura as a framework was generated from the data. Data analysis used the constructivist approach to grounded theory coding system and revealed six strategies children used to deal with their life circumstances while at school.

Keywords: Strategies, self-efficacy, domestic violence, school, children

Introduction

Worldwide, many school-age children experience domestic violence and residential relocation as they seek protection with their mothers at refuges for abused women. Some experience such a relocation only once in their lifetime. Others spend much of their childhood moving in and out of refuges, and may even be forced to change their identities. This may occur either because their mother moves back to her abuser, or because she is forced to move refuges as her abuser discovers the family's whereabouts. For these children, domestic violence is not a

one-time experience but part of an upbringing marked by long and repeated exposure to violence.

The logistics surrounding continual relocations and refuge stays, in addition to the dynamics of domestic violence, make disruption in school attendance an inevitable reality. Reasons for disruption may include the increased risk of abduction or harm by the abuser, geographical distance to the refuge, and lack of schooling alternatives at the refuge (Chanmugam et al., 2015; Eriksson et al., 2013; Sterne et al., 2010). Disruptions may be frequent and may occur at any time during the school year. They can present a number of challenges to school-age children, on multiple levels: academic, social and personal. Children may miss weeks or months of school. This may result in knowledge gaps and, in turn, these children may struggle to keep up with their schoolwork, exhibit learning difficulties, and display decreased educational achievement (Raundalen & Schultz, 2006; Byrne & Taylor, 2007). Socially, they may lose contact with friends and key adults, such as teachers, who could otherwise be important sources of support (Sterne et al., 2010; Mullender at al., 2002). On a personal level, children may struggle with emotional difficulties related to their experiences of domestic violence. They may experience worry, stress, lack of sleep, a feeling of having too much on their minds, or flashbacks to the violence, which may result in difficulties concentrating and following class activities and instructions (Øverlien, 2015; Chanmugam & Teasley, 2014). The fact that these disruptions are unprepared and abrupt can increase their negative impact (Øverlien et al., 2009) and place these children at a higher risk of failing or dropping out of school (Selvik & Øverlien, 2014). The results from a Norwegian national survey with secondary high school pupils (ages 18-19) shows that the effects of exposure to violence during childhood indirectly influenced their academic achievement through the impact it had on their social relations and psychological health (Huang & Mossige 2012). Not all children experience difficulties at school. Some may appreciate school as a place where they can

escape from their situation and feel safe (Buckley et al., 2007). Doing well at school and following school routines can be a way for them to attain control over their lives (Mullender et al., 2002). However, the actions taken (or not taken) by their teachers also play a role in creating a climate of favourable or unfavourable experiences for these pupils. In studies, children have described school as 'a nightmare' (Frederick & Goddard, 2010) or a 'rough time' because of a lack of understanding from their teachers (Buckley et al., 2007), and feeling 'invisible and unnoticed' during their school years (Natland & Rasmussen, 2012). Young people with negative school experiences are more likely to participate in various risk behaviours (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2009).

School is particularly important for pupils who experience domestic violence, as it can link them and their families to potential sources of assistance, such as school interventions and teacher support (Øverlien, 2015; Moore & McArthur, 2011; Raundalen & Schultz, 2006). However, despite increased attention to the importance of the teacher's role, and efforts to enhance educator competency in this area, multiple studies have indicated that professional teachers and teachers-in-training still lack sufficient competence and expertise in encounters with child domestic violence victims (Øverlien & Holen Moen, 2016; Wang, 2014; McKee & Holt, 2012; Alisic, 2012; Young et al., 2008; Byrne & Taylor, 2007). Correspondingly, a study of children with multiple refuge relocations (Selvik et al., 2016) revealed that they experience, little, if any, teacher support. Children in the study were mostly left to cope on their own at school and often had to shoulder the responsibility of themselves informing teachers about their circumstances. They believed their teachers did not talk to them for various reasons: time limitations, unwillingness to talk, reduced priority of the seriousness of their situation, or because the children were talking to other adults such as school nurses or teaching assistants. A few children were courageous enough to force their story on their

teachers, but the majority believed that their teachers somehow had knowledge of their situation and experiences but chose not to react to it. This study raises a number of questions concerning these children's experiences at school. The present article will explore one of these questions, regarding the strategies children use when their situation goes largely unrecognized by their teacher. It aims to answer the following question: **How do children with multiple refuge relocations deal with their life circumstances while at school?**

Self-efficacy and Thought Control

Children face an endless number of decisions, challenges, and problems in their daily lives. Though some develop emotional and behavioural difficulties, the majority are able to overcome such challenges in an adequate way. Children who believe in their ability to mobilize motivation and cognitive resources and pursue action to control and solve a problem have what Bandura (1997) calls self-efficacy. Self-efficacy reflects an optimistic self-belief in one's ability and confidence to cope with a variety of demanding situations (Schwarzer, 1994) and gives children a sense of control over their environment (Scholz et al., 2002). This self-belief influences the actions they choose to take, how long they persist in the face of challenges, their resilience to difficulty, how much stress they experience in coping with life demands, whether their thoughts are self-hindering or self-aiding, and the level of accomplishment they achieve (Benight & Bandura, 2004; Bandura 1997). A high level of self-efficacy is related to positive emotions and effective problem solving (Bandura, 1997), life satisfaction (Gilman & Huebner, 2003), and strong feelings of wellbeing and high self-esteem (Kvarme et al., 2009; Flammer, 1990). Self-belief is important for pupils' adaptability, motivation, and efforts to learn, which can help them persevere in school even when life in general is difficult (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2009; Bandura et al., 2001).

Self-efficacy can be domain-specific, related to specific situations. For example, social and assertive self-efficacy includes experiences of meeting other's expectations. Academic self-efficacy includes meeting achievement goals. Self-efficacy is acquired from four different sources of information. The first is mastering experiences, whereby children can attribute the success of their efforts to control their environment to ability rather than pure luck. Second, what children can and cannot do may be influenced by direct feedback from others that motivates their efforts (verbal persuasion). Third, children observe what others do or refrain from doing and use this information to build expectations for their own behaviour (vicarious reinforcement). Fourth and finally, children's awareness of their unpleasant or comfortable physiological sensations can make them feel doubt or confidence, respectively, in their competence (physiological and emotional state). Such feelings influence self-efficacy as children learn to associate poor performance with aversive physiological arousal and good performance with positive physiological arousal (Joët et al., 2011; Usher & Pajares, 2008; Bandura, 1997).

Difficult life situations, including experiences of domestic violence, may be accompanied by intrusive worry and stress. Most children develop strategies to control these stressful thoughts and adapt to their environment. However, some strategies are more adaptive than others. According to Bandura (1997), the most powerful way of eradicating intrusive thoughts is by gaining mastery over what triggers the disturbing train of thought. He calls this 'thought control efficacy.' He defines it as the capacity to manage one's own thought processes and exercise control over one's consciousness. It can help regulate how individuals feel and behave, and thus has a vital role in maintaining their emotional well-being. The cognitive processes involved in exercising control over thinking can take many forms and may for example involve: lowering expectations, reducing aspirations, favourably comparing one's

own difficulties to those of others, viewing one's difficult situation as an improvement compared to the past, focusing on the positive parts of one's existing realities, optimistic faith in the future, finding one's priorities, engaging in joyful activities related to individual interests, and/or any other formation.

Children's early experiences of belief in their powers of control are centred in the family through interaction with responsive parents (Joët et al., 2011). However, children exposed to domestic violence may not have this opportunity, because their parents are submerged in their experiences of violence, occupied with their own feelings and reactions, and may, as a consequence, become less sensitive to their children's needs (Staf & Almqvist, 2015; Bancroft et al., 2011; Frederick & Goddar, 2010). Generally, the coping strategies of children experiencing difficult life circumstances are strengthened when they have access to a non-traumatized parent (Øverlien & Hydèn, 2009). When parents are unable to assist, a teacher can become an important figure in these children's lives. Teacher responses can influence the pace at which pupils experiencing difficult life circumstances overcome their reactions in school (Schultz & Langballe, 2016).

Method

This article is part of a doctoral research project, 'A Childhood at Refuges,' that studies Norwegian children with multiple refuge relocations, focusing on their school and refuge experiences rather than their experiences of domestic violence. The focus in this article is more specifically limited to how children describe their strategies for dealing with their life circumstances when at school. This research seeks to ascertain the views and perspectives of the research participants. Therefore, children were interviewed and Charmaz's constructivist approach to grounded theory was used to inductively analyse the data collected. Grounded

theory aims to develop theories from research grounded in data, rather than deducing testable hypotheses from existing theories. In this research, rather than approaching the data with existing theories, the data were allowed to guide the choice of theoretical framework. This method allowed closeness to the data and made it possible to learn about the phenomenon comprehensively, through empirical investigation from the perspective of the participants (Creswell, 2012; Charmaz, 2006, 2014).

Data analyses

Data analysis was carried out according to the grounded theory method (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). Children's interview answers were coded and organized using a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software program (NVIVO 11). A line-by-line approach was used to code the data in short labels/naming segments. Focused codes were used to organize and sort frequent and significant initial codes, which were subsequently used to develop memos. Through thorough memoing, the concept of 'thought control' emerged from the data. Children described several strategies, both conscious and not, for controlling their thoughts. These included: 1) imaginative safety; 2) recreational learning; 3) healing talks; 4) divertive play; 5) positive thinking; 6) creative explanations. The final level of coding in grounded theory (theoretical coding) could not be achieved because of the limited sample size and a lack of access to informants for follow-up interviews.

Ethics

Work in the sociology of childhood/childhood studies (Hutchby, 2005; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis 1998a, 1998b; James et al., 1998) suggests that children be taken seriously as social agents and active constructors of their own social world. In addition, children should be treated as competent informants and experts on their own life. However, this is considered a

field with new ethical dilemmas and responsibilities for researchers dealing with children as 'social actors' (Cater & Øverlien, 2013). Therefore, ethics received a considerable amount of attention in this study. The study followed the ethical principles recommended for the social sciences in Norway, and was subject to standard ethical investigations by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). Written consent from the mother was obtained alongside verbal consent from the child. Since mothers and children come to refuges in secrecy, without their abusers knowing, consent from fathers was not required. The consent and confidentiality of the children were essential; therefore, data were collected from several refuges anonymously and any personal information that could identify the participants was omitted. Interview participants were reminded of the focus of the interview topic and their nonverbal language was evaluated to avoid over-disclosure and ensure on-going consent during the interview sessions (Schelbe et al., 2015).

Sample

The study was conducted between the years 2013 and 2014. The sample size was 20 and included 13 girls and 7 boys. Participants were between the ages of 6 and 16 and all had at least one previous refuge stay. They were recruited from five refuges in different cities in Norway. Sixteen participants were of Asian background, two were of Nordic origin, and two were from other European countries. Five more potential participants were excluded from the study for ethical reasons related to their emotional condition and safety and/or willingness to take part in the study.

Data gathering

Data was gathered using semi-structured interviews, which allowed for comparability between interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The age span of the children interviewed

was broad and three interview guides were developed, one for each age group of 4–6, 7–12, and 13–18. The interviewer was sensitive to the spectrum of needs for children of different ages and developmental stages (e.g. the interviewer allowed more breaks and play time during the interview). All but six interviews began with the child drawing a map (for an example, see Figure 1) that showed their refuge moves, their schools, and the people they spoke to about their refuge stays. This map was used as the basis for the interview and made the conversation as concrete as possible, making the interview session more interactive and co-productive rather than purely guided by the interviewer (Solberg, 2014). Three interviews were piloted at the beginning of the study and eventually included in the main study. Some of the children were probably inexperienced with verbalizing their thoughts and feelings about their refuges and school; hence, some of the interviews took a 'question-answer' form, even though the researcher aimed to be a listener rather than an interrogator (Hyden, 2014). Additionally, the interviews were conducted while the children were living at a safe place, removed from their abusers. Most of the interviews took place at the refuges; however, for practical reasons, four children were interviewed at their schools or in their new homes. The interviews lasted 30–45 minutes and were all recorded and transcribed verbatim. All interviews were conducted by the author, except for three interviews conducted by the project leader and academic supervisor.

Figure 1: Home-refuge relocation. The house represents Peter's home with the abuser. The numbered circles represent his multiple refuge stays.

Findings

Children voiced frustration at having to cope with repeatedly changing and leaving schools as their mothers fled from violence. Some expressed feelings of stress and anxiety about these

moves, especially having to deal repeatedly with new school environments, regulations, friends and teachers. They reported that they sometimes had difficulty concentrating in class. Their concentration difficulties were triggered by thoughts about secrecy, safety, insecurity about the future, and flashbacks to the violence. The majority had trouble completing classwork, following class instructions, and turning in homework. The security measures surrounding their refuge stays were high and all children were expected to keep their stays a secret.

A few children developed different strategies to deal with their circumstances while at school. Some used more than one strategy. During the interview sessions some seemed to be aware of their strategies (Camille, Lucinda, Nina). Camille was able to describe how, since preschool, she had developed strategies to handle her situation. For other participants (Peter, David, Sjur, Johan), awareness of strategies was not explicitly addressed in their interviews. However, this latter group may have become aware of their strategies during the interviews, as they received the opportunity to describe and reflect on their actions at school through their interaction with the interviewer. The general aim of their strategies was to regulate their emotional state at school by maintaining control over intrusive thoughts about their experiences and the stressors accompanying school disruptions. Children adopted different strategies in class, on the playground, and in contacts with friends and teachers to control their intrusive thoughts. Neither their difficulties, their needs and worries, nor their strategies were verbally addressed by their teachers. The interview session was the first time they talked with anyone about their strategies. The following sections present the strategies adopted by these children and discuss them in relation to self-efficacy theory and thought control efficacy (Bandura, 1997).

Imaginative safety

Many children who live in refuges struggle with the issue of safety at school. They report being threatened (Sterne et al., 2010) or stalked by an abuser (Nikupeteri Laitinen, 2015). From preschool to sixth grade, Peter (age 11) relocated five times to the same refuge. He experienced violence against both his mother and a sibling. During his relocations he was able to continue at the same school. No restraining order was placed on his family's abuser. After sharing his experiences with his teacher, Peter experienced a change in her behaviour, saying: "…she sits a bit more with me, a bit more than the others [classmates]." The teacher made concrete efforts in the classroom: Peter felt she cared more, was extra-attentive to him during class, encouraged his participation, and praised him whenever possible. Peter was constantly occupied with the thought that his family's abuser might appear. The thought of suddenly meeting his father at school, on the street, or anywhere else troubled him, and he referred to it at different times during the interview session. The following excerpt illustrates this worry and Peter's train of thought regarding what would happen if this scenario occurred, e.g. during recess.

    Excerpt 1

    Interviewer:…did you think a bit about this [the abuser showing up] at school?

    Peter: Yes.

    Interviewer: Did you talk about this with anyone?

    Peter: Eh, yes. Suzanne, my contact teacher.

    Interviewer: And what did you agree on?

    Peter: She [contact teacher] knows that [Peter lives at the refuge and is afraid of his

    father], so she will tell the other teachers and the school principal. So if he [the abusive

    father]…then they will all stop him from coming.

Interviewer:…did you have a plan?

Peter: I don't know.

Interviewer:…like if it was recess, and he suddenly showed up.

Peter: Yes, but then there are many teachers outside [on the playground], since they are like

patrols…so they will stop him [the abuser] like the police would do…and force him to leave….

Interviewer:…How did you feel at school then?

Peter: Then I felt a lot safer.

Peter's worry about his father appearing at school was possibly intensified by the lack of a restraining order. His train of thought (an imagined mastery of threats), involving his contact teacher informing school staff about his situation in order to protect him at recess if his abuser appeared, was never discussed between Peter and his regular teacher. This is evident from Peter's lack of awareness of any safety plan to protect him from his abuser at school. In relation of thought control efficacy (Bandura, 1997), the train of thought that constructed Peter's 'imaginative safety' was an example of a cognitive process whereby he achieved a sense of security in his immediate school environment by attaining control over worrisome thoughts. Peter influenced his self-efficacy, his sense of control, by imagining others (teachers) behaving effectively. His belief in his teachers' effective behaviour was based on earlier experiences with his contact teacher. In the classroom, Peter was able to observe his teacher responding effectively to his needs. The teacher's responsive reaction seems to have supported his sense of control, helping confirm that by sharing his experience of domestic violence, he could affect his experience in class. It also seems to have supported Peter's belief that teachers would behave in a similarly effective way in different places and situations at

school. Peter's thoughts about his contact teacher's effective behaviour, and about being surrounded by adults who knew of his situation and took it seriously, helped him direct his attention away from the potential threat posed by the abuser and influenced how he perceived and cognitively processed this threat at school. As a result, he was able to control his fear and shift his attention away from the potential dangers of school and towards its potential as a safe place. Through his actions, Peter sought to create a school environment that felt safe and that enabled learning and positive social interaction.

Recreational learning

Some pupils used school activities, such as classwork, to distance themselves from their situation. Both Camille (age 9) and Nina (age 11) prioritized schoolwork over events at home. When painful thoughts arose, Camille liked to do more classwork, saying, "learning and thinking take away difficult thoughts." Nina relocated seven times to five different refuges in several cities within three years, as her abusive father repeatedly tracked down the family. For security reasons, she could continue her schooling during only four of her refuge stays. She said that she was able to excel at her schoolwork even as she transitioned between schools.

> *Excerpt 2*
>
> Interviewer: Did you do OK keeping up in school…?
> Nina: Ehhhhh…yeah…I didn't let what happened at home get in the way of school.
> Interviewer:…did you have to work hard to manage that…?
> Nina: No, I just actually…I have actually always been at the highest level in all my subjects…I have…always mastered all my subjects so…emmmm…no, I didn't let what happened at home get in the way of school.
> Interviewer: How did you manage to keep up?

Nina: (Firmly) I just preferred not to think about it [at school].

In terms of thought control efficacy (Bandura, 1997), Nina's use of learning and classwork as strategies to shift her attention away from an unwanted train of thought shows that these activities did not require extra effort; in fact they were a source of strength, offering her a sense of self-belief that drew on her earlier academic mastering experiences. For Nina, being in class automatically immersed her in engrossing learning activities. Her perceived efficacy in controlling unwanted thoughts was apparently attained through engagement in activities that gave meaning and satisfaction to her everyday life (e.g. mastering classwork and enjoyable learning). In this way, she attained thought control through the production of positive trains of thought and self-attraction to desired thoughts having to do with learning and school achievement, rather than self-distraction from aversive thoughts. In other words, she controlled her thoughts through engrossing herself in activities for their recreational character – not just by keeping busy to avoid thinking about unpleasantness at home. This not only helped her to reduce difficult intrusive thoughts but also hindered unwanted thoughts from becoming reminders of positive diversions (backward cueing).

Healing talks

Social support from teachers (Peter, age 11; Sjur, age 9) or friends (Camille, age 9) at school can be a great help in managing difficult experiences. The children in this study used this type of support to prevent negative thoughts. Peter and Sjur were the only two participants who had shared their home experiences with their teachers. While Peter's teacher gave him the opportunity to engage in a short dialogue about his situation, giving Peter a sense of relief, Sjur's teacher responded by asking Sjur to concentrate more in class and allow himself to think about this troubles at home, not at school. Camille reached out not to a teacher but to a

friend. She had experienced four relocations to two refuges in different cities. She mentioned several times during the interview sessions that she struggled while at school with "painful thoughts." At her second refuge stay, she had to change identity before moving to a secret address. During this period she decided to unburden herself to her best friend. The following excerpt illustrates one way she dealt with her painful thoughts at school.

Excerpt 3

Interviewer:…have you talked with…anyone at school about them [the thoughts]?

Camille: Mm. My friend.

Interviewer: Oh?

Camille: And this is a friend that I like very much…

Interviewer: Yes?

Camille:...because her mom is a psychologist. So she knows how you should behave…if you're not doing well.

Interviewer:…do you talk to her about these thoughts?

Camille: Yes. Mm.

Interviewer:…and what does she say then?

Camille: Then she gives me tips…and tells me what I should do…and why I have them.

Interviewer:…can you give me an example?…

Camille: If I, for example, get painful thoughts, and I try to set them aside…

Interviewer: Yes.

Camille:...and I don't manage…then I go to her and then…she gives me psychological answers.…

Camille's decision to talk about her difficulties with her friend, despite the heavy security measures surrounding her refuge stay, can be understood in two ways: first, in terms of her closeness to this girlfriend, whom she "like[s] very much," and second, in terms of her belief in her friend's ability to help. This belief is built on Camille's knowledge that her friend has 'a mother who is a psychologist' and her resulting perception that the friend would know how to act when others are upset. Camille's strong belief in her friend's abilities encouraged her to turn to her friend whenever she had a thought that was difficult to handle or control. With reference to thought control efficacy (Bandura, 1997), she experienced these talks as informative. They provided explanations, reasoning, and guidance for action. The talks apparently had a persuasive effect, as they cultivated Camille's belief in her own capabilities while simultaneously ensuring that the success she sought at controlling her painful thoughts was attainable. Equally important, talking to her good friend helped Camille regulate her emotional state at school, which indeed seems to have had a therapeutic effect which she described as giving her "psychological answers." According to Holahan and Holahan (1987), social support reduces stress and physical illness and alleviates depression. However, this kind of social support does not arise by itself. It requires individuals themselves to find, create and maintain supportive social relations. This requires a high sense of social efficacy, which Camille seems to have used to gain relief from her painful thoughts.

Physical activity

Camille (age 9) used different activities to deal with her intrusive thoughts at various places in school. On the playground, she could not ask her teacher for more classwork to control her thoughts, and there were times when her close friend was playing with others or absent from school. Camille managed her thoughts during recess on the playground in the following way:

Excerpt 4

Interviewer:…you said something about the fact that these thoughts also came up at school [on the playground]?

Camille: Occasionally.

Interviewer:…what do you do then?

Camille: Then I used to somehow…run around the gravel path [running track at the playground].

Interviewer: Yes.

Camille:...I run two laps around it, then I get tired and I then can continue to play.

Running is a normal activity for children on the playground, just like classwork in the classroom. Camille's choice of activity was discreet, being well-adapted to the environment it was implemented in. The benefits of physical activity for stress release are well-documented (Biddle & Asare, 2011; Janssen & LeBlanc, 2010). Although this strategy is not a direct cognitive process, it did have a direct influence on Camille's thoughts. In terms of thought control efficacy (Bandura, 1997), Camille tackled the unwanted physiological and emotional reactions that resulted from her painful thoughts by running. This allowed her to change her focus from her bodily reactions of unease to a neutral feeling of physical tiredness from running.

Divertive play

The majority of the children in this study experienced play with friends as a comfort zone that offered an escape from their situation. Lucinda (age 11) experienced five stays at the same refuge and resumed schooling at her own school. She was physically abused by her father. During her refuge stay, her father was not under a restraining order, which made Lucinda

worry while at school. She was also in conversations with different agencies, including child welfare services, the police, a lawyer and the refuge staff. She experienced stress from thoughts about her court testimony or meeting the abuser. When Lucinda was back at school, her teacher continually signalled a desire to listen to her, through both informal and formal conversations. However it was not easy for the teacher to understand Lucinda's situation, as the following excerpt shows.

Excerpt 5

Lucinda:…she [the teacher] only used to ask whether things were going well now? So I used to say yes. And if I said no, which I never said, than I think maybe she would have started to talk to me.

Interviewer: Yes.

Lucinda: I can't say much about that because it never happened.

Interviewer:…did it sometimes happen that you said, 'Yes, things are going well', but you felt inside that they were not that good…?

Lucinda: Yes, maybe two of those times, because it's not fun…I don't like it when the teacher know about things like that.

Interviewer:…you had plenty of thoughts in your mind when you were at school and stayed at the refuge...

Lucinda: Not really; I left it [the thoughts]…behind me when I was with friends and tried …somehow, to play with them and think about something else.

Lucinda seems to be sensitive to how, when, and where her teacher attempted to make contact with her, at times she consciously avoided opportunities for dialogue. Such contact appeared to cause Lucinda discomfort, and it appears her teacher had difficulties approaching her.

Previous research has shown that children and young people express may unwillingness, doubt, and resistance to contacting help agencies about their home situation (Øverlien, 2012; Buckley et al., 2007) and may feel shame, loyalty, and fear toward their abusers (Sterne et al., 2010). In Lucinda's case, the contact with her teacher might also not have been offered at an appropriate time or place or in an amount suitable for her needs, and therefore made things too much for her to handle. Through play Lucinda could engage herself in producing a positive train of thought – what Bandura calls self-attraction to desired thoughts – to distract herself from her worries. Like the children studied in Øverlien (2011), she used play to work through her difficult experiences. According to self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1997), playing with friends requires a robust sense of social efficacy, which seems to have provided Lucinda with a feeling of control over intrusive thoughts, in contrast to the feelings provoked by contact with her teacher. Her answer of 'not really' firmly denies that she had many difficult thoughts on her mind when playing with friends. On the contrary, it was then that she felt able to accumulate mastering experiences of control and was able to sustain control over her thoughts, as she used play as a deliberate divertive effort to deal with her situation. Her statement that she "…tried…somehow, to play with them and think about something else" suggests an awareness of the cognitive efforts that helped her shift her attention and free her mind. Play became a conscious strategy that Lucinda used to dismiss unwanted thoughts. Therefore, when her teacher approached Lucinda at recess, she seems to have disturbed Lucinda's mental process of self-attraction to desired thoughts by reminding her of precisely the troubling thoughts Lucinda was trying to control in her 'free zone': the playground.

Creative explanations

Johan (age 11) and David (age 10) used different strategies to deal with the stress caused by classmates' curiosity about their move to the refuge. Johan stayed twice at the same refuge

and was able, after a short absence, to continue at his school. He was driven to school in a taxi because of the distance to the refuge. At school, it was important for Johan that his situation and refuge relocation remained secret. His strategy was, "…if no one asks, I don't say anything." David, in spite of high security measures surrounding his relocations, experienced his change of schools positively and was able to develop creative strategies to deal with the curiosity of his new classmates. David made three stays at different refuges in multiple cities. He attended school during two of his stays. During his third refuge transition he creatively explained what the refuge to his new classmates was by dividing an English transliteration of the Norwegian word 'krisesenter' into two words, Crises, and Centre, as shown in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 6

Interviewer:…but at school when they [classmates] ask you where you live, what do you say then?

David:…I say that I live here at a Crises-centre [Direct translation of the Norwegian word for refuge for abused women "Krisesenter"] and I am looking for an apartment.

Interviewer:…what do children say then? Do they know what a Crises-centre is?

David: Not all of them.

Interviewer: No.

David: And then I explain it to them in this way, that they can divide the word so that it becomes 'Crises' and 'Centre'.

Interviewer:…do they understand it better when you put it that way?

David: Yes. Then if you are in a special Crisis, you will come to the Crisis-center.

Interviewer: Yes. Then you can stay at a Centre.

Interviewer: Yes. How does it feel for you to tell them?

David: Not too bad.

Interviewer: No. What you just said, that you can divide the word, is that something you came up with yourself, or did someone say, put it like that so they [classmates] can understand?

David: No, I told them.

Interviewer: You came up with it yourself, that you could put it like that?

David: Yes.

David's explanation was a creative way to deal with his classmates' curiosity of his school change. As seen in the above excerpt he selectively split the words Crises-Center to Crises and Center. And therefore he used these two words to explain thoroughly that "…if you are in a special crisis, you will come to the crisis centre." The explanation described the 'crisis centre' in general terms as a place for any life crisis and shifted attention away from his experiences of violence, the fact that the refuge was for abused women, and the fact that he had changed refuges several times for security reasons. His creative explanation protected him from the stress of explaining himself to his new classmates and from having to break the secrecy involved in living at the refuge. In terms of thought control efficacy (Bandura, 1997), David's creative explanation helped him master the stressor of having to explain his move to new people, and therefore regulated his feelings through a reality-based explanation that his living conditions simply represented a life crisis that would soon be over with the finding of a new apartment. Defining his refuge stay as a transition to better conditions was a fruitful cognitive process that boosted his feelings of control (optimistic faith in the future).

Discussion

For children with multiple refuge stays, uncertain living conditions can pose a major challenge to their sense of personal control. Not knowing when or where their next refuge move may be, or how long they will stay, they have little if any opportunity to exert influence over things that affect their life. According to Bandura (1997), experiencing such control is important for stimulating a child's ability to mobilize efforts to deal with demanding life circumstances (self-efficacy). Some of the children in this study were conscious of their adaptive actions and willing to share their strategies with the interviewer, but the majority were unaware of their strategies or unable to communicate them. There may be several reasons for this. Living in and out of refuges while fleeing violence overloads children and may influence their emotional and physiological state (Selvik & Øverlien, 2014; Sterne et al., 2010). This in turn may affect the extent to which they are able to develop thoughts about their coping abilities, and restrict their abilities to receive feedback and support from others (Bandura, 1998). Furthermore, because of this overloading, they may experience a lack of belief in themselves and their ability to come up with strategies. As previous studies have noted, not all children find it easy to reveal their experiences of violence and they may experience 'blocking' and embarrassment if others know about these experiences (Chanmugam & Baker, 2004; Mullender et al., 2002). Describing strategies can also be difficult for some children because it indirectly involves conversing about their experiences of violence. Adults are authority figures to children and can therefore prevent them from freely expressing their thoughts, so that they avoid saying things that will not be acceptable or taken seriously (Greene & Hogan, 2005). Adults do not necessarily represent trustworthiness, and some children may find it difficult to express their thoughts and inner beliefs even to an interviewer. Some children may also find it difficult to reveal their strategies if they perceive those strategies to be socially unacceptable.

However, when children are presented with questions and conversations that promote description of and reflection over their thoughts and actions, they gradually acknowledge how their actions affect their environment. Such conversations can contribute to their sense of control by enabling them to realize their strategies. In line with self-efficacy theory (1997), teachers can provide pupils with a sense of personal control through initiating dialogues characterized by persuasive conversations. Such conversations provide children with opportunities to re-evaluate their experiences and discover their strategies, and also open the door to corrective conversations about unrealistic fears or other faulty thoughts. Reflective feedback from a teacher can gradually help children recognize and understand their ability to exercise control over what they struggle with, and offers opportunities for them to reduce the emotional tension associated with their experiences (Schultz & Langballe, 2016; Schultz & Raundalen, 2006; Bandura, 1997). According to Bandura (1997), teachers who engage pupils in verbal conversations in which they encourage pupils to try different activities, and support their efforts, can help children feel more able to confront challenges. When teachers help children communicate distress, utilize their emotional reactions, and focus on their thoughts and actions during difficult life circumstances, they provide children with an awareness of their abilities and potential threats in their environment, which becomes part of their personal protection skills. Moreover, teachers can become more aware of children's emotional states through dialogue. Such knowledge can guide what to do and how they approach children to support the development of positive self-efficacy, which can indeed affect how children deal with aversive physiological arousals. However, teacher-child dialogue requires teachers not only to understand the effects of domestic violence on children, but also to possess competence in conversing with children on sensitive topics.

The strategies described by the children in this study describe reveal little, if any, teacher awareness of the children's struggles throughout the school day and the actions they employ.

Even so, the driving force behind the children's creative actions was their belief in mastering school activities. In Bandura's terms, the children use domain-specific self-efficacy as a strategy to attain control over their intrusive thoughts at school. One example is Lucinda and Camille's social self-efficacy, which includes the ability to build supportive relationships and positive contact with friends. Another example is Nina's academic self-efficacy and strong belief in her scholarly achievements. According to self-efficacy theory, these children's belief in 'can do' cognition provides a sense of control over their environment. This sense of control influences the attention they direct toward potential threats as well as the way they perceive and cognitively process those threats. These children experience less distress in school compared to others who may believe that potential threats are unmanageable and, in turn, view many aspects of their school environment as dangerous and frightening. The cognitive processes involved in their sense of control using domain-specific self-efficacy seem to operate as a cognitive regulator of the fears triggered by intrusive thoughts. On the other hand, the children's self-efficacy as reflected in good performance at school may also be misleading to teachers. Enthusiasm for schoolwork, for example, might be misunderstood as an indicator that all is well rather than a strategy to control painful thoughts. In other words, children who do well in school may not be noticed by the teacher.

In Bandura's view, teachers can provide children with experiences of control simply by adapting the environment to their needs. They can adjust the class environment or class rules in ways that lessen children's needs and worries. When pupils have a positive interpretation of their own actions, they also develop a belief in their abilities, which encourages them to engage in constructive tasks and activities in accordance with those beliefs (e.g. Peter's imaginative safety). Some children, like Lucinda, might need help that takes the form of actions rather than words. Through social modelling of strategies, teachers can also show pupils alternatives and guide them in how to access, develop, and strengthen their belief in

their own control. A positive relationship with their teacher will affect the extent to which pupils are willing to adopt teacher behaviour. It is crucial that teachers not only be aware of children's circumstances but also show understanding by adapting schoolwork and the school environment to their temporary needs and in accordance with their resources.

Secrecy surrounding refuge stays and experiences of violence and school transitions seem to complicate children's possibilities for seeking and receiving teacher support. Secrecy creates difficulties for children in their everyday life and in social relations and may hinder their decision to share experiences with anyone other than refuge staff (Buckely et al., 2007; Mullender et al., 2002). Children may develop a number of strategies to deal with this issue, and when their strategies do not work they continually develop new ones. Developing strategies demands creativity and focus, and sustaining them requires energy (Øverlien, 2010). Living through multiple refuge relocations and school transitions does not make the issue of secrecy any easier. It may complicate an open dialogue between children and a new or old teacher on important matters such as safety, worries, and fears. Teachers may lack background information about new pupils' experiences and needs that is important for on-going observation and support. Moreover, a teacher may not know what constitutes normal behaviour for a new pupil and what might be a sign of concern. Sharing information between schools is made difficult at times by strong security measures and the necessity for support agencies to maintain confidentiality (Selvik & Øverlien, 2014; Byrne & Taylor, 2007). An open dialogue and cooperation between schools and the refuge, so that teachers receive sufficient information, is of great importance for supporting children. Again, for teachers to provide suitable help it is crucial that they not only be cognizant of the problems pupils are experiencing, but also understand that children's reactions and strategies can vary and can be difficult to identify. It is important for refuges to define secrecy clearly to children, so that children are not left on their own to create stories at school to hide their experiences. It is

necessary to clarify with the child what the school should know about his/her situation and needs. A refuge employee can, for example, identify together with the child which teachers should know about the situation. The aim of such clarifying dialogue is to establish good relations between the child and the teacher, enabling conversations about sensitive topics such as the child's needs, expectations, and concerns.

Teachers have a unique position when encountering children living at refuges for abused women. They are among the few persons with whom these children are in contact before, during, and after the refuge stay. Engaging them at an early phase of the child's refuge stay is beneficial on all levels and can safeguard the child, e.g. through the teacher reporting to the authorities if the violence does not end after the refuge stay. Provided that teacher support focuses on building children's sense of control, schools can be one of the few arenas in which children with multiple refuge relocations may attain some measure of control over their unstable lives. Conversely, without teacher assistance, children may not always be able to develop or discover strategies to deal with their challenges. However, this article shows that the more strategies these children develop to deal with their reactions, worries, and struggles, the more probable it is that they will not be provided with necessary help at school. Without the right help at school they may be at a higher risk of developing psychosocial and behavioural difficulties as young people, and later as adults.

Concluding remarks

School can be an important intervention arena where children who experience relocations at refuges for abused women can regain control when most aspects of their lives are uncontrollable, e.g. by developing one or more strategies. Multiple school transitions and long absences from school may limit children's chances of attaining control. This indicates a need

for political action to protect children's right to education in a safe school environment during and after refuge relocation. Lack of, or limited, teacher engagement calls for a clear contingency plan specifying the role and responsibilities of teachers toward children who experience domestic violence and live at refuges. It also underlines the need for targeted interventions that may help teachers become more confident in their personal capacity to support the choices and efforts they make on behalf of such pupils. An open dialogue and a clear plan for cooperation between refuge and school are crucial for teachers to be able to provide children with support, follow-up, and protection after a refuge stay. The present study calls for research that focuses not only on teachers' needs when meeting these children, but also on how well teacher education programs prepare teachers to identify these children and accommodate their needs so that learning is possible. Further research on the strategies of children with multiple refuge relocations is also needed, as we do not know if the strategies developed by the children in this study are self-adding for their future development. Nor do we know their long-term effects.

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Errata

Errata for
A Childhood at Refuges

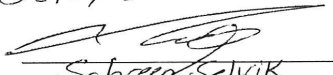*Children with multiple relocations at refuges for abused women*

Sabreen Selvik

Thesis for the degree philosophiae doctor (PhD)

at the University of Bergen

Oslo, 5.06.2018

Sabreen Selvik

(date and sign. of candidate)

Bergen 5/6- 18

(date and sign. of faculty)

Errata

Dedication

A dedication page was inserted after the coverage.

Acknowledgment

Line 3 was added the following sentences after "…in Oslo": "which provided this work with a high quality scientific environment in the field of violence against children and youngsters. This work was affiliated with the University of Bergen."

5th paragraph, 1st line, the following name was inserted after "Helleve": "and Einar Skaalvik".

5th paragraph, 4th line, the following sentence was added after "….decided to crash": "Thanks to Ines Blix and the SSA project team for their support and understanding."

Page 22 Deleted extra bracket in the reference: (Mullender et al., 1997; Bakketeig et al., (2014) – corrected to (Mullender et al., 1997; Bakketeig et al., 2014)

Page 24 Removed underline: (*fylkesmann*) – corrected to (*fylkesmann*)

Page 24 Missing word: "and the refuge established" – corrected to "and the Refuge Crises Centre Secritariat (*Krisesentersekriteriatet*) established"

Page 33 Missing coma: «(Bracewell 2016; Sterne et al., 2010; Mullender et al., 2002)» – corrected to «(Bracewell, 2016; Sterne et al., 2010; Mullender et al., 2002)»

Page 33 Missing comas: «(Mullender et al. 2002; Øverlien et al. 2009; Øverlien 2012; Sterne et al., 2010; Chanmugam 2009; Bracewell 2016)» – corrected to «(Mullender et al., 2002; Øverlien et al., 2009; Øverlien, 2012; Sterne et al., 2010; Chanmugam, 2009; Bracewell, 2016)»

Page 35 Remove coma and semicolin and add a missing coma: «(cf. Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998; Jouriles et al., 2001; Kitzmann et al., 2003; Hester, 2007; Holt, Buckley & Whela,n 2008; Øverlien, 2010; Iratzoqui & Watts, 2016; Stanley, 2011; Holt, Devany & Øverlien, 2017; Stanley & Humphreys, 2015; Callaghan et al., 2015; McDonald et al., 2016; Yoon et al., 2016;)» – corrected to «(cf. Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998; Jouriles et al., 2001; Kitzmann et al., 2003; Hester, 2007; Holt, Buckley & Whelan, 2008; Øverlien, 2010; Iratzoqui & Watts, 2016; Stanley, 2011; Holt, Devany & Øverlien, 2017; Stanley & Humphreys, 2015; Callaghan et al., 2015; McDonald et al., 2016; Yoon et al., 2016)»

Page 38 Missing coma: «(Kunnskapsdepartementet 2015)» - corrected to «(Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2015)»

Page 38 Missing coma: "(Øverlien 2016)" – corrected to "(Øverlien, 2016)"

Page 72 Missing coma: "(cf. Bowlby 1979, Bandura 1997, Honneth 1995)" – corrected
to "(cf. Bowlby 1979, Bandura 1997, Honneth, 1995)"

Page 73 Missing coma: "(Schibbye 2002)" – corrected to "(Schibbye, 2002)"

Page 73 Missing coma: "(Schibbye 2009)" – corrected to "(Schibbye, 2009)"

Page 127 Changed a doubled appendix: «Informasjon til mor om prosjektet "En barndom på
krisesenter"»– corrected to «Informasjon til ansatte på krisesenter om prosjektet "En barndom
på krisesenter"

EVALUATION AND PUBLIC DEFENCE - PROCEDURES

The Board of the Faculty of Psychology appoints an examination committee consisting of three members, all of whom must be themselves holders of a doctoral degree, and at least one of whom should be external to the University of Bergen. The members of the committee should, as a rule, be employed in permanent positions. This is to ensure stability and continuity in the committee's work. In appointing the committee, there should be no question of conflict of interests, for example fellow authorship. One member of the committee is chosen by the Faculty Board to act as Chairperson. It is the function of the Chairperson to co-ordinate the work of the committee and it is often most practical for that person to be associated with the department with which the candidate has been associated.

On agreeing to take part in the evaluation of a thesis, committee members are making a firm commitment to the University from which they may only withdraw under exceptional circumstances.

On its appointment, each member of the examination committee will be sent a copy of the thesis, although not normally in the finally bound version. The committee's Chairperson should then allocate tasks amongst the committee with respect to its evaluation. The end product of the evaluation is a letter addressed to the Faculty Board. The formal function of this letter is to inform the Faculty Board whether or not the examination committee finds the thesis worthy to be defended for the doctoral degree (PhD). Furthermore, the letter should clearly state whether the conclusion to recommend defence or not is unanimous or not. In the latter case, both sides of the argument should be presented.

In its letter or recommendation, the committee is expected to justify its conclusions, by giving a brief description of the thesis structure and content. This will normally take the form of a description of the various sub-sections of the thesis. The description should also highlight both the positive and negative aspects of the thesis. The latter is particularly important for giving some signal to the candidate about the committee's concerns which might be targeted at the defence. The evaluation letter is normally in the order of four to six pages.

The committee should also comment on the general standard of the thesis, and in particular if it is of an exceptionally high standard.

The letter of evaluation should normally be sent to the Faculty Board within three months of the committee having received the thesis. If the evaluation committee recommends defence of the thesis, and this recommendation is accepted by the Faculty Board, the candidate and evaluation committee will be informed in writing.

The Chairman of the evaluation committee shall then, in collaboration with the Dean, the candidate, the candidate's department and supervisor and the other committee members, arrange a date for the public lecture and defence. The committee shall allocate amongst its members the roles of 1st and 2nd opponents and inform the faculty.

The public examination and trial lecture normally takes place in the course of one or two days.

We recommend that the Chairperson takes the initiative to gather the committee for a meeting (for instance over dinner the day before the public examination) to make sure the procedures of the public examination is agreed on by all members of the committee.

Trial lecture on a set topic

The trial lecture on a set topic (relevant to the subject of the candidate's thesis) takes a total of 45 minutes. The lecture is held the day before the public examination or the same day of the examination.

The topic of the trial lecture is chosen by the examination commission and is made known to the candidate 14 days before the date of the lecture.

Between the trial lecture and the public examination we recommend that the committee gather for approval (or not) of the trial lecture. The results are announced at the public examination by the Dean.

Public examination

The Dean of the Faculty opens the public examination.

The doctoral candidate starts with an introduction lasting for maximum 15 minutes, in which s/he offers a brief summary of the thesis, the aims and the methods employed. The first opponent should begin by a brief presentation of the committee's evaluation of the thesis, stating clearly why the thesis was found worthy of defence. Then s/he should provide an overview of the research area of the thesis, sketch the background to the work and the tradition of which it forms a part, and also present the main results of the thesis. This should take 15- 25 minutes, and should form a basis for the subsequent discussion between the opponent and the candidate, which is the real core of the public examination.

At this point, it is the task of the opponent to ensure that a discussion of the problems tackled by the thesis, its strong and weak points, etc., are taken up, so that the candidate is put in a position to provide more details about, and to defend, the contents of his or her thesis. It would also be a natural step to consider the implications of the findings and conclusions.

A good public examination is characterised by a challenging dialogue that may well extend beyond the framework provided by the thesis itself and take up more general theoretical and methodological problems. The first opponent is thus expected to concern himself with the general principles involved in the thesis. This part of the examination usually takes a total of 1 – 1,5 hours.

The opponent may wish to conclude by thanking the candidate for the discussion and/or offering congratulations on a good defence, as appropriate.

Pause of about 20 minutes.

The second opponent begins after the pause, concentrating on the more methodological aspects of the thesis, or on other aspects if such a division is agreed on by the opponents. The opponents should discuss the allocation of topics in advance, so that they are in agreement before they start to prepare their positions of opposition. Irrespective of any such agreement, the task of the first opponent is to describe how the thesis relates to the relevant research literature and set out the general framework of the public examination.
The purpose of the public examination itself is to test the candidate and his or her thesis in terms of accepted academic standards. The aim is to offer the candidate challenges to which he can make a constructive response, because when the public examination takes place the thesis is already presumed to satisfy the most basic requirements with regards to its quality. The opponents should remember that the principal role is allocated to the candidate, and should therefore control their natural academic instinct to emphasise their own excellence.

The whole public examination should preferably not last for more than three hours.

An opportunity will be given to "oppose" the thesis *ex auditorio* on the indication of the Dean of the Faculty. However, the Dean should be informed in advance of such a wish, and the opportunity will be made available before the second opponent begins.

The examination normally ends with the candidate thanking the University for the opportunity of presenting him- or herself for the public examination.

The Dean brings the proceedings to a close.

The thesis, its defence and the trial lecture are finally evaluated, and the document regarding approval of the trial lecture and approval of the public examination are signed by the members of the examination commission.

Practical details

The trial lecture and the public examination are normally held at UiB premises.

The use of audiovisual equipment like slides and overhead pictures is strongly encouraged.

The Norwegian thesis defence is a public event. The audience will include the candidate's friends, relatives and colleagues.

The Dean is leading the procession into the auditorium, followed by the doctoral candidate, head of the examination committee, second opponent, and first opponent. When the Dean has closed the examination, the same order is followed out of the room (the Dean first).

Although there are no formal dress requirements, it is customary to dress in smart clothes for the defence (e.g. suit). The candidate usually invites the examination committee, the Dean, friends, family and colleagues to a dinner in the evening after the defence.

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN
Det psykologiske fakultet

Sabreen Selvik

Deres ref	Vår ref	Dato
	2013/7557-HEGR	16.05.2018

Ph.d.-grad - Innstilling - oppnevning av opponenter

Vi viser til tidligere innsendt søknad datert 15. januar 2018. Den sakkyndige komiteen har enstemmig bedømt din avhandling **«A childhood at refuges. Children with multiple relocations at refuges for abused women.»** verdig til å forsvares for ph.d.-graden.

Dekana har på fullmakt sluttet seg til den sakkyndige komités innstilling, datert 15. mai 2018, og oppnevner følgende opponenter:

1. opponent: Forsker I Elisabeth Backe-Hansen, Senter for velferds- og arbeidslivsforskning, Velferdsforskningsinstituttet NOVA, OsloMet - Storbyuniversitetet

2. opponent: Professor Kari Smith, Institutt for lærerutdanning, Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap, NTNU

Universitetet i Bergen har inngått en avtale med Skipnes Kommunikasjon (http://uib.skipnes.no/Doktoravhandling) for trykking av avhandlingen og tildeling av ISBN-nummer. Avhandlingen trykkes opp i standard format og bakerst i avhandlingen legges inn ajourført liste over tidligere doktorgrader ved fakultetet, se vedlegg. Trykking bestilles elektronisk ved at avhandlingen lastes opp via Skipnes sine nettsider. *Ved bestilling er det svært viktig at ordrebekreftelsen straks oversendes til instituttet* (produksjon av avhandlingen blir ikke iverksatt før instituttet har bekreftet bestillingen i sitt bestillersystem). I henhold til avtalen sørger Skipnes for at det riktige antall eksemplarer avleveres til Nasjonalbiblioteket og til Universitetsbiblioteket. Ansvar for at avhandlingen blir tilgjengelig ved selve disputasen ligger hos doktoranden selv. Skipnes er lokalisert i Trondheim, så det må påregnes litt ekstra tid til sending. Doktoranden må også sørge for at ett eksemplarer av avhandlingen leveres til fakultetssekretariatet.

Vi ber deg også så snart som mulig sende inn **forslag til pressemelding og bilde** (se http://www.uib.no/info/dr_grad/ for eksempler) til fakultetet el. adr.: helen.green@uib.no som videresender opplysningene til Kommunikasjonsavdelingen. Se eget vedlegg mht. retningslinjer for pressemeldingen og foto.

Tittel på oppgitt emne vil bli meddelt doktoranden ti virkedager før disputas.

Disputasen vil finne sted 20. juni 2018.

Vennlig hilsen

Bente Wold
dekana   Ørnulf Lillestøl
                                                direktør

Dokumentet er elektronisk godkjent og har derfor ingen håndskrevne signaturer.

Kopi
Astrid Tolo
Carolina Øverlien
Øystein Steine Larsen
Arild Raaheim
Steinar Bøyum
Elisabeth Backe-Hansen
Kåre Helleve
Kari Smith

Doktorgradspressemelding

Frister og ansvar:
Kandidaten sender sin pressemelding til fakultetskontakt (Helen Green, helen.green@uib.no) iht. fakultetets egne frister og prosedyrer. Fakultetet kvalitetssjekker og sender så pressemelding og portrettbilde til Kommunikasjonsavdelingen **senest to uker før disputas**.

Utforming:
Doktorgradspressemeldingen er beregnet på journalister, nyhetsredaksjoner og et vanlig avislesende publikum. Derfor er det viktig at både tekst og tittel er forståelige og gode.
For at pressemeldingen skal bli lagt merke til og lest, og eventuelt fanges opp i nyhetsmediene, er det viktig å ta høyde for følgende i utformingen:

- Tittelen må være kort og fengende, og fange det sentrale ved avhandlingen.
- Begynn med det viktigste først: konklusjoner og resultater av forskningen.
- Fortell om konsekvenser av forskningen, eventuelt praktiske følger.
- Skriv enkelt, unngå komplisert fagterminologi. Tenk deg at mottakeren er en oppegående, nysgjerrig tenåring som skal forstå det du skriver.
- Vær nøye med at alle praktiske opplysninger er med, og er korrekte.
- **NB!** Pressemeldingen skal alltid skrives på norsk.

Pressemeldingens lengde:

- Tittel: Maks 60 tegn med mellomrom
- Brødtekst: Maks 2000 tegn med mellomrom
- Personalia: Maks 500 tegn med mellomrom.

Foto:
Portrettbilder kan enten avtales gjennom rammeavtalen (se nedenfor), eller tas i ordinære fotobutikker som tilbyr digitale passfoto eller liknende.

Rammeavtale fotograf

Universitetet i Bergen har inngått en avtale om fotograftjenester fra 1.1.2017.

Avtalen gjelder med følgende fotografer:

- Eivind Senneset – eivind.senneset@gmail.com
- Thor Brødreskift - Thor@tbfoto.no
- Ingvild Festervoll Melien Media - ingvild@ingvildfestervollmelien.com
- Emil Weatherhead Breistein - ebreistein@gmail.com
- Paul Sigve Amundsen - post@paulamundsen.com

For bestilling av fotograftjenester, følger man vanlig rutine for innkjøp gjennom bestillersystemet. Ta kontakt med den med bestillermyndighet ved ditt institutt. Bestillere har oversikt over kontrakter og priser for de ulike fotograftjenestene.

Universitetet i Bergen har fri bruksrett til bildene som tas etter avtalen, i alle sammenhenger der UiB er en part. Bilder skal krediteres fotografen.

Dersom kandidatene stiller med eget bilde, er det viktig at dette har god oppløsning. NB! Siden bildene skal benyttes i trykkmedier, kreves det høyere oppløsning på bildene enn til nett. Bildet kan være enten farge eller sort/hvitt, og sendes elektronisk som eget vedlegg (ikke lagt inn i et Word-dokument). (Minimumskrav: 301 (B) x 388 (H) pixels, oppløsning 170 dpi.)

Mal for pressemeldingen:

- **Tittel:** Kort og fengende (maks 60 tegn m. mellomrom)
- **Innledning:** NN disputerer ukedag dd.mm.åååå for ph.d.-graden ved Universitetet i Bergen med avhandlingen: "Avhandlingens tittel"
- **Brødtekst:** Kort om hva avhandlingen dreier seg om (maks 2000 tegn m. mellomrom)
- **Personalia:** Informasjon om kandidaten (maks 500 tegn m. mellomrom)
- **Tidspunkt og sted for evt. prøveforelesning**: dd.mm.åååå, kl. xx.xx, sted/adresse. **Oppgitt emne** eller **selvvalgt emne**:
- **Tidspunkt og sted for disputasen**: dd.mm.åååå, kl. xx.xx, sted/adresse
- **Kontaktinfo:** Fornavn, etternavn, telefonnummer og e-post.

Distribusjon:
Pressemeldingen sendes ut på våre presselister ca 1 uke før disputasen. Store redaksjoner lokalt og nasjonalt er dekket inn. Kandidaten kan oppgi ønsker om distribusjon til spesielle redaksjoner og lokalaviser.

Aktuelle lenker:
Doktorpressemeldinger (www.uib.no/info/dr_grad)
Retningslinjer for formidling av nye doktorgrader (http://www.uib.no/foransatte/87899/utforming-av-doktorgradspressemeldinger)

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, Norman, Dr. psychol.	Physical activity of young people in a health perspective: Stability, change and social influences.
	Sandal, Gro Mjeldheim, Dr. psychol.	Coping in extreme environments: The role of personality.
	Strumse, Einar, Dr. philos.	The psychology of aesthetics: explaining visual preferences for agrarian landscapes in Western Norway.
	Hestad, Knut, Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological deficits in HIV-1 infection.
	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
	Ness, Ingunn Johanne	The Room of Opportunity. Understanding how knowledge and ideas are constructed in multidisciplinary groups working with developing innovative ideas.
	Hollekim, Ragnhild	Contemporary discourses on children and parenting in Norway. An empirical study based on two cases.
	Doran, Rouven	Eco-friendly travelling: The relevance of perceived norms and social comparison
2017 V	Katisi, Masego	The power of context in health partnerships: Exploring synergy and antagony between external and internal ideologies in implementing Safe Male Circumcision (SMC) for HIV prevention in Botswana

	Jamaludin, Nor Lelawati Binti	The "why" and "how" of International Students' Ambassadorship Roles in International Education
	Berthelsen, Mona	Effects of shift work and psychological and social work factors on mental distress. Studies of onshore/offshore workers and nurses in Norway.
	Krane, Vibeke	Lærer-elev-relasjoner, elevers psykiske helse og frafall i videregående skole – en eksplorerende studie om samarbeid og den store betydningen av de små ting
	Søvik, Margaret Ljosnes	Evaluating the implementation of the Empowering Coaching™ program in Norway
	Tonheim, Milfrid	A troublesome transition: Social reintegration of girl soldiers returning 'home'
	Senneseth, Mette	Improving social network support for partners facing spousal cancer while caring for minors. A randomized controlled trial.
	Urke, Helga Bjørnøy	Child health and child care of very young children in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru.
	Bakhturidze, George	Public Participation in Tobacco Control Policy-making in Georgia
	Fismen, Anne-Siri	Adolescent eating habits. Trends and socio-economic status.
2017 H	Hagatun, Susanne	Internet-based cognitive-behavioural therapy for insomnia A randomised controlled trial in Norway.
	Eichele, Heike	Electrophysiological Correlates of Performance Monitoring in Children with Tourette Syndrome. A developmental perspective.
	Risan, Ulf Patrick	Accommodating trauma in police interviews. An exploration of rapport in investigative interviews of traumatized victims.
	Sandhåland, Hilde	Safety on board offshore vessels: A study of shipboard factors and situation awareness
	Blågestad, Tone Fidje	Less pain – better sleep and mood? Interrelatedness of pain, sleep and mood in total hip arthroplasty patients
	Kronstad, Morten	Frå skulebenk til deadlines. Korleis nettjournalistar og journaliststudentar lærer, og korleis dei utviklar journalistfagleg kunnskap
	Vedaa, Øystein	Shift work: The importance of sufficient time for rest between shifts.
	Steine, Iris Mulders	Predictors of symptoms outcomes among adult survivors of sexual abuse: The role of abuse characteristics, cumulative childhood maltreatment, genetic variants, and perceived social support.
	Høgheim, Sigve	Making math interesting: An experimental study of interventions to encourage interest in mathematics

2018 V	Brevik, Erlend Joramo	Adult Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder. Beyond the Core Symptoms of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders.
	Erevik, Eilin Kristine	User-generated alcohol-related content on social media: Determinants and relation to offline alcohol use
	Hagen, Egon	Cognitive and psychological functioning in patients with substance use disorder; from initial assessment to one-year recovery
	Adólfsdóttir, Steinunn	Subcomponents of executive functions: Effects of age and brain maturations
	Brattabø, Ingfrid Vaksdal	Detection of child maltreatment, the role of dental health personnel – A national cross-sectional study among public dental health personnel in Norway
	Fylkesnes, Marte Knag	Frykt, forhandlinger og deltakelse. Ungdommer og foreldre med etnisk minoritetsbakgrunn i møte med den norske barnevernstjenesten.
	Stiegler, Jan Reidar	Processing emotions in emotion-focused therapy. Exploring the impact of the two-chair dialogue intervention.
	Egelandsdal, Kjetil	Clickers and Formative Feedback at University Lectures. Exploring students and teachers' reception and use of feedback from clicker interventions.