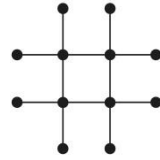




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VID

Dormitory – a secure base for first-graders?

A study of the daily life of the youngest children
at public boarding schools in Mongolia,
from a children's rights perspective

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1.0 Introduction

It is an early January morning, and the light has just started to crawl in through the icy window glass and over the cracked paint of the concrete window post. The night had been the coldest so far this winter; minus 43 degrees. Boldbataar opens his eyes slowly, and looks straight at his big sister's long, black ponytail. It lies still. She is still asleep. They share bed. It is best this way – safer, warmer. He wonders when she came to bed last night, how long she had to sit up doing her homework after washing their clothes... He crawls closer to her, trying to catch some of her heat before the night-guard comes to wake them all up for a new day. The rest of the children in his room are still sleeping, or maybe just staying under their covers as long as possible?

He closes his eyes again, feeling his big sister's warmth reaching his six year old cold hands. The ponytail moves a little. Wonder if mum and dad are up yet? Has his little brother learned how to pronounce Boldbataar yet? How are the sheep handling this cold weather? It has been weeks since he saw them all now...

1.1 Abstract

This thesis is based on a qualitative study in which both 6-year-olds and employees from state primary school dormitories in Mongolia were interviewed. The reason for the choice of them is that in Western Mongolia, as other rural areas of the country, the majority of people leads a nomadic lifestyle where they follow their herds of animals. When the families go to the vast sites on the countryside the parents have to make some choices for their children, as all children in Mongolia are statutory to go to primary education from the age of 6. The most common choice is to send their child to live in one of the 517 state dormitories that are in the country, so that the children can attend school on a daily basis.

It has been several 6-year-olds that moved back to their families because they found dormitory life too hard, and the parents would not leave their children there. Therefore, research on the field has been requested, and this master thesis is a contribution that will be a part of the recommendations to the authorities from the project Strengthening Children's Rights. By going straight to the source, the 6-year-olds themselves, this thesis is seeking to give an impression of how life as a young child in dormitory is. Further, by categorizing their answers and finding relevant theories within social science; both sociology and psychology, the thesis seeks to make a framework to better understand the processes a child goes through when moving from home at an early age.

Using development theories by Freud, Erikson, Piaget and Tetzchner as a base, and attachment theory by mainly Bowlby, makes it possible to understand more of how these young children are coping with living separate from their parents. Also Kvello's factors of risk and protection is used to explain the challenges met. Theories within attachment is closely linked to children's needs that are protected through the Convention of the rights of the child (CRC). Hence will the CRC be used as the child's spokesman, since Mongolia has ratified these laws, and are obliged to lead policy that is in children's best interest.

The aim of this master thesis is to contribute to increased knowledge about 6-year-olds' cognitive development and needs, and that it might be used as a tool/contribution for the decision makers and adults working with the children at the dormitories.

1.2 Reason for selection of theme

After my 5 years as a Christian development worker for the Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Mongolia (NLM-M), I tied lifelong ties to the people and the country. The strength of the people living in those harsh conditions impressed me and became an idol in many ways; how to handle resistance, how to keep the dignity and pride, how to be a good host to whoever comes into your home, and many more aspects. The difference between our cultures are enormous, but still we were able to exchange ways of solving challenges, looking at life, treatment of our neighbour, etc. And the nature, those everlasting steppes that could do nothing but fill me with a feeling of eternity and peace, will forever stay on my mind.

The longing for getting back to development-work has been a strong motivation driving me since I came back to Norway in 2006, and is also the reason for studying masters in diakonia. In my opinion it is possible to make a change for someone, and diakonia has the right perspective on this.

Based on this background and motivation I will focus my master thesis towards international diakonia, and the development work that are based on children's rights. It was convenient to get the opportunity to work in a known culture and organisation, as it also eased the research and some of the practical challenges working abroad. Additionally, it is of personal interest to study and see the changes from the time I lived there on a permanent basis. Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM) has ran a project over two periods of five years (2009-2013 and 2014-2018) in Mongolia that has been working hands-on Children's Rights at the first-, secondary- and high school dormitories in Western Mongolia called Strengthening Children's Rights (SCR2). Many development-projects run by Christian organisations aims to have the rights-based focus, but according to the NLM's head office, it has a tendency to become too theoretical and not possible to put in action. Therefore, it is interesting to see how this project works practically rights-based - in close cooperation with the Mongolian authorities.

In 2011 Trond Nessa wrote a thesis on children's rights in Mongolia where he looked at possibilities and challenges within NLMs work to promote the CRC. He did not interview any children, but rather employees in the different agencies in relation to dormitories; from

teachers to officers in the ministry. This was one of the reasons that led to my interest what the children's impression of their everyday was. Why not go straight to the source?

The SCR2's has expressed that my findings can be used as a part of their further recommendations to the Mongolian authorities when the project phases out at the end of 2018.

1.3 Relevance within diakonia

All over the world, from the days when Jesus lived among us and up until now, the Christian Church and its diaconal actors have traditionally been taking care of vulnerable people, and children are vulnerable. Diakonia has in this way given a theological perspective to the phenomena manifested through human rights, and children's rights in the last century. When discussing faith-based development work contra right-based development work, it is in my opinion possible to say that these two merges within diakonia. NLM-M is a Christian Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) "serving in words and deeds, working in partnership to equip and enable individuals, families, communities and Christian fellowships"¹. Further the project document states that their work in Mongolia is based on principles from Christian values like human dignity, honesty, integrity, non-discrimination, UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the Convention on the Rights of the Child from 1989 (CRC) and it has a Human Rights Based Approach. This shows to a great extent the link between diakonia and rights-based development work.

1.4 Research Question

I both wanted to and was advised by the SCR2 project-staff, to write about the youngest, most vulnerable 1st graders. It looks like these children experience, to a certain extent, neglect when they at age 5 or 6 is moved from a safe home-environment close to their parents to an environment with few and unknown adults and many children from 6-18 years old.

¹ Ødegaard, Silje. "Project Document SCR2 – Strenthening Children's Rights Project 2014-2018". Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Mongolia. 2013.

Therefore my research-question is

*How is life as a 6-year-old at the dormitory in Mongolia,
and how are their rights protected?*

The research question is divided into two parts. The first question focuses on the actual situation for the youngest children in dormitory right now, in 2018. To answer this, I have interviewed 8 children and 5 adults at two dormitories in western Mongolia. The second part focuses on the legal aspects. Mongolia has incorporated the Children's Rights Convention into its national laws, and are therefore obliged to fulfil these children's rights.

The parents of these children are nomads, so most of them have to send their young child to live in a dormitory in order to get them to school and hope for the best. Often it is easier when there are older siblings at the same school. If it does not work out, they must split the family so that one of the parents lives close to the school with the child. Some leave the child to live with relatives, and there is also a possibility that the child live with older siblings so both parents can work in the countryside with their animals. This is called childheaded households. Some parents also choose to keep their child out of school one more year.

The focus on these children's rights has already been set by SCR2. They have concentrated on CRC's article 12 (children's participation), 19 (children's protection), 24 (children's health and nutrition) and 31 (children's leisure time). Therefore, it was natural for me to do the same when I researched how these small children's rights are protected.

1.5 Delimitation

Life at school dormitories has been dominating the childhood for many children all over the world like the sami-people in northern Norway², the First Nation Canadians or the so-called “stolen generation” of Aboriginals between 1910-1980 in Australia. All these examples were done by force inspired by the nation’s views about how to unite an ethnically diverse society. However parents have also left their children at dormitories to be able to do their work. Up until recent years it was common among Norwegian missionaries (and other nationalities) to leave their children at what was called school homes, so the children could go to a Norwegian school in the same country as the parents worked. Researches within life at those dormitories and stories from the children themselves has revealed some awful stories of neglect and abuse. But there are also stories of children who made friends for life, and experienced the years living in dormitories as safe, fun and developing. Still it was proved that this kind of childhood was not in the best interest of the child. In 2001 Digni (Norwegian umbrella organisation for 20 Christian organisations) to declare in that they would not financially support projects that had children in dormitories. That statement is interesting as Digni supports SCR2, but this apparent contradiction expressed by Digni will not be discussed here.

Children’s rights cover most areas and all ages of a childhood. This paper focuses on the children who are in their first year at school. It is not abnormal that their siblings end up being their care-takers, and if there was room this would have been researched more – how does these two roles as both caregiver and a child affect the older sibling’s development, their rights as a child and their effort at school? Moreover, it would have been interesting to interview children who have graduated and moved out of dormitory to see what effect it has had on their lives, but this master thesis only analyses the present situation of their small sisters and brothers.

Since SCR2 has been the door-opener for this thesis, and the project is located in Western Mongolia, the numbers and examples are from the two provinces of Khovd and Bayan-Ulgii.

² Tjelle, Ingjerd. *Bortsendt og internert*. Polar forlag, Tromsø, 2000, 11

When asking if dormitories in other parts of the country are very different, the answer was that you will find some differences, but the overall system and organisation is the same all over the country.

The empirical material is gathered from 2 different school dormitories in western Mongolia. Travelling in the countryside in this part of the country during winter takes a long time, so does the building of relations with each child interviewed. Two schools in the same aimag might seem limited, but from all documentation about dormitories the children's everyday life and the system is much the same.

As both schools researched in this master thesis did not have active social workers, there will not be much focus on them during the paper.

Theories within psychological development and attachment is a central theme when it comes to children's upbringing at a dormitory. Only small fragments of this was possible to include in this master thesis, but some of the central has been chosen. Resilience was one of the themes that has to be left out, even if this is very relevant for how some children with the same base ends up withstanding dormitory-life better than others.

1.6 Clarification of concepts and abbreviations

Central terms to be operationalised:

Child: Every human being under the age of 18, as this is the legal age in Mongolia.

Nomads: Lifestyle of herders that moves around following their stock. These days it's most common for Mongolian herders to have two camps, a Winter camp and a Summer camp.

School dormitory: Housing for children of families that cannot live close to the schools.

School teacher and dormitory teacher: It is not the same teachers that work both places, therefore the emphasised difference.

Guard: There are guards that work both night-shifts and day-shifts in the dormitories. As they have the prime responsibility for the children when the dormitory teachers are not there, a new work-description is being developed, and the position will be called *assistant teacher* in the future. In this thesis I will use the term guard.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Abbreviated as CRC. Started as The declaration of the rights of the child back in 1923 by the International Save the Children Union. Then it was negotiated over a 10 year period (1979-1989) under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) before it was adopted and entered into force in September, 1990. Mongolia ratified it the same year, and incorporated it in 2007. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child is the committee that monitors the implementation of the CRC.

Geographical division in Mongolia: It is divided into 21 provinces (counties) which is called *aimag*.

Each aimag is divided into districts which is called *soum*. There are 331 soums in Mongolia. Each soum is divided into a subdistrict that are called *bag*, and that is mostly a small centre with a group of housings.

The capital, Ulaanbaatar, is divided differently – into municipal district (*duureg*) and submunicipal (*khorro*).

Abbreviations:

NLM-M: Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Mongolia

SCR2: Strenthening Children’s Rights

(NLM-Ms development project in western Mognolia, 2nd part, 2013-2018)

NCC: National Council for Children (governmental)

CFDD: Children and Family Development Department (aimag)

AECD: Aimag Education and Culture Department (aimag)

FCYDA: Family, Child and Youth Development Agency (governmental)

(Previous NAC: National Authority for Children)

2.0 Previous Knowledge and context

This chapter will give a brief introduction of Mongolia as a country as well as SCR's work in Mongolia through NLM-M and life at the dormitory. Further there will be given a short introduction to the CRC and the UN-system, as rights are the second part of the research question.

2.1 Mongolian geography, history and culture

First of all, I want to describe the cultural and geographical context. Mongolia is a land-locked country surrounded by Russia in the north and China in the south. It has a continental steppe climate with long, cold winters and short, warm summers. When I did my field-work for this paper, in February this year, the average temperature was -40c over a couple of weeks. The spectacular nature can offer everything from upland steppes and deserts to high forested mountain ranges with lakes. As much as three quarters of the country is pasturelands, therefore one can find amazingly high numbers of grazing livestock – mostly sheep, goats and cattle, but also horses, camels and other animals.

The country is four times bigger than Norway, and with its over one and a half million square kilometres and almost 3 million people, the people density is as low as 2 people per square kilometre. That makes it the most sparsely populated independent country in the world. Mongolia has a young population - half of the inhabitants are under 25 years old (2013). After their time with Russian influence school has been compulsory (from 2008 6-years old are enrolled into the 12-year education), and it is expected that an average Mongolian person stays in school for 15 years of his or her life. Because of this the literacy-rate is over 90%, and most pupils complete first- and secondary school.³

2.1.1 *The political situation – a historic overview*

The Mongol Empire was founded in 1206 by the great Chinggis Khan, and under his nephew Mongolia was the world's greatest empire at the time. This is an enormous proud part of the history, and still has a great impact on national pride and culture. But at the end of the 17th century the empire had become a part of the Manchu Qing Dynasty. When that collapsed in

³ NLM by Silje Ødegaard. «Project Document SCR2 – Strengthening Children's Rights Project, 2014-2018 Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Mongolia». 5 years project plan. NLM-M. 2013.

1911, Mongolia worked its way to become an independent state although under strong Soviet influence. In 1924 it was able to declare itself as the Mongolian People's Republic – still with influence from the great Soviet Union. When communism broke down in 1989, Mongolia went through a peaceful transformation to become a democratic state with a multi-party system and market economy. In 1992 their new constitution was ready, but the road to become a self-sustained republic has been a bumpy ride with some political challenges and corruption.

The most important economic activity in Mongolia has traditionally been herding and agriculture, but during the last 15 years the mining-industry has become the most important part of the economy. However the traditional way of living as a herder is still common in the rural areas, and the nomads there live in gers (a round tent) so they can move with their livestock. Lately it is more common to have only two camps – one for the summer and one for the winter. The winter-camps are often far from the soum-centres where the schools are, therefore their children are sent to live in school dormitories. It is the children of these families this master thesis will focus on.

Mongolian families have tight bounds, and upbringing of children are often looked upon in a collectivistic way. If the parents are not able to take care of their child as much as needed, it is a natural expectation that grandparents, aunts, uncles or older siblings can do the job. Everyone is a part of the family, and everyone works for each other – not themselves. Individualism might stand stronger in the cities, but at the countryside and in the rural areas collectivism is still strong. That might be the reason why Children's Rights sometimes has been misunderstood, since a traditional view on individuals expect that you contribute to the family and therefore focuses as much on duties as on rights as a measure to make the collective work.

2.2 Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Mongolia (NLM-M) and the Strengthening Children's Rights Project (SCR)

The Norwegian Lutheran Mission has, in cooperation with Mongolian authorities, worked in Mongolia since 1994 within health, agriculture and social work. The Norwegian Agency for

Development cooperation (NORAD) has funded 90% of each development-project NLM-M has been running.

One of them is Strengthening Children's Rights (SCR) that started in 2009. The SCR 5 years project plan for 2014-2018 explains that in the beginning their focus was on children with social challenges both in the capital Ulaanbaatar and the western province (aimag) Khovd. After 5 years the project was, after close considerations with partners, extended into SCR2 for another 5 years, now only focusing on children's rights at the dormitories in the two western aimags called Khovd and Bayan Ulgii until the end of 2018.

The project's primary target group is the children living in dormitories, and the secondary target group is relevant school staff principals, social workers and doctors, dormitory staff (teachers, guards, cooks, cleaners), parents of the children living in the dormitory and other professionals related to child protection.⁴ The objectives are as follows:

- 1. The children are living in a physically, mentally and emotionally healthy and safe environment in the dormitories within the target aimags*
- 2. The dormitory staff within the target aimags listens to the children and involve them in decision making processes*
- 3. Dormitory children within the target aimags are participating in organized leisure time activities in the dormitories on a regular basis*
- 4. Parents, school management and relevant governmental authorities on the different levels are working to improve the situation for the children living in dormitories*

The project can show several achievements during the years. The recent achievement is the conducting of the national forum called "Dormitory – a place for children's development" in December 2017. That was established in cooperation with the Ministry of Education. The forum's goal was closely connected to the objectives for the SCR2. One of the outcomes was an action plan for dormitories from 2018-2020, which is now approved by the Minister. This will strengthen policy documents towards dormitories, further develop and improve the

⁴ NLM by Baamaa Bayarmaa and Karen Colban Hoel, "Annual report 2017". Annual report SCR2. NLM-M. 2017.

standards in the dormitories, regulations on prevention from child abuse at school and at the dormitories and an increase of the food money for the children in dormitories.⁵

Additionally, the project's reports states that SCR2 has done trainings for specialists in the Education department on communication, team work and feedback culture, dormitory teachers (nationally) on dormitory assessment tools, school principals, accountants, cashiers, doctors and dormitory cooks on how to ensure food safety for dormitory children and staff, children and parents at one school received training in diversity awareness – to mention some of the trainings the last year. They have also organized experience sharing between the dormitories, staff and children involved. Last year SCR2 has made two dormitories into model dormitories, who, after received training, can pass their knowledge on to more dormitories in the same area. Earlier, a Facebook page was launched promoting children's rights, so was billboards and other information/communication tool.

Currently the project is monitoring 17 dormitories in Khovd aimag, and 29 in Bayan-Ulgii.

2.3 Mongolian dormitories

As mentioned the nomadic lifestyle is still common in the rural areas of Mongolia. To be able to send their children to school, the parents with a nomadic lifestyle must let their children live in dormitories to attend school. In 2014 NLM-M's figures show that 86% of the pupils living in dormitories were from nomadic families.

SCR2 informs that in 2012 there were 512 dormitories, and approximately 40 000 children living in them. Now there are 517 dormitories in Mongolia, and 35 196 children living in them. The numbers of dormitory teachers are 581, which shows the teacher density at each dormitory. Additional to teachers, there are guards (also called assistant teachers), cooks, cleaners and janitors employed, but quite often the guard is also the cleaner. The most common is one night-guard for the whole dormitory, and the number of children in each dormitory range from just around 30 up to over 500.

⁵ Baamaa and Hoel, "Annual report 2017".

As for the numbers of SCR2's two focus aimags there are 1894 children and 41 dormitory teachers in 21 dormitories in Khovd, and in Bayan-Ulgii there are 4531 children and 89 teachers in 50 dormitories.

The 5 years plan for SCR2 states that in the socialist era Mongolia invested a lot in education and the building of dormitories so the nomadic people can send their children to school, even if some of them live up to 200 km away from school. Because of the economical crisis in the 1990's the parents had to pay half of the tuition fee to the dormitories that before had been free. Many children also had to work to help their families through the hard times. These two factors led to a decrease in the number of children coming to school. But at the end of that decade the national economy stabilised and started to grow, and the tuition fee was again covered by the authorities. Today it is free to send your child to a dormitory in Mongolia, but amongst the youngest pupils there are still drop-outs. The possible reasons for that will be described further in a later section.

Each dormitory is part of the local, municipality-run primary/secondary school, and the principal is the head of both school and dormitory. The dormitories have different staff connected: kitchen personnel, heating personnel, day- and night guards, dormitory teachers and sometimes a doctor. The school also has a social worker that is supposed to work both at school and dormitory. If there are 10 or more pupils at the age of 6-7 years, the school is supposed to employ a teacher for only this age-group. These regulations are not always followed.

The schoolyear starts 1st September and ends 1st June. Between these two dates there are three holidays, lasting from 1-3 weeks. It is also possible for the parents to come and visit the children, and the children can go home in the weekends if the parents are close by.

It is quite common that the dormitories are made of concrete and has two floors - girls and boys on each floor, but small brothers are allowed to sleep in the same room as their older sisters. Children are aged 6-18. It is normal that there are several children in one bed, even if

the recommendations are one child per bed. This also has to do with what they are used to from home where it is common to share bed.

Each dormitory has a big kitchen where the meals are served. This is either in the same building, or separate. Most dormitories have washrooms in the dormitory, but toilets are outside and quite often built for adults so it can be difficult for the children to use them (two planks for each foot over a hole). All schools have electricity or solar panels, and some has built-in water. There is almost no light outside at the compounds.

The children's rooms are sparsely decorated with painted cement walls, one table, some stools, wooden floors and one bulb hanging from the roof. Inside each room there are beds and bunk-beds with private blankets, and the number of children in each room varies. The children do their beds, wash their clothes and clean their own rooms each day, supervised by the guard. They have a coffin to keep their private belongings in, and it is common to lock this with a padlock.

Because of the limited capacity at school, the children go to school in shifts. All children have breakfast in the morning, so they get up at the same time. After breakfast the secondary- and high school pupils go to school while the youngest do their homework. After lunch the primary school children go to school, and the secondary school pupils come back. The oldest pupils are at school all day. At some schools tea is served in the afternoon after the youngest comes back, but at other schools there are no meals between lunch and dinner in the evening. If the pupils have money they go to the local store to buy some extra snacks. Since it is common that the older pupils take care of their younger siblings, wash their clothes and so on, they do not have time to do the homework until the little ones have gone to bed in the evening around 10 pm. This means that many older pupils do homework until midnight and can only sleep a few hours before they have to get up again in the morning.

2.4 The Children's Rights Convention (CRC)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was declared by the United Nations (UN) in 1948 contains regulations on how the state is supposed to treat individuals and groups. After this declaration several international treaties have been made, and the most known are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1966 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights from the same year. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is unique as it involves both civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights – all regarding our youngest citizens under the legal age of 18. A right can be defined as «advantageous positions given individuals or groups by law, ethical rights or other norms»⁶.

The League of Nations from 1919 made the declaration on children's rights, but a declaration only says something about important principals, it is not as strong as a convention which is legally binding. In 1979 it was the UN's international year of the child, and the same year Poland took the initiative to constitute a commission to create a convention on the rights of children. Ten years later, in 1989, the Convention on the Rights of the Child was a fact. Within 1990 over 20 countries has ratified the CRC, and it has since then been recognized as International Law.⁷ The CRC is today powerful because it is ratified by all member countries of the UN, except the USA.

The CRC states what the State parties are accountable for, not what individuals (as parents) are obliged to do to fulfil the rights because those are supposed to be described in each state's national laws. It contains 54 articles divided into 3 parts: The First part describes children's rights, the second part describes how these rights are supposed to be monitored and the third part contains provision on ratifications and changes of the convention.⁸ The four general principles the CRC is built on, is also the principles used when each article are interpreted:

- 1) Non-discrimination
- 2) Devotion to the best interests of the child

⁶Knut V. Bergen, Gunnar M. Karlsen og Beate Slydal. *Menneskerettigheter, en innføring*. (Oslo: Humanist Forlag, 1999), 14.

⁷ Anne Margrethe Grøslund for Redd Barna. *Barnekonvensjonen. Rettigheter for barn i Norge*. (Oslo: Tano, 1993), 12-13.

⁸ Grøslund for Redd Barna. *Barnekonvensjonen. Rettigheter for barn i Norge*, 14.

- 3) Children's right to life, survival and development
- 4) Respect for the views of the child⁹

Further the State parties must report to the Committee for the Rights of the Child every fifth year. Also shadow reports are handed in by non-governmental organisations or other parts of the civil society. Together with each report the State parties are called in to the Committee for an open conversation about the country's accomplishment within each of the articles of the CRC. Thereafter the Committee makes a report called "Concluding observations" about the State party's fulfilment of the CRC – what has been achieved, and what they need to improve.¹⁰

2.4.1 CRC in Mongolia

The state has in principle acknowledged the concept of human rights. During the transformation to democracy with market economy Mongolia desired to create new legislations that would correspond to international legislation standards, and the new constitution of 1992 had, for the first time in Mongolia, an own chapter on human rights. Mongolia became a democracy in 1990, and the same year the CRC was signed and ratified with no reservations. That was significant as over half of the young population was children at that point.¹¹

In 2007 Mongolia incorporated the CRC into Mongolian law. If the CRC comes in conflict with the Mongolian law, the CRC has the precedence.

Since the ratification in 1990 Mongolia has delivered five periodical reports and received as many concluding observations from the UN Children's Committee. Information from these reports as well as Observations will be described in chapter four.

⁹ UNICEF, "About the Convention. What is the CRC?" https://www.unicef.org/rightsite/237_202.htm

¹⁰ OHCHR. "Monitoring children's rights." <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CRC/Pages/CRCIntro.aspx>

¹¹ UNICEF. "Mongolia. Situation of children." https://www.unicef.org/mongolia/overview_24547.html

3.0 Qualitative methodology

For collection of data I chose to use a qualitative method that allowed me to try to get a deeper understanding on how the 6-year-olds relates to their everyday life. This kind of method is known for a flexibility¹² that is important when dealing with small children. The qualitative method is based on a subject-subject relation between researcher and the informant, and it accentuates processes and meanings that is not possible to get through quantitative methods of collecting data¹³. I chose to do interviews since this has not been done in this setting before. Being aware that interviewing children and being from a different culture could affect the results, I will in this chapter reflect over the credibility.

3.1 Research design/approach and philosophy of science

In the collection of data for this survey I used qualitative methodology through in-depth interviews. That means that I had few informants, but the information collected was detailed and emphasizes the actual meaning, unlike quantitative methodology that emphasizes prevalence and number. I have studied the social phenomena of the youngest children at two schools through interviews and through some interaction outside the interview-setting. Each interview was in a close setting where it was only the child, the translator and the researcher present, and has helped me to understand some of the qualities from the phenomena of being a small child at a dormitory¹⁴.

This kind of design also requires a certain amount of analysis and translation of the material collected, and it has to be done with the right context (coherence) as a back-drop. If this is done correctly, it has transferability to other children in the same situation and at the same age¹⁵.

To get the right idea of context especially since the collection of data was done in a foreign culture, I, as a researcher, needed to be well prepared and have enough knowledge about the local culture to avoid making disturbing elements that decreases the quality of the data collected. As I have lived and worked in Mongolia for 5 years and thus getting to know the

¹² Tove Thaagard *Systematikk og innlevelse, en innføring i kvalitativ metode* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2013), 31.

¹³ Ibid, 17.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid, 18.

culture, the preparations were easily done. Additionally, reports from and correspondence with the CRC2 was a part of the preparation.

Hermeneutics emphasises the importance of clarifying the meaning that lies *underneath* the obvious. With this approach, the truth can look different depending on what coherence the phenomena are seen in. As Thagaard says: *All understanding is based on a preunderstanding*¹⁶. First of all, while doing my research, I had to become aware of my previous knowledge being Norwegian and the presumptions regarding culture, values and language. Secondly, I had to increase my previous knowledge about Mongolian culture and language, and more specifically the knowledge about dormitories and the children's life there.

An example of this is when several of the small children told me that they are tired of the older kids making them do favours for them all the time. Collecting water was one of them. I immediately (with my child-protection brain and pre-knowledge about the possibility of exploitation) started to think that the older kids took advantage of the smaller kids. Then, when interviewing a dormitory teacher, she used the example of washing clothes when answering my question about the smaller children being exploited. She said that the younger kids complained a lot when the older children asked them to collect water for washing both their own and the smaller sibling's clothes. So, the truth was actually that the youngest was contributing for getting their own clothes washed.

3.2 Method of production of data

As I was interested in the situation for the youngest at the dormitory, I chose to go directly to the source – the children themselves. This raises some ethical questions, and I will discuss this later, under point 7.3. Some adults that work close to them was also selected to expand my knowledge.

As Gulbrandsen points out, the choice of children being informants about their own life is not common in psychological studies. The knowledge about children are often based on adults as teachers or parents, or they are done through tests or other standardised situations¹⁷. It was important for this survey to try to grasp the children's understanding of their life in a

¹⁶ Thagaard, *Systematikk og innlevelse*, 41.

¹⁷ Liv Mette Gulbrandsen, *I barns dagligliv. En kulturpsykologisk studie av jenter og gutters utvikling*. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1998), 52

dormitory. Not to find out who was right or wrong, but to try to see their life as a dormitory-child from their point of view. The interview-form was open and qualitative where I gave the topic, but they were able to talk freely as I tried to make a way for us together through the prepared questions. To be able to get the information I had to be flexible and sensitive to what signals the child was sending during the interview.

3.2.1 Children as informants

The article by Andenæs from 1991 implies that also in social science children have not been looked upon as sufficient reliable to be included in interview research. She constructed a way-of-life-interview (no:livsformsintervju) with small children that keeps the attention towards the child's representation of own interactions. Her conclusion is that age does not change the process of doing a qualitative interview, but rather emphasizes the challenges in a qualitative interview.¹⁸

Both Andenæs and Gulbrandsen try in their meetings with children to get a glimpse of their universe. Their worlds are seen with fresh eyes with not as many references that an adult researcher has, and can never fully be understood except by the person experiencing it. I found that those times when the interviews with the children flowed in a nice, natural way was the times when I joined in on their thoughts by asking follow-up questions regarding the thoughts they just outlined and acknowledging them just put fuel to the fire and the conversation kept on going. This flow can be hard to find when we've known each other for such a short time, speak through a translator, are cold from sitting still too long or suddenly someone knocks at the door with just one more inquiry. The form of interviewing described here is semi-structured, and is defined in Brinkmann and Kvale as *research that aims to uncover what characterises the conversation, as looking at what grammatical and linguistic forms that are being used...*¹⁹It was when I "cracked the code" to what characterized the conversation that I was able to gain more trust, more understanding and more answers.

¹⁸ Agnes Andenæs, «Livsformsintervju med 4-5 åringer: Motivasjon, kontrakt og felles fokus.» *I Barn – nytt fra forskning om barn i Norge*, 20-30. (Trondheim: Nordisk senter for barneforskning. (ISSN 0800-1669), 1991), 29

¹⁹ Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkman, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju* (Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk 2015), 357

3.2.2 Literature

I have used reports, evaluations and other documents about SCR2, Children's rights in Mongolia, regulations for dormitories in Mongolia and the CRC itself. These are secondary sources that was needed for the total understanding of the concept that SCR are aiming to accomplish, and to know the standards the CRC are requiring from dormitories.

3.3 The selection

Before, and during, my stay in Mongolia I cooperated with Norwegian Lutheran Mission's project SCR2, both to get in touch with the schools and to get help to select the actual children. The project let us join them while doing their annual monitoring at the selected schools. SCR2 selected two dormitories that were fairly accessible from the aimag-centre, but we still had to sleep 2 nights at each soum-centre to save travel-time. Since SCR2 has worked within this field for many years, I trusted their selection as reliable sources to collect data.

After getting the interview-guide approved from the Norwegian NSD the 28th September, 2017 (appendix 10.2), I sent the letter of consent (translated into Mongolian) to the project. They then gave the letters to the two selected schools. The principals at each school was instructed by SCR2 and made responsible to give the letter to the employees at the dormitory and the parents when they came to pick up their children for the holiday in November.

The translator travelled with me for back and forth Norway and during the entire stay in Mongolia. When we came to the first school in January the principal said that the letters were missing but had been given out as planned. The selection of children and adults was done by us, after getting to know them and recommendations by the staff. At the second school only one parent had signed, since they thought I needed only one child to interview. The rest of the consents was collected *after* the interviews and sent to me by email. Also, here the selection of children (except that one) and adults was done by us. The letter of consent was written both to the adults working at the dormitory, and the children (their parents) as both where going to be informants. I never got a clear answer if the employees at the dormitory were informed via the letter of consent or not. I do know that they were prepared via talking to the programme officer from SCR2.

I was told by one teacher that personal protection and privacy has a whole different meaning in Mongolia than Europe and Norway. If we want to talk to the children at the dormitories we could just inform the adults, and it was not necessary to ask parents for consent. As we stayed

two nights at one dormitory, I got to experience this different thought of privacy. One evening the teachers, the cook, the janitor, the guard and some children from time to time came into our room. None of them knocked, and some stayed to chat without invitation, others just looked at us and went back out.

My criteria for selection was to have 4 children living in the dormitory at each school at the age of first, and second graders. If possible, I wanted half of them to be girls/boys, but more important was to find children who were talkative and not too shy. The selection of adults was first thought to be guards, but after arriving I found out that dormitory-teachers was employed there additional to guards, and therefore I interviewed both.

My plan was to use a method developed by Hanne Haavind called “way of life interview” (no:livsformsintervju, as mentioned earlier) that is a form of interviewing while the informant physically shows where and how yesterday was while the interviewer tries to collect information that can be of greater meaning than just practically what happened the day before while describing their way of life – a repetitive pattern of their everyday life²⁰. Since the talking is done while physically doing something, this would also be a way to make the small children relax and talk more freely. We tried it out with the first informant, but it did not work at all since all the other children followed us around, wanted to answer the questions and interrupted too much.

Therefore, plan B was the best method: To give the child crayons, white drawing paper and plasticine, and ask them to draw/make their family while we were talking. This was easier as we stayed in one place, but still the child had something to do that could ease tension as shyness, not knowing where to look, something to talk about when it was quiet, and it made a produced product for them to be proud of at the end of the interview. We also took pictures together with them and their creation that was sent to them a few days after our visit.

3.4 The translator

All interviews were done with a well-prepared Mongolian/Norwegian translator. The translator has Mongolian mother tongue, her daily work is at the Child Welfare Services in Norway, she is educated a social worker in Oslo and has spent her childhood, youth and young adult life in Mongolia. She is also my colleague and sister in-law and travelled the

²⁰ Hanne Haavind, *Liten og stor: mødres omsorg og barns utviklingsmuligheter*. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984), 90

whole two weeks with me. Our close relation was discussed with my supervisor before the project started, and I was aware of the ethical questions that could be raised when it came to her credibility. Because of our close relation, the verbal and non-verbal communication between us flowed easily and made potential challenges one can face in this kind of interpretation situation seem smaller. I am certain that this would have been different if I had hired a foreign interpreter. (Non-verbal communication entails sending and receiving messages through any of the human sense channels, without using language²¹)

Since the translator represents the language and culture the child feels safe in, the role as a translator interviewing children can be crucial for the conversation, or if it is going to be a conversation at all.

The child does not only have to feel confident with the researcher, but also the translator. This is the reason why we chose to play name-games and other games like hide-and-seek with the group of 6-8 year olds at each dormitory before conducting the interviews. When they were gathered as a group we also explained who we were, why we were there and that some of them would be asked to have a conversation with us later the same day or the next couple of days. It was not presented a difference between translator and researcher, so the children would not distinguish between the two roles before the interviews. The translator naturally got a closer connection with the children because of language, looks and culture, but I tried to keep up with my poor Mongolian language, European looks and mindset.

Secondly, because of the big differences in Norwegian and Mongolian language, the translator could not translate each word for the actual meaning to come through. As an example, there are two ways to say “haircut”. One has the meaning of a normal haircut, and the other means a special ceremony that takes place once in a child’s early life. It has been important that these adjustments are agreed on beforehand. It has also been discussed before, during and after fieldwork and during transcribing the interviews to strengthen the reliability of the data collected. Further it has been an advantage that I know some Mongolian language.

²¹ The Psychology Notes HQ. Online Resources for Psychology Students, “Nonverbal communication.” Published 27.july 2012. Downloaded: 11.may 2018.
<https://www.psychologynoteshq.com/nonverbalcommunication/>

Thirdly, the translator has been helpful translating the non-verbal communication in the interviews. The cultural understanding is crucial, both with adults and children. Looks and movements can mean more than words sometimes, and since the permission from NSD was only to record sound (not picture), this had to be observed during the conversation.

3.5 The interviews

I conducted in-depth interview with a semi-structured approach in two dormitories. It was a total of 8 children at the age 6-8 years old, 4 dormitory teachers (one had worked several years as a guard) and 1 guard. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes up to 1,5 hours with pauses when needed.

We sat inside the dormitory conducting the interviews. Either in the parent's visiting-room, the classroom (where they do assisted homework), the teacher's room or the guard's room – depending on the temperature and possibility to speak uninterrupted. We offered the informants something to drink, biscuits and sweets, and tried to make a relaxed atmosphere. All interviews were done with a dictaphone for later transcription, and everyone was explained why I did that. I also took notes while interviewing to record observed feelings and keywords for further use in the interview. This was later used as a support when transcribing the interviews. The recordings have been kept safe with the researcher at all times, and deleted when the master thesis is completed.

Each informant was explained their rights (as explained in the letter of consent) before starting the interview. None of them chose to cancel the interview and all questions were more or less answered. One child was very shy and only whispering, despite being the leader of her squad in the hallways. I gave her the option to do second half of the interview with only the translator present, and she did. This was not a problem as the translator was well familiar with the questions from the previous interviews and had been a part of the fieldwork since day one.

Since we had played with the children beforehand, I felt we had gained enough trust from them to have confidence in us. Without this trust, it would have been hard to get admittance and both the interviews would have been more superficial.

Before going to Mongolia in January two interview guides were made in November (see attachment 10.1); One for the children and one for the adults. The one for the children

contained many questions, and some of them was meant to be follow-up questions if the conversation was hard to get going. It was first about their family and animals, because that is something easy to talk about, then about their schooling. Further about routines as food, sleep, homework and leisure time. In between the routine-questions I put in questions about thoughts and feelings to get an impression of their actual everyday life.

The interview guide for the adults was focused on facts about the dormitory and the smallest children's everyday life and how they dealt with challenges mainly towards the youngest children. They were also asked about their background and training when starting their position at the dormitory, and to reflect over dormitory life. These interviews were mostly used to confirm or fill in as a support to the children's statements, but there was also useful information given and we had interesting conversations about the topic of safeguarding the smallest children's rights.

3.6 Description and coding of data

Just a day after collecting the data I, together with the translator, transcribed as much as possible while the interview was fresh in mind. Some of the transcribing was also done just after arriving back in Norway, still in cooperation with the translator.

The data from the adults was very helpful in understanding the situation and routines of the 6-years-old's everyday life. They were all very enthusiastic about their work and spoke gladly about it. They also gave the impression that even if the dormitories are a part of the school with the same management, they often felt left out and claimed that this is affecting the children's lives. How the system of dormitories is organised is interesting, and important to know about to understand the context. The data from the adults has been useful information but is not coded because I wanted to concentrate on the children's statements.

The data from the children was thoroughly gone through and classified. I made a matrix out of 12 sheets of paper and wrote down statements from the interviews describing the children's lives. It could be "Sleep in the same bed as my sister" or "I am afraid if the dark", and a tick was made for every child that said the same. That ended up being 51 categories, and I gave each category a colour classifying them under the same as the chapter 5.0:

- 1) Older children as daily caregivers and adult's role
- 2) Corporal punishment

3) Missing family and home

4) Daily routines

5) Change in dormitory

My findings were not surprising, they were a confirmation of the situation that was in the dormitory this winter. The adults described previous years as more difficult, and the children did not have anything to compare with. Some improvements has been done, but still the adults wonder why so many 6-year-olds are held back or quit their first schoolyear.

3.7 Judgement of method

Mongolian culture has a collectivist way of living, where the thought of individuals is different than for example in Norwegian culture. This is something I noticed even more being with the children at the dormitories. One of the older children even said to the translator that we were different, that we talked to them showing respect and listened in a different way than they were used to. My impression of the traditional way of looking at children in Mongolia is that they are waiting to become grown-ups – studying the adult way of living, learning their way of handling things. Some of the children said at home they had to do a lot of housework and did not have time to do homework and play.

This made me think that in an interview-situation where two adults sat down with them, treated them as a guest while serving food and drink, listening and being interested in their opinion was a total new situation for many of them. Not many adults in their everyday life has time to do that. Some enjoyed it, and some became insecure and quiet from this kind of setting.

If we had stayed with them longer, the atmosphere probably would have been different, and we could have had deeper talks about their feelings and thoughts about more challenging subjects. The fact that we only stayed for a short time made it impossible, and also inappropriate, to try to make the children share sensitive thoughts, especially since we would not have had time to help them deal with their thoughts afterwards.

Some questions could open for description of feelings. During the first day at one dormitory there was a group-interview during the annual monitoring of SCR2 by a project officer. I observed that one child said that it did not miss home so much, and the response from the

adult was that this child was being good. This was a good example of the rough attitude one can meet. You are supposed to be tough and handle whatever comes your way.

Living in -40c, not much fodder to find for the animals that is their livelihood, their whole existence depends on the harsh nature, who can make space for feelings? Who has time for questioning the existence and why things are the way they are? And if the feelings are let out, do they have the tools to handle it?

With my interpretive approach I had to be aware of my own background, and pre-understanding as mentioned in 3.1. It was not hard to get admittance to the source, as both adults and children was very friendly and curious about us and why we came. But still I had to remind myself that one year ago I was convinced that dormitory-life is not suitable for small children, and I thought that SCR2 should work and help the authorities to find other options for schooling young kids in Mongolia instead of improving the situation. This negative pre-understanding towards the system of dormitories could colour my questions and my analysis of the answers.

3.8 Summary

For this data collection I have done a cross-sectional study – what the children thinks about certain issues at that actual time. 6-year-olds live very much in the moment, and their thoughts about what we talked about might even change the next day. It would have been interesting to do a longitudinal study of the same children to see how the thoughts about the same issues might change over time.

In this chapter I have presented how I have conducted my research to show the accountability of it and that the research methods for the research question are reliable. I have also tried to show accountability and that the research methods for the research question are reliable. I also tried to show the validity of the methods related to the research question.

4.0 Theory

In this chapter I will present relevant theory about children's development- and attachment psychology to create a basis of the research that I have done. The theory will later be used to understand the empirical data that are discussed in chapter 6. After reviewing how the children's development traditionally has been looked at through 4 theorists, I will look at attachment theory because this is the core of what the children at the dormitories will lack.

Theories within attachment is also closely linked to children's needs that is described in the Children's Rights Convention (CRC). Children's rights are the second half of this thesis' research question. At the end of this chapter I will present conceptual framework for Human rights and the CRC; that is what the States obliged to, and children are entitled to.

4.1 Developmental theory

Psychology in general is about human recognition of the physical and social outside world, human actions, feelings and experiences, human participation in both bigger or smaller networks and in the society. Developmental psychology is about how all this is created in the first place and is thus the key to the understanding of all human functioning²². Developmental psychology is therefore how a child changes socially, mentally and behaviour-wise, and is hence central in understanding children's development and in studying a childhood and upbringing in a dormitory.

4.1.1 Psychosexual development

The attitude towards a child's development has changed throughout the years. About one hundred years ago the mainstream thought in Europe about children was that a new-born baby was like a blank sheet of paper that the adult could write on, and this writing would form the person while growing up²³. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) has been one of the greatest influences to change this view from the beginning of the 19th century, when he based his development psychology on interviews he made with adults about their childhood. Freud's

²² Stephen von Tetzchner, *Utviklingspsykologi Barne- og Ungdomsalderen*, (Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk forlag, 2001),1

²³ Ekeland et al., *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 109

psychoanalysis (the theory of the unconscious) and the early childhood's meaning for later experiences and behaviour has had great influence on later research. He focused on psychosexual development and he meant to prove that the psychological development happens in the conflict between the child's sexual needs and the surroundings' demand²⁴. The most important years was the child's five first divided into the oral, the anal, the phallic, the latent, and the genital phase. The child's personality was then believed to be formed in the crossing between the child's needs that are suppressed under the demands from society, and the child's need's drive. The important factor was to use this drive on activities with "higher" value.²⁵

4.1.2 Psychosocial development

After Freud the psychologist Erik Homburger Erikson (1902-1994) developed a theory that emphasised the psychosocial development: A child's (and further adult's) personality develops in different phases and are influenced from the responses a child gets from his/hers caregivers. He emphasised the social relations and described each of the eight phases as a crisis: Trust versus Mistrust (0–2 years), Autonomy versus Shame/Doubt (2–4 years), Initiative versus Guilt (4–5 years), Industry versus Inferiority (5–12 years), Identity versus Role Confusion (13–21 years), Intimacy versus Isolation (21-39 years), Generativity versus Stagnation (, 40–64 years), ego integrity versus despair (65 – death). How each crisis was solved would influence how the person looked at itself. This development would form their identity and social development.²⁶ Erikson's crisis has been a basis in social work, how to normalize these transitions a child goes through²⁷.

4.1.3 Cognitive development

But as social development is a part of the development theories, so is the cognitive, the intellectual development. Therefore Jean Piaget (1896-1980) is also worth mentioning as his theory on how a child's intellect develops from experiencing the world through senses into

²⁴ Ekeland et al., *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 110

²⁵ Kjell Raaheim og Ingunn B. Skre, "Psykoanalyse," i *Store Norske Leksikon*, sist endret 26. april 2018, <https://snl.no/psykoanalyse>.

²⁶ Ekeland et al., *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 111

²⁷ *Ibid*, 114

being able to perform abstract thinking²⁸. He focused only on the first 12 years of a child's life. The first stage was the sensorimotor stage (0 – 2 years) where their thinking is shown through physical action and learns by sensing and doing. Next was the preoperational stage (2-7 years) where use of language is the most distinctive development, pretend games evolves, but the child cannot understand that there are other ways of looking at the world than his/hers. Concrete operational stage (7-12 years) is when the child starts to think with logic, masters more aspects of conversation and some of the egocentrism sheds off. The last is the formal operational stage (12 + years) where thinking is no longer depending on observable, physical events. The child now uses abstract, logical and formal thinking to make sense of his or her environment.²⁹ This theory has been important for pedagogy, and to be able to know how to formulate when talking to a child.

These three theories show us that a child should be seen and understood from its development history. But the theories are general, and newer discussion within development psychology emphasizes that there are great individual differences from one child to another because of the variety of influence due to inheritance, temperament and care-environment. Further; it is the interpersonal transactions, the exchange, between the children and their closest relations that influence their development the most.³⁰ The interpersonal transactions will be explained further under the section attachment theory.

4.1.4 Developmental effects

The mentioned theories above was about how children create relations and how those relations influence the development of different personalities.

Influenced by this Stephen Von Tetzchner (1946 -) creates and divides the development-effects into three³¹:

- 1) **Main-effects.** These does not depend on other relations. It can be a type of nutrition or genetical decided factors as eye colour. These conditions are so strong that other conditions cannot change or influence them.

²⁸ Ekeland et al., *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 113

²⁹ The Psychology Notes HQ. Online Resources for Psychology Students, "Piaget's Stages of Cognitive Development: A Closer L." Published: 10. April 2017. <https://www.psychologynoteshq.com/piaget-stages/>

³⁰ Ekeland et al., *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 115

³¹ Tetzchner, *Utviklingspsykologi Barne- og Ungdomsalderen*, 8-11

- 2) **Interaction-effects.** When the influence from one condition/circumstance is depending on one or more other conditions. Examples are children that are served nutritious food during their upbringing. They are not necessarily taller than others that are being served less nutritious food. Many are, but some are not, because of the biological factor of height that plays a role in their development *as well* as the nutrition.

Another example is the link between children's performance at school and the parents. There is a greater conjunction between children's performance at school and parent's income in families with single-parents than in families with two parents. This is probably because there are two adults that can share responsibilities/tasks in the household (as follow-up on schoolwork), even if it is a low-income family.

- 3) **Transaction-effect.** As the previous two was a *result* of development, the transaction-effect is a *process*. It is the mutual influence between the child and its environment. It is often talked about the depraved influence a harsh environment can negatively influence a child, but a child can also influence its environment! An extrovert child (chin up, talkative, smiling, confident, etc.) gets a different response from its environment than a shy child (looking down, not talking, not smiling, insecure). This response, or lack of response, will again influence the child's personality (over time), and that same child's abilities will be affected by a new environment, and so on. It is a chain of mutual influence, built up over time, and the chain can be harder to brake as time passes.

Another important aspect of attachment theory is if the attachment is safe or unsafe. The first gives trust, and the other gives mistrust³². An unsafe attachment is a *risk factor*. Risk factors is used for relations or conditions that increases the danger of a person developing challenges. And it is the lasting factors that can create greatest difficulties. It can affect general development, psychological sufferings and social adjustment challenges. An analyse of risk can also apply to somatic difficulties. Certain risks are connected to certain difficulties or disorders.³³

³² Øyvind Kvello, *Barn i risiko, skadelige omsorgssituasjoner* (Oslo: Gyldendal norsk forlag, 2010), 88

³³ Kvello, *Barn i risiko*, 162

Protective factor reduces the risk of developing difficulties. Just like the risk factor includes genetical, biological, mental, environmental and social factors, so does the protective factor. The risk and protective factors has increasingly also been used in cross-cultural contexts.³⁴

4.2 Attachment theory

Since the 50's attachment has been an important part of development psychology³⁵. In the 70's parents were not allowed to stay with their children when their child had to be hospitalized. Before that new-born babies in hospitals were taken care of by the nurses and only given to the mother for feeding, so the mother could recover from the birth. Knowledge within children's attachment changed this practice.

A definition of attachment is:

*The emotional tie that is tied to the caregiver and that is revealed through seeking of proximity, protest at separation and joy when reunion.*³⁶

There are many theories within this subject, and one of the most central is developed by the psychoanalyst John Bowlby (1907-1990). His etiological survival model about how humans needs someone to take care of them to be able to survive has been important for further research within the field. The tie of attachment a child has to the caregiver appears clearly in the separation syndrome; when children are separated from the caregiver it has a pattern of reactions. The first is protest, then despair, and if the separation lasts over a longer period of time a disconnection finds place and the child becomes apathetic. Through this it is possible to understand that when the care-person shows emotional availability it gives the child a possibility to have an optimal environment for development.³⁷

Further Bowlby claimed that the emotional tie that is bound to the caregiver is devotion. The attachment changes in different phases and the child uses the primary caregiver as a *safe base* for exploring the surroundings. Later research on attachment has shown that a child can tie the bond with more than one caregiver.³⁸ This is the case in collectivistic cultures, like in Mongolia. Hence the proverb: It takes a village to raise a child. In the cultural psychological development perspective, it is important to see the child's development in a broader

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Ekeland et.al. *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 122

³⁶ Ibid, 122

³⁷ Ibid, 124

³⁸ Ibid, 125

perspective, as the historical and social context has a great influence on childhood³⁹. This has been the greatest critics to early theories about attachment – that it was too ethnocentric in its approach with the secure versus insecure attachment to the caregiver. Quinn and Magio argues that when Mary Ainsworth (1913-1999) took Bowlby's ideas to Uganda, she found that children there were almost not apart from their caregivers at all during the first two years. Also the caregiver can be more than just the mother. This is a distinct difference from American children at that time, and shows great differences within the context where attachment is happening.⁴⁰ Cross-cultural variation patterns as multiple caregiving⁴¹ ought to be considered, and this will be further discussed later in the thesis.

4.3 Questioning the classical view on childhood

The classical view on childhood has been to look at the child in a continuous development, almost like a defective form of adult, social in their future potential, but not in their *present being* as a child. It is like they are in a process towards individualisation, but the final full position is not reached until a certain age.⁴² This is also the case in collectivistic cultures.

In our time children have achieved a stronger voice both in theories about childhood and through regulations and laws. In the book "Theorizing childhood" (1998) the authors offer a new view on contemporary childhood, where they suggest a greater emphasis on childhood as a valuable voice into society. When it comes to the regulations, Mongolia ratified UN's Children's Rights Convention (CRC) in 1990, already the year it was operative, and in 2007 the CRC was incorporated into their national laws. So, the children in Mongolia are, by law, entitled to be heard, and not only the children's best interest (article 3 of the CRC) are to be taken into consideration, but also the wishes and desires of children ought to be heard (article 12 of the CRC).

But let us first look at the view on childhood as suggested by James, Jenks and Prout. They argue that the pre-sociological models of childhood imply a view on childhood that does not give room for the everyday of a child's life. Those theories are too generalizing, looking at the process of the childhood – the process of socialisation, not including the child's world view

³⁹ Ekeland et.al. *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 131

⁴⁰ Naomi Quinn and Jeannette Marie Magio. *Attachment reconsidered, Cultural perspectives on a western theory*, (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), 4

⁴¹ Quinn and Magio, *Attachment reconsidered, Cultural perspectives on a western theory*, 116

⁴² Allison James, Chris Jenks and Alan Prout, *Theorizing Childhood*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 6.

just as it is. It is not connected to what the child naturally is, more what the society demands of the child.⁴³

The authors divide their new way of looking at childhood into four categories:

- 1) **The socially constructed child⁴⁴**. This approach is hermeneutic. In this category childhood does not exist in an identifiable form. As a cruel example is child-abuse: A society where this is a socially accepted adult-child relation, looked upon as a natural way of behaviour. The social constructionists say that our standards of what is right and wrong is influenced by our world-view, and therefore we cannot make universal statements of value. This emphasises that there are no universal children, and the child is free of biological determinism, instead they have a built-in world of meaning created by themselves and their interaction with adults.
- 2) **The tribal child⁴⁵**. In this approach the children's own world is understood as real, not as fantasies, games, imitations of adults' world, but as real locations – on the same level as an adult's world. These are unfamiliar systems to the adults, such as the schoolyard, the youth-club, the playground. Some arenas in the dormitory might be classified in this context. Here the children's world is to be looked upon as an independent place with its own rules and rituals.
- 3) **The minority group child⁴⁶**. In this category children are looked upon as a minority in a structurally, discriminatory society. It challenges the power-relation adult-child and encourage to look at children as active subjects in a society instead of as children.
- 4) **The social structural child⁴⁷**. The child is seen as a formative component of all social structures, a constant feature of all social worlds. This approach praises the child as a group of social actors, with their own needs and rights as citizens. It can use childhood as a parameter like economic, political, social parameters. It is a positive way of speaking of *the* childhood as all childhoods, despite being in different terms of space, time or economics, having a number of characteristics in common – like youth, adulthood and old age. When the childhood is defined within a country, it allows us to compare childhoods internationally and interculturallly.

⁴³ James et.al., *Theorizing Childhood*, 13-24.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 26.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 28.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 30.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 32

It is within this approach childhood is defined as *the life period during which a human being is regarded as a child, and the cultural, social and economic characteristics of that period*⁴⁸.

When trying to understand and define childhood, and the practice of it, one cannot rule out the everyday world of children and only speak in categories and general terms as the traditional view on childhood has shown tendencies to do. Childhood culture, doing the business of childhood and childhood diversities – the variety of the children’s social contexts must be taken into consideration. This is of current interest looking at the context a dormitory gives the young children described in this paper. As said by the authors of *Theorizing childhood: Childhood should be understood as a social or cultural construction, it cannot be read from biological differences between children and adults.*⁴⁹

4.4 Human Rights contextual framework

To find out how the 6-year-old children’s rights in the dormitories are protected, it is necessary to look into who and what kind of system the children are protected through. Here I will present what the state obligations means, as the Mongolian state through ratification of the CRC and other human rights covenants, are obliged to implement and monitor so every inhabitant can enjoy their rights. This is done through adopting internal legislation and policies to implement human rights standards into Mongolian standards.

Adopting and implementing a long-term policy that includes the CRC is a complex transformation. To change laws is not only done on paper, as it also affects the everyday life and long traditions that lives within people. There is also a financial side to these changes, as better nutrition, more educated teachers, improved standards of physical environment and so on requires investments which again forces the Mongolian Government to undertake hard priorities.

⁴⁸ James et.al., *Theorizing Childhood*, 33

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 146

4.4.1 Core content

Mongolia ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) in October 1974, and the Optional Protocol to this in July 2010. In 1986 a group of 29 distinguished experts in international law met to define the obligations State Parties have when incorporating the ICESCR. They agreed on the principals of the implementation of these rights in the “Limburg principles on the Implementation on the ICESCR”. Article 25 in this agreement claim that the State Parties are obliged to ensure respect for minimum subsistence rights for all, regardless of the country’s economic development⁵⁰. It means that Mongolia, despite being ranked 92 out of 188 countries in the Human Developing Index (HDI)⁵¹, must show respect for, and willingness to, fulfil a minimum of the rights.

Further, in the Limburg’s article 37:

*Upon becoming a party to the Covenant, States shall eliminate de jure discrimination by abolishing without delay any discriminatory laws, regulations and practices (including acts of omission as well as commission) affecting the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights.*⁵²

This means that when a country incorporates ICESCR into its national laws it must remove laws that stops inhabitants from being able to live out the rights this covenant covers.

Unfortunately, in the General comment no. 3 on The nature of States parties’ obligations, the UN states that not all countries has fulfilled their promises even when it comes to reaching a minimum of essential levels of each of the rights⁵³. A *minimum* means for example basic shelter or housing, essential primary health care and basic form of education. This also includes the obligation to monitor the right’s fulfilment has not been obeyed, and neither has the obligation to promote strategies and programmes for promotion of the rights.

⁵⁰The Network of Concerned Historians, “The Limburg Principles on the implementation of the international covenant on economic social and cultural rights”, June 1986

http://www.concernedhistorians.org/content_files/file/to/142.pdf

⁵¹UNDP, “Human Development Reports. Mongolia.” 2. Mai 2018.

<http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/MNG>

⁵² The Network of Concerned Historians, “The Limburg Principles on the implementation of the international covenant on economic social and cultural rights”, June 1986

http://www.concernedhistorians.org/content_files/file/to/142.pdf

⁵³United Nations Human Rights, “Fifth session (1990)*. General comment No. 3: The nature of States parties’ obligations (art. 2, para. 1, of the Covenant).” 19. April 2018.

http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=INT%2fICESCR%2fGEC%2f4758&Lang=en

Even if these comments were about the fulfilment of ICESCR, it can also be applied in the context of the Conventional Rights of the Child (CRC) since that does not distinguish between civil and political or economic, social and cultural rights. It is unique as its main focus is children, but it also includes rights from the other covenants. In Mongolia it was, as mentioned, ratified in September 1990⁵⁴.

The Committee on the Right of the Child is the treaty body for the CRC. Every treaty has a body run on a parallel track to the Charter based mechanisms of the UN. And Every treaty has a compliance and oversight body. The committee's function is to review state reports and other forms of communication, the issuance of General Comments which is interpretations of the content in CRC, thematic discussions and other open fora to coordinate their work with other treaty bodies.⁵⁵

It requires a periodic report on the CRC from Mongolia every fifth year on Mongolia's own behaviour under the treaty, as a process of self-evaluation of the measures they have adopted to promote children's rights. The Committee publish Concluding Observations after each report. These reports can also include shadow reports handed in by non-governmental organisations and other organisations that are independent from the state. This gives the Committee a fuller picture of the fulfilling of the State's obligations for the reporting period as it is an independent tool.⁵⁶

To give a recent example of this; the last periodic report was requested in October 2014, and was received by the Committee of the Rights of the Child in September 2016. A working group of representatives from ministries, agencies and civil society organisations collected reports from the ministries involved. Then the National Agency for Children (NAC, but later renamed Family, Child and Youth Development Agency FCYDA) published the first draft of the report to collect public opinions and received over 300 comments and recommendations. This year was the first year the local officials from the Children and Family Development

⁵⁴ OHCHR, "Ratification Status for Mongolia." 21. April 2018.

http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=115&Lang=EN

⁵⁵ Mertus, Julie A. *The United Nations and Human Rights, a guide for a new era.* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009),65

⁵⁶ OHCHR, "Monitoring the core international human rights treaties." 21. April 2018.

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/Pages/WhatTBDo.aspx>

submitted reports on the CRC, and 80% of them sent a report to the National Council for Children.⁵⁷

The Committee on the Rights of the Child then conducted an official dialogue in May 2017, where at the end their comment on Mongolia's policies called "Concluding observations" summarizing its main concerns and making recommendations to the State Party. The committee welcomes the progress Mongolia has shown through new ratifications and adoption of new legislative acts and institutional and policy measures relating to Children's rights since its last review in 2009. Mongolia has revised Law on the Rights of the Child, the law on Child Protection, the Labour law, the law on Domestic violence and the revised Criminal Code. But the committee also has areas of concern and recommendations. The most urgent ones being allocation of resources, non-discrimination, family environment, environmental health, children's right and business sector and economic exploitation.⁵⁸

It is not only through the national reporting system the Committee can push for social and legal change on the issues of the rights for children. The State Parties also have their obligations to fulfil.

4.4.2 Respect, protect and fulfil

The obligation and possibility of contraventions the State Parties have towards the CRC (and other Human Rights acts) can be divided into three levels, as Hans Morten Haugen did in one of his lectures⁵⁹:

- 1) The State Party must show *respect* for the Convention, through avoiding public bodies from interfering. This can be done, or not done, in several ways. Through setting the CRC over other laws, and if other regulation come in conflict with the CRC it is always the Rights of the Child that goes first.
- 2) The State Party has to protect its children from violations towards them and their rights. An example of this is to have a system that takes care of children who are neglected. The child needs to have someone to confide in, and that person needs to find, or be a part of, an instance that can help to stop the violations. If necessary through involving force through the police.

⁵⁷ Mongolian state party, 210, CRC/C/MNG/5, 4

⁵⁸ Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2017, CRC/C/MNG/CO, 1

⁵⁹ Hans Morten Haugen (Professor i internasjonal diakoni og jus, VID), 19. april, 2018 PP named Menneskerettigheter med særlig vekt på tvangsbruk, foil 8

- 3) The State Party must secure the children's rights through actively arranging and attend to broad information through school, mass media, etc., so those rights become a part of the inhabitant's sets of minds. If the children know about their rights and learn about them through their parents and school, it becomes a part of their knowledge. If the State government clearly shows the society, by focusing on and enforcing children's rights on a local level, it might be seen as a prototype that the rest of the country will follow.

In addition all people in Mongolia who are under the Mongolian legislation is obliged to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights.

4.4.3 Act of omission and Act of commission

If a State has done an *act of omission* it means that it has left out or neglected to take the CRC into consideration when making new laws and standards of care for children or not taken into consideration that certain national laws are not possible to combine with the CRC.

When there is an act of omission, it is possible to divide the reasons for it into two. It can be a *missing intention* and *will* to do the change needed. The reasons for this might be that it is an immense amount of work that needs to be implemented, and some people might lose benefits or other support if the CRC is to be set out alive. For example, child labour – where does the limit go for a child to help his/her parents at the farm, when is it child labour?

The other reason can be a *missing ability* to protect the children's rights because of missing resources. The resources can be that not enough economical capita is set aside for it, but it can also be not enough educated teachers or officials in the local and governmental offices.

An example of omission is neglect. In the book "Child abuse and neglect" the authors refer to this type of violation as the most common type of abuse a child can be exposed to⁶⁰. Even if it is the one most common, it is also the one that it is difficult to identify, prevent and treat effectively⁶¹. Neglect is defined as an act of omission - when someone choose to overlook and neglect the child's right and that it is a part of the child's integrity, so it can lead to potential

⁶⁰ Gonzalez, Dulca and McCall, Janelle D. *Child Abuse and Neglect*. (Treasure Island Florida: StatPearls Publishing, 2009)

⁶¹Child Welfare Information Gateway, "Acts of Omission: An Overview of Child Neglect," *Bulletin for professionals* August 2012, <https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubPDFs/acts.pdf#page=1&view=Introduction>, 2

or actual harm for the child. It is a failure to provide basic needs to the child. Types of neglect can be insufficient health care, poor or none education, deprived supervision, protection from hazards in the environment, and unmet basic needs such as clothing and food. All these types are rights that children have through the CRC.

Regarding factors for neglect it is important to note that poverty, which can be issue for some children in Mongolia, it is not a legitimate justification for neglect to claim that there are not enough resources to buy food. But when the caregivers choose not to use the offered food-programs, or when the state does not offer food-programmes at all – that is when it is neglect.⁶²

The book further refers to the World Health Organisation's (WHO) definition of maltreatment of children as

*all forms of physical and emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect, and exploitation that results in actual or potential harm to the child's health, development or dignity.*⁶³

This leads us to *Act of commission* which is also a concept used within Human Rights, and it refers to when the State does not do anything or enough to stop violations of the rights between persons.

The types of abuses Gonzales and McCall refers to are⁶⁴

- Physical abuse as beating, shaking, burning and biting. The definition of corporal punishment as abuse is unclear.
- Psychological abuse are violations as verbal misuse, humiliation and acts that scare or terrorize a child, which can result in future psychological illness of the child.
- Sexual abuse is defined as
the involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities which they do not fully comprehend, to which they are unable to give consent, or that violate the social taboos of family roles.

All these types of abuse are defined as *an act of commission* - when someone is entrusting and on purpose violates the legislation that protects children.

⁶² Ibid, 6

⁶³ Gonzalez et al., *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 1

⁶⁴ Ibid

5.0 Presentation of findings

Since the aim of the project was to look at the situation for the youngest children in the dormitories, I chose to focus on the interviews with the 8 children. The interviews of the 5 adults that works at the dormitory are presentated, but as complementary material. The reports and other project materials I have been given from the Strenthening Childrens Rights Project are not used here.

5.1 Approach

I made categories out of the transcribed interviews. This I put into a matrix. At first it was over 50 categories, but I narrowed it down and concluded to make categories out of what was repeated most times. Some categories only some of the children answers to, but that does not mean that they i.e. did not have visitors in the weekends. They maybe just never had the chance to say this because our conversation did not make that turn. To do even more accurate findings, I should have made time to do a second interview.

It is important to remember that these are small kids, and many things influences their mind when talking to me. It can be the words I used when forming the questions, what happened the day just before the interview, something they see outside the window while talking – all factors that will affect their mind when answering. But with the translators help, and my own understanding of their universe, the answers are genuine, and worth taken into consideration.

5.2 Older children as daily care-persons and adults' role

All children said that older siblings or cousins was their first to turn to in several situations; for comfort, need of practical help, homework, taking care of their money, cleaning their clothes and to take care of them when they are sick. Since the word “older sister” (egch) is used for both sister, cousin and older girl, it was not always possible to know exactly who it was referred to. But it was not an adult, and if it was not sister it was family-members who stood them close. The age varied – from 10-18 years old.

When being asked who they spend time with in the weekends, that is also older sisters, but also friends. All children had one or more older children that was “theirs”. Six of them had older siblings, and two had older relatives that took care of them and shared room with them. Most of them even slept in the same bed as them.

Also one dormitory teacher mentions siblings before guards and teachers, when being asked who takes care of the smallest children.

The school-teachers are mentioned when it comes to school related questions, and that goes for the dormitory-teachers as well. Both teachers are someone they can ask school-related questions to, and get help with their school- and homework, but only one of the children tells about a dormitory-teacher that used to take them on outings and care specially for them – this was a dormitory-teacher employed to work with the youngest children. I was told by the adults that this teacher was no longer employed because there was a rule that it has to be more than ten 1st-graders for this position to be filled.

At the second school they had this position filled, and that teacher told me that she did not only help with homework, but also washed their clothes, helped with hygiene, represented the parents in school-meetings and did many extra things that are not necessarily a teacher's job. She compared herself to an extra mother and spoke of the children in terms that showed great care.

All children talked about the guards as someone that looks after them, even if they sometimes are described to sit only in their office. Some says that the guard leaves work at night and comes back in the morning to wake them up. This might be because they are asleep themselves and get only help from other children if they for example need the toilet during night-time (outside). Some children said that the guards are not needed since they have older siblings there, but others saw the need of guards to count if everyone was there and to look after them. But no one mentioned the guards as a problem-solver, even if they are the ones that spend most hours in the dormitory, also weekends.

5.3 Corporal punishment

Four children say that the older kids sort things out when there is a problem, and three of them say that the solution is spanking. A couple of the children says that they themselves also use kicking and hitting as a solution in arguments.

One told us that the school-teacher shuts them into a room when they show bad behaviour. Another child said:

Child: Then the teacher says, “come here” and then we must talk about it. Then it is punishment.

Researcher: What is the punishment?

Child: The teacher says, «do you want to be punished this or that way», and then we must choose. Then they maybe have to run around the house, the teacher kicks them three times or pulls them by the hair.

Researcher: Do you have to choose sometimes?

Child: No, only if you hit another child.

Researcher: But what happens to those who chose kicking?

Child: Three or one or five times they kick.

Researcher: Where?

Child: Wherever.

Researcher: Sounds painful!

Child: Some children cry, others just says «ouch».

Researcher: Is this the teacher at school, here at the dormitory or the guard?

Child: The teacher at school.

One child said that she is sad when other children hit her. Another kid answered to the question about what they would wish was different that he wished the older kids would stop hitting them, and he wished that more children would follow the rules and stop bullying.

Many of the children talk about the teachers being angry, and most of the says they know the teacher is angry because they yell.

Some teachers said that arguments develop when the older kids tell the younger to clean up, fetch water, etc. If the younger answers in a disrespectful way or swears – that's when the abuse from the older can happen.

Researcher: What happens if something bad happens here? When you play?

Child: At school?

Researcher: At the dormitory.

Child: Then we tell the teachers.

Researcher: And if the teacher isn't here?

Child: If she's not here we tell the big sisters

Researcher: Do they usually help?

Child: Yes.

Researcher: How?

Child: They spank the children. They hit them.

Researcher: The sisters are doing this?

Child: Yes.

When asking the dormitory-teachers and the guards about how they made the children listen to them, everyone said that they would remind the children about the rules. Some made the kids read the rules, and some said that sometimes they must yell at them. One teacher said they are too vulnerable to punish, and sometimes the small children do not understand everything. There was no punishment or consequences for the smallest children when they broke dormitory rules – this was more for elderly children. Still the rules are equal for everyone, also the smallest children. One teacher said that they are not allowed to hit the children, as was done those years before they learned about Children's Rights.

One teacher says that they are not allowed to hit other people's children. Also, there has been incidents that children ran away from the dormitory since they were angry or hurt because of verbal reprimands from adults. This results in search operations and creates huge extra work. Because of this they are careful how they reprimand the children when that is needed.

5.4 Missing family and home

In general, the children did not want to talk much about if and how they were missing home. I observed one situation where a child told an adult about how he had stopped missing his family, and the adult praised him for this. That underlines the impression I have that it is no tradition to talk about feelings, and even less to show them.

At one school the teacher told me that there was nine 1st graders at the beginning of the schoolyear, but now only four was left. The five had to move back home because it was too hard for them living apart from their parents, and it influenced their effort at school. Because of this the dormitory lost a post (position) that was dormitory-teacher for the youngest children.

Half of the children interviewed tells about family coming to visit them at the dormitory. Some stay a night or two in the visiting-room, and some sleeps in the soum-centre at relative's homes. None stay more than a couple of days. Two children say that their parents come to pick them up in the weekends, and the adults say that this is common in the autumn and spring-time. Durig winter the parents must move further away because of their animals needing fodder. At the time the interviews are done (wintertime) half of them tells about how far away their parents are, while they make drawings/plasticine of their families.

All the children describe the holidays as the best times a year because then they can move back home. Many of them describes work they must do while being at home, but none of them addresses it as a problem. Some say that they think about school while being at home, and I was informed that the children also must do homework in the holidays.

Half of the children says that if they miss home they can call their family. Also, the teachers confirm this; there are dormitory telephones they can use for free, and many of the older children has mobile phones that the small children can use, or they even borrow the dormitory-teacher's phones.

When the children talk about the reasons for not falling asleep in the evening, none of them mention missing their parents or home as a reason. All of them say it is because they are afraid. Some fear monsters, sounds in the dormitory and the dark. One says that it is the other children that are afraid, not herself.

When talking about being sad, the children have different ways of dealing with it. One starts to play, one sings, one tells it to her big sister and some of them says that they are not sad at all.

5.5 Daily routines

The teachers said that it was important that the children had their basic needs covered, and specially food was mentioned several times. They said that if the children are hungry that makes them unhappy and it affected everything else. Therefore the school has set aside some

resources to put into teaching the chefs about nutritious food, and the importance food has for the children's well-being and development.

The children themselves give the impression that they know very well when the meals are and what the food is. Everyone has clear opinion of a favourite and food they do not like. Four of them says that they throw away the food after tasting it or if they do not like what is served, and one says that she takes it to the room and gives it to someone else. One child says that he eats it, even if he does not like it. Four children say that they can go to the shop nearby and buy food if they don't like what is served, or when they are hungry. They get money from the parents when they meet, and the older kids take care of the money for them. Only one child said that he goes to the kitchen and ask for food if he gets hungry outside the meal-hours. He also said that some children get extra food from relatives visiting, to eat outside meal hours.

When being asked about what their daily routines are, none of them mentions personal hygiene before it is suggested by me. But five of them talks about cleaning and tidying around the dormitory as a daily routine. Also, the guards, both night and day-shift, talk about the routine of cleaning around the dormitory as a central part of their main responsibilities. One guard says that if there are a lot to do with the kids (a guard works alone in evenings and night-time), they do not get enough time to finish all the cleaning expected.

5.6 Change in dormitory

When asking the children what could make their everyday better, or what they would like to change at the dormitory it seemed like they did not know what to answer. But two boys had a wish. One says that he wanted the other children to start following rules and stop hitting (as mentioned earlier). He also wished for a properly heated dormitory.

Researcher: Is there something you would like to be different here in the dormitory?

Child: Yes, I have a wish. I wish it was warmer here, that the heaters were warm, that the rooms were warm. That is my wish.

Researcher: Is there something you have seen elsewhere that you wished was here?

Child: Once I was in the city and there was a big, Mongolia boot, and there it was really warm!

Researcher: Do you wish you had a boot like that here?

Child: Mmmmm...

The other said that he wished for cameras in the rooms, so the stealing would stop.

The teachers had more thoughts about this issue. Some was concerned about the physical environment. To make a better outside environment for the children, they suggested to make a proper playground away from the toilets. Also, the toilet facilities are poor, as it can be dangerous for the smallest children since they can fall between the two boards that are over the hole. The smallest children often chose to go to the toilet on the ground beside the lavatories instead.

To make a homelier environment was also mentioned, as this is the children's home for many years in their life. Heating in winter, a library and a playroom with educative toys especially for use in wintertime when they are only inside was mentioned. One teacher said that they had achieved to get some funding from the soum, and therefore been able to make a play-room, but it was not enough money to buy more toys and games – just some.

Others was more concerned about changes in the school system. They wished for a change of attitude from the school towards the dormitory children and the staff, as they often felt that the dormitory were at the bottom of the ranking. An example is when there are social gatherings at school the dormitory children are not included as they do not have their parents present. One teacher tried to change this, but that includes them working extra at night-time. They do not get paid for this, neither if they are called back at work at night-time for other reasons as illness, arguments among the children, etc.

One teacher said that she wished the dormitory could be a better place than their actual home, for them wanting to stay at the school-dormitory.

Ratification Status for Mongolia

6.0 Discussion

In this chapter I will look at how the theories on development, attachment, childhood and children's rights can be fitted into what the children talked about in the interviews to analyse their situation and find explanations through the theory presented earlier.

It will be divided into the five main topics that came up after systemizing the findings in the matrix, and some of the background theory will be applied under several topics.

6.1 Older children as daily caregivers

As it is common for the youngest children in the dormitories to depend on help from older siblings or cousins, there are several issues that can be questioned. It is questionable if the care of an older sibling or cousin will be as good as the care of a mature parent or relative. And the caregiver's own childhood when they at an early stage are given this responsibility is also affected.

The General Comment no. 20 from Committee on the Rights of the Child on the implementation of the CRC during adolescence (art.55) are concerned about the child headed households that often are led by adolescents⁶⁵. If parents in the rural Mongolia must move out of the soum centres because of herding, they have three options; enrol the children to the local dormitory, leave the children to live with relatives/friends or leave older siblings alone to look after the younger siblings, so they all can go to school (child headed households). It can be comparable with older siblings as caregivers to their younger brothers and sisters at the dormitory, as there are few adults to look after them there. The comment from the Committee on this issue is that parents or other adults must assist the older children with knowledge on nutrition, health and housing. They also need to be given extra support to be able to enjoy their rights to education, play and participation.

By this, the Committee recognizes some of the challenges met when implementing the CRC in Mongolia. All the rights in the CRC are for every child under legal age, from toddlers to

⁶⁵ United Nations, "Convention on the Rights of the child," Downloaded 14.05.18 from http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CRC%2fC%2fGC%2f20&Lang=en.

adolescents. But since it is common practice in a collectivistic view of life, and often expected that older children take care of the younger, the Committee addresses the problem from a different angle by advising the Mongolian State Party to instead support these adolescents in *how* to bring up their siblings. By doing so one might conclude that the Committee accept child headed households or older siblings having the prime responsibility of younger siblings. Although, it might also be a way to make the best out of a situation that is impossible to change.

One question is what it does with the older siblings, another is how it effects a young child not having a close adult in their immediate surroundings. How is it possible to measure if this kind of upbringing is good enough for the youngest children in the dormitory? All of them spoke fondly about their parents and family when drawing/creating them during the interview, but the adults in their everyday at the dormitory is mostly mentioned as supporters of school and supervisors. A possible way of measure is to ask the question that CRC2 have done; are their rights protected and fulfilled?

In the 5th periodic report the Mongolian state party recognizes that the decision of 2008 with school being compulsory for 6-year-olds has had a great impact on the pre-schoolers and their herder families. They have several challenges because the children *find it hard to live and study apart from parental care and love*⁶⁶. They state that it is difficult to comply with the new procedure. As the challenge of young children in dormitories are recognized as clear as this, that is the first step to improve the situation or even be open to think broader when it comes to educating young children. That last will be mentioned at a later stage, but the recognition of the state gives hope.

If we look at older siblings as caregivers, they have other assumptions and limitations taking care of younger siblings. They have their own homework, their own friends, their own challenges being teenagers. Whether it is fair to them will not be discussed. My focus in this thesis is rather whether it is fair to the youngest children. Can they get their needs satisfied from an older sibling? From the previous chapter with theory of attachment the importance of

⁶⁶ Mongolian state party, 2015, CRC/C/MNG/5, 148.

safe relations being crucial for a child's development was mentioned. Smith in Gulbrandsen (2017)⁶⁷ offers a way to measure the connection in the closest relations. He states that the person a child has the closest connection to is the person the child seeks comfort from and shows positive feelings towards, and also the person the child needs to have physically nearby.

That person needs to have a special meaning for the child's psychological and emotional function. This happens in the child's early years, and therefore relationship to professional caregivers at the dormitory does not have the same depth as the relation to parents or other close caregivers⁶⁸. Only one child from the interviews mentioned the dormitory teacher as someone she missed when she was not around, and that was the teachers specially hired to take care of the 6-year-olds. This position was at the stage of the interview not filled anymore. The reason was that the number of 6-years-olds was under 10 and then it is not required in the school's regulations of employment in the dormitory. It is questionable how the youngest children are able to wash their clothes, maintain personal hygiene, get extra help with homework and so on without a specialized adult hired to assist them. Even if the amount of 6-year-olds are below 10 children, there will always be a need. Not everyone has older siblings, and they are left on their own and must rely on the 2 dormitory teachers that has the overall responsibility for 100 children.

It might not be possible for a professional caregiver to ever get the position or connection that an older sibling has. If there were more adults at the dormitory, social workers that only has the young children's wellbeing as their main task - not homework that the teacher has, food as the cook has or cleaning as the guards has – that might be a person the youngest children could count as a person that cared for them. By not hiring enough adults in the dormitories it is possible to question if the state has done an act of omission, as they have neglected the needs the 6-year-olds have, by leaving the responsibility to other, older children instead.

Even if the children talk about the older siblings as their main caregiver, they do mention the adults in their life. That is the teachers, the guards, cooks and janitors that are employed at the

⁶⁷ Liv Mette Gulbrandsen, *Oppvekst og psykologisk utvikling, innføring i psykologiske perspektiver* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2017), 160.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 159.

dormitory. When they talk about them it is like they are not a part of the children's world. Hence *the tribal child* that are described in chapter 4. When talking to the adults at the dormitory, also outside the interview-setting, they mostly talked about the children as a group that was separated from their sphere. And when the children talked about the adults it seemed as if the adults came handy when they needed help with homework, food, to keep order, but not to play with, to seek comfort with and to share life with within their own sphere.

6.2 Corporal punishment

An act of commission is, as described under point 4.5.3 when a child is being abused. It can be physical, psychological or sexual abuse. None of the interviews revealed sexual abuse, and this was neither intended or expected as the children was only interviewed once, and this kind of delicate information is not common to share easily. But some of the children talked about being sad when they were beaten or being bullied by older pupils or school teachers. However the dormitory teachers, guards or other staff was not mentioned in this setting as abusive. Only when talking about if they had broken the rules they knew very well if the guard was angry because he or she yelled, and many children also mentioned that they had to say "sorry" before things could settle.

Through SCR2 the dormitory teachers and guards has been trained in important issues of child protection in the dormitories child protection policy. The project's annual report from 2017 shows that more staff than earlier knows about the policy in one aimag, but in another it had decreased since some of the guards had been changed and new ones were not trained⁶⁹. In the same report it is written that 80% of the children can mention three basic safety skills regarding protection, and two of them was to say "no" to unwanted touching and tell their trusted adult if they felt violated⁷⁰. The report does not state the age of the children asked.

This shows that there has been training, and when being tested both adults and children knows about some of the regulations that protect children's rights. It would be interesting to know how it works in real life. Are the children able to tell an adult at the dormitory if they are

⁶⁹ B. Bayarmaa and Karen Colban Hoel. *Annual report 2017*, Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Mongolia, 2018, 3.

⁷⁰ Ibid

violated? And even more important – are they taken seriously if they do? And if the guard’s uncle comes visiting for one night and don’t have a place to stay in the middle of winter, is it then not easier to give him a bed in the dormitory than choosing to go against Mongolian customs that are to be welcoming, especially to your own family not to be disrespectful? These are of course speculations, but it is an important issue as it has to do with changing the whole set of minds, a whole set of traditions. Because it is important that the children’s rights are not only studied and learned, but also enforced and enjoyed in real life. That is probably the hardest part of implementing the CRC.

National Authority for Children (NAC, now named Family, Child and Youth Development Agency FCYDA) has research findings of a more negative nature in a study called “The rights of children living in dormitories to be protected” from 2014⁷¹. Every second child said they had been nicknamed and stigmatized for the reason of physical appearance, dressing, income level and academic performance. Also abuse as intimidation, bullying, mocking, teasing, discrimination and gang discrimination is reported, and so are the frustration of being unable to report the violations if it happens from dormitory teachers and other age groups than themselves.

The 6-year-olds from the interviews in this thesis gives the impression that the reprimands that are physically is either from teachers at school or older children in the dormitory. Mostly they talked about the older children hitting and kicking them, and some of them also openly told that they used this method themselves when being angry. The obvious reasons for the young children to choose this method is that this is the way they have learned from the older. It might also be lack of knowledge of other ways of solving the problem. The older do it because of lack of methods to set themselves in respect when correcting the younger, and maybe they even learned it from home. It seemed like all the adults, both dormitory teachers and guards, knew corporal punishment was happening, but it was not talked about how to make it stop. The 6-year-olds said that they are afraid of corporal punishment, and some are seeking comfort and shelter with the older siblings that they feel safe with. It is likely to think corporal punishment happens in the afternoon and evenings when the children are mostly by

⁷¹ Mongolian state party, 2015, CRC/C/MNG/5, paragraph 149.

themselves with only one guard having the overall responsibility. One dormitory teacher said that it mostly happens when the young ones are not doing what they are told by the older.

How is life then, as a 6-year-old living in a dormitory being afraid of the only one, close caregiver they have? Many of the children say that it is the same caregivers that sometimes play with them and help them with their duties. The same person they share bed with. But how is a young child able to understand why it is being hit by their own family (siblings or cousins)? And then be able to decide what to do in the conflict of reporting it to the dormitory staff or not since it is your only, beloved sister? In this context it does not help the young children to know that article 19 in the CRC say that the state shall protect them from all forms of physical or psychological violence, damage or abuse. If not the older sibling as caregiver are taught how to protect this right, and again the staff at the dormitory does not teach the caregiver how to protect this right, the youngest children will not enjoy the right not to be hit. This problem is important to address to the right duty-bearers.

As mentioned earlier it is not only economic and practical challenges in fulfilling the children's rights about protection in article 19. The challenge of traditional and cultural norms is as relevant since corporal punishment is common in many Mongolian homes. *The socially constructed child* is a view on childhood that describes a belief that is constructed in relation to the context of social, political, historical and moral factors. It criticizes the standards of judgement and truth, and it is what is socially accepted that is the correct way. If corporal punishment is not put on the agenda by responsible teachers, social workers and of course parents, the view of hitting your child or sibling will continue as it still is a part of Mongolian upbringing in many homes.

Almost no specialists on children recommends corporal punishment. It is because it is both unethical and unnecessary to use punishment to be able to regulate a child. Hence research shows that children that are punished over time develops negative effects as behaviour difficulties, psychological disorders, regulations of emotions, low self-confidence, social withdrawal, depressed mood, etc.⁷²

⁷² Øyvind Kvello, *Barn i risiko, skadelige omsorgssituasjoner* (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 2010), 275.

6.3 Missing family and home

When talking to the youngest children in the dormitory about being sad or missing family and home they tended to become quieter and not so talkative as with other subjects. As mentioned before it is not so common in Mongolian tradition to talk about feelings to release them and feel better after talking about it. When being asked how they deal with sadness they had different strategies; singing, playing, telling it to older siblings and some say they are not sad at all, but the other children are. Since it is not a tradition within revealing feelings, it was important in the interview settings to not open something within the child that there was not enough time to close, and maybe not the right tools to deal with it either. But even if they did not like to talk much about feelings, everyone gladly talked about family – also those who had difficulties as a brother who died, seriously ill parents or a mother who did not live with them. Clearly family meant a great deal to them, and everyone said that they could call them any time they wanted.

The children that has a solid and safe upbringing from their early years before dormitory brings with them a set of protective factors. Those who comes from a turbulent home environment probably brings with them a set of risk factors that makes them less capable of handling difficulties. Hence abused children have a higher risk of experiencing abuse again compared to those that do not have a history of abuse⁷³. From this it is possible to say that the children that has enough protective factors from their upbringing has the ability to find a coping strategy for the feeling of sadness, as mentioned above.

These statements of sadness support the theories from developmental theory about the importance of supportive primary caregivers in the early years. It is during these years they have learned who to trust and mistrust, it is during these years the emotional ties (from the attachment theory) is tied.

⁷³Barne-, ungdoms-, og familiedirektoratet, "Rapportering fra sentrene mot incest og seksuelle overgrep 2015," Downloaded 14.05.18 from https://www.bufdir.no/PageFiles/15785/Rapportering_fra_sentrene_mot_incest_og_seksuelle_overgrep_2015.pdf.

Moving to dormitory these young children have experienced that those primary caregivers are not a part of their everyday anymore, their secure base is gone. It is a strain that are put upon them when they have to leave home at this young age and their secure base is compensated by older siblings. This point to a view on childhood that moving out early is the sacrifice that needs to be made to be able to get an education and become a complete individual. The view can be put within the socially constructed child where the standards of what is right or wrong is influenced by a world-view that does not fit into universal values. It is possible to argue that those universal standards can be the CRC, and the world-view is that young children have to leave home so that he or she can get an education and the family's livelihood can be maintained.

In the extension of this an interesting fact is that the reason why Mongolia lowered the age of school start was to change the whole school system to fit into international standards. This way Mongolian students can easier study abroad and be at the same age as other international students. So in the attempt of fitting in to a universal setting, has made challenges for herding families on the countryside that in a way represents the traditional way of living in Mongolia.

One of the dormitory teachers said that they used to have more 6-year-olds, but it was too hard for them to stay in dormitory, and they had to move back home as it affected their performance at school too much. This again led to them losing the dormitory teacher that was employed exactly for that age-group, as the regulation says that it needs to be minimum of ten first-graders to fill this position (as mentioned earlier). When it is hard to get the youngest to stay in the dormitories, it affects the families living situation when the youngest return to them. Herder-families entire livelihood relies on pastoralism, and that implies travelling to where the animals can eat. One can question whether this means that even if there *was* a special teacher for the youngest in dormitory that did not make them want to stay? The school might have to be even more creative to make them stay in dormitory.

The chain of mutual influence in the transaction-effect that was mentioned in chapter 4 is interesting to study when a child is moved from one set of mutual influence to a total new environment as it is trying to continue the same process without getting the usual response.

What has taken 6-7 years to form in the “home-environment chain of influence” is set aside and must be built in a new way at the dormitory. The “dormitory chain of influence” has far less adults, far more other children (each with its own chain of influences) and a total different physical environment from what the child is used to from home. This change is so remarkable for a child’s personality and upbringing that it can be called failure of care and is not for the best of a child’s interest, as the expression from the CRC’s article 3.

The parents are responsible to put their children through the change described. But they are also squeezed between two articles from the CRC: Article 9 that states children have the right to live with their parent(s), unless it is bad for them and article 28 that states all children have the right to a primary education. The contradiction in these two amendments is inevitable for a nomad, and it sometimes ends up splitting families. Then the child can live at home with one parent, but the family’s income will decrease, in line with their living standards which probably was not very high in the first place. And the home-environment chain of influence from above would not be as before anymore.

If the persons that care for the youngest in the dormitories are not aware of these development stages a child has gone through before entering school, and how much daily life at the dormitory affects and form his or her personality and future, the child might lose opportunities that should have been given him or her if the caregivers (and the decision-makers) were aware of it. It is the quality of those transactions, the interpersonal interactions, that can promote or restrain the development of each child.

The children will, as mentioned, handle the dormitory-life in very different ways depending on their background and different risk- and protection factors. Kvello has developed several methods for use within the child services in Norway, and one of them are a check-list for the factors⁷⁴. He categorizes the factors into three areas where they are found and developed: within the child, with parents and close family and thirdly in the environment the child grows

⁷⁴ Kvello, *Barn i risiko*, 168-170.

up in⁷⁵. The dormitory categorizes under the last. Here I have only included those who are relevant for this thesis, there are many more.

In the list of *risk factors* within the child itself there are low intellectual level, impulsive, hyperactive, insecure, brake in relations, bullying, unsafe attachment among the issues that can be risk factors. Within the environment it can be a school with little structure and inadequate contact between adults and children.⁷⁶ As mentioned earlier it is hard for dormitory employees since they are often alone with hundred children.

In the list of *protection factors* within the child itself there are hobbies, being able to develop talents and the sense of achievement in expression. Within the environment it can be agreed values in the care for the children, to include everyone despite diversity, contact with home, supporting adults in the official social system is some of them.⁷⁷ Hence that the adults at the dormitory knows, and see the importance of the children's rights can be a protection factor for the children who lives there. And then also the opposite – in lack of training and knowledge within children's rights it becomes a risk factor for the children. This is an example of how it is possible to map the risk- and protection factors present at the dormitory.

When the child grows older it will be able to switch between the two sets of environments – home and dormitory. As Piaget outlines in his theories the child develops from grasping the surroundings through senses into being able to think abstract, but this happens at a later stage than 6 years old. When the first-graders in Mongolia enter the dormitory, they are still in the preoperational stage, where they cannot understand that it is possible to look at the world different than what the child itself does. At this stage the child is not able to think in abstract ways. Rather, their thinking is characterized by what they see: For example to categorize an object of more than one quality is hard.⁷⁸ If a child at this stage is shown two cups with the same amount of water, and one of the cups are poured into a tall glass, the child would answer that the tall glass has a higher amount of water than the cup. Another example is a conversation

⁷⁵ Ibid, 166.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 168-170.

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Stephen Von Tetzchner *Utviklingspsykologi, barne og ungdomsalderen* (Oslo: Gyldendal 2002), 171

Piaget: "What is wind?"

Child: "Something that blows in the sky."

Piaget: "How do you know?"

Child: "I just know." ⁷⁹

The child knows the answer but cannot explain it. When we know this about their cognitive stage, it is questionable how much they really understand of the differences between the previous mentioned two different chains of influence. Even if they are explained that he or she will now live in two different environments with different sets of rules and people, many of them will probably not understand the concept of it before they actually live at the dormitory and experience the specific here and now. The perspective of their way of thinking can be illustrated by the following example: If you ask a child to brush her teeth both up and down, and she goes upstairs and downstairs while brushing, shows clearly how much an adult can expect the child to understand⁸⁰.

When the age of entering compulsory education was lowered to 6 years in 2008, it took until the schoolyear 2013/14 before the system was fully transformed. The State Party reports⁸¹ in 2016 that some of the preparation done was training of first-grade-teachers, and out of 6818 teachers trained, 501 of them was dormitory teachers, and 624 was social workers. They learned methods of working with 6-year-old children, and the goal is to train all primary school teachers for this. The quality of this education is inevitable when it comes to the 6-year-old life in dormitory *and* at school. In the same report⁸² CRC's guidelines as a regulation on professional training for teachers and staff on primary- and secondary education institutions has been approved. All this plays a role in changing teaching methods and attitude of dormitory teachers and staff towards the youngest children. The training expenses has been covered by the state budget and shows Mongolia's willingness to comply a change in the system that could benefit the first-graders to give them what they need, and what they are entitled to by the children's rights, at an early stage.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 170

⁸⁰ Tor-Johan Ekeland, Oddmar Iversen, Anbjørg Ohnstad og Grethe Nordhelle, *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, (Oslo: Cappelen akademisk forlag, 2004), 114.

⁸¹ Mongolian state party, 2015, CRC/CMNG/5, paragraph 115 and 116.

⁸² Ibid, paragraph 121.

One of the SCR2's objects has been to raise awareness among dormitory teachers and other dormitory staff. If the care-persons around the children does not have knowledge about children's development, it will be the personnel's personal attitude and values that decide what they observe and how they judge and act. Then it is their immediate knowledge and their own upbringing that influences what they see and how they judge each situation⁸³.

Also, a focus on preschool can make an easier start for the 6-year-olds. This is featured in the report⁸⁴ from 2016 where the state part says it will *increase preschool attendance and improve a learning environment*. If this is possible that might have an influence on preparing the young children for school. The challenge is how this is practically solved in the rural areas where the herders live miles from the soum centres where the kindergartens are.

In the CRC Committee's General Comment no. 7 definition of early childhood is the age below 8 years⁸⁵. The State Parties need to have a greater focus on implementing the rights for this group. Earlier there has not been given enough attention to young children as right holders. Children of this age are entitled to special protection measures laws, policies and programmes are required to realise their rights. These years (0-8) are the foundation for their physical and mental health, and the encouragement is clear:

*States parties are encouraged to draw on beliefs and knowledge about early childhood in ways that are appropriate to local circumstances and changing practices, and respect traditional values, provided these are not discriminatory, (article 2 of the Convention) nor prejudicial to children's health and well-being (art. 24.3), nor against their best interests (art. 3).*⁸⁶

Only one of the eight interviewed children gave missing family or home as a reason for not falling asleep at night. Instead most of them talked about being afraid as the reason for why they could not sleep at night. As all the children interviewed had very different personalities, as were their strategies for conquering the sleeplessness. One would get out of bed and talk to

⁸³ Ekeland et.al. *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 109.

⁸⁴ Mongolian state party, 2015, CRC/C/MNG/5, paragraph 112.

⁸⁵ Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006, CRC/C/GC/7/

⁸⁶ Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006, CRC/C/GC/7/Rev.1, paragraph 8.

other children, one would tease the other children, another would go and watch TV and one would pull her blanket over her head. It is easy to draw the conclusion that the separation from their parents might make them more unsafe, more easily scared of other things as the dark, going to the outdoor toilet after it gets dark outside, the sounds at night or the dark hole in the floor in case ghosts are down there.

With Erikson's theory of each phase of childhood as a crisis and claiming that each crisis influences the child's personality as an explanation, it is possible to argue that the separation is one of these crises in the phase of initiative versus guilt, even if this is said to stop at the age of 5. This phase is described as a phase when the child's urge for self dependency increases, and they are curious of why things work the way they do. How the surroundings meet the child's initiative with care or rejection influences the solution to the crisis, and then also the child's personality.⁸⁷ Since the parents (or other close adults) as their previous, primal caregivers are not there daily anymore to meet their initiative, the children can develop an insecurity as the crisis they go through cannot be solved the way they used to with the primal caregiver's care and understanding. This insecurity can turn into fear.

6.4 Daily Routines

When talking about daily routines both the children and the adults talk a lot about cleaning and housework. Some of them related this to health issues (both adults and children), and they are all very clear about the expectations regarding cleaning and tidying up. The children's rooms are checked on a daily basis and all children talked about housework, tidying, cleaning, doing beds, etc. Some of the guards complained that if it is too much to do regarding looking after the children, they do not get enough time to finish their expected cleaning. That does not necessarily imply that they do not care for the children, it can mean that they will get warnings from a superior if they have not done what is expected of them while being at work. It is easier to see if the floors are clean, than if the night has been spent comforting a child.

It is clear that practical tasks are valued high, and maybe higher than interpersonal safeguarding. A child's practical needs are naturally what is first discovered, and it is also the

⁸⁷ Ekeland et.al. *Psykologi for sosial- og helsefag*, 111.

need it is easiest to meet. The dormitory teachers were very clear that if the children lacked their basic needs as being hungry, tired or sick that would affect their performance at school.

As mentioned before, one of the protective factors was a good relation adult-child at school. This also applies to the dormitory. It means that if the adults put as much effort into cleaning that they do being with the children they have created a protective factor that will help the children. Because the more protective factors present in a child's life, each factor strengthens each other. That also goes for the contrary; Many risk factors influence another, so they become more serious over time. The severity is adequate with number of factors and the intensity of them.⁸⁸ Another relevant question is of course how much time a guard or dormitory teacher has when there are 50-100 children on one adult. All the children said that they never play with the adults.

One dormitory teacher said that she thinks the children knows too much about their rights, and not enough about their duties. It is assumed she talked about the 6-year-old as they were the topic throughout the whole interview. This statement can be a part of the collectivistic thoughts that everyone contributes, and it can be a tired teacher that has a work overload that had this statement. But when I talked to the children none of them knew what children's rights were, but everyone knew very well what was expected of them when it came to fulfil their duties in the dormitory. (One reason for them not knowing about their rights might have been that I asked them whether they were taught about their rights at school, but I later found out that they are taught about their rights at the dormitories and not at school.)

Duties is something Mongolian children are used to from home. This is nothing new to them arriving at the dormitory. It is a part of the collectivistic upbringing – everyone is expected to contribute to a household. Some of the older children said that they have less housework at the dormitory than at home, but if this is the case for the 6-years-old is unknown. One child spoke a lot about all the housework she did when she was at home on holiday, and she also said that is what she liked doing the most. For some of the children housework can be when they feel more like home and a part of their secure base.

⁸⁸ Kvello, *Barn i risiko*, 162.

But what happens if these duties are not fulfilled? The dormitory teachers said that is the most common reason for the younger to be beaten by their older siblings – if they answer in a rude way or do not do as they are told. As mentioned, some of the youngest children complained to me about how they all the time had to fetch water for their older sisters. But the dormitory teacher told me that was for washing clothes – both their own *and* the younger sibling's clothes. And since they do not have much clothes, this is something done often. Article 19 in the CRC protects children against abuse, and these are described in the Children's Protection Regulations that has been implemented in the dormitories. Through this at least the older children know that they are not allowed to beat other children. But again, this is how they have seen discipline been performed from home. Hitting has been looked upon as a part of care in the upbringing, to make the child understand right from wrong.

We can see the older sibling in the transaction-effect in Tetzner's developmental effects where the influence from earlier childhood at home appears. If a child is beaten by a parent and are scared of being beaten he/she will choose to do as told out of fear. The caregiver knows that the child is afraid of being hit and uses it as a method for discipline where the words are not enough. When this is done enough times, the child thinks of it as a natural effect that happens without always understanding why and accepts it into hers or his own understanding of reality. But who will teach the older sibling the harmony one can experience if the younger fetches the water out of a wish to help their older sister, contribute to getting the work done and get clean clothes – instead of fear being the reason and an act of commission finds place? I see this as the responsibility of an adult – the staff at the dormitory or even better – the parents (in holidays and over the phone).

From their everyday the children talk a lot and easily about food. They told me about what food they liked and what they did not like. Some of them go to the shop to buy things if they do not like the food served, that they are allowed to throw away food not eaten and that some parents bring food they can eat in between the meals. While interviewing they were served hot tea, biscuits and sweets, and all of them helped themselves (and some even helped their own pockets plentiful). It seemed like food played an important role in their everyday, and everyone knew when the meals were and remembered well what they had been served.

Nutrition and health is in CRC's article 24 described as access to nutritious food and clean water. SCR2 has conducted courses both for cooks and doctors in the dormitory to make sure this is followed and understood⁸⁹. One recent training was called "To ensure food safety for dormitory children". At one dormitory there was no food served between 12 and 19, and the children here expressed that they used own money to go shopping and no adult cared what they bought. I saw many of them with unhealthy food, and they did not report to the dormitory teacher that they were going out of the premises to go shopping.

In their everyday the children described days of school, meals and play. They talked a lot about friends. They are the ones they trust, they are the ones they play with and they are also mentioned as the ones they get help from. It is obvious that friends mean a lot to the youngest children, since they live together and meet every day. Relative to Tetzner's transaction-effect a child's personality is developed from which responses the child is getting from their surroundings. Children that are shy or have a personality it is hard to like would be vulnerable trying to make friends in the dormitory. That is a risk factor. While charming and outgoing children are easy to like will not have to work so hard to create new friendships, so it can be seen as a protective factor.

All the 8 children gladly talk about the games they play together, and what is mostly mentioned is hide and seek, tag, cards and roleplaying family. But they also told about being bored specially in the weekends, that the activity-room (only place with toys and games) was open when the dormitory teachers allowed to, that the older children nor the staff played with them and even if the TV was available all the time it was boring. Some older children said that before they used to be able to use the gym, but that was not possible any more. As the article 31 in the CRC ensures children's leisure, this has been one of the focus areas of the SCR2 project. So-called development rooms have been established, but if it is only available at limited times, and not when the children are left alone in the weekends with one guard I do not understand the purpose. This is another example of knowledge about the rights, but they cannot be fully enjoyed them in practice and real life.

⁸⁹ B. Bayarmaa et.al. *Annual report 2017*, 7.

6.5 Change in dormitory

When the children were asked about what they wished could have been different in the dormitory many of them did not know what to answer. They gave the impression of being happy with what they had. One child said they need more cameras to catch thieves, since his sister had lost some money and the cameras installed did not cover the bedrooms. Another said the heating should have been better, and that he wished the beating would stop and that everyone started to follow the rules. None of them allowed themselves to dream about annual trips to the children's park in the aimag centre or visits from parents every weekend.

Although it is a daring allegation to make, it is tempting reflect about why the children do not have bigger dreams, even if they were encouraged to say whatever came to their mind and assured that none of it was stupid or wrong. It is important that all processes described in the theories are theoretical and real life is never as squared as the theory. The tie of attachment that Bowlby describes in the attachment theory is seen in what he called the separation syndrome, when a child is being separated from his or hers care persons. First protest and then despair is the most common reaction, but it is the last reaction that is interesting in the setting of dormitories as the separation from the care person lasts over long periods of time. Especially at wintertime when the parents live far away and is not able to come visiting very often. The third stage is when the child shows signs of being apathetic. When being in the state of mind as apathetic, or disconnected, feelings are "flattened out". It is possible to then draw the conclusion that the children have probably accepted their loss, and during that process does not allows themselves to dream.

Two of the eight children did have an immediate answer when being asked what they wished was different or dreams they had about the dormitory. These two showed an initiative, reflection and wish for change that none of the other children had. They reflected over what is right and wrong and what could be done to stop the current problems. I do not know anything about their background, but it is obvious that they had some protective factors in their backpack coming to the dormitory. Their ability to reflect is an example of "fruits" from a protective factor.

The adults had more thoughts about changes that could improve life at the dormitory. Some of them said that if the environment and the basic needs around them was not covered, they had experienced that it disturbed their learning. They suggested improvement of the dormitory, so it would become a more homely atmosphere in the rooms, wallpaper, playground equipment, library, better heating, toilets adjusted to young children, more games and activities.

According to the report from the state party in 2009⁹⁰ it is informed that many dormitories have gone through renovation, improved heating systems, textbooks have been printed, new dormitories have been built and many now has a higher capacity. And the CRC committee asked for exactly this; everything from heating, nutrition, security, textbooks, beds and furniture that could ease the children's every day and living standards. But their cognitive, social and emotional developmental needs and contact with their families are as important. Therefore, it is recommended by the Committee that the state party provides available assistance to the youngest children arriving at dormitory⁹¹.

⁹⁰ Mongolian state party, 2010, CRC/C/MNG/3-4.

⁹¹ Mongolian state party, 2010, CRC/C/MNG/CO/3-4, paragraph 56.

7.0 Conclusions

7.1 Summary of main points

In this master thesis I have researched the youngest children's situation at state dormitories in Mongolia. I have interviewed 8 children living in the dormitories, and 5 adults working there. The research question was divided in two;

How is life as a 6-year-old at a school dormitory in Mongolia and how are their rights protected.

The focus in this thesis has been to find theories within development and attachment that can explain and help understanding the processes a child at young age goes through when leaving home to live in a dormitory with 50 children per adult. Their needs are carefully described in the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), which Mongolia is obliged to follow through their ratification. I have sought further information from the Strengthening Children's Rights development project.

It is clear that the situation for the first-graders are not adequate when it comes to fulfilling the rights. The children was happy to be able to go to school and live with friends. Most of them had older siblings and cousins as their main caregiver, and their relationships to the adults working at the dormitory is different as they have so many to take care of. One of the dormitories had a special teacher hired for only the youngest, and here they were closer to the teacher that did homework with them, washed their clothes, helped them with personal hygiene and health and so on. But she went home in the evenings and did not work weekends, so then they were on their own with hundred children and one guard. That is my first finding: The adults do as good as they can, but their responsibilities are more than one person can handle.

All children were taught about the CRC in the dormitory, and are amongst other things trained in a special Child protection policy that seeks a defensible level of wellbeing, both physically, psychologically and mentally. The children from my survey did not show much knowledge about their rights, and told amongst other things stories of corporal punishment from school teachers and older siblings. The research shows that the rights to develop, participate, and be

protected are still not good enough in the dormitories – this is my second finding: Although the youngest children have practical needs as bed, food, clothes covered, the children’s rights are violated in several areas especially on the psychosocial extent.

By the usage of basic theory within development psychology and attachment it is possible to analyse how childhood in a dormitory can effect a child’s life. This thesis has also shown that the life the children had at home, before coming to the dormitory, will affect how they adapt to the new life. By lowering school-start to 6 years old, Mongolia has given herder families new challenges, and also challenged the traditions of sending children to school dormitories. Young children lose their secure base, their prime caregivers are exchanged with an older sister or cousin (if they have) and overloaded employees. Children are adaptable and most of them are survivors and uses the protective factors they have to cope with the new situation. It is crucial for the situation that the caregivers at home (family) and in dormitory (older siblings and staff) are properly trained for the task of caring for a young child that has lost his or hers secure base. Therefore my third finding is there has been training of staff and some parents, but the potential in expanding it, especially within knowledge of mental development and processes, is large.

7.2 Further research

Despite the committee’s recommendation⁹² in 2010 to the state party regarding continuing their efforts to provide education through untraditional ways such as travelling schools and generalized access to the internet, the state party states in its report in 2016 that

*a dormitory has always been regarded as a fundamental solution by which children of herding families that move across the vast territory of Mongolia can have access to education*⁹³.

In the schoolyear 2012/13 over 90% of the children living in dormitories was of herding families, and it shows that dormitories *are* an integrated part of the Mongolian education system.

⁹² Committee on the Rights of the Child, CRC/C/MNG/CO/3-4, paragraph 60d

⁹³ Mongolian state party, CRC/C/MNG/, 147

Some argue that in the long run these children will not be damaged when they are adults, they will become students and herders and parents as everyone else. It is too early to say, since the first children that started school at 6 are not done with their years in secondary school yet. As this thesis had a cross-sectional study, it would be interesting to conduct a longitudinal study of the children to see if an early start in dormitory affects their future life. It is nevertheless important to value the children's lives at the time being. Right now, as 6 years olds at school, they do have their right to be heard, be protected against abuse and neglect, eat nutritious food and have a good health and to have a meaningful leisure-time to enjoy being a child.

I have looked at big, uniform models that have made a base for further development and research of children's development and attachment. As mentioned in the introduction it would be interesting to broaden the newer research on the theme about what makes some children more resilient, and how risk- and protective factors are created.

7.3 Recommendations and closing comments

The Convention on the Rights of the Child is a guideline for all children's needs, and it is a legal description in Mongolia of the standards a child is entitled to in his or her psychosocial and physical life. Through this the Mongolian state has a responsibility. Great work needs still to be done, and the hardest work for implementation is on the grassroot level – amongst the herders in their old traditions and views on childhood that has lived for years and years. By changing the amount of years in school, Mongolia can threaten the way of living for nomads as families are split and through this their standards of living is lowered.

In my opinion the research on alternative ways for schooling of the youngest children has to continue, and new methods should be tried out in some aimags over some years. Home schooling through internet or tv, ambulatory teachers, weeks on and off dormitory, or other solutions are possible.

From my understanding there was no mapping done of each child when they were enrolled into dormitory. There was also no routines for documentation or flow of information from the night- to the day-shift other than messages orally given. Both these tools could be useful in

order to take better care of the children, make it more professional, the documentation could be used when training new employees and standards set. A system like this could help so what happened in dormitory are not as random as today, and the focus to see the children would aggravate.

I think the biggest changes can happen if the parents are more involved in the dormitories. They can, as a group and with help from the dormitory staff, make it visible for the authorities how the situation is to make the life better for their 6-years-olds.

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Appendix 1 Interview guide

Interview guide 1: Children born in 2010 and 2011

The children will be told that everything they say is confidential, that their parents has agreed to them being interviewed and that they do not have to answer questions they do not feel like answering. If they have objections to the use of translator, this will be shown consideration. They are free to cancel the interview at any time.

Aim for the interview is to find out how the children are doing at the dormitory, and this is best done when the child can speak freely, and tell their own story. The interview guide is therefore used as a support and guidance through the different subjects investigated.

Background information/Opening questions

- 1) How old are you?
- 2) Can you draw your family, and tell me about them? (The child is given drawing materials)

School

- 3) Tell me how your day was yesterday, from you got out of bed until you went to sleep?
- 4) Which subject do you like best and why?
- 5) Which subject do you like the least and why?
- 6) What do you do when something is difficult in class?
- 7) What have you learned about children's rights at school?
- 8) Can you tell me about a game you often play at school?
- 9) What can you do when it is a game you cannot play, or you cannot play with those you want to play with?
- 10) Can you tell me about an episode you think was unfair?
- 11) Who do you talk to when there is something important you have to tell at school?
- 12) How and with whom do you do your homework?
- 13) Is there something else from school you would like to tell me about?

Dormitory – routines and social wellbeing

- 14) How long have you lived here at the dormitory?

- 15) How are the other pupils that you share room with?
- 16) Where are the adults if you are not at school?
- 17) Where are the adults in the evening and night-time?
- 18) Do you think it is important that the adults are here, or do you think you and the other kids can handle things yourself?
- 19) Tell me about something you like doing together with the adults at the dormitory.
- 20) Tell me about something you think is nice to do together with the other children at the dormitory.
- 21) Tell me what you eat at the different meals and how you think it is?
- 22) What's your favourite food and what do you not like so much?
- 23) What do you do when you don't like the food?
- 24) What do you do if you want more food or you get hungry when it's not meal time?

- 25) Who are you together with in the weekends and when school has ended in the weekdays?
- 26) What activities can you do and which one do you choose more often?
- 27) How do you make friends at the dormitory?
- 28) What happens if something uncomfortable takes place at the dormitory?
- 29) What happens if someone has done something they were not allowed to at the dormitory?
- 30) Can you tell me how last weekend was?
- 31) Do you have a visitor from outside dormitory and where do they sleep when they come?

- 32) What do you do if you hurt somewhere?
- 33) Who is with you when you are sick and cannot go to school?
- 34) What do you do when you are sorry about something?
- 35) What do you do when you miss home?
- 36) Tell me what you do before you go to bed in the evening?
- 37) What do you do if you cannot sleep?
- 38) How do you wake up in the morning?
- 39) What happens if you are late for school?

- 40) Is there anything at the dormitory that you wish would have been different?

- 41) What is the nicest thing about living at the dormitory?
- 42) What do you like most about having holidays?
- 43) What do you think about school and the dormitory when you are on holiday

Interview guide 2: Employees at the dormitories (for at least 2 years)

The employees are told that everything they say is confidential, that their leader has approved that they join in and that they can reserve themselves from answering. They are free to cancel the interview at any time.

The aim for the interview is to draw a true picture of the youngest children's situation at the dormitory, and some questions might seem very direct. Cultural consideration will be taken, so the questions do not come across as offensive.

Background information

- 1) How many children live at this dormitory?
- 2) How many of them are born in 2010 or after?
- 3) How old are the oldest at the dormitory?
- 4) How are the children divided into rooms when it comes to number, age and family relation?
- 5) How many months is each semester and how many holidays do you have?
- 6) How long have you worked at the dormitory?
- 7) Can you tell me about your schooling and experience with children before you started to work here?
- 8) What kind of training did you get when you started?
- 9) What part of the training have you felt was necessary to do a good job?

Tasks

- 10) Where do you stay when you are at work day or night?
- 11) How many employees are at work at the same time day and night?
- 12) How many hours do you work each shift and how many hours do you have off work before next shift starts?
- 13) Describe a typical day at work.
- 14) Describe a typical night at work.
- 15) During a night shift do you sleep or does the children wake you up?
- 16) Tell me how you think the dormitory could become even better for the youngest children.

Tasks regarding the youngest children

- 17) What do you do when one of the youngest children cannot sleep at night, and what is the most common reasons for not sleeping?
- 18) What do you do when one of the youngest children cries and wants to go home?
- 19) How often can the youngest children be in touch with their home that does not live nearby?
- 20) What are the rules when the youngest children get visitors from Close family?

Reflection on life in dormitory

- 21) What do you think is the most important a 6-7-year-old need when he or she lives in a dormitory?
- 22) What do you see are their needs except food drink sleep and clothing?
- 23) What is your employer's opinion about what is the biggest needs for the youngest children?
- 24) Which needs are the easiest to cover and who covers them besides yourself?
- 25) What can you do when you see the needs is not covered?
- 26) What does the smallest children do when their needs are not covered?
- 27) What is the most important thing you do during a shift?
- 28) If you have a lot to do, how is your priority?
- 29) Who takes care of the smallest children at the dormitory?
- 30) What can you do when one of them does not follow the rules?
- 31) What can you do when they do not listen to your corrections?
- 32) How are the youngest children protected against exploitation and abuse when they live at the dormitory?
- 33) Tell me what happens if one of the youngest children experience this from one of the older children. And what are the consequences?
- 34) What duties has the youngest children, from your opinion?
- 35) What rights has the youngest, children from your opinion?
- 36) Have you heard about the children's rights convention? If yes, do you use it in your job?

37) What could you wish for was different for the youngest children at the dormitory?

38) What do you think has changed, the last few years, for the youngest children at the dormitory?

Appendix 2 NSD Approval

Hans Morten Haugen
PB 184 Vinderen
0319 OSLO

Vår dato: 28.09.2017

Vår ref: 56001 / 3 / L AR

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

Tilbakemelding på melding om behandling av personopplysninger

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 18.09.2017.
Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

56001	How is the situation, seen in a children's rights perspective, for the youngest children in public dormitories in West Mongolia?
Behandlingsansvarlig	VID vitenskapelig høgskole, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig Student	Hans Morten Haugen Eva-Synnøve Dickson Lid

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

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

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget [skjema](#). 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](#).

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 15.05.2018, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Dersom noe er uklart ta gjerne kontakt over telefon.

Vennlig hilsen

Dag K iberg

Lasse André Raa

Kontaktperson: Lasse André Raa tlf: 55 58 20 59 / Lasse.Raa@nsd.no

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Kopi: Eva-Synnøve Dickson Lid, evasynnove.lid@gmail.com

FORMÅL OG UTVALG

Prosjektets formål er å gi en stemme til de yngste barna på skoleinternater i Mongolia. Utvalget består av barn født i 2010 og 2011.

INFORMASJON OG SAMTYKKE

Utvalget informeres skriftlig og muntlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er hovedsakelig godt utformet. Prosjektslutt bør imidlertid presiseres, ideelt sett med dato (15.05.2018). Det må dessuten informeres om at barna får spørsmål som kan medføre at informasjon om foreldrene fremkommer (se nedenfor). Foreldrene bør få tilbud om å se intervjuguiden

BARN I FORSKNING

Merk at når barn skal delta aktivt, er deltakelsen alltid frivillig for barnet, selv om de foresatte samtykker. Barnet bør få alderstilpasset informasjon om prosjektet, og det må sørges for at de forstår at deltakelse er frivillig og at de når som helst kan trekke seg dersom de ønsker det.

REKRUTTERING

Personvernombudet forutsetter at rekruttering skjer på en måte som ivaretar frivillighet, taushetsplikt og konfidensialitet. Dette innebærer at studenten ikke kan få tilgang på personopplysninger om barna før foreldrene deres har samtykket til deltakelse.

TOLK

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at tolk/oversetter ikke skal behandle data på vegne av prosjektet, og at det kun er snakk om muntlig tolking under gjennomføring av intervjuer. Det er derfor ikke behov for databehandleravtale, men taushetserklæring bør likevel signeres.

TREDJEPERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Det inviteres i intervjuguide til at informantene kan uttale seg om familiemedlemmer eller andre beboere på internatet. Ansatte inviteres tilsvarende til å snakke om arbeidsgivers syn. Personvernombudet gjør oppmerksom på at personopplysninger bør innhentes fra den det gjelder, og at innhenting av tredjepersonopplysninger som hovedregel utløser informasjonsplikt overfor tredjeperson. Etttersom det allerede skal innhentes samtykke fra foreldre, vil det være enkelt samtidig å informere om at det kan fremkomme opplysninger om dem.

Utover dette skal tredjepersonopplysninger kun registreres i den grad de er nødvendig for formålet med prosjektet. Opplysningene skal være av mindre omfang og ikke sensitive, og skal anonymiseres i publikasjon.

Så fremt personvernulempen for tredjeperson reduseres på denne måten, kan prosjektleder unntas fra informasjonsplikten overfor tredjeperson, fordi det anses som uforholdsmessig vanskelig å informere.

Personvernombudet gjør oppmerksom på at de ansatte ved internatene ikke kan omtale identifiserbare barn i intervjuene, av hensyn til taushetsplikten. Studenten bør i forkant av intervjuene minne informantene om at de må omtale andre personer på en måte som ikke gjør dem identifiserbare. Det bemerkes i denne sammenheng at relativt få bakgrunnsopplysninger kan være identifiserende sammen med informasjon om utvalg.

DATASIKKERHET

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger VID vitenskapelig høgskole sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på mobile enheter, bør opplysningene krypteres tilstrekkelig.

PROSJEKTSLUTT

Forventet prosjektslutt er 15.05.2018. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres. Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å:

- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger somf.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)
- slette digitale lydopptak

Appendix 3 Map over Mongolia



Map taken from <http://www.ezilon.com/maps/images/asia/political-map-of-Mongolia.gif>

07/05/2018



Obligatorisk erklæring

Navn: Eva-Synnøve Dickson Lid
Navn på studiet: Master i Diakoni
Navn på eksamen: Masteroppgave
Emnekode: MADIA 599
Innleveringsfrist: 15.05.2018
Antall ord: 25 163

Eksempler på fusk i forbindelse med oppgaver og hjemmeeksamener:

- gjengivelse av stoff/materiale hentet fra lærebøker, andre fagbøker, tidsskrifter, egne eller andres oppgaver osv. som er framstilt uten kildehenvisning og klar markering av at det er sitater
- besvarelse eller tekst som er hentet fra internett og utgitt som egen besvarelse
- besvarelse som i sin helhet er brukt av studenten ved en tidligere eksamen
- besvarelse som er brukt av en annen person ved en tidligere eksamen
- besvarelse som er utarbeidet av en annen person for studenten
- innlevert arbeid av praktisk eller kunstnerisk art som er laget av andre enn studenten selv
- samarbeid som fører til at en besvarelse i det alt vesentlige er lik en annen besvarelse til samme eksamen der det kreves individuelle besvarelser

Retningslinjer om fusk finner du her:

- lov 1. april 2005 nr. 15 om universiteter og høyskoler § 4-7 og § 4-8
- forskrift 11. desember 2015 nr. 1665 om [opptak, studier, eksamen og grader ved VID vitenskapelige høyskole](#) § 30
- retningslinjer for behandling av fusk eller forsøk på fusk ved VID vitenskapelig høyskole fastsatt 18. desember 2015.

Ved å signere med navn erklærer jeg å være kjent med VID vitenskapelige høyskoles retningslinjer om plagiering og fusk, og at min besvarelse er i samsvar med disse bestemmelsene.

Navn: Eva-Synnøve Dickson Lid

Masteroppgaver med karakteren A-C:

Jeg samtykker i at min masteroppgave publiseres i VID vitenskapelig høyskole åpne elektroniske arkiv (VID OPEN):

Sett kryss Ja: Nei:

