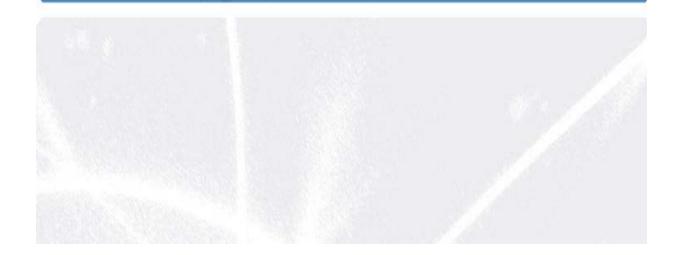Vestlandsforsking-rapport nr. 4/2018

"Time-use" in regulation of gaming: a "non-Western" immigrant family perspective

Gilda Seddighi, Carol A. Dralega, Hilde G. Corneliussen and Lin Prøitz

Vestlandsforsking rapport

Rapportens tittel "Time-use" in regulation of gaming: a "non-Western" immigrant family perspective	**Rapportnummer** 4/2018 **Dato** 14.01.2019 **Gradering** Open
Prosjekttittel Ungdom, dataspill, konflikt, regulering fra et familieperspektiv	**Tal sider** 32 **Prosjektnr** 6481
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Sammendrag

Denne rapporten presenterer det avsluttede prosjektet som undersøkte hvordan dataspilling blant ungdommer med «ikke-vestlig» bakgrunn blir forhandlet i en familiekontekst. Vi så nærmere på hvordan dataspilling kommer i konflikt med daglige rutiner, og hvordan regulering av dataspill blir håndtert i familienes hverdag. Forskningsfunnene baserer seg på kvalitative intervjuer med ti familier hvor både foreldre og ungdommer var til stede. Studien viste at familiene ofte hadde konflikt om tidsbruk rundt dataspilling. Vi har derfor valgt å se nærmere på ulike forståelser og forhandlinger av tid i familiene.

Analyse av datamaterialet baserer seg på Bourdieus forestilling om «tid» som kulturelle diskursive praksiser, og tidligere forskning som setter søkelys på endringer i familierelasjoner på grunn av migrasjon og sosiale rollekonflikter i regulering av dataspill. I denne rapporten viser vi hvordan foreldre bruker ulike teknikker for å regulere dataspilling i lys av familiens daglige rutiner og sosiale forventninger. Konflikt er høyest blant familiene med lavt digital kompetanse, samt de som ikke klarer å benytte seg av sin kulturelle kapital som ressurs for å regulere dataspill på en slik måte at det kan blir en akseptert del av familielivet. Disse familiene har ofte lite informasjon om dataspilling, og om eksisterende ressurser som har til hensikt å hjelpe familier med forhandling om ellers konflikt-triggende dataspilling. Eksisterende ressurser laget av ulike etater for at barn og unge skal ha gode oppvekstkår knyttet til mediebruk, er enten utilgjengelige eller lite relevante for dem.

Andre publikasjoner fra prosjektet

Dralega, C. A., Seddighi, G., Corneliussen, H. G., Prøitz, L. (forthcoming, 2019). From helicopter parenting to co-piloting: Models for regulating video gaming among immigrant youth in Norway, Fjordantologien 2019.

Formidlingsaktiviteter fra prosjektet

- Presentasjon på Digra (Digital Games Research Association) Nordic 2018, 30. desember 2018. Universitetet i Bergen.
- Presentasjon på Dataspillkonferanse, arrangert av Medietilsynet 9. November 2018. Oslo
- Presentasjon på Forskningstorget i Sogndal, 22. september 2018.
- Presentasjon på Fjordkonferansen 2018 i Ålesund, 21. Juni 2018.

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14.01.2019, Sogndal

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Summary

This report presents the completed project's examination of how computer gaming among youth with "non-Western" backgrounds is negotiated in a family context. We looked (more closely) into how computer gaming comes in conflict with daily family routines, and how the regulation of computer gaming is handled in the family's everyday life. Research results are based on interviews with ten families where both parents and young people were present. Since families often experienced conflict around time spent on computer games, we focused on understanding of and planning for time in the families. In this report, we show how parents use different techniques to regulate computer gaming in connection with the family's daily routines and social expectations.

Analysis of the data material relies on Bourdieu's notion of time as a cultural discursive practice, and earlier research focusing on changes in families due to migration, and social role conflict in the regulation of gaming. The conflict levels are highest in families lacking digital skills, as well as failing to take advantage of cultural capital as a resource to regulate video gaming as an accepted part of family life. These families often have little information about video games, and about existing resources that are intended to help families with negotiation on otherwise conflict-triggering computer games. Existing resources created by various agencies for children and adolescents to ensure a good upbringing related to media use are either inaccessible or seem irrelevant to them.

Introduction: Gaming and youth in an immigrant family perspective

Gaming has increased during the last 10 years. The report from EU Kids Online survey 2011 shows that 86% of children between 9-16 year who have access to and use the internet, also use the internet for gaming (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011, p. 5). The internet and computers are more accessible in households than it was before, a fact supported by studies of immigrant youth and families (Dralega and Corneliussen, 2018). Gaming has become a "mainstream-culture" (Børsum, 2012) where some games, such as World of Warcraft (WoW) and Fortnite, gather millions of players (Ask, 2011) to spend time together collaborating on game challenges, which has been noted in both the media and academia (Corneliussen and Rettberg 2008).

Though gaming might create opportunities for youth to develop diverse skills, there is a strong tendency among parents and in the public sphere to see gaming as a competition to youth's societal presence and participation in the society. According to Ask (2011), many parents are concerned that their children are "caught" in video games and that this steals time from school, friends or other (more "valuable") activities. Video games and online presence are therefore seen as conflicting with family life and obligations (Linderoth and Bennerstedt, 2007), and also conflicting with different social roles youth have in the family and in relation to institutions such as schools (Gregersen, 2018).

Many parents worry that their children will become "addicted". The discourse of addiction and problem gaming has taken up more and more space in public debates (Chappell, 2006; Griffiths, 1995; Enevold et al., 2018). Concerns are often expressed regarding the extensive time use and the consequences of excessive video gaming. Many players face this concern – together with a lack of understanding of video games as a positive hobby, and many players have expressed that this affects them in a negative way (See Dralega & Corneliussen, 2018a), especially female excessive gamers (Thorhauge, 2018).

The survey "Scope of Money and Computer Game Problems in Norway 2015" conducted by the University of Bergen (Pallesen, Molde, Mentzoni, Hanss, & Morken, 2016, p. 84), found that problem gaming and addiction are most common among men and young people born in a "non-Western" country (Africa, Asia, Latin America). While video games have become mainstream cultural products, also in the immigrant population, we have little knowledge

about how immigrant youth and their families negotiate the regulation of gaming within the family context.

In the backcloth of the survey "Scope of Money and Computer Game Problems in Norway 2015", the Media Authority of Norway has commissioned research on gaming habits among young immigrants with "non-Western[1]" background. In 2016-2017, we studied immigrant youth's attitudes, identity construction and negotiations through gaming while focusing on how gender plays a role in this process. This research showed that "non-Western" immigrant youth through gaming created new forms of identification by making sense of belonging to multiple spaces, online and offline, local and transnational (Dralega & Corneliussen, 2018a). In the following research undertaking (2017-2018) focusing on video games, regulation and family we zoom in on everyday life and family relations in order to increase our insight into how and when gaming is problematic and what creates conflict as we explore how immigrant families with "non-Western" background experience and negotiate the regulation of gaming.

Research questions

Our research questions are aiming to explore the social context of gamers, the youth with "non-Western" backgrounds, in a family setting. Our research questions, therefore, aim to explore how gaming enters the family context, affecting the family relations and daily routines, as we ask:

- How is gaming among youth with "non-Western" immigrants regulated in the family?
- How is gaming discussed and presented in the family?
- How does gaming influence the daily routine of the family?
- What and who regulates gaming in a household?

On the following pages we introduce a conceptual framework for the study. We draw from two sets of earlier research, first, on gaming in a family context and second, on changes in family relations due to migration. The analytical framework including Bourdieu's notion of time will be introduced after a description of methods of research. The analysis of data will focus on the notion of time, by looking closer at gaming habits, daily routines in the family,

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[1] We use inverted commas on the concept Non-Western in order to highlight that we are fully aware that the concept is vague and might reproduce the idea that the world can be divided into the West and the Rest. However, we still find it important to use the concept Non-Western to highlight global inequalities and to mark the international history that contributed to the policies of the West and the Rest. Here, we do not want to reduce the "non-Western" immigrants to a coherent or homogenous population with similar ethnic cultures. In this report, "Non-Western" immigrants refer to all first and second generations of immigrants with countries in Asia (including Turkey), Africa and Latin America as their places of origin.

regulation narratives and how gaming might come in conflict with social and cultural expectations.

Conceptual framework: video games, immigration and family relations

Video gaming, its culture(s) of consumption as well as its development, are closely connected to global cultural flows that permeate families not only in different geographical spaces in northern and southern parts of the world but also among families with different social and cultural backgrounds, including immigrants. As gaming is a rising phenomenon or becoming mainstream culture, it does add pressure on parents, including immigrant parents, when it comes to defining rules and shared expectations.

Despite the differences one might find among immigrants from "non-Western" countries, the research and statistics gathered on this population during the last decade show that the unemployment rate is highest among immigrants born in "non-Western" countries (Leknes, Løkken, Syse, & Tønnessen, 2018). The tendency is that this group of immigrants come from poor countries and many have low education, which results in their overrepresentation among the unskilled low-income workers. In addition, digital competency is considered to be lower among this population, because of the correlation between the mentioned factors such as language barriers, unemployment or unskilled low-paid work (Guthu & Holm, 2010; Hilleren, Guthu, & Ianke, 2007). 54,5 percent of all children who lived in poverty in Norway in 2016, were first or second generation immigrants and the majority were from "non-Western" countries such as Somalia, Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan (Epland, 2018). Children from low-income families have a greater risk of health problems, especially mental health issues. They also participate less often in after school activities (ibid.). These factors reinforce each other and increase the risk of marginalization. Despite these statistics, we anticipate that research on immigrants with "non-Western" backgrounds can give insight into many similar struggles experienced by ethnic Norwegian families with socio-economic challenges.

Gregersen (2018) argues that conflicts between different social roles in relation to institutions, such as school and friendship networks in which the youth and parents are involved, influence the way in which video gaming is debated. We would like to adapt the argument to a context of non-western immigrant families and draw attention to the issue that regulation of gaming can be part of conflict and negotiation processes that the families face as a result of migration.

Doing so, we explore regulation of video gaming as part of larger conflict and negotiation processes.

Each culture conveys information on what is considered "good parenting". Despite differences in parenting norms and cultural expectations, migration causes changes in family relations.

> As parents acculturate, their parenting may change due to exposure to new belief systems about appropriate childrearing expectations […] due to changes in the parenting supports available to them, or in an effort to socialize children to be successful in a new multicultural context (Chaung & Costigan, 2018, p. 2).

The concept of acculturation refers to the processes of negotiations with, reactions to, and strategies for coping with the host society. In these processes, the individual's cultural patterns might change or be challenged (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). Migrants who wish to settle for a longer period of time in the host country have a different set of adaption or negotiation strategies than those who expect to stay for a shorter time. Furthermore, according to Teske and Nelson (1974) acculturation is not a process that leads to an end result and is not without tensions.

One of the frequent tensions arising within families is when children learn a new language faster and accept the new norms and values easier than their parents. Such new skills and practices influence family relations and might challenge power relations (Jurkovic, 1997). This has been called "intergenerational acculturation gap". Children often become language and cultural "brokers". Earlier studies show that immigrant children often are involved in translation and interpretation of medical and financial documents as well as welfare applications (Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003). Some scholars have suggested that the acculturation gap might suppress the traditional authority position of the parents (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In families where the intergenerational acculturation gap is large, the family might experience a high level of conflict (Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002). This might cause "reversal of roles" where parents treat children as adults and need support from them. This might happen more often in families where the parents have experienced changes in their socio-economic status due to voluntary migration or especially forced migration.

According to Statistics Norway, 9 percent of the population (470 372 people) are first or second generation immigrants from "non-Western" countries.[2] With the increase in immigration from "non-Western" countries during the last decade, the amount of children living in poverty has increased in Norway (Epland & Kirkeberg, 2017). Research in a Norwegian context shows that adults with "non-Western" backgrounds more often suffer from mental distress than ethnic Norwegians because of experiencing trauma, war or forced migration (Dalgard, Thapa, Hauff, McCubbin, & Syed, 2006). The adults with non-Western backgrounds also have higher levels of stress related to their economic situation, work and housing (ibid.). The accumulation of problems and levels of stress regarding migration might have impact on parents' caring ability or impair the quality of the interaction between children and parents (Oppedal, et al., 2008).

While an intergenerational acculturation gap occurs more often among first generation immigrant families, the negotiation between ethnic cultural competency and Norwegian cultural competency takes place from birth among second generation immigrant children. Daily routines are among the first ethnic cultural competencies that children learn. Children often learn Norwegian cultural competencies later when they interact with the Norwegian instituions, such as schools. However, the ethnic cultural competencies are constantly challenged and negotiatiated over when family members interact with institutions such as health care providers, kindergartens and schools (Oppedal et al., 2008). Daily routines of doing homework or "valuable" extra-curriculum activities, such as sports, are organized in many immigrant families to increase the possibility of social mobility and success. Earlier research shows that first generation and second generation immigrant children more often feel the pressure to succeed in school and to achieve social mobility in a society where their parents' socio-economic status have negatively changed (Suarez-Orozco, 1991; Gibsen and Bhachu, 1991; Oppedal et al., 2008). In addition, according to Oppedal et al. (2008), children of immigrant background compared with ethnic Norwegian children do more often worry about not being good enough in school. Many parents encourage their children to work hard in school by emphasising what the parents have sacrificed as migrants. Steinberg (1997)

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[2] Statistics Norway does not use the term "Western" and "non-Western" anymore but have two new groups that largely correspond to the earlier divisions of "Western" and "non-Western" that were unclear. The new group consists of Asia (with Turkey), Africa, Latin America, Oceania (not including Australia and New Zealand) and European countries without the EU/EEA agreements (SSB, 2008). Since we did not have European countries without EU/EEA agreements as part of our original research design, the number above shows first generation and second generation immigrants with origin from Asia (including Turkey), Africa, Latin America, Oceania. For more read (SSB, 2018).

argues that immigrant parent's pressure for high educational performance is a cultural source to improve the family's social and economic status.

However, the above-mentioned socio-economic challenges would influence how a family can introduce ethnic cultural competency to their children, how they negotiate the competency with the institutions as well as benefiting from cultural sources for social mobility; as these challenging circumstances have impact on the interaction between children and parents (Oppedal et al, 2008).

Drawing on these studies on how migration affects family relations, we contextualize the regulation of gaming in a family perspective with focus on daily family routines and narratives about future expectations of children to improve their social and economic status. In order to expand our understanding of how activities of video gaming enter the family context and, for many families cause conflict, we aim to explore the regulation of gaming in non-Western immigrant families where acculturation and negotiations become visible.

Methodology

The scope of research

The research aimed to create a space for parents and youth to discuss youth gaming habits and how they influence daily activities in the families with immigrant "non-Western" backgrounds. We defined immigrant non-Western families as first and second generation immigrants from non-Western countries. This means youth who were born in countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, or youth who were born in Norway whose mother and father were born in the beforementioned regions. Furthermore, we aimed to interview 10 families and to focus on youth between the ages of 13 and 19 , girls and boys, in order to explore the experiences and practices of this age group.

Methods of inquiry

We recruited parents to our study through immigrant communities and NGOs that arrange activities for immigrant families in Southern, Eastern and Western Norway. In our letter of invitation, we specified that we were interested in regulation and conflict related to gaming. We recruited parents who, together with their children, would take part in the research. We have used in-depth interviews of youth and their parents, including two separate short "surveys" which were filled out separately by the youth and their parents respectively. The research was carried out between May and November 2018.

Interviews

We recruited ten families to be interviewed. Because of difficulties in recruiting youth with two parents born in "non-Western" countries, we have included two families where only one parent was born in a "non-Western" country while the other had an ethnic Norwegian background. The ideal situation would be that both parents were present in the interview, first and foremost to provide insight into gendered and cultural differences in the ways in which parents reflect and react to the gaming conflicts. In one case (family J in Table 1 below), both parents were interviewed. In another case (family I in Table 1), the parent born in a "non-Western" country could not partake in the interview, and the ethnic Norwegian mother participated.

Through the interviews, we wanted to make space for the families to describe, negotiate and reflect on issues relating to gaming. We encouraged the participants to share information about their practices for regulating gaming in the household. The interviews gave us deeper insight into how gaming is problematized and regulated from a family perspective but also insight into how an intersectional perspective including culture and gender can help visualizing challenges in relation to gaming activities. Still, as this is not a comparative study, there is a limitation to the answers we can provide, related to questions about how ethnicity and ethnic cultural differences play a role in the regulation of gaming.

Interview setting

To obtain the "family perspective", including the negotiation going on in the family, the interview setting created a space for dialogue about gaming by interviewing parents and youth together. We originally aimed to conduct the interview at the participants' home, but during the process of recruiting it became clear to us that it was easier to recruit if the families could decide where the interview would take place. We therefore let each family decide the location of the interview, and we believe that this helped the dialogue become more "natural" for both the parents and the youth. The setting ranges from their homes, our office and public spaces such as cafés.

Interview guide

The interview guide had four main sections; in the first section the interviewees were given the opportunity to introduce their family and explain their everyday routine and what role gaming was playing in their everyday family life. In the second section, we encouraged dialogues on gaming habits between the youth and parents. In the third section, our focus was

on the regulation of gaming and sources of conflict at home. In the last section, the interviewees discussed what their recommendation would be for other families.

Survey

At the beginning of the interview, we administered two separate micro-surveys, one tailored for the youth and one for the parents. The surveys were presented on paper for each of the groups to respond to a set of questions about video games. In these surveys we asked the youth about the habits around gaming at home, while for the parents we asked about their own and their children's gaming habits. We asked parents to choose how much they knew about the games their children play and what concerns they have regarding gaming. By this survey we wanted to achieve several goals: 1) We aimed to gain, to some degree, quantifiable insights into the individual participants experiences as a parent and as a youth. 2) Find out how parents and youth explain their experiences before they start the dialogue in the interview setting, in particular to be able to recognize whether the following dialogue "silenced" one of the parties' experiences.

Analytical framework

In the analysis, we took a discourse theoretical approach to explore the informants' understanding and experience of social and cultural perception of time and space in the context of gaming in a family context. This included a focus on negotiation related to various ways of regulating gaming activities in the family. The central theory underlaying the analytical framework is Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory which interprets the social world as a social construct limited by what we perceive through discourse. Thus, we analyze the time aspect of the regulation of gaming as social and cultural discursive practices through which the family struggles to find ways of dealing with gaming vs. family time and activities in their daily life. Time appears to be a particularly important concept for the negotiation going on in the families. In our analysis of the negotiation concerning time – time for gaming and time for family, we rely on Bourdieu's theory of temporality as a social and cultural discursive practice. In Bourdieu's (1977) theoretical framework, the notion of time is attached to theory of agency by which agents make time; agents do not have time as individuals have. "Time" can be experienced as "forthcoming" – a future in immediate presence, and "abstract future" – a body of time existing at away from daily life (ibid.). The immediate presence is not noticed (recognized) when daily routines follow the habits and expectations. The immediate presence will be noticed consciously when there is an interruption or breakdown in social and cultural expectations and perceptions of the future. Thus, in this study, time as immediate presence can be experienced as for instance a

disagreement between family members about how they should spend their time within the frame of the family.

"Abstract future", on the other hand, refers to conscious projects and goals of the future that sets a range of habits and plans on present daily life. "A breakdown of immediate presence can be a result of a disruption either […] in the expectations built in habitus[3] or […] probabilities built into social field" (Hoy, 2012, p. 266). Timing in video games and time-use for gaming intersect with ways in which "time" is planned and perceived in the families, both as the immediate presence of here and now for the family, and as the "abstract future" which requires present time to be spent in ways supporting future goals.

In the following we will look closer at gaming habits and regulation narratives to explore how frustrations and conflicts might work as forms of breakdowns in immediate presence, which will give insight into how gaming might come in conflict with social and cultural expectations.

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[3] Habits, skills and dispositions.

Presentation of interviewees

The ten families are presented in Table 1 below (all anonymized). The participants consisted of ten mothers and one father, and twelve young people. Most of the children were boys; four girls and eight boys.

Table 1: Overview of families

Family's background	Gender parent	Age	Gender youth	Age
A) Kenya	Mother (*Amina*)	37	Boy *(Alani)*	13
B) Burundi	Mother *(Brenda)*	35	Boy *(Bhaba)*	14
			Girl (*Bre)*	15
C) Iran	Mother (Shadi)	45	Boy (Shahin)	18
D) Iran	*Mother (Fatmeh)*	49	Boy *(Arad)*	18
E) Iraq	Mother (Zahra)	38	Boy *(Mohammad)*	14
F) Iraq	Mother *(Sumaya)*	49	Girl *(Nora)*	19
G) Vietnam	Mother *(Velia)*	42	Boy *(Nam)*	14
H) Pakistan	Mother *(Sarah)*	36	Boy *(Sandra)*	13
I) Zimbabwe/Norge	Mother (Heidi)	39	Son (Nichol)	13
			Son (Michel)	16
J) Iran/Norge	Mother (Julie)	34	Girl (Sara)	13
	Father (Sharam)	47		

We recruited a variety of families to the interviews. Thus, we have interviewed divorced parents with shared custody, single mothers with full custody, married parents with different arrangements of custody from earlier marriage. The parents who participated in the interview were between 34 and 49 years old: in average 41 years old. The average age of youth interviewed was 15 years old. The immigrated parents and some children were born in the

Middle East, East Africa, Southern Africa, East and South East Asia, but we also interviewed families with mixed ethnicities, including ethnic Norwegian parents. The families live in Eastern, Western and Southern Norway. Nine out of eleven parents who participated in the interviews had higher education. Two mothers did not have higher education. Four parents have bachelor's degrees and three had master's degrees.

Most families were small and had two children. Only a few families in our research have extended family ties in Norway, while the majority do not have any network of extended family in Norway. In addition, some have a limited social network.

Some of the participating youth have experienced the asylum-seeking process in Norway and have lived as refugees, but the majority was born in Norway with two parents who immigrated as refugees, through family reunification or as work immigrants. Therefore, there are differences in how long the families, and especially the parents, have lived in Norway. The parents' period of residence varies between 7 and 26 years. Although the variation is high, the study has not recruited families with a short residence time in Norway, which is considered to be below six years.

Presentation of data

After the first round of presentations in the interviews, we aimed to get an overview of what types of video games the youth were engaged in, and what relationship youth and parents had to video games in general. The games that were mentioned in the interviews were Fifa, Fortnite, Leagues of legend, Mario Odyssey, Movie Star Planet, Plants vs Zombies, Slither io. The youth were interested in games that are popular in their age group at present, and a majority of the games were online games where playing means getting involved with other players.

The platforms used by the youth included mobile phones, PlayStation 4, computers, X-box, Nintendo Switch. In the survey, the youth described their gaming habits to include between 2 and 10 hours of playing during working days and 3-16 hours on the weekends. Only three out of nine parents played games themselves. Two of the three playing parents played games more than one hour daily. The six other parents do not play games and indicate in the survey and in the interviews that they have very limited knowledge of gaming.

Our next focus in the interview was on the negotiation of gaming, and whether there were any tensions between the youth's and the parents' perception of gaming in the family context.

Whereas some parents and youths mentioned no conflict in the survey, conflicts relating to gaming became much more visible during the interview. In the interviews, only two parents mentioned conflicts related to spending money. All parents mentioned that time-use had been a source of conflict to different degrees. However, parents and youths mostly agreed upon what the sources of conflicts are.

Table 2 presents findings from the survey showing sources of conflict related to gaming.

Table 2: Sources of conflict related to gaming as expressed in the survey

| Family's background | Hours spent gaming during working days and weekends | | Conflict | | Source of conflict related to gaming | | | | | |
			yes	No	Time	Content	Tools	Home work	Family duties	Parent's lack of knowledlge
A)Kenya	Parent	0	X		X			X	X	X
	Youth	7-10+	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
B)Burundi	Parent	0	X		X	X				X
	Youth	7 boy		X	X	X				X
		5 girl		X		X	X	X	X	X
C)Iran	Parent	0	X		X			X	X	
	Youth	10+	X		X			X	X	X
D) Iran	Parent	0		X						
	Youth	2-10+		X						
E) Iraq	Parent	3[4]	X		X		X	X	X	X
	Youth	2-5		X	X		X			X
F) Iraq	Parent	0		X						
	youth	2-5		X		X				
G) Vietnam	Parent	1[5]	X		X	X		X	X	

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[4] In a week
[5] Daily

	Youth	3-10		X						
H) Pakistan	Parent	0	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
	Youth	3+	X		X		X	X	X	X
I)Zimbabwe/ Norway	Parent	0	X		X	X		X	X	X
	Youth	2-6	X		X			X	X	X
J) Iran/ Norway	Parents	M: 4-3	X		X			X	X	X
		F: 2-3	X		X			X	X	X
	Youth	6-10	X		X		X	X	X	X

In the survey we asked the interviewees if gaming causes conflict. The interviewees could reply by choosing never, sometimes and often. 14 of the interviewees replied that gaming *sometimes or often* causes conflict. 9 of them were parents. There is one youth who marks the border between never and sometimes. We interpret it to mean that gaming might cause some disagreement at home, however, the informant would not label it conflict. We also designed a table where the informants could mark the sources of the conflict caused by gaming in their family. 4 youth who replied that gaming *never* leads to conflict, did, however, select sources of conflict related to gaming in this section.

As Table 2 shows, we asked the informants to select sources of conflict named by us, but we also gave them the possibility to add to our list. We named sources of conflict such as: time, content, tools, homework, family related duties and parents' lack of knowledge related to gaming. Table 2 shows the varieties of sources of conflict replied to this question. However, Table 2 does not show that the interviewees chose different degrees of conflict. The interviewees had the opportunity to rate whether these sources of conflict occurred *never*, *the least*, *sometimes*, *the most*. Time, homework and parents' lack of knowledge related to gaming were the sources that created the highest degree of conflict. 9 out of 11 parents identified time as the biggest source of conflict, while 5 out of 11 youths replied similarly. 4 parents and 3 youths identify homework as the biggest source of conflict. The same numbers are also true for "parents' lack of knowledge" or gaming illiteracy. Parents and youths have a similar understanding of the sources that most often cause conflict. 1 out of 3 youths who chose "parents' lack of knowledge" as the source that causes the highest degree of conflict,

have parents who game (family J). Since time-use is mentioned as the source of most conflict among our informants, we will focus on "time" as a central aspect of regulating video gaming. In the following pages we will reflect on the survey, but mainly draw from the interviews.

"Timing" as a factor of contention in immigrant families

We wish to start here with experiences related to time, especially when family members experience a breakdown in the "immediate future" from a family perspective. As Dralega and Corneliussen (2018b) show, immigrant youth use gaming as a space to negotiate identity and socialize in local and international contexts. Though gaming activities can contribute to the local integration within the Norwegian society through making friendships that erode ethnic and religious differences as well as learning the Norwegian language (Ibid), the practice is not free from conflict. As Gregersen (2018) and Thorhauge (2018) explain these friendships and social activities through gaming can come in conflict with other responsibilities related to work, family and school. To pause a game (momentarily stop a game) when the other gamers need you in a team, can have a negative influence on friendships. As Dralega & Corneliussen, (2018c) have shown, youth experience the fact that they cannot pause as a source of conflict since parents demand them to stop immediately to fulfil their family and school related responsibilities. In other words, young gamers' (in digital games) expectation of the immediate presence in games comes in conflict with parents' expectations. The young ones argue that there is no such thing as to pause a game due to a game's generic character and function: e.g. when you are part of a team that is playing *live*, you will spoil the strategic structures or attacks the team has built up if you suddenly leave the table (pause because of dinner). Whereas from the parents' perspective, *not pausing* the game when it is dinner, bedtime or other family activities disturbs the daily routines that the parents try to establish at home and therefore is considered as a source of conflict.

 Lack of "pausing" highlights how "time" is organized in digital games in a way that makes it a potential conflict with "time" organized within the family. According to Bourdieu (1977), "forthcoming" or "immediate presence" is noticeable when there is a misrecognition in expectations, which often cause emotional distress. In our data, this disjuncture in expectation and understanding between parents and youth is a source of deep frustration that is closely connected to the 'pause' moment in video game regulation.

In the families where video gaming causes a high level of conflict, the conflicts often start with parents warning their children to stop playing. If their children do not listen, one of the parents' reactions is to pull out the power cables to the gaming equipment, or to turn off the internet. These measures often trigger an increased frustration. One of the participants, a 15-year-old girl (Bre) whose parents were born in Burundi, plays games five hours daily. She tells us that "Papa usually says 'pause' it. But you cannot pause games. Papa sometimes just switches off the internet or rips out the cables… Papa likes to take away the phone and laptop."

In this part, we look closer at "pausing" in relation to daily family life. In almost all the families, the lack of pausing comes in conflict with different aspects of family routines. Dinner time is the example most often mentioned when pausing is conflictual. Dinner time is probably seen as an important time for the family to gather and most families try to organize the day around this gathering moment. Attention to "pausing" might reveal the complex relation between how daily routines, as acculturation processed in immigrant families, intersect with gaming, and how regulation is practiced in the family context.

"Pausing" games in daily family routines

Although a lack of immediate pausing in video gaming by the youth is considered to be problematic by most parents, this does not cause a conflict in all families. Pausing becomes problematic most of all in families where the young people play competitive games. The difference is clear between young people who play games such as FIFA and games such as Slither.io. FIFA is a football simulation video game where players game in a team and gather scores to improve their team in relation to other teams. Slither.io is a multiplayer video game where the player has an individual goal to let his or her worm-avatar grow the largest and longest in the game.

 19-year-old Nora lately plays Slither.io several hours a day. She plays the game with up to a hundred players. Since the game is not a team-work and does not require team strategy or team loyalty, she rarely makes any social friendships through the game. The game is often very short and therefore well suited for playing when waiting or commuting. 14-year-old Mohammad also plays several hours daily. He plays mostly FIFA, either at home or when he is vising friends. He plays games only with his friends and talks a lot and loudly while playing, his mother recaps in the interview. Thus, for him, gaming is a social event, it is competitive and requires team loyalty.

Here we would like to introduce two interviews that have different relations to "pausing" while youth play competitive games. The comparison can increase our knowledge of the complexity of regulation of gaming from an immigrant family perspective. The first interview is with an Iranian family (D), where both the parents and the youth tell us that the lack of pausing does not cause any conflict at home. The second interview is with an Iraqi family (E) that considers not-pausing to be the main source of conflict they have, especially when children are asked to come to the dinner table.

The parents in the Iranian family have lived in Norway for more than 26 years. They live together and have two children, but they do not have any extended family members in Norway. While the mother (Fatemeh) explains in detail her long journey to complete her education at high school level in Norway, getting a job and having been employed now for more than 20 years, the description of the father's life and involvement in the family is very limited in the interview. While the father was present at home where the interview was conducted, he did not take part in the interview. The father is retired, and often away from the family – he either travels a lot or is in the basement, the son explains. The mother (Fatemeh) works a lot and often at nights. When we asked them to describe a usual day and what they do together, the son (Arad) explains that he plays games in his room in the evening and go to sleep late when his mother is at work. The father's presence in the house is not noticeable. The dinner is the only moment when the family gathers. After dinner, the mother rests before her night shift. Apart from that, they don't describe many joint family activities during a year, except barbecuing during summer. Ethnic cultural gatherings, ethnic or religious celebrations, Norwegian holidays are not mentioned as moments that can gather the family.

In this family, there is not many daily routines with common gatherings. Therefore, gaming, and especially the lack of pausing, does not come in conflict with daily routines of the family. Gaming is highly self-regulated by the youth. The mother explains that she is not strict, and lets the son decide over his gaming. Both the son and the mother emphasize the importance of trust and honesty when they talk about how a family can prohibit conflict around gaming at home. Though the mother is not able to regulate time-use and the time of gaming by making daily routines, she actively uses the discourse of "trust" as a regulatory practice.

> *When my son went to secondary school, I participated in a meeting for parents where I mentioned that my son could be awake to watch football or play games until 12 at night, or more. The teacher said they should sleep at 8-9 pm. I said I could not just tell him that "you have to sleep early", when I know that he will watch football. Other mothers did not like it and probably thought I am just a foreigner who will keep her children awake until 12 at night. But I think I was honest, and I knew that the other children who he plays with were also awake,*

since they used to exchange SMS. (Fatemeh)

Her son shares the same viewpoints: *It is important to be open about it. Mama knows when I play games. I am honest, and this makes everything much easier. It is not the case that I say good night and then play games, while they think I am asleep.* (Arad)

As mentioned earlier in the conceptual framework, Statistics Norway and earlier research tell us that many immigrants from "non-Western" countries have low income jobs, which is a factor causing stress. Psychological distress is also much higher among adults from "non-Western" countries who have experienced war, trauma and forced migration (Dalgard et al., 2006). We do not have the full picture that would explain why the family is not able to define daily family routines with common points of interaction among the family members. However, we can highlight that there is a correlation between the parents' limited ability to introduce cultural and social competency and ability to regulate gaming, which might indicate that cultural competency might be used as a source to regulate gaming.

In the other example, we find an Iraqi family (E) with two younger parents and two younger children who have lived in Norway for around seven years. They came as labour immigrants, as opposed to the Iranian family where the parents came as refugees. While the father works in a company, the mother is a student. She has a bachelor's degree from her home country. In the interview, the mother explains how she is involved in making daily family routines for the whole family. While the mother takes initiative and regulates the activities, the father is her teammate. The mother says:

> I am not worried if my son plays for five hours one day. I will just make plans for the next day. We [the family] sometimes play football together or will go for a walk. During summer we often have a picnic.

Zahra makes plans and activities for the family several times a week in order to hinder her son getting used to playing video games several hours every day. Even though she actively regulates gaming through making daily family routines, lack of pausing still creates frustration.

> I normally go to him before we serve the food, I ask him when he thinks he will be finished. But it does not go as we plan. I understand that he cannot pause, but we want to eat food together. We do not nag about it, because then always one will be sad. (Zahra)

Though lack of pausing causes frustration, she avoids conflict as long as she can prevent the son from playing games several hours every day. Economic and social backgrounds also influence how daily routines can be practiced. Here, especially the mother shows that she has cultural and social capital and competency to make daily routines become a regulative

practice for gaming. This aspect of regulation of gaming is also reflected in the interview with the Iranian/Norwegian family (J). The family consists of father, mother and two teenage girls who play games several hours daily. In the interview, when the father complains that the daughters should allocate time for other activities in addition to gaming, one of the daughters asks the parents to be more active in doing something together. This suggests that parents must play active roles in planning activities, not only for their children, but also for the whole family, to compete with video gaming. In the Iraqi family (E), the mother (Zahra) maintains legitimacy over regulating gaming as she actively is engaged in reconciling gaming with family life, which also includes limiting the gaming hours.

Gaming, education and social mobility: synergetic or disruptive?

In many of the interviews, parents discuss how gaming comes in conflict with expectations that the family has in relation to their children's education. Here "pausing" in competitive games is not the centre of conflict, but time-use. In an American study of immigrant families, Steinberg (1997) argues that social mobility of children through education is very important for immigrant families, and they use social and cultural resources to motivate children to success in education. Similar research on Vietnamese refugees and Sikh families in Britain and USA (Suarez-Orozco, 1991; Gibsen and Bhachu, 1991) reaches similar conclusions and adds that immigrant parents would like to see a future for the daughters with social mobility through education. This was the case even for immigrants who came from countries where education was not considered important for girls. In the research on Tamil and Somali families in Norway, Engebrigtsen and Fuglerud (2007, p. 89) found that the youths find motivation to work hard to succeed in education because of the difficulties their family might have experienced through migration.

In this regard, the parents' expectation of their children's future is an important feature of "abstract future", a body of time existing away from daily life (Bourdieu, 1977). "Abstract future" highlights that parents calculate what children might gain from education and thus they might make continuous projects and plans for that future. While fulfilment of homework can be considered as a daily activity that can regulate gaming, the conflict between time-use for gaming and "abstract future" centres on the fact that many families see education (or a range of other "valuable" activities) as a source for social mobility.

For instance, the mother (Brenda) in the Burundi family (B) says that she repeatedly advises her son to benefit from the opportunities that Norway gives him to better his future. Together with her son (Bhaba) she emigrated to Norway seven years ago, where they made a new family. We interviewed the 13-year-old son (Bhaba) and his mother (Brenda). Bhaba plays video games more than seven hours on working days and up to 16 hours during the weekends. Bhaba explains gaming as an activity where he can socialize and that is good for his learning.

> *It's fun, you are being social with friends, it is relaxing, especially in this tough world. It gets boring, so I need to game… Also, from games like FIFA, I learnt a lot about football which I used in my offline football skill development, for example the rules of the game. Minecraft teaches creativity and imagination. And there are also some other games that helped me with maths. (Bhaba)*

The mother's version is different: "No, no learning. Gaming is not good. He games too much. He does not do his chores."

In our research, this anxiety for their children's future becomes evident through the discussion on what the youth learns from gaming. In the Iranian family (D) where "pausing" did not cause conflict or frustration between mother and son, the issue of "learning from games" cause tension in the interview setting. Arad (son in the family D) says that some games are a waste of time, while you can learn something from others, like English language. But he says he does not play the games from which you might learn something. In response to this, the Iranian mother (Fatemeh) answers in frustration:

"I believe gaming is for the most part a waste of time, he has not learned anything from gaming. Football players who run around and score goals. Only a hobby." (Fatemeh).

But in reply he says that "when we play games it is important for us that we win as much as possible in order to buy the good players…The price of players would change over time, so you need to plan, have strategies and be clever at where to bet".

As we talk more in the interview, it becomes clear that Arad learns from gaming, but what he learns from gaming, among other things from his engagement in e-sport, is not recognized by his mother, and he has difficulties putting into words what he learns. Since it is unclear what these lessons are, they are definitely not considered valuable abilities or sources for social mobility in which a family can let their children invest in. The Iranian mother of family D (Fatemeh) and Kenyan mother of family A (Amina) are sceptical to gaming because gaming cannot fulfil their expectations for future of children. The expectation and motivation for social mobility is considered to be a social resource. However, the mothers (Fatemeh and

Amina) cannot "translate" this social resource into the context of digital gaming when they do not know what children might learn from gaming.

Several parents explained that because they want to know more about gaming and regulation of gaming in other families, they contact parents of classmates, especially those who have higher education. They also might contact teachers at school. So, the institutions that the children and parents interact with should give more information on how gaming can include a learning process and be valuable for children, as well as information on regulating gaming. Parents with a limited network or language barriers might have more difficulty accessing information about learning aspects of gaming and using their background as a social resource to motivate their children for social mobility.

Parents' gaming literacy, family routines and regulating games

In the previous section we identified that parents with low gaming literacy – little knowledge of what children might learn from gaming – might have difficulties recognizing learning from gaming as a source for social mobility. Parents who play video games or have knowledge of video gaming might also have the cultural and social background to understand gaming habits and content. According to the Norwegian Media Authority's running campaign on video gaming and regulation (Snakkomspill)[6], the advice for parents is that a) it is important for parents to obtain necessary knowledge about video games, and b) they should play video games with the children, be active and curious. The focus on parents gaining knowledge through experience and research is also in line with the Norwegian Action Plan against problem gaming (Handlingsplan mot spilleproblemer 2016-2018). The fact that parents game does not mean that parents know about gaming or have gaming literacy. 4 out of 11 parents (3 families out of 10) we interviewed played games. Youth in all these families selected parents' lack of knowledge on gaming as a source that *sometimes* causes conflict or leads to *most* of the conflicts.

Parents' lack of knowledge of gaming among parents, as well as a low digital literacy among parents, might cause frustrations related to regulating gaming in the participating families. The interview with the Burundi family illustrates this. The parents have lived in Norway for longer than 26 years and have 6 children. They do not have extended family members in Norway. The mother is a housewife with a busy daily routine of taking care of small children,

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6 http://www.medietilsynet.no/barn-og-medier/dataspill/#anchor_6671

as the mother and youth explain. The father works as a driver and has long hours and is often away. The mother explains that the two oldest children play games more than 6 hours daily.

Excessive time use, non-fulfilment of homework and home chores cause frustration at home since the mother, firstly, is busy with the house work and four small children, and secondly, she has low digital literacy and lacks knowledge about gaming. She has difficulties creating daily family routines that can regulate gaming, in addition to having difficulties understanding the content. She explains this frustration by her attempts to gain control over the gaming by installing a parental control app that she received from school. However, she forgot the password and got trouble accessing the internet. She explains:

> *I was happy when the school gave us access to a parental control app, which I eagerly applied to the family laptop. The problem arose when I forgot the password and then we were stuck because the children needed to do their homework with the same laptop'*

Similar to this family, the parents in the Iranian family (C) have lived in Norway for more than 26 years, and do not have higher education. Also, the Iranian family struggled to have family activities that can gather the family. The low gaming literacy and the lack of knowledge about gaming, interact in these families with their social and economic backgrounds and make it difficult for the families to establish daily family routines. According to Oppedal et al. (2008), the socio-economic challenges and stress related to them, can have a negative impact on the relation between family members and, especially, between parents and children. This means that there is a high level of tension in the family arena, that could otherwise be used to have a dialogue around the regulation of gaming. Although we do not want to generalise, this suggests that social and economic backgrounds might have an impact on discursive practices of time and regulation of gaming in ways that can reinforce the negative aspects related to regulation of gaming.

Advices from families

As shown in Table 1 introducing the interviewees, it was mainly mothers who participated in the interviews. It is also mainly mothers who regulate gaming in the families. Some mothers struggle to find ways in which gaming can become an accepted part of family daily life. Here we introduce some of the advice that the mothers would like to share with other parents, which they have learned through trying and failing:

- Parents should try to have a dialogue with their children when children play too much.

- There is no good in nagging and punishment.
- Play games together with the children, both digital games and other forms of games.
- It is important to have good communication with other parents of classmates in order to know how they regulate gaming at home and how to help each other.
- Make a trip (outdoor) and make plans for the whole family to avoid the children becoming used to gaming several hours every day.

But the picture of regulating and making gaming practices an accepted or tolerable practice in the family also requires something from the children's perspective. Thus, they also have some advice to parents:

- Learn more about gaming.
- Parents usually sit in front of TV or are busy with mobiles. Instead, the family should do fun things together, such as going for a walk.
- Be honest and open about gaming.
- Asking to 'Pause' does not work. Give children good time to win an assignment

Conclusion

In this report we have zoomed in on immigrant families' everyday life in order to gain insight into how gaming is often seen as problematic and causing conflicts, and to learn more about the ways in which gaming is regulated in the family. In the individual surveys, we found that parents and youth often agree on what the sources of conflict are. Time-use is the main source of conflict, and parents and youth agree on this. Other conflictual points are the parents' lack of knowledge about gaming – seen from the youth's perspective, and the youth prioritizing gaming over chores and homework – seen from the parents' perspective.

Focusing on daily family routines, we saw that families plan daily activities differently. This affects how gaming is problematized in the family and eventually regulated. We saw that some families regulate gaming through sanctions that can physically limit access to games, computers or the internet. Sanctions can however also encompass time-limitations, cut in money, or force youths to participate in outdoor social activities. In the families that regulate gaming by limiting possibilities to play, there are little room for dialogue. Here sanctions come as a result of outrage. We also saw a high level of frustration and conflict among these families in the interview setting. In the families where parents try to make an accepted space for gaming in the family's daily life, gaming is rather regulated through daily routines. These families, like the aforementioned ones, experience frustration, but focus on daily routines rather than sanctions. If we consider making daily routines a social and cultural competency, parents who have experienced socio-economic challenges or difficulties related to psychological distress, might have limited abilities to create family routines that can regulate gaming. Making daily family routines does not refer to extra-curricular activities, but common points where family members can meet, interact and have a dialogue. Families experiencing large socio-economic or psychological challenges might also find it difficult to create such common meeting points that can also contribute to regulating gaming activities.

Furthermore, the parents who regulate gaming through making daily family routines an accepted space for gaming, maintain legitimacy over regulating gaming. The level of conflict is high among the families that feel a pressure related to social expectations for their children to succeed in education, as they want for their children to *aspire to* improve social and economic status. However, they are neither able to make gaming become an accepted part of daily family life, nor are they able to "translate" gaming into a source that might increase the possibility for social mobility. Immigrant families gain Norwegian competency through interaction with Norwegian institutions. Schools and health centres are important institutions

that can introduce the positive aspects of gaming as well as information about its' regulation at home. These are families with little information about video games, and even less about existing resources and guidelines that could help them with the task of regulating gaming in dialogue with the youth. These families have only been in contact with schools, and do not know where else they can find information. Existing resources that are intended to help families with negotiation about otherwise conflict-triggering computer games created by various agencies for children and adolescents to ensure a good upbringing related to media use remain inaccessible or not very relevant due to their backgrounds and needs concerning language barriers.

Based on the findings from this study, we recommend that information about gaming and guidelines for regulating gaming in a family perspective, should be presented from a multicultural perspective, and that such information is made available in institutions such as health clinics, centres, kindergarten and schools.

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