THE ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION AGENTS IN TRANSNATIONAL TRANSITIONS AND FORMATION OF SENSE OF BELONGING OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN POLAND

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Abstract

Cross-border migration of schoolchildren brings about multiple social, psychological and emotional consequences, which might impede the transnational transitions and formation of a sense of belonging. Migrant children are placed at the crossroads of being and belonging either here, there, somewhere between or nowhere.

This publication-based thesis draws on the multiple theories and concepts to study the transnational transitions and formation of a sense of belonging among migrant children in Poland. The study adopts a child-centred approach, which anticipates active listening to the children's voices and considering their agency while complying with children's rights to be heard, seen and understood. Qualitative research methods adopted by this work spanned individual interviews (IDI) with three groups of respondents, namely 20 IDIs migrant schoolchildren (ages 7-13), 19 IDIs with their parents and 10 IDIs with teachers engaged in working with foreign pupils. The interviewed children have moved to Poland from various countries, namely Ukraine, Turkey, Romania, and Lithuania. Among the main migration reasons of the participating families were political persecution and economic motivations. The participants vary in terms of the migration context, previous migration experience, social, economic, and cultural capitals, plans for the future, religion and the length of stay in Poland. The interviews were held using online tools due to the COVID-19 restrictions.

The outcomes of the thesis demonstrate that different socialization agents, such as parents, relatives, teachers, peers, shape the pathways and experiences of migrant children through not only assisting children's educational transitions but also by shaping their social ones. The study confirms that peers and friends play a decisive role in children's transitions, as they are the ones who impose norms and values in home and destination countries. Besides, peers create the spaces for identity-formation and the development of a sense of belonging. The study additionally points to the significance of the relations and communication with grandparents and other kins in migrant children's socialization process, which was exacerbated by the immobility regime caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, the outcomes illustrate how the notion of 'home' has changed in migrant families during the pandemic and related lockdowns, as reflected in the discovery of a *homogeneous* and *heterogeneous* mixture of spaces.

This thesis contributes to the development of childhood studies by demonstrating the changes in children's social, everyday, domestic, educational and cultural practices in

times of distance learning. Through the empirical analysis, this work offers several new elements within sociological theory at the meso level, which span a typology of peer socialisation strategies (*spiritual*, *interests-based*, *prospect-based*, and *mixed*); elaboration of s four intergenerational communication modes (*emotional symbolic*, *mediated*, and *discontinuous*) and comprehensive analysis of the educational transitional pathways based on comparing two (emigration and destination) countries' core curricula, teacher-child hierarchical relations and perception of a child by educational institutions. As for methodological implications, the findings of this research underline the importance of child-centred participatory approaches in childhood studies, alongside documenting the multiplex methodology and key ethical considerations in researching vulnerable groups such as children and migrants.

Streszczenie

Międzynarodowe migracje dzieci w wieku szkolnym mają liczne konsekwencje społeczne, psychologiczne i emocjonalne, które mogą utrudniać transnarodowe trazycje (przejścia) i formowanie poczucia przynależności. Dzieci migranci znajdują się na skrzyżowaniu różnych przestrzeni transnarodowych, formując swoje poczucie przynależności w kontekście „tu", „tam", „pomiędzy" lub „nigdzie".

Niniejsza praca doktorska, opierająca się na cyklu powiązanych publikacji, wykorzystuje liczne teorie i pojęcia, aby wyjaśnić jak przebiegają transnarodowe tranzycje oraz procesy formowania poczucia przynależności wśród dzieci migrantów w Polsce. W badaniu przyjęto podejście skoncentrowane na dziecku, które przewiduje aktywne słuchanie głosów dzieci i uwzględnianie ich sprawczości, przy jednoczesnym przestrzeganiu praw dzieci do bycia wysłuchanym, dostrzeżonym i zrozumianym.

Jakościowe metody badawcze wykorzystane w niniejszej pracy obejmowały indywidualne wywiady pogłębione (IDI) z trzema grupami respondentów, a mianowicie 20 wywiadów z dziećmi migrantami ze szkoły podstawowej (7-13 lat), 19 z ich rodzicami i 10 z nauczycielami zaangażowanymi w pracę z uczniami z doświadczeniem migracyjnym. Dzieci biorące udział w badaniu przyjechały do Polski z różnych krajów, a mianowicie z Ukrainy, Turcji, Rumunii i Litwy. Wśród głównych powodów migracji rodzin biorących udział w badaniu znalazły się prześladowania polityczne i motywacje ekonomiczne. Uczestnicy badania reprezentują grupę heterogeniczną pod względem kontekstu i doświadczenia migracyjnego, kapitałów (społecznych, ekonomicznych, kulturowych), planów na przyszłość, wyznania oraz długości pobytu w Polsce. Wywiady przeprowadzono za pomocą narzędzi internetowych ze względu na ograniczenia spowodowane rozpowszechnianiem się COVID-19.

Wyniki pracy pokazują, że różne podmioty/agendy socjalizacyjne, takie jak rodzice, krewni, nauczyciele czy rówieśnicy, kształtują ścieżki i doświadczenia dzieci migrantów nie tylko poprzez wspomaganie ich tranzycji edukacyjnych, ale także poprzez wpływ na formę ich tranzycji społecznych. Badanie potwierdza, że rówieśnicy i przyjaciele odgrywają decydującą rolę w h transnarodowych przejściach dzieci migrantów, ponieważ to oni narzucają normy i wartości w krajach pochodzenia i zamieszkania. Poza tym rówieśnicy tworzą przestrzenie, w których dzieci migranci mogą nabywać tożsamości i formować swoje poczucie przynależności. Badanie dodatkowo wskazuje na znaczenie relacji i komunikacji z dziadkami i innymi krewnymi

w procesie socjalizacji dzieci migrantów, który to został ograniczony przez reżim niemobilności spowodowany pandemią COVID-19. Wyniki pokazują także jak pojęcie ‘domu’ zmieniło się w rodzinach migrantów podczas pandemii i związanych z nią blokad, co znalazło odzwierciedlenie w odkryciu jednorodnej i heterogenicznej mieszanki przestrzeni.

Praca przyczynia się do rozwoju badań nad dzieciństwem poprzez ukazanie zmian w społecznych, codziennych, domowych, edukacyjnych i kulturowych praktykach dzieci w czasach nauczania zdalnego. Dzięki analizie zgromadzonego materiału empirycznego, praca oferuje nowe elementy teorii socjologicznej na poziomie mezo. Obejmują one typologię strategii socjalizacji rówieśniczej (duchowe/emocjonalne, oparte na zainteresowaniach, oparte na perspektywach i mieszane); opracowanie czterech modeli transnarodowej komunikacji międzypokoleniowej (emocjonalny symboliczny, zapośredniczony i nieciągły) oraz kompleksową analiza edukacyjnych ścieżek przejściowych na podstawie porównania podstaw programowych dwóch krajów (emigracyjnych i docelowych), hierarchicznych relacji nauczyciel-dziecko oraz postrzegania dziecka przez instytucje edukacyjne. Praca wskazuje również na kwestie metodologiczne, gdyż wyniki badań dowartościowują znaczenie podejścia partycypacyjnego skoncentrowanego na dziecku w badaniach dzieci. Dokumentując procedury metodologiczne, praca kataloguje kluczowe elementy procesu badawczego - w tym kwestie etyczne, który obejmuje grupy marginalizowane, takie jak dzieci i migranci.

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Today's man who lives with love and happiness

is a child who lived with joy yesterday.

Ronald Russell

INTRODUCTION

Human movement statistics demonstrate an increasing number of migrants all around the world. Within the last 50 years, the number of people living outside the home country tripled, varying from 77 million in 1960 to 175 million in 2002 and about 281 million in 2020 (United Nations, 2021). Importantly, this holds also for children and adolescents aged 0-18. In 2020, about 36 million young migrants lived out of their homelands, compared to 25 million in 2005 (UNICEF, 2021). Hence, migration issues drew the attention of the scholars and researchers from the various fields (Barglowski & Pustulka, 2018; de Haas et al., 2020; Grabowska, 2014; Kaczmarczyk, 2015; Lesińska, 2019; Okólski, 2012; Ryan, 2011; Slany et al., 2016; Ślusarczyk et al., 2018), especially in terms of whether it leads to the formation of super-diverse societies (Vertovec, 2007), in which both long-established and recent migrant groups coexist with the native population. This superdiversity is particularly important when it comes to children's migration because it offers a more "positive" or agentic view on how ethnic others can belong to the receiving societies (Blachnicka-Ciacek et al., 2021; Crul & Schneider, 2010). In this way, it replaces the common media/popular discourses where children are problematized as Euro-orphans or voiceless 'luggage' that normative, adult migrants simply leave or bring along (Orellana et al., 2001). In this vein, this doctoral dissertation is aimed to study the migration experiences of migrant schoolchildren in Poland through examination of major paths/characteristics of the transnational transitions and the process of formation of a sense of belonging. Moreover, it is aimed to answer the following research questions:

R.Q.1.: How do migrant children in Poland experience transnational transitions?

R.Q.2.: What/who are the main socialization agents in the transnational transitions and multi-scalar belonging of the migrant children in Poland?

R.Q.:3 What is the role of the peers in the transnational transitions and multi-scalar belonging of the migrant children in Poland?

Referring to the later notion of super-diversity explored by Vertovec (2007), Giddens (2012) mentioned that international migration influences the ethnicity and culture of the numerous states and nationalities. It does so by shaping their demographic, economic and social life that is reframed or even challenged by distinctly different social practices of migrants. Meanwhile, the migration process became a challenge for the Western counties not only in the institutional/welfare sense but also in terms of forcing redefinitions within the concepts of the national identity (Blachnicka-Ciacek et al., 2021). The extent of the challenges and changes, however, depends on the diversity of cultures. It is argued that in the case of cultural similarity, the migration process may flow more naturally than between the various cultures of home and destination country (ibid).

While the world around us – including the key reference point of Western Europe – has been steadily shifting towards super-diversity for decades (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2019), Poland has been a quite homogeneous nation, as in 2011 about 92% of the citizens declared to be Polish (Andrejuk, 2013). According to Migration Policy Institute, in 2015, 1,6% of the Polish population were international migrants, compared to 2,2% of the migrants in 2019 (IOM, 2019). Thus, Poland has less experience dealing with immigrant issues than the old immigration countries in Europe (Fassman & Reeger, 2013). Besides, the problems caused by the immigration rarely appear, because Poland for the most part hosts representatives of second immigrant generation at most, whilst the Integration Policy has to be in a process of formation (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Łodziński, 2008).

Looking at the world, however, it is evident that a number of moving adults migrate together with their children (Slany et al., 2016). Thus, both adults and children become a part of the migration process. Studying the biographies of migrant children is key in understanding

the causes and processes that shape their transnational experiences. Besides, it not only helps to understand the integration process in European societies (Melia, 2004) but also raises awareness of children's lives in a contemporary world, acknowledging that children constitute an integral part of the societies. In 2020, the number of children globally aged 0-14 reached 2 billion and constituted 25% of the world's population (The World Bank, 2021). At the same time, the share of minor citizens in Poland amounted to 5,8 million, accounting for 15% of the country's population (ibid). Those statistics should be taken together to illustrate and forecast a broader trend in that the number of migrant children, aged 0−18 years, in Poland has risen rapidly from 10,000 in 2010 to 57,000 in 2020 (Migration Statistics, 2021). This indicates more than a five-fold increase in just one decade. In 2020, The Ministry of Education of Poland issued a report indicating that the number of foreign-born children in Polish schools and kindergartens reached 52 thousand.

Hence, the changes in Polish society and education system drew the attention of various scholars, who have been researching how the Ministry of Education, schools, educators, pedagogues deal with the early days of super-diversity and growing multiculturalism (Błeszyńska, 2010; Grzymała-Moszczyńska, 2016; Górny et al., 2007; Halik et al., 2009; Kosiorek, 2014). However, the existing research is limited to the analysis on either macro (nation-wide) or micro (family, ethnicity, culture) levels, which are often lumped to more general topics of economic migration or family/gender studies (see Popyk & Buler, 2018), while overlooking the crucial mezzo-level (peer socialization, community and neighbourhood life) (Popyk et al., 2019).

First of all, in order to study the children' socialization affected by the migration experiences, it is key to understand the notion of 'migrant children' used in social sciences. As there is no universally accepted notion of 'migrant' on the international level, different sources and scientists provide their definitions. As such, the International Organization of

Migration (IOM, n.d.) calls the term ‘migrant’ an umbrella to describe a person of different forms of movement. Similarly, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA, 1998) uses the term ‘international immigrant’ to describe ‘any person who changes his or her country of usual residence’. Besides, according to the UN DESA (1998), children are individuals aged between 0 to 18.

In the literature, there are several notions that describe the migrant minors (see Popyk & Buler, 2018; Portes & Rivas, 2011), such as ‘children of immigrants’, who are widely called the second-generation immigrant children, who were born in a country other than their parents’ country of origin; ‘1,5-generation’ migrant children are children, who changed the country of residence at the young age; and the ‘first-generation migrant children’ are those children who reside in the country other than a country of their origin. The second and third categories include minors of refugee background, asylum seekers, and unaccompanied children.

According to the UN ‘Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees’ since 28 July 1951, a ‘refugee’ is a person, who:

> [O]wing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (Article 1A.2)

Whereas, asylum seekers are people, who have ‘applied for refugee status and is awaiting a determination of status’ (UNESCO, 2016). The definition of the unaccompanied minor is provided in 2004, which claims that ‘children under the age of 18 who have been separated from both parents or legal caregivers and are not being cared for by an adult’ (International Committee of the Red Cross et al., 2004, as cited in the National Academy of Sciences of the USA).

To categorize foreign-born children in Poland, Nowicka (2014) pointed to four types of migrants:

(1) children of diplomats and long-term contract employees, whose stay in Poland is strictly determined;

(2) children of economic migrants who choose between a long-term stay in Poland or further migration, or even when returning home, their stay in Poland is an element of the individual life strategy of the family;

(3) children of political refugees and persons who attempt to receive the legal status of a political refugee, whose stay in Poland and life plans for the future are strictly defined by the decision of Polish authorities. (Nowicka, 2014, p. 220)

This research includes the child participants with the various social, legal and economic statuses of their families, including the economic migrants, children of diplomats, political refugees, and asylum seekers. Hence, to unify this homogeneous group, I use the term 'migrant children' to describe the young children, aged 7-13, who migrated abroad irrespective of the reason and conditions of emigration, and future migration plans. Thought, to describe the issues which are influenced and connected with the migration reasons, conditions and residence status, I apply different notions, including children of economic migrants, children of political refugees, and children of diplomats.

In Poland, there is meagre research on the topic of migrant children, which mostly referred to the integration issues of children from the particular ethnic groups, e.g. Vietnamese children (Białek et al., 2009; Grajper, 2006; Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014; Grzymała-Kazłowska & Grzymała-Moszczyńska. 2014; Grzymała-Kazłowska & Łodziński, 2008, Łukaszewicz & J. Grzymała-Moszczyńska, 2014); Roma children (Grajper, 2006); and Chechen children in Poland (Nowicka, 2014). Limited research, however, discloses the immigration issues among children in contemporary Poland, particularly after the migration

crisis in Europe (starting in 2015), the war in Ukraine (starting in 2014) or the coup attempt in Turkey (in 2016), which caused the inflow of migrants to Poland (Statista, 2021), and growth of family and child migration. It needs to be noted, though, that two studies on this matter have been in progress. The first is CHILD-UP, and the second is MiCreate. However, limited data is available on the outcomes of these projects.

Accordingly, it can be argued that migrant children in Poland remain invisible and unheard (Markowska-Manista, 2016; Wærdahl, 2016) in academic research. In particular, the socialization process and formation of the sense of belonging of migrant children have been largely omitted for the sake of themes that were more politically charged or policy-relevant (Pustułka & Trąbka 2019). Additionally, scarce research encompasses the role of mezzo level agents of socialization, which determines the peer socialization process (see Popyk et al. 2019; Popyk 2021a, 2021b).

Therefore, this doctoral study applies qualitative child-centred research methods to study the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) of migrant children in Poland, which envelop shifts (transitions) from one social, cultural and educational context to another. By investigating crucial moments, turning points and agents of socialization, one can better understand the lives of children who are migrants in a relatively homogenous Polish society. Moreover, using child-centred research anticipates active children's participation, which provides them with a right to be listened to and heard, to be the active agents in evaluating own biographies and experiences (James & Prout, 2015; Sime & Fox, 2015b; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016; White et al., 2011). The use of child-centred methodology means that children are perceived in this study as a significant group of citizens, not evaluating them as future adults. To reiterate, children-participants are those who are already shaping – and not will possibly shape – the character of a country's society, culture and economy (Prout & James, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

The research project has a unique value due to its position at the crossroads of migration and childhood studies in the Polish context of in-migration, strengthening the empirical data and knowledge base of broader migration research in social sciences in Poland (Andrejuk et al. 2017; Horolets et al. 2019; Januszewska & Markowska-Manista, 2017; Jawor et al. 2020; White et al. 2018). The implications of these joint theoretical, methodological and conceptual approaches, translate to new and relevant knowledge-building in the field of sociology. Firstly, the study presents the characteristics of the transnational transitions of migrant children in Poland, which remain an under-researched phenomenon. As such, the research outcomes may be used for writing the curricula and guidelines on educating and supporting children with migration experience (institutional level of the schooling system, macro-level). Secondly, it assesses the research impact of the multi-scalar belonging formation, which has to bear for subsequent paths and trajectories of migrant children as they become adolescents and adults in Polish society. The acquired data on the process of the transnational transitions and multi-scalar belonging formation of the migrant children in Poland verifies how these theories function beyond the context of the Western societies, demonstrating the socialization processes being affected by mobilities to a homogenous state. More broadly, the project applies divergent and cutting-edge concepts of belonging, social anchoring and socialization agents, fitting in with the broader modern scholarship in the field of migration research. Thirdly, it supports the development of the methodological field by foregrounding a modern and targeted adaptation of the child-centred approach in the specific and non-Western case context.

An overview and analysis of these broad themes are presented in the publication-based thesis, with a set of publications in a form of peer-reviewed articles, which constitute the core of the thesis. Although not being an ‘easy way out’ as required greater ontological and epistemological meta-analysis (Niven & Grant, 2012), PhD by publication allows for

presenting different aspects of the researched issues, while ‘creating a coherent narrative that links closely to the publications and is easily navigable for the readers, whoever they are and whatever their purposes’ (Peacock, 2017, p. 128).

An overview

This publication-based thesis is elaborated upon in the Author’s Statement (Autobiografia). Besides this **Introduction** and the required five high-impact journal articles forming the **Findings** section, this thesis includes also **Literature Review**, Research **Methodology** and **Conclusions**. All subsequent parts are briefly discussed below in order of appearance.

The **Literature Review** section presents the theoretical underpinnings of this work and consists of three subsections with three conceptual pillars of transnationalism, socialization, belonging and identity. The first subsection, *Transnationalism, Childhood and Socialization,* includes an overview of the relevant scholarship on migrant children's cross-border experiences drawn from international and Polish studies. Most of the reviewed studies encompass the issues of foreign-born children in Europe and Northern America, some studies display the exploration of migrant children in Asian countries. Much of this analysis hinges on studying Polish migrant children in the European countries, the number of which has grown since the EU accession and drew the interest of Polish and overseas scholars. Though, the studies of immigrant children in Poland remain quite scarce.

The second part of the Literature Review, *Socialization Process and Agents,* provides the outline of five major socialization agents which shape the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) and the process of formation of the sense of belonging of migrant children. Finally, the third subsection, *Contested Belonging and Identities of Migrant Children,* presents the review of existing literature and research on investigating the process

of formation of the sense of belonging and identities of children with migration experience in Europe and beyond.

The **Methodology** part offers a comprehensive description of the research methods and tools chosen. It points to the importance of conducting child-centred studies. It also comments on research ethics, inclusive of Ethical Approval from the respective Committee, recruitment process, getting the participants' informed consents/assents, conducting the research with vulnerable groups, online qualitative research, research in multilingual settings and using the interpreter's services. The processes of data analysis and dissemination are also disclosed. Besides, much attention is paid to the positionality of the researcher, which to great extent construes the research aim, procedure and outcomes analysis and dissemination. This part is also based primarily on the international scholarship and guidelines for researching with migrants and children, because of scant sociological studies with migrant children in Poland.

The **Findings** section consists of the four articles that constitute the base for this thesis. The articles were double-peer reviewed and reveal part of the research findings.

The thesis ends with the **Conclusions** section, where I present the denouement of this study and point to the key findings, illustrated in the set of manuscripts. The section also spells out my research input into the fields of sociology of childhood and migration studies, with additional recommendations for further research.

PART I. LITERATURE REVIEW

Transnationalism, Childhood and Socialization

Transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) are complex, mobility-affected processes, during which migrants mediate between the fields of references that are 'here', 'there' and 'in-between'. In that sense, they engage with home and destination countries and cultures, which are interactionally and institutionally represented by multiple agents (Faist, 2009; Popyk et al. 2019).

On its own, 'transition' is synonymous with change. As a sociological notion, it means that an individual experiences the shift of status, for instance from student to worker, from teenager to adult, from non-parent to parent (Besky and Pensky, 1986; Coleman, 1974). In educational research, much work has been done on transitions from home to education (school-entrance; e.g. Hughes, 2011), transitions between types of schools (e.g. from primary to secondary; e.g. Ferguson & Fraser, 1998) or transitions out-of-schooling (education-to-work transitions, e.g. Sarnowska et al., 2018). Transitions, especially transnational, are always accompanied by consequential 'psychological and social implications for the individual and the family group' (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 20). These complications are caused not only by the uncertainty of the future, which can bring either gains or losses, or both but also by the anxiety of not being able to draw on familiar resources and strategies (ibid), as being physically apart from the usual place, context, people and practices. In the context of this study, transitions are crisscrossed with multi-scalar belonging (see Amadasi, 2014; Huot et al., 2014), showcasing how migrant children experience the transition to Polish society. This includes shifts from schools outside of Poland to Polish private/public/international schools, entering new peer groups, communities and a transition to becoming a migrant.

Next to transitions, the notion of transnationalism is important for this study, even though it has become a contested term because of the lack of definitional clarity (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Hence, it is crucial to find ways to unpack it in the frames of this research. Steven Vertovec (1999) used a number of clusters to define the notion of 'transnationalism', namely social morphology, that sees transnationalism 'as a kind of social formation spanning borders' (p. 449); a type of consciousness, meaning 'dual or multiple identifications …[of] individuals' awareness of decentred attachments, of being simultaneously '"home away from home", "here and there"' (p. 450); a mode of cultural reproduction, that associates transnationalism with 'a fluidity of constructed styles, social institutions and everyday practices' (p. 451); and reconstruction of place or locality that describes 'people's relations to space' and place (p. 456).

Schiller et al. (1995) defined transnational migration as 'a process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement' (p. 48), while Morawska (2013) describes transnationalism as 'the cross-border spaces of back-and-forth flow of goods, ideas, and practices which join individuals, groups, and institutions in different nation-states that engage in these interactions' (p. 7).

While 'transitions' mean the change/shift from one place, space, context, and environment to another, 'transnational' points to the international, cross-border, or even global shifts. At the same time, transnational changes span two or multiple spaces and contexts while being physically distant. Connecting the two ideas, Pustułka and Trąbka (2019) proposed a term of 'transnational transitions' that is meant to empirically assess the biographical shifts of migrant children that are relevant for the three disciplines of youth, childhood and migration studies. Transnational transitions of children stem from 'transnational socialization processes' (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019, p. 12), meaning that the

practices of child-rearing in migrant families often operate as cultural hybrids (see also Pustułka, 2014). This comes to view upon a shift or a temporal 'change in the making' (Neale et al., 2017), for instance when primary migrant child's parents and transnational socialization agents of left-behind kin members (e.g. grandparents, cousins) are highly important for the child's development, yet, at a certain point, their practices, norms and values are incompliant with the socialization goals of the destination state's institutions (e.g. schools; see Ślusarczyk & Pustułka, 2016). One key area where tensions happen is that of language (Due et al., 2014; Moskal & Sime, 2016; Portes & Rivas, 2011; Wærdahl, 2016), particularly when a desire to speak the language of the home country is not concurrent to the curriculum that is non-conducive to bilingualism (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019). Though, when the young migrants in the super-diverse societies (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2019; Vertovec, 2007) speak various languages, it causes languaging and *polylanguaging* (Jørgensen et al., 2015), which reinforces not only linguistic, but also sociocultural language features, associated with values, norms, and meanings. Hence, for migrants, language is not only the mean of communication, but also a tool for negotiating social-cultural, racial, or national identities and belonging (García-Sánchez, 2014; Meinhof & Galasiński, 2005; Peers, 2019).

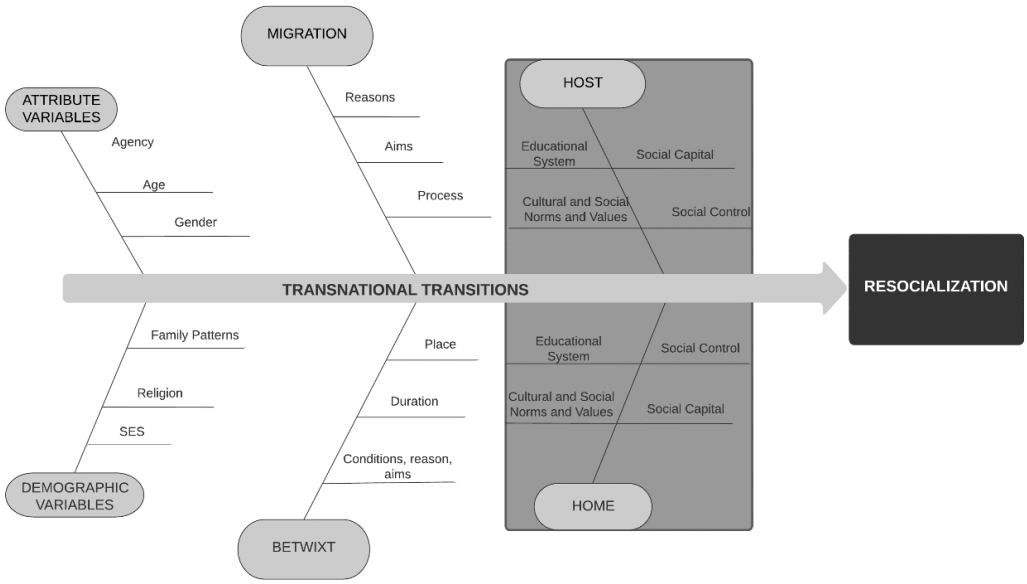
Apart from experiencing language handicaps, the transnational migration – and within them also the transnational transitions – often conditions migrants to leave the familiar social fields (Levitt & Glick Shiller, 2004) in a home country and face the new ones in a destination place. For migrant children, participation in the social fields constitutes the ground for the new social relationships and exchange of the ideas, practices and resources between the migrant and non-migrant kin members across the borders (Levitt & Glick Shiller, 2004).

The change of a social field can force migrant children to perform the unfamiliar social roles and undertake the new ones because they are 'stripped of familiar social roles' (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2015, p. 6) in their previous location during the transition process.

Young migrants are likely to need to navigate on behalf of their parents when adapting to a new place since they are often portrayed as the ones who create bridges to society quicker (Popyk, 2021a; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). The common role that migrant children are likely to take is that of cultural mediators (White et al., 2011) and interpreters for their families in the destination country (Alexander, 2004). The latter is because children are often seen as the first family members who learn the language, together with new social and cultural norms and values – through the processes of interaction with peers and teachers at school and beyond (Sime & Fox, 2015b).

The migrant children's perceptions of the transnational fields are influenced by various factors, such as age, gender, agency, social and language skills, migration reasons and aims, migration experience and plans, cultural and religious similarities/differences, etc. (Bhabha, 2014; Grzymała-Moszczyńska & Trąbka, 2014; Ni Laoire et al., 2008; Popyk, 2021a; Portes & Rivas, 2011). These factors can be divided into the attribute and demographic variables, migration reasons, aims and process, home and host counties' contexts (Figure 1), as presented in CHILDTRAN project report (Popyk, 2021a). These factors not only condition the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) but also determine the process of children's socialization and resocialization. The process of resocialization points to the way young migrants go through another process of social adaptation after the first secondary socialization at school, peer groups or neighbourhood took place in their home countries (or a country of a previous residence).

Figure 1. Transnational Transitions' Determinants



Source: Popyk, 2021a, p. 9

In other words, the key socio-demographic characteristics and migration-related issues are paramount in examining which kind of transitions migrant children take part in, be it between cultures, between schools/school-types, or in terms of becoming a teenager (age-wise; see also Neale et al., 2017). These factors also define whether migrant children are located in one field (home of destination) or are emplaced between the spaces, both physical and social (Gardner & Mand, 2012).

This dissertation argues that some transnational transitions are always incomplete or in-flux in the super-diverse, transnational societies. Migrants are rarely utterly uprooted from their homes (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018), but are rather 'embedded in multi-layered multi-sited transnational social fields, encompassing those who move and those who stay behind' (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2004, p. 1003). As migrants continue active lives in their homelands, although living abroad (Faist, 2000), 'home' and 'away' can simultaneously become the same place (Gardner & Mand, 2012, p. 971) and the actual transitional shift might be obscured. Thus, in the era of globalization and transnationalism, the borders, on the one hand, stretch family and social ties across other states and continents, while, on the other hand, link

families with their homelands through the cross-border networks, institutions and communities (Jawor et al., 2020). Thus, taking into account rich transborder connections and activities, the movers become *transmigrants*, defined by Schiller et al. (1995) as 'immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state' (p. 48).

Migrant children also maintain the transborder lives not only through *embedding* (Ryan, 2018) in a destination country but also through keeping ties with friends, peers or kinship members in the home country or a place of the previous residency. Those cross-border ties are greatly affected by the various transnational practices (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007), such as visits, calls, social media contacts, and remittances, carried by migrant families (Baldassar et al., 2014; Licoppe, 2004; Madianou, 2016).

Some scholars, however, state that transnational practices are widely spread among first-generation immigrants and have little value for subsequent generations (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2015). Thus, migrants who moved relatively recently are more likely to keep string attachments to their home countries and kinships than those who have already rooted in a new society (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). For the latter group, transnational transitions might continue to be ongoing, experiencing accelerations, regressions and yo-yo effects in the adaptations to new societies, cultures, schools or peer groups (Haikkola, 2011; Moskal & Sime, 2016). Conversely, research indicates that children might also reject their ethnic and migration background and undergo a stark change when transitioning to a new society (Falicov, 2005). Besides, multiple studies (Darmody et al., 2016; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016; White et al., 2011) indicate that children are the active transborder actors and often become significant transborder channels for their families as being a reason for keeping transnational intergenerational ties (Slany & Strzemecka, 2016). The cross-border relationships and

connections help children and their emigrated family members to preserve their home country's traditions and culture through contact with kin members. Moreover, transborder practices of migrant children enrich *transnational grandchildhoods* (Souralová, 2019).

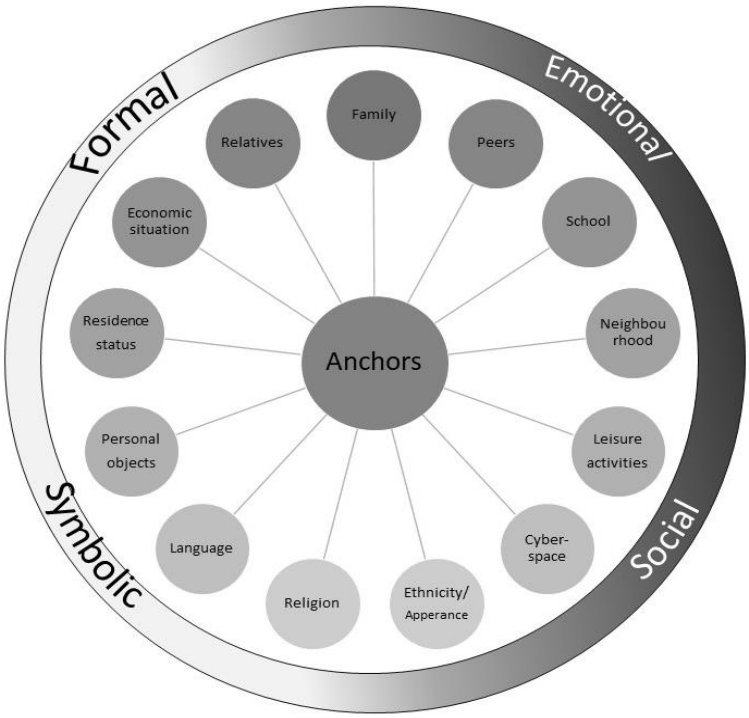
To evaluate the complex relations between the individual and society (social integration) Grzymała-Kazłowska (2013) introduced a notion of *social anchors*. A metaphor of an anchor is used to describe the footholds that connect migrants to a new society or a country of origin. Besides, 'social anchoring relates to the process of adjusting to a new socio-cultural environment and perceives immigrants as agents who seek security and stability' (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016, p. 1133). Some anchors can be transferred from the home country (un-anchored from home) while others are created in a destination one. Anchors are also temporally dynamic – a fact that connects them to transnational fields and practices that evolve over time. Oftentimes the migrants who have been in the destination country will have different – typically stronger – social anchors than the new arrivals (Trąbka & Pustulka, 2020). When migrants actively participate in home and host countries' social fields, the so-called parallel anchors can be set (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018).

The number and nature of the social anchors depend on multiple factors. For example, the common anchors of Polish emigrants in the UK are the following: work, which provides security and stability; children's schools and after-school activities, which are the ties to the local communities and society; neighbourhood, which provides some acquaintances and support; governmental and non-governmental institutions, to get help and socialize with other migrants; spiritual - church; leisure activities, that help to make some friends and share the hobbies; and some material objects, such as photographs or electronic devices, that give a sense of security (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018). To compare, Ukrainian adult immigrants in Poland present uncertainty and temporariness in their own decisions and choices. Despite the geographical proximity, cultural and language similarities, circular migrants face the

precarious situation in Poland and a lack of long plans. Those, however, who tend to stay in Poland set their footholds in various layers. The most common anchor appeared to be work that gives a sense of security, stability and belonging. The institutional environment in Poland also gives a foothold to those who met corruption and lack of transparent rule, problems with educational and medical systems in Ukraine. Another significant anchor is a stable legal status. Ukrainian migrants in Poland use to set parallel anchors, as they keep strong family and community ties across the border and greatly contribute to the social and civic inclusion into the Polish society (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Brzozowska, 2017).

The concept of social anchoring, however, has mainly been applied to study the conditions of grounded lives (Bygnes & Erdal, 2017) of adult migrants. Though taking into account the complexity and divergence of migrant children's transnational lives (Devine, 2009; Due et al., 2014; Haikkola, 2011; Moskal & Sime, 2016), it can be applied to the minors as well. The social anchors of migrant children range from places, objects, multiple socialization agents to certain symbols and regulations, which ensures the foothold, ad, thus, shape children's socialization process in a destination country (Moskal & Sime, 2016; Popyk, 2021b; Pustułka et al., 2016; Sime & Fox, 2015a; Slany & Pustułka, 2016; Souralová, 2019; Wærdahl, 2016; Wodak, 2011). The below Figure 2 illustrates the common social anchors of children growing up in transnational social fields (Levitt & Glick Shiller, 2004), which are divided into four groups: formal, symbolic, emotional and social.

Figure 2. Social Anchors of Migrant Children



Source: Own elaboration based on the concept of 'social anchoring' by Grzymała-Kazłowska (2015).

Socialization Process and Agents

The socialization process of children has itself been a contested term, which has largely changed along with the development of childhood studies and reconsidering the role of children in society (Corsaro & Fingerson, 2006; Qvortrup et al., 2009; Youniss, 1980). Socialization was primarily viewed as a synonym to the process of passive acculturation, which implied that

> […] children acquire the culture of the human groupings in which they find themselves. Children are not to be viewed as individuals fully equipped to participate in a complex adult world, but as beings who have the potential slowly brought into contact with human beings. (Ritchie & Kollar,1964, p. 117 as cited in James et al. 1998, p. 24)

Moving from the deterministic dominant framework (Lee, 2001), which perceived children as 'inadequate, incomplete and dependent' (Qvortrup et al., 2009, p. 37), Prout and James (1990) introduced a paradigm shift by presenting the constructivist model of

socialization. According to the new paradigm (Prout & James, 1997), the concept of children's socialization should perceive children not as 'a defective form of adult, social only in their future potential' but as a 'wider process through which the individual voices and presence of children are now being recognized and accounted for' (James et al., 1998, p. 6).

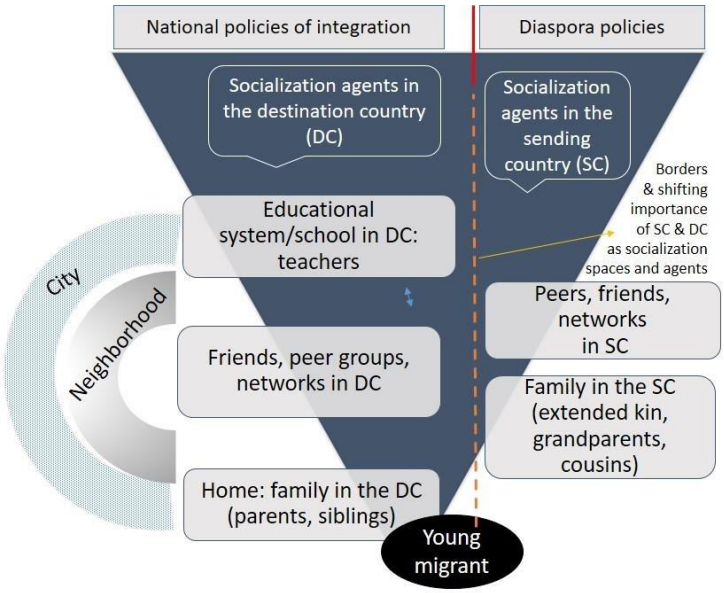
To compare, Gerald Handel (1988) in his book 'Childhood Socialization' wrote that socialization is a process 'by which a new-born organism is transformed into a social person, a person capable of interacting with others' (p. xi). Besides, the author pointed that:

> […] socialization is a process that is carried out by persons or organizations that may have official designations of agents of socialization or may be allowed to function as such an agent. They are agents in double sense of that term: (1) They act upon the child; and (2) they act on behalf of the larger society. (p.xi)

Handel (1988) defined three primary socialization agents (parents, school and peer groups), which are somewhat different in their nature, but 'overlap in their efforts and impact' (p. xi) in shaping the socialization process of children.

In the case of migrant children, the socialization process and the process of transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) is determined by multi-sited agents situated in different contexts: home, destination and cross-border. A broader scope of three levels (micro, mezzo and macro) socialization agents from home and destination countries was offered by Popyk et al. (2019) (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Spaces and Agents of Socialization "Here" and "There"



Source: Popyk et al., 2019, p. 248

The fundamental micro-level includes socialization agents such as immediate family members. Family, namely parents and siblings, has a significant role in the sociocultural development of the child. It ensures primary socialization through teaching primary social relationships and skills (Handel, 2006). Moreover, migrant families greatly affect transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) of migrant children (Slany et al., 2016; Ślusarczyk et al., 2018) through introducing a child to a host society with its norms and patterns (Nowicka, 2014). Additionally, parents transfer the primary abilities and cognitive skills required for sociocultural adaptation (Zuccotti, 2015). The other micro-level socialization agents are siblings, the role of whom is under-researched in migration studies more broadly. Though the existing literature points to the importance of brothers and sisters, particularly in educational needs when parents are not able to support their children's school transition (Moguérou & Santelli, 2015) due to the lack of time or skills (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). What's more, siblings play a great role in entering a new school environment in the destination country as embodying familiarity, and, thus, a sense of security

and control (Margetts, 2005), where migrant children experience the transition from familiar to unfamiliar people, place, curricular, norms and values.

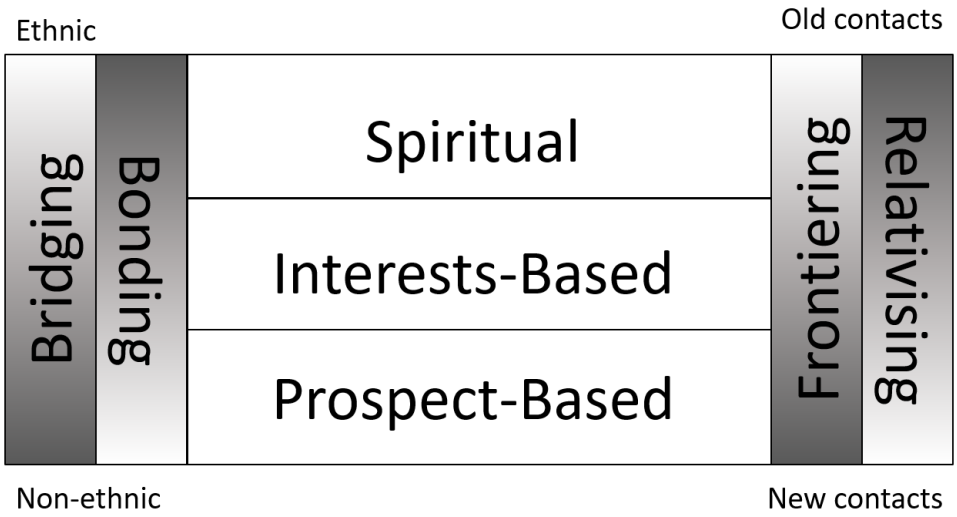
Popyk et al. (2019) also pointed to the significance of the meso level socialization agents, settled within the extended family members, friends, peer groups and networks. The role of peers in the socialization process of migrant children varies across ages. While younger children still need much support and care from their parents and relatives, adolescents benefit most from their peers and seek their support and recognition (Vandell, 2000). Some studies (Obradovic et al., 2013; Vandell, 2000) suggest that peers back migrant children and adolescents' motivation to attend school, supporting the developmental formation of personality through group socialization. Besides, the studies show that the young migrants with stronger friendship ties have better mental health and lower depression levels (Obradovic et al., 2013). Participation in peer groups is important for sharing and learning language, culture, norms and traditions. Peer cultures provide the young migrants with positive emotions and feelings of security in times of transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019), which contributes to the formation of social identity and a sense of belonging (Corsaro & Eder, 1990).

Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) proposed two terms, *frontiering* and *relativizing*, which can be used to understand the channels of socialization in transnational families. The first one refers to the process of creating new connections and fields, while the second one means establishing and maintaining the existing ties across the transnational social spaces. Relativizing also defines the variety of ways migrant children cultivate relationships with their kins. Migrants consciously or unconsciously decide the extent of their transnational socialization in the host society through contacting fellow immigrants and hosts, or compatriots abroad. They also find various mechanisms of frontiering and relativizing.

Another concept of establishing social contacts was developed by Putnam (2000), who underlined that the social interactions are mostly based on establishing contacts with either own ethnic and national community or among the members of other ethnic groups, and, as a result, enriching *bonding* and *bridging* social capitals (Putnam, 2000).

The socialization process of migrant children is based on various socialization strategies, namely spiritual, interests-based and prospect-based (Popyk, 2021b), applied to the new and old contacts among own ethnic groups and across different ethnic communities, as illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Peer Socialization Strategies of Migrant Children



Source: Own elaboration based on Popyk, 2021b; Putnam, 2000 and Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002

In case of inability to maintain the bonding social capital with the members of the ethnic community, nor bridging social capital with the natives, migrants tend to seek social ties with the alike individuals or groups e.g. those of sharing similar experiences, emotional needs, hobbies or plans (ibid).

The immediate source of the whole family's inclusion in a new country spans immigrant children's schools and school activities (Ślusarczyk & Pustułka, 2016). After-school and leisure activities, participation in the neighbourhood and local communities also

become spaces to establish the networks and uphold the transition and socialization process (Darmody et al., 2016; Portes & Rivas, 2011; Sime & Fox, 2015b; Strzemecka, 2015).

Notwithstanding, the most common meso level agent, revealed in the contemporary migration and childhood studies is school (Amadasi, 2014; Iglicka, 2017; Kościółek, 2020; Pustułka et al., 2016; Reynolds, 2007; Ryan & Sales, 2013; Silbereisen & Titzmann, 2007; Strzemecka, 2015). That's because school is the first institution children need to face during transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) and is the 'first complex and unknown labyrinth' (Nowicka, 2014) that children need to come through. Moreover, school is where migrant children 'come into systemic contact with the new culture' (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 3). Thus, secondary socialization takes place at schools, where children spend most of their time outside the home, and learn social roles and norms, and carve the path of future well-being and functioning in that society (Nowicka, 2014; Slany & Pustułka, 2016).

For migrant children school can become a place of inclusion and facilitated transitions, as well as a place of marginalization. Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (2001) pointed that contemporary schools struggle to support migrant children because of overwhelmed teachers, overcrowded and hyper-segregated classes, limited and outdated resources, and other 'decaying infrastructures' (p. 2). Moreover, the authors indicate that migrant children come to a new country full of positive attitude and enthusiasm, which becomes a valuable resource and has to be cultivated, but are exposed to 'negative social mirroring' (p. 2), and can be '"locked-out" of opportunities for better tomorrow' (p.3). Besides, vivid discrimination (personal, cultural, religious, etc.) at school negatively affects children's well-being and prologues the adjustment process (Vandell, 2000). The latter has also been demonstrated in the Polish context in terms of schools being ill-prepared and prone to discriminatory practices (Grzymała-Moszczyńska et al., 2015; Kościółek, 2020).

To ensure facilitated adaptation, some migrant parents assign children to private or international schools, with greater multicultural and multi-ethnic composition. Though, no matter what type of school, private or public, parents choose, each child faces hardships in foreign language learning (Czerniejewska, 2014), which can be emotionally and psychologically overwhelming. Thus, to be able to communicate the native language, and share similar experiences and values, migrant children often end up in peer groups based on *ethnic homophily* (Titzmann, 2014). While such groups might be sites of comfort and belonging, they can also lead to exclusion from native and other peer groups, effectively diminishing the motivation to learn the new culture, language and – by extension – to do well in school and participate in the destination society. Ethnic groups are largely based on speaking the same language, which helps to maintain language socialization and is a part of the peer socialization process (Kyratzis & Goodwin, 2017). Hence, language to a large extent shapes children's socialization process, as it is an essential tool, which authorises migrants and non-migrants to be included in/excluded from certain spaces and places (Moskal & Sime, 2016; Wodak, 2011), particularly the ones that ensure peer contacts.

Language issues, together with cultural differences, have been also out of the most common issues brought up in the Polish discourse on educating migrant children. The low level of Polish language skills of migrant children qualified them as "disadvantaged" for the national schools because language incompetence causes hardships for teachers to educate and communicate with foreign pupils (Grzymała-Moszczyńska & Trąbka, 2014; Iglicka, 2017; Nowicka, 2014). Besides, language is seen as an obstacle in solving the cultural, education or pedagogical problems with children (Błeszyńska, 2010), who tend to cause 'specific problems' (Nowicka & Połeć, 2005, p. 31). Moreover, language differences s one of the most common problems that enables contact with migrant children's parents, who are, on one side, feel excluded from school life, while, on the other, prefer to remain "invisible" to avoid being

judged and pointed out for their insufficient foreign language skills (Deslandes et al., 2012; García-Sánchez & Nazimova, 2017; Wærdahl, 2016).

Among other challenges brought by the growing number of foreign children in Polish schools, noted by the educators and pedagogues, was the insufficient methodological and technical support for intercultural education and pedagogy (Iglicka, 2017; Kusio, 2013; Szelewa, 2010; Torovska, 2016). Despite increased financial support of the Polish Government on educating return and foreign-born children, in 2020, the principles of 24 Polish schools disregarded the legal procedure concerning migrant children on the following issues:

(1) Did not follow the procedure on admitting migrant children to schools;

(2) Did not follow the rules on organizing additional Polish language and remedial classes in other subjects;

(3) Did not provide foreign children with psychological and pedagogical support appropriate to their needs;

(4) Did not follow the procedures for adjusting the conditions and/or forms of taking external examinations to the needs of migrant pupils;

(5) Did not support teachers' professional development aimed to improve skills of working with students coming from abroad;

(6) Did not provide necessary integration of migrant children (based on the report of Supreme Audit Office, 2020).

It is worth saying, however, that along with the growth of multicultural classes in Poland, teachers started to note the positive aspects of the presence of migrant children in their schools. The outcomes of recent research, MiCreate, (Bulandra et al. 2019) which was held at some Polish schools, demonstrated that multiculturalism can be perceived as an asset for Polish teachers and pupils. 'Mutual merging' (p.18) of the cultures supports native

children's openness to the new cultural knowledge and traditions. Besides, migrant children often are described by the teachers as hard-working and enthusiastic. This inspires the natives to be more motivated to perform better at school. Similarly, through getting into the cultural conflicts, both native and migrant children learn to solve those problems and seek negotiations (Bulandra et al. 2019).

The MiCreate research illustrated the shift of ethnocentric Polish schools towards culturally diverse and tolerant teachers, which also projects to the slight changes in immigration perspectives in Polish society (Okólski & Wach, 2020). Yet, still, those research projects rather investigate the Polish schools' and communities perspectives than concentrate on migrant children, their migration experiences and socialization process.

Consequently, an overview of the existing research in the Polish scholarship (Błeszyńska, 2010; Bulandra et al. 2019; Głowacka-Grajper, 2006; Nowicka & Połeć, 2005) proves that most of the efforts are invested into investigating the matters of the macro-national perspective, where '[migrant] children and youngsters are seen as objects of the systemic action carried out by schools as institutions responsible for nationally-conceived socialization' (Popyk et al., 2019). At the same time, peer socialization has been greatly overlooked in the academic, political, economic and media discourse in Poland (see Popyk & Buler, 2018) despite being a popular topic of the migration scholarship abroad (Darmody & Smyth, 2017; Deslandes et al., 2012; Devine, 2009; Silbereisen & Titzmann, 2007; Strzemecka, 2015).

Apart from the primary socialization agents, Gerald Handel (1988) pointed to two agents, media and religion, which have a decisive impact on the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019). Along with the development of the ICTs (information and communication technologies), media became a tool that facilitates the migration decision, process and coping with challenges during the transnational transitions (Grabowska et al.,

2017; Pustułka et al., 2018). Devices and social media take up a vital part of migrants' lives (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012), and have become not only the communication channel but also mightily 'transform the nature of [migrants'] networks and thereby facilitate migration' (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012, p. 2). Besides, social media usage involves migrants in virtual communities and have a great impact on the socialization process. Young migrants, as well as adults, frequently use devices for many purposes: search the information, contact peers, friends and relatives or inform others about their lives. Thus, through the media practices, migrants seek support and enrich their social capital (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012). In the era of digitalization, migrants are likely to create virtual transnational communities (Komito, 2011). This, on the one hand, can smooth the emigration experiences, while on the other, tend to slow down the process of integration in a host country. This happens when the virtual communication with migrants, residing in different countries, encourage 'continual movement of migrants from one society to another' (Komito, 2011, p. 1075; King & Wood, 2001). As a consequence, migrants are likely to perceive the country of present residency as a transition state (Nikolova & Graham, 2014).

Another impact of the perpetual use of social media and participation in virtual communities is shaping migrant children's sense of belonging and identities (Pustułka, 2015; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016). The children's identities, on one side, are negotiated through the relationships with the family members, peers or other significant kinship members on distance. Whereas, on the other, through the non-verbal virtual communication and use of social media to build the social and *digital identity* (Warburton & Hatzipanagos, 2012).

Media, however, as a socialization agent, not only facilitates the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) but is also likely to become a barrier, as the information, presented in various types of media, shapes the migration process through building opinions, stereotypes and attitudes towards migrants (Perez-Felkner, 2013). Tahseen

Shams (2020) demonstrated that the migration experiences depend on the attitude towards the immigrants not only in the destination country but also by the stereotypes created *elsewhere*, particularly if the third country has the power to control the world's media. The author used an example of the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York, the USA, to showcase how the elsewhere conflict involving Muslim people, and following media discussion, caused the growing negative attitude towards Muslims all over the world for decades.

Similarly, Jawor et al. (2020) pointed that xenophobic treatment towards the Ukrainian migrants in Poland after 2014 had been largely based on the image of Ukrainians and Ukraine in media, associated primarily with the poor economy, politics, and bribes. Moreover, the discussions about the Ukrainian-Polish historical events and disputes have been amplified through the media in Poland, which, as a consequence, escalates the xenophobia towards the Ukrainian migrants in Poland. Hence, the recent growth of the immigrant and refugee movement in Europe and Poland induced an increase in racial and xenophobic phenomena not only among adults but also students (Gawron, 2016) and schoolchildren (Popyk, 2021c).

The role of media and digital devices among schoolchildren grew along with the COVID-19 pandemic spread. School closure and distance learning required the rapid increase of ICTs use among children. Besides, because of the following mobility restrictions, digital devices and the Internet also became the primary tools for learning (Borkowski et al., 2021; Markowska-Manista & Zakrzewska-Olędzka, 2020) and maintaining social life (Winther et al., 2020). Though, for migrant families, distance learning turned into a source for growing social and educational inequalities (Abuhammad, 2020; Doyle, 2020; Engzell et al., 2021; Gornik et al., 2020), as well as the growth of cyberbullying (Jain et al., 2020) and social exclusion (Popyk, 2021b). Finally, social media and ICTs have been the main tool for

transborder communication and care due to the immobility regime (Brandhorst et al., 2020; Merla et al., 2020), which led to loosening transnational intergenerational communication and relationships (Popyk & Pustułka, 2021).

As a result, the COVID pandemic, and following distance learning and mobility restrictions, altered additional factors which shape transnational transitions of migrant children in the uncertain and liquid times (Bauman, 2000).

The final socialization agent mentioned by Handel (1988), is religion. Migrant children tend to utilize religion not only as a part of their culture but also as a 'path toward greater social integration' (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p.141). Arriving in a new country, immigrants are likely to turn to their religious communities in search of support and building networks (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2015). Religion does not only link home and host countries (Martes & Rodriguez, 2002) but also emplace migrants in the global religious movements and unites them with the other followers of the same religion around the world (Marquardt, 2005). Thus, religious networks and organizations become essential for children's religious socialization (Sherkat, 2003) and building social capitals (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000).

Besides, the migrant children's *inherit religion* (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007), religious orientations and practices determine not only the religious socialization but also gender and cultural identities (Castells, 2010; Nelsen & Rizvi, 1984; Ramji, 2007). Consequently, religion and religiosity affect peer socialization and relationships. Moreover, religion shapes children's educational attainment (Alrashidi & Alanezi, 2020; Sherkat, 2003) as it determines the child-adult (e.g. student-teacher) relationships.

Nevertheless, when home and destination countries greatly differ in terms of region and culture, it may lead to the values' discrepancy and antagonistic groups of 'us' and 'them' (Wodak, 2011). Different religion causes a feeling of *otherness* (Castells, 2010) in a new society (Wærdahl, 2016). This, as a consequence, may impede the transnational transitions of

migrant children because religion regulates the everyday practices, food or clothes choice, etc. (see also Popyk, 2021c).

Contested Belonging and Identities of Migrant Children

Various socialization agents not only shape the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) of migrant children but also affect the formation of identity and sense of belonging (Aitchison et al., 2008; Cuervo & Wyn, 2017; Gilmartin, 2008; Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011; Ni Laoire et al., 2008; Pawlak & Goździak, 2019). The process of the belonging formation is complex and *contested* (Davis et al., 2018) because of its fluid nature (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011), which illustrates that it is an individual and durable process. Moreover, the building of an individual's footholds does not 'proceed in a clear, linear way … [but rather with] messy, complex and often contradictory attachments' (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011, p. 47) reminiscent of a *nonreplicable rhizome* (Gabi, 2013, p. 89).

As belonging is quite a contested term, which is 'symbiotically connected' to the notion of 'identity' (Anthias, 2008, p. 7), it is often undertheorized and underinterpreted (Mahar et al., 2013). Floya Anthias (2008) pointed to the differences between searching the answers to the questions of 'Who Am I?' (pointing to one's identity) and 'Where do I belong to?' (defining sense of belonging). The author endeavoured to define a sense of belonging as follows:

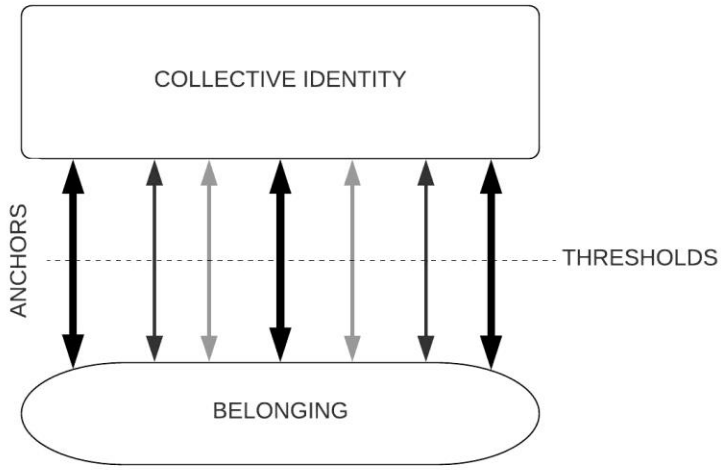
> Belonging is about both formal and informal experiences of belonging. Belonging is not just about membership, rights and duties, as in the case of citizenship, or just about forms of identification with groups or others, but it is also about the social places constructed by such identifications and memberships and the ways in which social place has resonances on stability of the self, on feelings of being part of a larger whole and the emotional and social bonds that are related to such places. (p.8)

Similarly, Marek Pawlak and Elżbieta Goździak (2019) presented an analytical concept of belonging while studying the social class and gendered identities of Polish migrants in Norway. The authors stated that belonging does not mean the sense of attachment to somewhere or someone but 'includes a meaningful relation, which gives a sense of a security, familiarity, and the feeling of being in the right place' (p. 78). Hence, the belonging formation can be viewed as a process based on building links and associations with certain groups of people, objects, or places, substantial for satisfying one's physiological, psychological, emotional and social needs, through practices, routines and habits. The sense of regularity and familiarity of the young migrants is disrupted along with a discontinuous nature of the settings and environment when a child is uprooted from the usual spaces and is emplaced into the new obscure ones as a result of transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

While doing the migration research, the scholars often focus on the economic, political or human rights aspects of the migration process, and leave the issues of belonging and identity as peripheral facets. Though, belonging is one of the essential needs, apart from the physiological and safety ones, of people (Maslow, 1970), which is particularly meaningful in the context of transnational migration (Amadasi, 2014; Pustułka et al., 2016; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). That's because the attachment ties tend to span (or even break) across the borders and lead to the development of *translocational* (Anthias, 2007), and even *multilocational* (Ghorashi, 2003) belongings because people can identify with multiple groups, nations, and cultures, and establish ties with different places and communities (Davis et al., 2018). Those attachment ties, however, can have different meanings and strengths, varying from the weak to strong connections (Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2011). Though, both of them are important in building one's sense of belonging.

Although a sense of belonging is mostly developed by the mechanism of the cumulation of positive experiences (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011), it is not always possible. In such a complex process, formal and informal barriers to inclusion, or so-called 'thresholds', are likely to cause exclusion (ibid) and lead to discrimination (Wodak, 2011). Among the common thresholds are the barriers to acquiring residence status or citizenship and being discriminated against because of coming from a specific background (e.g. country, culture or religion) (ibid). In addition, migrants are likely to face language, cultural or racial barriers (Ni Laoire et al., 2016) in constructing anchors in a new society/culture. The in/exclusion is also driven by the identity markers constructed in the society, the major of which are language, race, religion, clothing and social class (Hout et al., 2014). Figure 5, adopted from the concepts of Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011 and Grzymała-Kazłowska (2015), illustrates the weak and strong ties (anchors), distracted by various thresholds, link the personal sense of belonging to the collective identities of the majority group in a destination country.

Figure 5. Weak and Strong Attachments to the Collective Identity



Source: Own elaboration based on the concept of weak and strong ties and thresholds (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011)

Apart from the external markers, the fundamental issue in children's belonging formation is familiarity which ensures a feeling of safety and ontological security (Giddens, 1991), as well as reinforces children's social development (James & Prout, 2015; Youniss, 1980). This sense of security depends on the migrant's needs and contexts, and can vary from the stability of a residence status (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011), family's economic stability (Sime, 2018) to ensuring peer acceptance and social inclusion (Holland, 2009; Tereshchenko & Araújo, 2011).

Understanding the complexity of the phenomenon of belonging requires looking at the relational term of 'identity'. The individual and collective identities (Bokszański, 2005) formation is primarily based on the associations with certain people, objects and places, which ensure a feeling of attachment (belonging). Searching for the answer to the question of 'Who am I?' is an integrated part of the social development of the individuals. Though, identity issues become particularly accentuated in the context of migration experiences and transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019), due to the clash of the identity reference points, such as nation, culture, society, geography, or even climate (Kempf & Hermann, 2014).

In case of the significant discrepancy between home and destination country contexts, and the following non-straightforward transitions can lead to the appearance of the *mix* (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2015), *dual* (Perez-Felkner, 2013) and *liquid* (Juszczyk-Rygałło, 2016) children's identities. The uncertainty of being here and/or there caused by the transborder lives of migrant children (as illustrated by Slany and Strzemecka (2016) on the basis of studying Polish children in Norway), resulted in developing *bivalent* and *ambivalent* national identities. What's more, multiple migration experiences in childhood are likely to cause the appearance of *chameleon identity* (Choudhry, 2010), accompanied by hardships in 'keeping constant and integrate identity' (Trąbka, 2014, p. 100).

The national identity anticipates the *territorial identity* (Madsen & van Naerssen, 2003) and sense of *place attachment* (Fog Olwig & Gulløv, 2003), which are also 'fundamental anchors of belonging' (Castells, 2010, p. xxii). Migrants' participation in various local networks, such as non-government institutions, shops, religious institutions is important in everyday life as they may provide the necessary information about housing, employment and other needs (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018, Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). Moreover, within time, *place dependence* and *discovering* lead to the formation of *place identity* (Trąbka, 2019) and tightening the territorial bonds. For migrant children, the place identity and attachment are fundamental in ensuring the feeling of place familiarity and feeling safe, which reinforces the children's agency in negotiating own independence and autonomy in place discovering and spending time outside alone or with peers (Haikkola, 2011).

On that account, place attachment defines migrants' feeling of *place-belongingness*, in the meaning of being 'at home'. It indicates that 'home' stands for migrants' feeling comfortable, secure and attached to a certain place over time. A young migrant may belong to multiple physical and social places, such as household, peer groups, school, community, city and nation in the host country, home country and cross-border communities (Antonsich, 2010; Pawlak & Goździak, 2019). This multi-level attachment acknowledges that migrants' belonging is a multi-scalar (Hout et al., 2014) and multi-sited concept. Antonsich (2010) also stated that the sense of place-belongingness is framed by five factors: auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic, and legal. The auto-biographical factor relates to the children's experiences, background, relationships and memories. The relational factors, which refers to the social ties which children establish in a new society, demonstrate the level of inclusion or exclusion from a certain social group. Among the cultural factors, the ones that have a prominent and direct influence on the sense of feeling 'at home', is language and familiar

cultural norms. Economic factors indicate that migrants seek to provide 'a safe and stable material condition for the individual and her/his family' (Antonsich, 2010, p. 10). While the legal factors concern the legal stay and resident permits of the migrants in a host country. In the case of migrant children, the last two factors are rather the matters of their parents/families. Besides, when migrant children are integrated by parents and diasporic communities and maintain strong roots in a country of origin, they never become fully integrated with a society of a destination country, thus, the home country remains their 'true place of belonging' (Fog Olwig, 2003, p. 219). On the contrary, when children are fully integrated and socialized in their place of residence, they are likely to experience a shift of national belonging.

The socio-spatial inclusions/exclusions refer to the other analytical dimension of belonging, the *politics of belonging* (Antonsich, 2010; Huot et al., 2014; Yuval-Davis, 2006). It indicates that a sense of belonging is formed through the relations with others and the level of participation in society. Moreover, it is influenced by individual and collective practices and one's inclusion or exclusion from a place (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011).

An important thing in social inclusion is exercising own agency and active participation in own transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019). The issue of children's agency in the migration studies, however, has been commonly underestimated, as children are often perceived as a passive and vulnerable group (see also Lähdesmäki et al., 2016; Thompson et al., 2019; White et al., 2011). Some scholars (Clark, 2017; A. James, 2007; Mayall, 2000; Prout & James, 1997; Qvortrup et al., 2009), however, proved that children are the competent social actors and actively create the social world (Punch, 2000). Children can take an active part in the migration decision-making (White et al., 2011), negotiate spatial autonomy (Fog Olwig & Gulløv, 2003; Punch, 2000) and actively maintain family and peer relationships (Huijsmans, 2011; Ni Laoire et al., 2008; Sime & Fox, 2015b;

Thompson et al., 2019). Consequently, migrant children have a significant impact on the processes of socialization. Moreover, children do not exercise the inherited sense of belonging and identity, but rather actively construe and negotiate their formation.

To sum up, the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) and the formation of a sense of belonging of migrant children are complex and burdensome processes that are shaped by multiple socialization agents (Popyk et al., 2019) and various socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion factors (Antonsich, 2010; Popyk, 2021a). The cross-border transitions of migrant children are constructed not only by the macro level factors, including politics, policy, or economy (Castells et al., 2009; De Haas, 2011; Gilmartin, 2008; Grabowska, 2014), grounded in the home or destination countries, but also by multiple meso level aspects, such as the role of community, neighbourhood or peers (Darmody & Smyth, 2017; Deslandes et al., 2012; Popyk, 2021b; Ryan, 2011; Silbereisen & Titzmann, 2007; Strzemecka, 2015; Wærdahl, 2016), and multiple micro level elements, e.g. (Bryceson, 2019; Sime, 2018; Slany et al., 2016; Sullivan, 2007). Besides, the nature of children's transitions from one setting to other conditions the formation of a sense of belonging and identity (Amadasi, 2014; Anthias, 2008; Gilmartin, 2008; Huot et al., 2014; Ni Laoire et al., 2008; Pawlak & Goździak, 2020; Sime & Fox, 2015; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016; White et al., 2011; Wodak, 2011).

Conclusively, Introduction and the Literature Review part provided an overview of major themes in migration and childhood, which cover the issues of children's migration, transnational childhood, transnational transitions and formation of a sense of belonging. This chapters present the overseas studies on transnational childhood, as well as those concerning Polish migrant children abroad and left behind by the migrant parents. It also points to the significance of studying migrant children's lives in a homogeneous society and diminishing the vulnerability through providing children with a chance to give voices and be heard as the active agents of socialization.

PART II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

At the heart of interviewing research
is an interest in other individuals'
stories because they are of worth.
(Seidman, 2006, p. 9)

In this part, I describe the process which led and organized researching the lives of young migrants in Poland, with a focus on the children's transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) and the process of formation of a sense of belonging affected by the migration experience. Similarly to the entangled biographies of migrant children, this study faced multiple impediments, both individual and force majeure (like the COVID-19 pandemic), which ultimately shaped the study's methodology.

This research project started with my personal interest in migrant children's lives, which is described in the prologue, and was followed by an endeavour to seek the answers on the characteristics and paths of the children's migration experience and the process of belonging formation through conducting sociological research. Before preparing this study, I took maximum rationale into account in order to compare the potential benefits and significance of the research process and findings with the possible intrusion of the participants' and inclusion costs (Iphofen and Tolich, 2018).

The study of transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019), the socialization process and the process of belonging formation of migrant children were based on the qualitative research paradigm. The project resulted in 49 interviews in total: 20 interviews with children, 19 interviews with their parents (because two of the young respondents were siblings), and 10 interviews with the teachers. 47 out of 49 interviews were conducted online due to the restrictions on doing the research involving people included in the University SWPS Rector's Ordinance of March 18th 2020 No. 19/2020. This decree suspended face-to-

face research with direct participation of people, advising for adopting and devising specific solutions related to the prevention of COVID-19.

As the whole process of the scientific research involving humans, particularly vulnerable groups, anticipates the careful ethical considerations, I begin the first chapter, **Research Design**, of this part with the section of **Qualitative Research Ethics** and **Ethical Considerations in Qualitative Research Involving Children.** The following section, **Multiplex Methodology**, consists of four subsections. The first one. *Qualitative Research Paradigm,* presents the advantages, hindrances and disadvantages of the qualitative research methods choice. The second subsection, *Interview Interviewing in Migration Studies*, encloses the benefits and costs of using interviews as a research tool in cross-cultural research. Besides, this section also presents the conditions of conducting cross-cultural interviews with children (*Qualitative Research with Migrant Children*) and the specificity of the research conducted online (*Online Qualitative Research with Children*).

The third section of this part, **Planning and Designing Qualitative Interviewing,** encloses the overview of *Sampling and Recruitment Strategies* and *Qualitative Data Analysis* methods, techniques and tools.

The chapter ends with pointing and featuring no less important concerns in cross-cultural research project (**Cross-Cultural Research Considerations)**, namely the use of language and transactions during the study and analysis (*Language and Translation Issues in Cross-Cultural Research*), and the researcher' positionality (*Researchers Positionality in Child-Centred Cross-Cultural Research).*

Chapter 2, **Research Process**, describes the preparation of the research (**Qualitative Research Paradigm and Context**), including the stage of planning the research (**Planning CHILDTRAN Research Project**) and completing the interview guide, (*Interview Guide Preparation and COVID-19 Pandemic Modification*). Besides, this section also includes a

description of the recruitment process (*Recruitment Procedure*). The following two sections characterize the participants of the research (**Participants' Characteristics**) and the process of conducting interviews with all three groups of respondents (*Children*, *Parents* and *Teachers*). The following part describes the process and ethical issues of conducting interviews and **Data Analysis** approaches methods and techniques; and **Ethical Considerations in the CHILDTRAN Project**.

Chapter 2, ends with two sections, which reveal the **Ethical Considerations in Practice** and **Cross-Cultural Research Consideration**. The last includes the language and positionality issues in CHILDTRAN project.

CHAPTER I. RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative Research Ethics

Each research, which involves human beings, is required to account for ethical considerations. Reflections on ethics should be present at every stage of the study, from planning the research and choosing research methods, to disseminating the outcomes or introducing the implications (Iphofen and Tolich, 2018; Morrow & Richards, 1996; Punch, 2002; Seidman, 2006). Moreover, it is considered by the United Nations that every research should be conducted with the respect (United Nations, 1990) to 'the person, knowledge, democratic values, quality of the research and academic freedom'. Additionally, each participant must be treated 'fairly, sensitively, with dignity [...] free from prejudice regardless age, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, cultural identity, partnership status, faith, disability, political belief or any other significant differences' (BERA, 2018, p. 6). Hence, each research should be value-free (Iphofen and Tolich, 2018). Moreover, the study must be conducted by a person, who possesses the necessary knowledge and skills for it and acts in the interest of the discipline (Polish Sociological Association, 2012).

The research with vulnerable groups, such as children, migrants, refugees, etc., requires special sensitivity and preparation (Christensen & Prout, 2002; Morrow & Richards, 1996; Seidman, 2006). The ethics of the study with children and adults should anticipate a number of aspects. Morrow (2009) and Punch (2002) delineated the following issues of the research with migrant children and adults:

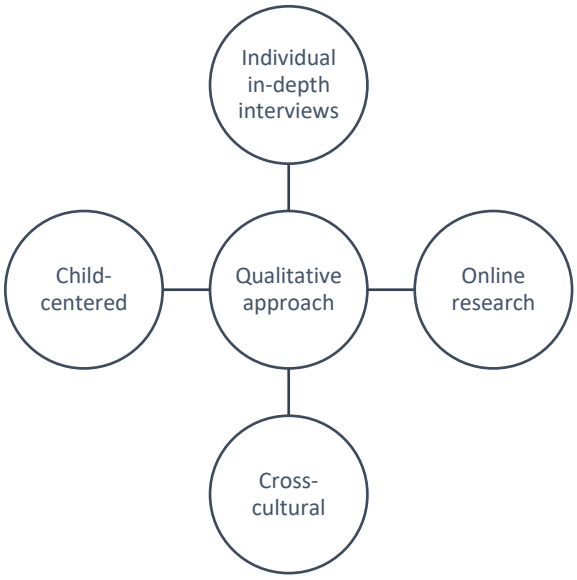
1. Methods' choice
2. Seeking the research ethics approval
3. Following participants rights
4. Participants' consent/assent
5. Use of the third parties (e.g. translators).
6. Compensation or rewards

7. Data storage and analysis
8. Reciprocity.

It is also worth adding to the list the ethical considerations of the researcher's positionality, *subjectivity* (Seidman, 2006), at every stage of the scientific study.

The following sections disclose the ethical and methodological issues of this research (presented in Figure 6), including ethical considerations of the research with migrant children, which constitute the ground for planning research with vulnerable groups; the research methods and tools choice; child-centred approach scrutiny; considerations of the study conducted online and cross-cultural research considerations.

Figure 6. CHILDTRAN Project's Research Methodology



Source: Own elaboration

Ethical Considerations in Qualitative Research Involving Children

Migrant children are a group of particularly vulnerable respondents (Due et al., 2014; Fargas-Malet et al., 2010; Graham et al., 2015; Macdonald, 2013; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). Hence, the researchers should show special sensitivity while preparing, conducting and analysing the research. To prepare for the study, one may rely on the practices and the guidelines for researching humans prepared by the United Nations (UN), British Sociological Association

(BSA), British Educational Research Association (BERA), University College London (UCL), Social Research Association (SRA), UNICEF Office of Research, National Children's Bureau Research Centre (NCBRC), or Polish Sociological Association (PSA). These guidelines provide the researchers with the obligatory steps that should be taken before planning and conducting the study involving human participants. Most of the guidelines, approved by the ethics committees and sociological associations, are based on the set of moral principles and rules for researching with human subjects, which are aimed to help researchers, especially those early-career ones, to prepare and conduct the inquiry efficiently and respectfully. Besides, the other purpose is to make researchers being aware of the potential harm and risk during and after the study (Iphofen & Tolich, 2018; Morrow & Richards, 1996). This is particularly relevant to the children's participation, which is strictly delineated by the National Children's Bureau and University College London. It stresses that children may participate in research exclusively in case of a direct benefit and well-being. Additionally, if their participation is required to be fundamental in answering the research questions. The researcher should prepare the relevant techniques and tools, gain parents' consent and child's assent, and provide physical, emotional and psychological safety (Shaw et al., 2011).

The research preparation guidelines (e.g. Graham et al., 2015; Morrow, 2009) provide advice on the choice of the method, preparation for the research, inducing interview/ observation guide preparation, setting time and space conditions, acquiring informed consent/assent, ethical issues of holding research with children and possible ways of alleviating harm, researchers positionality and study reciprocity, as well as data storage and analysis.

First of all, before arranging a study, which involves people not only as passive objects but also as active subjects, the planned research should be approved by the relevant

ethics committee. The application should comprise the information about the content, aim, time, date, methods, potential risks and harms, way of storing the documentation and the results, as well as the dissemination of the outcomes (Social Research Association, 2002, Seidman 2006).

Another important issue of researching with schoolchildren is setting time and place. School is often chosen as a neutral, but familiar territory. Though researchers may face hindrance in researching school because of lack of support from educational institutions, timetable collision, lack of a spare room for the researcher, difficulties in accessing parents for acquiring the informed consent, or lowered confidentiality (Due et al., 2014; Fargas-Malet et al., 2010; Greene & Hogan, 2011), Besides, the research cannot be held at school during its closure, e.g. holidays, or lockdown, like it, happened during the COVID-19 pandemic spread.

An alternative common place for conducting the qualitative study with children is the respondents' homes, where children feel the most comfort by receiving guests, not being a guest (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016). Research at children's homes, however, might be more required for the researchers because

> [F]amilies' homes are heterogeneous spaces and that gaining access to, and researching with, children in their homes may mean that researchers have to constantly negotiate their ethical stance, particularly in relation to gatekeeping, gaining children's informed consent, paying children for their participation and ensuring their confidentiality. (Bushin, 2007, p. 248)

Hence, the researcher should make a decision on temporal and special issues of research taking into account both, the participants and researchers', respect and comfort (Iphofen & Tolich, 2018; Jawor et al. 2020).

The following significant aspect is getting voluntary informed consent, which is an obligatory condition before starting the study. The consent should be written in a clear, unambiguous and comprehensible way, additionally, translated if needed and explained

orally. Moreover, each participant should provide it freely without any duress. One of the parts of the consent should include information about the participant's rights, by mentioning which, the researcher can "minimalize the risks" (Seidman, 2006) of vulnerability and assure the participant by informing about the right to stop the interview or withdraw for no reason at any moment without any consequences (Morrow, 2009). The participants should be also informed of the right of reviewing and withholding the interview materials (Seidman, 2006). The refusal to participate, however, 'cannot be prejudicial to the participant [especially] if the researcher is researching in the classroom, students (and their parents)' (Seidman, 2006, p. 65; see also Graham et al., 2015; Lisek-Michalska, 2012; Shaw et al., 2011).

It is worth mentioning, that the consent form must be signed by both the respondents and the researcher, provide a copy for each party (Seidman, 2006). The respondents should have a glance at the signed document, which includes the contact details of the researcher (British Educational Research Association [BERA], 2018; Lisek-Michalska, 2012). If the research procedure includes children's participation, the written approval is given by their parents or official guardians. Children could provide an assent, which must be presented using adjusted language (Seidman, 2006), in an oral form. It is advisable, though, to have a recording of the child's assent to participate (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010).

On that account, British Educational Research Association states that:

> In the case of participants whose capacity, age or other vulnerable circumstance may limit the extent to which they can be expected to understand or agree voluntarily to participate, researchers should fully explore ways in which they can be supported to participate with assent in the research (British Educational Research Association [BERA], 2018, p. 15).

Another point, which should be both stated in the consent form and followed throughout the study, is participants' right to privacy (Seidman, 2006) in the meaning of 'take[ing] all reasonable precautions to avoid identification' (British Educational Research

Association [BERA], 2018, p. 23). All the data from research should be kept out of access by unauthorized people. The researcher should explain the way of storing and using the results, as well as provide the list of people who may have access to the data before the participants sign their consent. Each research should protect the interest of the participants. In case of feeling a lack of anonymity, the interview may be stopped or postponed (see Shaw et al., 2011).

Anonymity and confidentiality can be assured through various techniques, including the use of pseudonyms (Macdonald, 2013), secure data storage (including the participants right to access the personal data concerning him/her (General Data Protection Regulation 2016: 12) and social responsibility during the dissemination of the outcomes (Macdonald, 2013). The EU Regulation on the Personal Data Protection No 2016/679 informs that 'personal data should be processed in a manner that ensures appropriate security and confidentiality of the personal data, including for preventing unauthorized access to or use of personal data and the equipment used for the processing' (p. 8).

Additionally, it is important to inform the respondents about the possible feeling of discomfort during or after an interview (Graham et al., 2015; Shaw et al., 2011). An emotional discomfort '[depends] on the potential sensitivity of the topic of study' (Seidman, 2006, p. 64) and needs to be present the procedure, which the researcher is going to use to avoid, minimalize or eliminate the stress of the participants.

The research which involves humans should also be enclosed possible reciprocal effects of the participation in the project. The participants should also be informed about possible remuneration (Shaw et al., 2011). Though, financial compensation and paying directly the participants can lead to an ethical dilemma. Thus, if there is any compensation type for the interviewees, it should be stated in the informed consent (Seidman, 2006). However, if the research does not assume any monetary payments, the researcher can stress

the possible benefits for the respondents as 'just being listened to' (Seidman, 2006, p. 69) can become valuable.

If the research involves children, their participation should be rewarded. It is stated in the Ethical Research Involving Children (2013) guidance that:

> Research participants should be appropriately reimbursed for any expenses, compensated for effort, time or lost income, and acknowledged for their contribution. Payment should be avoided if it potentially pressures, coerces, bribes, persuades, controls, or causes economic or social disadvantage (Graham et al. 2013: 87).

Wendler et al. (2002 in Morrow, 2009, p. 10) distinguished four types of rewards: reimbursement, compensation, appreciation, and incentive. As the reward type is likely to affect the participant's consent and modify the collected data (Morrow, 2009), the researchers should carefully choose the most suitable and cost-effective type taking into account the cultural and societal context. That's why, researching vulnerable groups, first of all, the researcher should maintain proper cultural competence, and should be acquainted not only with the participants' histories but also with the 'relevant laws and policies; values, norms, customs, and traditions of participants and their communities; and the socio-political climate as viewed from participants' perspectives' (Fassinger & Morrow, 2013, p. 71).

To sum up, research with migrant children has a particularly demanding process, which requires taking into account multiple ethical issues of migrant families, young children, cultural differences, societal norms and values, and the research context and researcher's professional personality.

Multiplex Methodology

Qualitative Research Paradigm

A significant part of the ethical considerations is a choice of methods. The appropriate methods help to gain the necessary results and avoid causing harm to the respondents,

especially if the participants are from sensitive or vulnerable groups (Graham et al., 2015; Lisek-Michalska, 2012). The research methodology distinguishes two major types of methods: qualitative and quantitative. While quantitative research helps to 'generate "shallow" but broad data', qualitative helps to acquire "narrow" but reach data seen as "thick descriptions"' of social phenomena and individual lives from a subjective perspective of the research participant (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 4).

As the aim of this research was to acquire a deep understanding of the paths and characteristics of migrant children's socialization and transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019), I applied a qualitative method. In qualitative research, the participants share valuable information, which cannot be accessed by using quantitative methods. Moreover, it provides an 'access to people's subjective world and meanings, and to groups marginalized (e.g. by their gender, sexuality, race/ethnicity/culture)' (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 8).

Mathew Miles and Michaele Huberman (1994) pointed to the several strengths of qualitative research, noting that, in general, all data are qualitative at some point (p. 9):

1. Qualitative research focuses on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings;
2. Is based on a local *groundedness,* meaning that the object of research is a certain phenomenon embedded in a particular context;
3. Qualitative research is featured by richness and holism of the data;
4. The data is collected over a sustained period, which describes a process, not a single event;
5. The qualitative methodology provides the inherent flexibility of the research techniques and tools
6. It also studies and emphasises the meanings people set for places, events, processes, structures and individuals (p. 10).

7. The qualitative study, however, has its conceivable disadvantages, as it is not deprived of subjectivity and can be treated as representative data (Kvale, 1994). Moreover, qualitative analysis although provides the researchers with greater freedom, tend to be more demanding in terms of processing the data collection and analysis, because they 'vary from one branch of qualitative research to another' (Marvasti, 2004, p. 10).

It should be noted, though, that qualitative research does not only refer to the research techniques choice, but also research ethics, data analysis techniques, which define a wider qualitative framework or paradigm generating the qualitative thinking (Braun & Clarke, 2013). When these research elements intertwine with the ethical and methodological issues of conducting a scientific study with vulnerable groups, like migrants and children, conducted in a specific context (such as COVID-19 pandemic and following lockdown and distance learning), it incorporates a multi-level research structure and creates a multiplex methodology.

In a broader sense, qualitative research is used as an 'umbrella' term (Saldana, 2011) for a variety of research approaches, genres and techniques, which depend on the research questions and purposes, as well and the research context. Among the most common genres are ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology, case study, context analysis, mix-methods, narrative inquiry, etc. (ibid).

For this study, I have chosen the narrative inquiry as a research genre to be able to listen to migrant children's and their parent's life stories, affected by the migration experience. Narrative inquiry 'recrafts the often scattered, improvisational ways we tend to share our accounts into well-plotted artistic forms that utilize conventions of fictional literature to present not just a more ordered rendering of life but aesthetically rich one' (Saldana, 2011, p. 12).

To ensure ‘well-plotted artistic’ (ibid) stories, semi-structured interview technique can be used because it helps to create a space where ‘[…] the interviewee is asked to tell a story, produce a narrative of some sort regarding all or part of their own life-experience’ (Wengraf, 2001, p. 5). This technique allows the researcher, to collect the necessary data, and, at the same time, gives freedom to the interviewees to share their stories and experiences. Irving Seidman (2006) mentioned that telling stories is ‘a meaning-making experience [which] gives access to the most complicated social and educational issues because social and educational issues are abstractions based on the concrete experience of people’ (p. 7). Thus, an interviewee is perceived to be an expert of own life, who has the right to express oneself and the interviewer must treat the respondents’ responses as ‘skilfully structured stories’ (Silverman, 2017, p. 102). Moreover, the biographic-narrative interviews can provide the participants with the right to be heard and share their position in the story (Wengraf, 2001), which supports the approach based on respecting human rights while participating in research (Liebel, 2017).

To sum up, qualitative research is a fitting framework for gathering and analysing qualitative data with a respect to multiple genres, approaches and techniques. A consequential and accurate methodology planning help me to build the research design and not ‘get lost’ in the methodology (Lather, 2007).

Qualitative Interviewing in Migration Studies

Growing migration trends in Europe for the last three decades (OECD, 2016), caused that Europe faced the fastest growing migration flow (IOM, 2020). The increase of people crossing the borders also led to the growth of interest in migration research (Yalaz & Zapata-Barrero, 2018). Apart from the quantitative research tracking migration flows, plenty of qualitative studies have been ‘devoted to migration-related issues in Europe’ (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018, p. 2).

Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Evren Yalaz, who were the editors of the book 'Qualitative Research in Europe Migration Studies', published in 2018, underlined the importance of qualitative migration research. They argue that it is worth considering its potential because:

> [It supports] producing rich, in-depth, and nuanced analysis; allowing for conceptual refinements with higher validity; redefining the existing categories and generating new hypotheses and even theoretical paradigms; exploring complex, conjunctural, multi-faceted dimensions of the migration dynamics; and last but not least, being better tuned for understanding the voices of social actors and immigrant groups, especially the ones who lack means of participation and representation in mainstream society and politics. (p. 2-3)

A similar standpoint was expressed by Mack et al. (2005), who mentioned that qualitative research is an effective way of getting 'culturally specific and contextually rich data' (p. vi). Consequently, qualitative research techniques became an excellent tool for studying the complex phenomenon of migration. It draws the attention of scholars, who study migration through a transnational lens (Castells et al., 2009; de Haas et al., 2020; Faist, 2000; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Vertovec, 2007) and at the local level (e.g. Moskal & Sime, 2016; Pustułka et al., 2016; Ryan & Sales, 2013; Wærdahl, 2016).

Qualitative inquiry on different levels and from different perspectives vary across Europe in migration studies, as well as the other fields, to a large extent depending on a research context (Braun & Clarke, 2013; King, 2018). The researches from different countries tend to study migration either from the perspective of immigration (Kościółek, 2020; Moskal & Sime, 2016; Ryan, 2018; Wærdahl, 2016) or emigration (Radziwinowiczówna et al., 2020; Sadownik & Mikiewicz, 2016; Slany et al., 2016; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016).

The qualitative studies, however, have not been distributed equally between different parts of Europe (Yalaz & Zapata-Barrero, 2018). The most qualitative research papers (published in English) have been produced in the UK and Ireland, while the least – in Central

and Eastern Europe (CEU) (ibid). This can be explained by giving a few reasons. First, CEU countries have a relatively short emigration and immigration history. Second, much of the qualitative papers are published in other than English languages (e.g. Jańcewicz & Solomońska, 2020; Pustułka et al., 2018; Slany 2008). Third, the migration studies used to have less funding in CEU countries, than in the Western ones (Alderson, 2013).

Apart from the national, territorial or cultural contexts, Yalaz and Zapata-Barrero (2018) analysed the migration research articles according to the research techniques. Although qualitative study anticipates various techniques, the interview has been the most popular research technique in the migration research in Europe presented in articles of the leading migration studies journals[1] (ibid). Qualitative interviewing has also been among the most common research techniques with migrant women and children (Darmody et al., 2014; Karpinska & Dykstra, 2018; Pustułka et al., 2016; Sime, 2018; Ślusarczyk et al., 2018; Souralová, 2019). Besides, Feduyk and Zentai (2018) mentioned that interviewing has also been the most common technique to reach migrants and refugees. These groups require specific recruitment strategies and study planning in terms of time and space, as low-skilled migrants usually are deprived of free time due to their labour conditions. Besides, interviews help

> […] not only to access migrant populations (mostly women) working in the shadows of private homes and closed care-institutions, but also, importantly, helps to untangle the

[1] The authors analysed the articles in multiple journals, including Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Migration Studies, Comparative Migration Studies, Journal of Migration History, International Migration, International Migration Review, Global Networks, Identities, and Ethnicities.

meaning and practice [..] that characterizes this job sector, one that is usually hidden from the public gaze' (ibid, p. 176).

Nonetheless, migrant women and children are still being underrepresented in the migration studies, as several research papers on these issues accounted for 11 % and 13% of the articles correspondingly (Yalaz and Zapata-Barrero, 2018).

Qualitative Research with Migrant Children

The research involving children reflects the way the researcher(s) perceive children and childhood (Punch, 2002). For a long time, sociological research tended to normatively concentrate on adults, seeing them as the 'true' members of society. With new voices, this view has been contested as taking away the agency and subjectivity of children, whose social lives were only observed through the prism of adults talking 'about them' rather than 'with them' (Alderson, 2013; Prout & James, 1997). Children, similarly to women, have long been unseeing and underrepresented in scientific studies (see also Abbott et al., 2005; Pustułka, 2014; Slany et al., 2011)

Nonetheless, every child, similarly to an adult, has a right to be heard and is adept to do if the right method for the research is chosen. Children's active involvement not only reverses the paradigm of childhood but also shows respect for children's rights, power and agency (Liebel, 2017; Mayne et al., 2018; Smith, 2007). Alderson (2016) noted that 'by respecting children, childhood research may be more unbiased and inclusive than adult-centric research' (p. 200).

Modern sociologists have been recently drawing attention to the participatory or child-centred methods in the research with children, as they allow to view young respondents as active agents of their own life and experience. The participatory methods and research strategies that are fair and 'respectful of children's views and opinions' (Morrow and

Richards 1996: 91) seem to be less harmful and more child-friendly (Clark, 2010; Fargas-Malet et al., 2010; Morrow, 2009; Moskal & Sime, 2016).

The child-centred approach, however, made a further shift from the protective (i.e. carefully talking to children) to participatory (i.e. make children co-creators of research, do research 'with them') approaches. This framework increasingly guides the leading research methods in the sociology of childhood (Liebel & Markowska-Manista, 2021; Punch, 2002).

As the name suggests, child-centred projects position children at the core of the research, respecting their voices and opinions. Young children's involvement in research provides them with active participation, granting them the right to be heard and understood appropriately (A. James, 2007; Mayne et al., 2018; Prout & James, 1997; Qvortrup et al., 2009; Smith, 2007).

Gill Valentine (1997) pointed to the necessity of inclusion of children's voices in the research:

> [B]y breaking away from thinking of children as incompetent, pre-social, less knowledgeable, less able and so on geography can begin to move on from adding children to the margins of the discipline towards recognizing younger people as participants/contributors in the everyday world and to highlight their part in all our geographies (p. 83).

Besides, Mayall (2000) noted that children's participation enriches the research with unique knowledge and help to comprehend the children's world:

> [C]hildren provide us with a unique, specific set of 'takes' on the social order, which both help us to understand how it works, and provided pointers towards ways of improving childhoods (p. 256).

Priscilla Alderson (2013, 2016) - after decades of studying children's lives - pointed to the necessity not only to include children in the studies but also to develop the philosophy and research methodology of the studies with children, as the contemporary scholarship demonstrates the undervalued role of children in the societies and research. Hence, she pointed to the ways critical realism can help to resolve the ontological, epistemological and

methodological contradictions in social research involving children. Firstly, the author suggested that childhood research could benefit and adopt more from feminist research, as both fields have alike history and methodology. Secondly, the research with a 'focus on children' should rather promote children's social inclusion than separation from the mainstream in society.

Another approach of conducting research focusing on children called the 'mosaic approach' was presented by Clark and Moss (2001; Clark, 2017). The authors also point to the importance of involving children as the active agents to the study through implementing the child-centred approach. In their book, Listening to Young Children: The Mosaic Approach (2001), they present a complex methodology of combining several methods and tools for conducting research with children, such as observation, interviewing, photo-elicitation, children's photographs, map making, drawings, and diaries. Besides, it allows conducting cross-cultural research comprising a broad variety of the tools adjusted to the specific group of the participants, considering their literacy skills, age and emotional state during the process of social adjustment (see also Merriman & Guerin, 2006).

This approach also creates an opportunity for multiple modules: research with parents, educators, individual or group interaction with children. Though, it is primarily aimed to include the children's perception of their own lives, interests, and concerns into the study conducted with children and their families. Thus, children are seen as the agents and actors, instead of the passive objects (A. James, 2007; Macdonald, 2013; Smith, 2007). This approach also helps to listen actively to children as the experts, who reveal valuable information about themselves and focus on children's experience and feelings rather than knowledge (Jorgenson & Sullivan, 2009; Thompson et al., 2019; White et al., 2011).

Apart from an observation and adult-centric interviews, as the traditional research techniques in the study involving children, which perceive a child rather as a subject of the

study, the new paradigm in childhood studies have actively used active children's participation by applying the following techniques: interview, visual tools (drawings, mapping, photographing) (Clark, 2017; Jorgenson & Sullivan, 2009; Punch, 2002; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). An interview, as the most common one, provides children with a space for sharing the information about their migration and sociocultural adjustment experiences (Hyvönen et al., 2014; Morrow & Richards, 1996) by taking a role of partners, participants, designers and creators rather than recipients of the adults' opinion and position (Clark 2005).

To conclude, a growing awareness of children's rights and agency (Liebel, 2017; Zanatta, 2019) and changing paradigm of childhood studies (Alderson, 2016; Clark, 2017; Mayne et al., 2018; Prout & James, 1997; Smith, 2007), reciprocally reinforce the role of children in contemporary societies. It is particularly requirable in super-diverse societies (Vertovec, 2007) and growing transnationalism (Faist, 2000; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

Online Qualitative Research with Children

Participatory research techniques vary depending on the research group or research setting (e.g. time and space). Though, the research with the vulnerable groups become even more complex and challenging when both, the researcher and participants, are in an accustomed situation caused by force majeure. The COVID-19 pandemic and following schools' closure can be considered as such.

Distance learning has become a challenge for children, parents, teachers, and researchers (Bol, 2020; Brossard et al., 2020; Di Pietro et al., 2020; Merla et al., 2020). In Poland, distance learning lasted from 12th March 2020 till the end of May 2021. As a consequence, families and schools employed different strategies for continuing the learning process (Gornik et al., 2020; Markowska-Manista & Zakrzewska-Olędzka, 2020). While at the same time missing the key role of school – proving space for social development (Borkowski et al., 2021; Chaturvedi et al., 2021; Popyk, 2021a).

The COVID-19 pandemic and introduced social distancing have also affected the researcher studies, precluding direct contact with the participants or experiencing a substantial decline of time, which has been devoted to own families (Myers et al., 2020). Pandemic has particularly affected the early-career researchers, who faced difficulties in keeping in contact with the supervisors, research institutions, ethics committees, and the participants (Liberati et al., 2020).

Consequently, some of the research was postponed (e.g. research with children in the CHILD-UP project), while others were forced to change the methodology and approaches. Thus, the growth of online research during the pandemic can be observed (e.g. research projects in the Youth Research Centre, SWPS University).

The research conducted online brings challenges because little information on the online research procedure is designated within a particular discipline. That's why the researchers from various fields re-conceptualize the approaches (Hooley et al. 2012). Besides, online qualitative research has its specificity in terms of methods choice, recruitment process, conducting the study, and ethical considerations (Salmons, 2014).

The ethical consideration of online study challenges the ways and techniques of approaching the participants, providing the informed consent/assent and the interviewing itself. Thus, some researchers deliberately choose to use video or web conferencing for online interviewing to be able to see the respondents' non-verbal signs, such as facial expressions and emotions. This facilitates the process of gaining informed consent/assent (James & Busher, 2016; Salmons, 2014). Additionally, while having video interviewing, the research is likely to have a greater chance to prevent or alleviate possible discomfort of the respondents than during the audio interviews, as a researcher has greater chances to recognize the participant's emotions and emotional state while seeing the facial expressions (and body language).

James and Busher (2016) mentioned that level of establishing contact with the participants online depend on their age, and, thus, digital skills level. It was noted that younger people and children are more accessible than the older generation because they are more familiar with various information and communication technologies.

Online interviewing is advantageous due to being time-saving and flexible, providing more comfort to the respondents of staying at a familiar place, or being physically distant. On the contrary, access problems, failing technology, time lags in online conversation and distracted participants (ibid) are noted among its weaknesses.

While digital technology provides a variety of supportive qualitative techniques (Salmons, 2014), e.g. drawing or photo-elicitation, the researchers might treat it as a quandary as taking into account different access to ICTs and digital skills.

Among the other ethical challenges of the Internet, research is sensitive to context (Eynon et al., 2009) while researching at a distance. This includes the disadvantages of being physically away, which causes the different perceptions of online interviewing being a public or private discussion. Besides, being physically apart, researchers are much more likely to face difficulties of getting the signed informed consent returned to them (ibid).

The last, but not least issue of online interviewing is anonymity and data protection. A traditional tool for voice(video) recording and saving during face-to-face interviews is a Dictaphone. Though, while doing an online interview, it can be recorded directly in the programming (e.g. Skype, Google Hangouts, Zoom Application, etc.) (Weller, 2015). On the one hand, these applications and programmes provide free and easy access tools, while on the other, expose to the possible data violence when data is saved online or in the Internet Clouds/Drives.

To conclude, the increase of technology usage and digital skills, on the one hand, facilitate the designing, conducting research; analysing data and disseminating the outcomes.

Whereas on the one, became a challenge to recruit the participants, establish contact with the respondents, and data saving (James & Busher, 2016; Salmons, 2014).

Planning and Designing Qualitative Interviewing

Sampling and Recruitment

Unlike a quantitative study, qualitative research is not limited or defined in terms of the sampling size or nature (Patton, 2002), because the *information power* (Malterud et al., 2016) indicates that 'the more information the sample holds, relevant for the actual study, the lower amount of participants is needed' (ibid, p. 1753). The actual sample size depends on the type of study, research aims and questions, theoretical and methodological paradigms. The most common size varied between 15 and 30 individual interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2013). An important concept of the amount of data is saturation (Bowen, 2008), which indicate the point when new data does not generate new knowledge.

Another issue of research sampling is strategies. There two main types of selecting participants are random and purposeful. The first is more commonly chosen for quantitative research, while the second one is for qualitative study (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Purposeful sampling has different approaches, such as *convenience sampling, snowballing* or *friendship pyramiding, stratification* or *criterion sampling* (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Patton, 2002). The first, convenience sampling, is the most common in qualitative studies because it is timely and convenient. The other one describes the process of accessing the contact to the following participants through acquaintances or other participants. Stratification, however, points to endeavouring to include opposite or different cases in terms of the variables. While, the last, criterion sampling, is based on selecting participants which fulfil certain criteria (Patton, 2002).

Sampling strategies are tightly connected to the relational issues between researchers and participants. Seidman (2006) mentioned that early-career researchers often find the research process unachievable if they get insufficient support from their supervisors or institutions. As a consequence, they are likely to choose the "easy way" in respondents' recruitment while reaching acquaintances, which is easier than convincing a stranger to spend a few hours sharing their own experiences or thoughts. Thus, Seidman pointed to the advantages and disadvantages of recruiting familiar people. For example, while interviewing supervised people (e.g. a former school principal interviews teachers, etc.), a researcher should ensure non-hierarchical relations both during recruiting and during interviews. Otherwise, in that case, a researcher has to find other respondents (other schools) of similar problems and characteristics. Similarly, in the case of interviewing friends or acquaintances, research is likely to face ethical issues in recruiting and talking to them, as friends tend to assume they understand each other, know the contest or problem. This is likely to lead to the lack of clarity of the responses.

As a result, the recruitment process for a qualitative study requires significant support and knowledge to provide a sustainable and ethically correct study, which will be rich in data.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis has multiple structures, as it includes various approaches, techniques and tools for analysing data. First of all, there is a need to prepare the data for the later analysis. Hence, once it is collected, video and audio materials require transcription (voice-to-text). It is an important part of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2016), which facilitate the following stages of analysing the collected data. In order to prepare an accurate transcription, the verbal utterance (such as um, uh, yeah, etc.) and other linguistic faults should be removed. Another key issue is the anonymisation of the interviews as a part of transcription (ibid).

When the transcription is ready, further steps of creating codebooks and coding the data take place (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Miles and Huberman (1994) defined codes as 'tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study' (p. 56). Those labels can be different sources and be either *concept-driven* or *data-driven* (Gibbs, 2018). Braun and Clarke (2013) differentiated two types of coding: *selective* and *complete*. The first one is used for identifying and searching for desirable codes. This at a point reduces the data to the necessary information. The complete coding is based on a comprehensive analysis of the whole dataset. Comparatively, Miles and Huberman (1994) distinguished three types of codes: *descriptive*, *interpretative* and *pattern* (p. 57). The first one requires little interpretation and just sorting the data into certain categories. Interpretative codes require greater attention and analysis of rich and broad information. The pattern codes refer to categorizing and grouping the data of the same theme or pattern.

The data analysis process depends on the approach researchers choose. Miles and Huberman (1994) distinguished three approaches to qualitative data analysis: *interpretivism*, *social anthropology*, and *collaborative social research*. The first one points to the importance of interpreting the text (e.g. an interview transcript) which vary depending on the paradigm, e.g. phenomenology or social interactionism. As such, phenomenologists are likely to interpret the text through '"deep understanding", an empathy or indwelling with the subject' ((Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 8). While for social interactionists, the interpretation happens through analysing a group of actions and interactions.

The second approach, social anthropology, is a common type in ethnographic studies, where the researcher needs to observe and describe the researched phenomenon, with a little pressure on the research instruments (audio, video, etc.). Besides, social anthropology is also common in cross-cultural studies, based on researching socialization, parenting or kinship,

during which researchers apply their conceptual framework to a study through testing it in the field.

The last approach, defined by Miles and Huberman (1994), is collaborative social research. It stresses the use of 'action-related constructs, seen in a melioristic frame, and intellectual '"emancipation" through unpacking taken-for-granted views and detecting invisible but oppressive structure' (p. 9).

To compare, Braun and Clarke (2013) distinguished three main analytic methods: interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), thematic analysis (TA) and grounded theory (GT). Besides, the authors identify the other three approaches, which can require expert skills and knowledge. They are discursive psychology, conversation analysis, and narrative analysis.

The authors stated, that thematic analysis is the most flexible and convenient method, which can be applied in various social sciences. TA is based on 'identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns within data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). This approach provides early-career researchers with the basic assumption on analysis technique while leaving room for individual modifications. The changes can be introduced as the approach is used in various fields and research topics, as well as the length and richness of the data.

Besides, data analysis might be conducted according to other analysis models and phases of research. As such, Miles and Huberman (1994) presented the following components of the data analysis model: *data reduction*, *data displays*, and *conclusion drawing/verification*.

The first stage, data reduction, takes place throughout the whole study, starting from the preparation of the conceptual and methodological frameworks, lasting during collecting data, and ending afterwards when researchers analyse and disseminate the outcomes. It is based on a 'process selecting, focusing, simplifying, and transforming the data' (ibid, p. 10).

The second flow of analysis is data display, which means ‘an organized, compressed assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and action’ (ibid, p.11). This stage takes place during and after the data collection phases, and indicate the process of looking and observing certain displays (either object, people or phenomenon) and analysing on that basis, or, it is not sufficient for a study, seeking other displays.

The third stream is the conclusion drawing and verification, which is based on the conclusive patterns, explanations or typisation of the findings. Besides, it includes data verification if needed.

The data coding and analysis might be generated by using paper and pen or data analysis programming, e.g. MaxQDA. The programmes can be used for a variety of activities, including, coding, data linking, memoing, content analysis, theory building, graphic making, or report writing (Weitzman, 2000). Besides, programme analysis supports researchers with time-saving and consistency of the research work (ibid).

Conclusively, to be able to provide a compressive analysis of the collected data, one should decide on the approach, techniques and tools for analysis.

Cross-Cultural Research Considerations

Apart from the above-mentioned ethical issues in researching children, the study with migrant minors also requires some cross-cultural considerations, which to a certain extent shape the process of gathering and analysing data. The first issue concerns the language use, a role of an interpreter and translations both during interviewing and transcript translations (Fersch, 2013; Filep, 2009; Halai, 2015; Inhetveen, 2012; Temple & Edwards, 2002; Van Nes et al., 2010). The second matter concerns positionality of the researcher, which largely determines the whole process of the qualitative study in a cross-cultural setting (Anthias, 2008; Carling et al., 2014; Gaywood et al., 2020; M. Nowicka & Ryan, 2015; Pustulka et al., 2019). Each of these issues is developed below.

Language and Translation Issues in Cross-Cultural Research

Doing qualitative cross-cultural research, one usually faces cultural and language issues, as the empirical material of narrative interviewing is 'verbal data' (Inhetveen, 2012, p. 29), while language is a tool through which 'the subjects of inquiry in the social sciences can talk and think' (Seidman 2006, p. 8).

I agree with Bertaux, that 'if giving a chance to talk freely, people appear to know a lot about what is going on' (Bertaux 1981: 39 in Seidman 2006: 8). Minding the fact that both migrant children, and parents, are likely to have low foreign language knowledge (García-Sánchez & Nazimova, 2017; Portes & Rivas, 2011; Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2009), it is highly important to provide them with a chance to express themselves and 'symbolize their experience' (Seidman 2006: 8) through a native language. Besides, looking for the 'correct words' and speaking the foreign language could distract the participants from narrating their own stories. Seidman (2006) noted that:

> The issue of finding the right word in English or any other language to represent the full sense of the word the participants spoke in their native language is demanding and requires a great deal of care (p. 104).

Language is not only a key to acquiring information but also important in understanding the cultural and societal contexts of both home and destination countries. Filep (2009) pointed to the significance of the researcher to be familiar with the cross-cultural researched contexts and mentioned that a 'broad cultural and societal knowledge is required to understand and to later communicate the complex picture of culturally diverse localities and societies' (p. 59). Moreover, language carries various cultural codes, certain feelings and values and is intricately connected to the social identity development of the speakers. Tajfel and Turner (1986) in their social identity theory pointed that 'language seems to be an

especially salient dimension of separate identity' (p.284). Similarly, Temple and Edwards (2002) stated that:

> [The] use of a particular language or form of language can be an important element of identity, and aspects of identity, such as gender, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, as well as moral status, are constructed and ascribed in the process of using language (p.3).

Thus, to be able to express their actual self-identity, migrant children and their parents should have a chance in sharing their own experiences in their native language.

Translation of the Project Information and Consent Forms

Cross-cultural knowledge is also essential in the preparation of the research materials, including the research leaflet, informed consent, and interview scripts assume scrupulous work. The leaflet and consent form gives the first impression, which may influence the potential respondents' decision whether to take part or not. It is advised to present this message in the native language of the potential respondents (Seidman, 2006) to avoid ambiguous interpretation. While preparing the translation of the documents, the translator should do a deliberate work (Birbili, 2015; Filep, 2009; Inhetveen, 2012), as 'words depend on their meaning on the circumstances of their production, who said them, when, and in a relation to what' (Temple, 1997, p. 609).

The research with children requires particular care in language use. The consent should be written concordant to the kids' language and knowledge level. Besides, the information must be free of jargon (Seidman, 2006) because 'children may show a lack of understanding of conventional metaphors frequently used by adults but equally they have a capacity to invent their own metaphorical expressions' (Greene and Hill, 2004, p. 10).

Morrow (2009) describes some examples of the translation fail during the research project Young Lives. The problem concerned the words 'project', which in Vietnamese was associated with 'material and financial benefits, sometimes an instant remuneration' (p. 9),

and a ‘project’, which is often misinterpreted with ‘investigación’ in Peru and may be ’confused with the word the police use for investigation’ (ibid). Thus, multicultural and multilingual research requires ‘not only the language but also the ‘culture’ [knowledge] has to be translated or “interpreted”’ (Filep, 2009, p. 64).

The Role of an Interpreter in Cross-Cultural Interviewing

When the interviewing process involves an interpreter a ‘triple subjectivity’ (an interaction between participants, researcher and interpreter) (Temple & Edwards, 2002, p. 6) comes to matter. Simultaneous or consecutive interpretation also requires a cautious work, as the interpreter may ‘mechanically arrange the information’ (Temple, 1997, p. 610), which brings to ‘the risk of an interpreter version [and] the risk of using “wrong” or “inappropriate” expressions in a foreign language’ (Filep, 2009, p. 64), as well as to ‘the specific losses due to the translation process’ (Inhetveen, 2012, p. 34).

During the research with Polish migrants in the UK, Bogusia Temple (1997) signified the quandaries with translating the word “family” during the interviews, as to the migrants it has ‘different emotional connotations’ (p. 611). She also mentioned that ‘[a] translator has a view of [the] words from practical encounters of their own with the social world and they translate with those encounters as benchmarks’ (ibid., p. 613). Because there are different versions of translation, the interpreters could influence the data acquired during the interviews.

Researchers Positionality in Child-Centred Cross-Cultural Research

Qualitative research is also greatly influenced by the positionality of the researchers. Interviewing requires an ‘individually crafted’ relationship, that is ‘a reflection of personalities of the participant and the interviewer and the ways they interact’ (Seidman, 2006, p. 95). To be able to conduct legitimate research, the researcher should set the relations

with the participants based on trust and reliability. It is particularly important when involving vulnerable groups (Morrow, 2009). The relations between the researcher and the participants greatly rely on the social identities of both parties, which are affected by various determinants (e.g. race, ethnicity, identity, gender, age, physical appearance, occupation, clothing style, personal and working experiences, language skills) which qualify one to be an insider or outsider (Carling et al., 2014; Due et al., 2014). These characteristics shape a qualitative sensibility of a researcher, meaning "an orientation towards research – in terms of research questions, and analysing data – that fits within qualitative paradigm" (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 9). A qualitative sensibility is defined by the *reflexivity* of a researcher which is based on the experience with the research topic (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The researcher's sensibility requires certain skills and orientations, including 'the ability to step outside the cultural membership [and] the critical reflection on the research process and one's role as the researcher, including our carious insider and outsider positions' (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 9).

What's more, certain characteristics and experiences characterize researchers as an insider or an outsider in a particular study. Multiple sources and examples showed the advantages and challenges of insider/outsider positions (Anthias, 2008; Carling et al., 2014; Chavez, 2015; M. Nowicka & Ryan, 2015), and proved that the researcher is able to experience the shift and overlap of the roles at the different stages of the study (Carling et al., 2014; Pustulka et al., 2019).

The positionality status of a researcher differs from the perspective of analysis. For example, Carling et al. (2014) delineated five positions of a qualitative researcher in the migration study, namely *explicit third party*, *honorary insider*, *insider by proxy*, *hybrid insider-outsider*, and *apparent insider*. The first one, the explicit third party, points to the explicit identity of research who belongs neither to the migrant group nor to the majority community. The second type, honorary insider, points to the ethnic-national or kin

connections with the researched group. The third one, insider by proxy, takes place when the researcher is an immigrant, but from a different migration group. The fourth type, hybrid positionality, prevails when research is both an insider and outsider, for example, being a part of an older generation group than the researched one. The last kind of positionality, apparent insider, defines the case when a researcher belongs to the same migration group as the participants, but differs by type of migrant, age, gender, education or occupation status.

Another category of research positionality was brought by Pustułka et al. (2019). The authors outlined four stages of insider positionality: *apparent*, *trespassing*, *distanced*, and *ambassadorial*. The stage varies during different stages of the project - preparing, conducting, analysing, and disseminating the results. An apparent insider (Pustułka et al., 2019) is a role of a researcher, who shares ethnic and linguistic similarities with the participants. Additionally, the interviewer has deep knowledge of the topic from the inside. The following stage is trespassing (Pustulka et al., 2019), which defines the moment when 'inquiring about issues that participants were not willing to talk about and revealing (not necessarily intentionally) characteristics that differed us from interviewees' (Pustułka et al. 2019, p. 9).

The next role, one can perform is a distanced insider (Pustulka et al., 2019), meaning to be able 'to look at the data from a distanced perspective, taking into account a broader picture and scholarly knowledge' (Pustułka et al. 2019, p. 13). The researcher's role does not end with collecting the data but last long after it while analysing and disseminating the results. Thus, being an ambassadorial insider (Pustulka et al., 2019) and representing the same ethnic or social group during sharing the research outcomes force the researcher to become 'torn yet loyal and fair representative of the data and the researched community' (Pustulka et al., 2019, p. 14).

Negotiation of one's positionality of being either the insider or outsider can lead to the clash of perceiving the data, its analysis and the way of presenting. The advantages of being

an insider greatly influence the knowledge of the topic, access to the respondents, the nuances of reaching the respondents, conducting the interviews in a multicultural environment, and maintaining the relations. The complications that appear during the study refer rather to the researcher's ability to process the information apart from personal experience, feelings, and views. Nevertheless, despite perfuming an insider or outsider role, a researcher needs to endeavour to conduct an unbiased study (Hammersley, 2018).

CHAPTER II. RESEARCH PROCESS

This research project is based on 49 qualitative interviews, which were conducted to seek the answers to the set research questions, presented in Table 1, APPENDIX 1 which also includes participants' characteristics and methods.

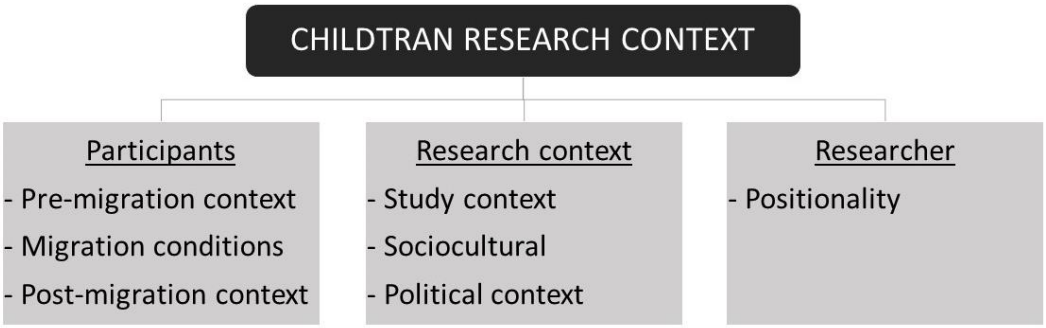
This chapter presents the whole process of preparing to conduct the qualitative study with migrant children, their parents and teachers. It also comprises information on the data analysis process and ethical considerations in practice.

Qualitative Research Paradigm and Context

Braun and Clarke (2013) argued that the knowledge obtained by applying qualitative research should not be evaluated without taking into account the data generation context, such as interview setting, or broader socio-cultural and political contexts. In cross-cultural research, this can be expanded to the contexts of two parties of the study, namely the participants' and the researcher' socio-cultural settings. Besides, the context of the research should be taken into account.

Hence, the CHILDTRAN project was based on three main context pillars, which are presented in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Research Context of the CHILDTRAN Project



Source: Own elaboration

The first pillar points to the necessity to study not only sociodemographic and economic conditions of migrant children and their parents, but also the pre-migration and

post-migration contexts, which may include family composition and relations, working (adults) or studying (children) circumstances, and social life. Moreover, a broader understanding of the social, cultural and political contexts of the respondents' country of origin is required, as it is likely to condition the reason and process of their migration. In the case of the teacher participants (who, in my study, were represented by various nationalities), the context is also significant. Their viewpoint on migrant children's transnational transitions is conditioned by their personal and working migration experiences, and experience of working with migrant children and families.

The second pillar demonstrates that qualitative research outcomes greatly depend on the research context, namely settings of the interviews, broader sociocultural and political conditions and events that happen at the time and place of conducting the study. As such, the CHILDTRAN project process and outcomes were influenced by the specific political and public discourse on the immigration policy affected by the refugee crisis in Europe (after 2015) and the inflow of Ukrainian immigrants (after 2014) in Poland. Besides, the COVID-19 pandemic and school closure have their imprint on the study and the outcomes, especially as it shaped the change of the research tools and conditions (which are presented in the next section).

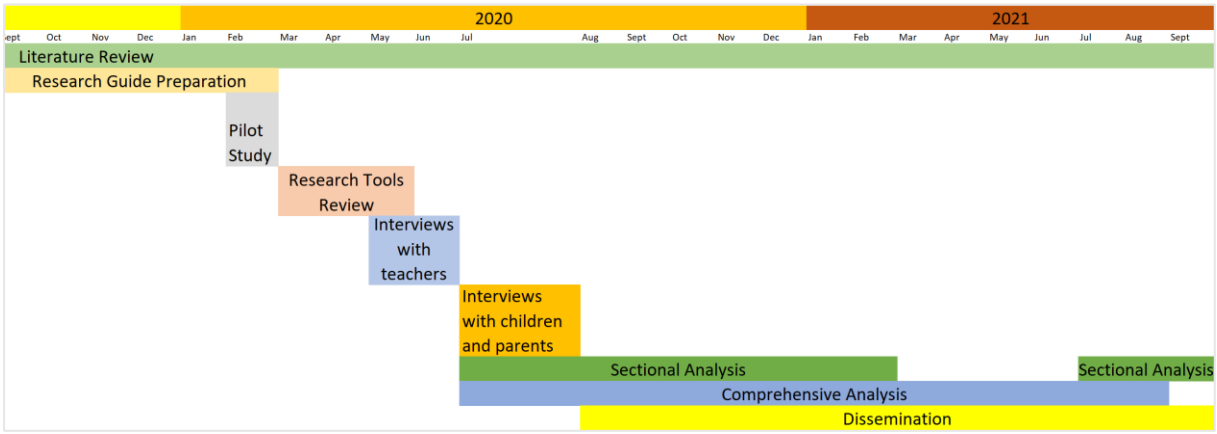
The last pillar stresses the effect of the researchers' positionality on the study. The researcher's personal, migration, life and working experiences precondition the position and attitude in the study. This pillar is more broadly presented in the section 'Multiple positionalities in cross-cultural research'.

Apart from the context, the qualitative research paradigm anticipates the whole process of research, including planning the research project, research guide preparation, sampling and recruitment process, data gathering, data analysis and dissemination. Each stage is described below.

Planning CHILDTRAN Research Project

CHILDTRAN research project includes several core phases, which are presented in the figure below. Figure 8 presents the zoomed schedule of the process of preparing the research tools, gathering the data, the analysis and the dissemination processes.

Figure 8. Core Phases of CHILDTRAN Project: Schedule and Tasks (2019-2021)



Source: Own elaboration

The preparation of the research guide, which was based on the three years of literature review and statistics analysis (migration and childhood). The literature review primarily embraced the following fields: migration, childhood and methodological issues of conducting qualitative cross-cultural research with vulnerable groups.

During the review of the migration studies literature, I expanded my knowledge on the migration mechanisms and processes on micro, meso, and macro levels. The mechanisms of migration around the world, in Europe and Poland, in particular, helped me to understand the reasons, processes and consequences of immigration to Poland. A closer look was paid to the family and minors' migration processes.

The review of childhood study literature helped me to develop a deeper understanding of children's social, emotional, psychological, and educational development, particularly during and under the effect of life-changing events, e.g. migration and consequential transitions. Besides, endeavouring to understand children's lives in different countries (mainly Poland, Ukraine, and Turkey), cultures, communities and families, has brought valuable

knowledge applied in studying transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) and a process of formation of a sense of belonging of migrant children in a specific temporal and socio-special context (Schatzki, 2003).

Last, but not least, the major literature review field was about methodological issues. A wide range of methodological concerns was taken into analysis. First of all, it referred to the ethics of researching migration and migration affected experiences of children and parents, as well as teachers, with a practical contact with migrant families. Besides, scrutinizing methodology helped to develop a deep understanding of cross-cultural qualitative research and online research. The following sections describe each pillar in detail.

To study how migrant children negotiate the sense of belonging and maintain the process of socialization, I applied a tripartite perspective on the topic from three groups of respondents: children, their parents and teachers. Hence, in March 2020, after gaining approval from the Senate's Ethics Committee for Empirical Research with Human Participants at the University SWPS in Warsaw, I started the research. The application to the ethics committee included the information about the project (the aim, the research questions, a concept, methodology, way of analysis, storage and dissemination of the personal data and research data), examples of consents and assents, and the examples of the research sampling and recruitment processes, and research techniques and tools. Besides, it covered the description of a possible feeling of discorporate appearance the means I would prevent and alleviate them.

Initially, I planned to set the face-to-face interviews with two groups, children and parents, based on the Mosaic approach (Clark & Moss, 2001), which assumed the combination of various participatory and visual techniques. The study started on March 10th, 2020, and interviews, supported by a drawing, with a child and a parent took place in a cafe. However, the spread of the COVID-19 virus caused the first lockdown in Spring-Summer

2020. The personal meetings prohibition and immobility regime required searching for an alternative way to convey the research or to postpone it for an indefinite time. Hence, I decided to take a challenge and an opportunity (Fielding et al., 2017, Salmons, 2014) to conduct a qualitative study with migrant children online. Despite being forced to waive interactive techniques of children's drawings and photo-elicitation, the interviews online became a 'trouvaille' themselves. Being already acquainted with the use of digital technology for distance learning and communication, children, parents and teachers found the online interviewing familiar and enjoyable.

My decision of changing the methodology was followed by seeking the Ethics Committee approval because all significant changes in the study should be reported and approved.

Consequently, the rest of the interviews were held online. As the scholarship on doing the qualitative research online, especially with the vulnerable groups, like children and migrants, is limited (Fielding et al., 2008; Salmons, 2015) and the majority of children, parents, teachers had just started learning to work with the online tools on a more profound level, I decided to include a group of teachers to the study, which took place in May-June 2020. The expansion of the participants' groups had a twofold aim. First, the responses of teachers, who are another major socialization agent, provided another perspective of transnational transitions of migrant children in Poland, that added more data and aspects to the outcomes' analysis. Second, it constituted the ground for preparing and practising online research with children and their parents.

Along with planning the research, I developed the Interview Guide, which enclosed the process of interviewing the participants the closer look at the process of its preparation is presented hereinafter.

Interview Guide Preparation and COVID-19 Pandemic Modifications

My research guide included the description of the research tools; the process of sampling and recruiting the participants; participants' characteristics; the informed consent/assent forms; the structure of semi-structured interviews with children, their parents and teachers. The whole process of creating and adjusting the research guide was adjusted to the potential participants' cultural, gender, age and linguistic peculiarities.

The COVID-19 pandemic adjusted interview scripts with children and parents consisted of three major parts, introduction, main part, and conclusions (see Annexes 1 and 2).

An introduction part was aimed to cover the organizational part, e.g. self-introduction and pre-consent statement. The main part consisted of various blocks aimed to enclose the three-side perspective: past, present and future (see also Jawor et al., 2020, p. 69). After the general information of acquiring the informed consent/assent and presented brief socio-demographic information (such as name, age, grade, school name, the first part of an interview was introduced), the first block of questions was introduced. It covered questions concerning the history of arriving in Poland, previous residence places, story on the home country, or country of the previous residence, family, school, and community life. It was particularly aimed to inquire the family and peer relations, ways of spending leisure time and holidays, as well as of school activities. Some questions also concerned the description of the migration circumstances and post-migration adaptation and socialization in Poland. Particular attention was paid to the emotional, educational and social transitions of migrant children, their socialization agents and socialization strategies.

The second block of this section was concentrated on describing children's and parents' present lives in terms of education/work, social and family connections, friendships and community activity. A bunch of questions referred to the child-teachers and parent-

teacher relationships, and the role of school in their present lives. Parents were also asked about their views on the actual role of school and teachers in supporting their children and children's skills and needs. Similarly to the previous part, I also asked the participants to share their experiences of spending sport, leisure or holidays time. Besides, participants were asked about their kinship relations across the borders and family visits. The second part of this block was aimed to specify children's and parents' experiences and opinions on the pandemic and distance learning in their schools.

The third block anticipated questions about the plans of children, parents and the whole family. The plans allude to education, migration or life plans.

As the process of interviewing was developing within every single interview, some additional questions were added to the interview script. For example, after four interviews with parents and children, I added a question because it was raised by the parents' respondents intuitively. It concerned the participants' first impression of Poland and Polish people and whether it changed over time.

The concluding part was designed to enable the participants to add any information and to ask questions. The interviews ended with providing my contact details and thanking the respondents for their participation.

The interviews with teachers were, generally, construed on the same structure as the interviews with children and parents: introduction, main body, and conclusions (see Annexe 3). As the first and the second parts were the same, the middle one was deferred.

The main part of interviewing included the following blocks of topic/questions:

1. About me and school. It was aimed to get information about teaching experience, and school's approach towards migrant children, general arrangements on supporting migrant children's needs and desires.

2. Working with migrant children. Teachers were asked about their personal and school's experiences of working with/education migrant children, describe various socialization types, peer relationships, and children's standpoints of the school.
3. Contact with migrant families. I asked about the frequency, aim and means of contacting migrant children's parents, quandaries in maintaining relations, with a special impact on language and cultural matters.
4. Distance learning. Teachers were asked to share their experience and knowledge on teaching under the immobility regime, including their perceptions, children's and parents' standpoints.
5. Future of migrant children. I asked teachers about their opinions on the role of different agents in building and supporting children's needs and talents in terms of preparing them for future studies and career choices. Besides, the issues of proposed improvements to the school's function were raised.

It is worth mentioning that although the interview guides were prepared, most of the talks had a different structure as I tried to allow the participants to continue their narration the way they saw it. For example, some children and parents preferred talking about their experience, not in a time-sequential manner, but topic-related, as such in case of talking about peer or kinship relations, they described their current relations and communication comparing them to the premigration time. Consequently, prepared questions were raised in order the participants did not cover them in their speech.

Recruitment Procedure

The research involving children is a demanding process, which requires not only extensive knowledge on the subject but also approaching the channels of accessing potential participants. Most of the studies (Darmody & Smyth, 2017; Ni Laoire et al., 2008; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016) with the youngsters indicate the 'multiple layers of gatekeeping' (Bushin,

2007, p. 239), which usually include school or the community institutions, parents/guardians and children themselves.

For the recruiting process, I included four aspects delineated by Creswell and Creswell (2018), the setting, the actors, the events, the process. The setting means the time and place of the arranged interviews, while the actors are the interviewees. The event in my research is the interview itself, whereas the process defines its preparation, run and post-interview notes and possible further contact with the respondents.

I applied the purposive sampling, which helps to pick the information-rich (Patton 2002, p. 230) cases that '[illustrate] some feature or process in which we [the researchers] are interested' (Silverman, 2017, p. 269). The child-respondents groups included a number of 20 participants. The sample size in a qualitative study is of minor importance because 'the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher' (Patton 2002, p. 245).

Child participants were selected by previously prepared *criterion sampling* (Patton, 2002, p. 238), which included the experience of the transnational transition, age 7-13 (indicative of the primary school age[2]), either gender, six-month minimal stay in Poland, lack of knowledge of the Polish language before coming to Poland, having no relatives in Poland before arrival, either school – private or state, either nationality/ethnicity and faith, either social class. Additionally, migrant families had to reside in Warsaw or suburbs, as the aim of the research was to study the socialization process of migrant children in the capital city (the participant socio-demographic characteristics are presented in Table 2, APPENDIX 2).

[2] Polish educational system consisted of 6 years (grades) of primary school, which were changed after the Educational Reform in 2017, introducing 8 grades for the primary school.

The recruitment of the first group of the participants, teachers, did not bring any particular hardships, as I applied my contacts, reaching the former co-workers of the international multicultural school. Though, looking for the potential participants among migrant children and parents brought considerable predicaments and anxiety. Due to the lockdown and prohibition to have personal meetings, I was forced to seek alternative recruitment channels, as the schools, public places and ethnic community institutions were closed. Moreover, according to the Personal Data Protection Regulations, I could not apply my professional (a school teacher's profile and email) to contact potential participants. Hence, I adhibited my acquaintances to reach some Ukrainian families with schoolchildren in Warsaw. Consequently, the first three families were invited to take part in the research. Further, I applied snowballing sampling (Babbie, 2020) by getting contact with the potential parents and children respondents from the teacher and parent interviewees. Besides, I asked some of my acquaintances to share information about the project in their ethnic communities.

I used different means to contact the participants: telephone, e-mail and Messenger. During the first talk, I informed about the research projects' aim and procedure. Additionally, I sent the information leaflet about the study in three languages: English, Polish and Turkish, as "the consent form should be written in the language the participant can comprehend most effectively" (Seidman 2006, p. 75). When parents and children were clear about the purpose of the study, I asked for the children's assent to take part. During the first personal contact with the participants, I informed them about the weight of their participation in the study, still stressed voluntary consent and asked parents not to put pressure on their children's assent. If both, an adult and a child stated their consent/assent, we set the date and time for the online interview.

The setting arrangement requires the flexibility of the researcher, who mostly benefits from the interview. Striving for equity in the study (Seidman 2006), I arranged the time of the

meetings suitable for both parties. At the beginning of the study, I was planning to conduct interviews with children and their parents at their homes, to provide a feeling of safety and comfort (Bushin, 2007; Fargas-Malet et al., 2010). Another option for the respondents was to meet in a public place, like a café (which was previously checked for an intimate atmosphere). Nonetheless, due to the pandemic restrictions, most of the interviews took place online.

Participants' Characteristics

This study includes 20 child participants, and at least one parent per child was interviewed (two siblings took part in the study), bringing a total number of interviews in the study to N=39. The number of interviews with teachers is N=10.

The overview of the participants' characteristics is presented below and in the Table included in APPENDIX 1 and are described below.

Children

For the selection procedure, I endeavoured to include various cases to study the problem from different perspectives, such as typical case, *extreme* or *deviant, critical*, *sensitive case*, *convenience* and *maximum variation* samples (Patton 1989 in Seidman 2006, p. 51). In the beginning, it seemed that recruited participants showcased typical cases of migrant children, who came to Poland a few years before interviewing and had overcome the peak of the transnational transitions' quandaries. I then implemented a *stratified purposeful* sampling technique (Patton, 2002), which is less selective than maximum variation and more selective than *typical* cases, to include the cases that are *outside the major range* (Seidman, 2006) and to acquire the variations of the data. Expanding the sample groups let me evaluate if the research problem was determined by ethnicity and age. Hence, children born in Romania and Lithuania were invited to take part. I also asked three 13-year-old children to contribute to the

study by their participation in order to compare the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) and migration experience at different ages.

The major range in the study is defined by the racial/ethnicity status and the participants' age. A substantial part of the participants (n=18) was born in Ukraine and Turkey, though, two children come from Lithuania and Romania (with a mother born in Ukraine). Similarly, most of the children-participants were aged 8-12. The mean time spent in Poland was 3 years. Thus, the median age of experiencing transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) while arriving in Poland is 8, varying from 6 to 11.

Describing the family composition, 19/20 of the families were full (with father and mother being married). However, three of the child participants had their fathers residing in another country (two fathers were working in Canada, one father lived in Turkey permanently, and regularly met his child). The majority of children had on average one sibling, though four families had three children, and two families – four children. All children held transborder contact with relatives and grandparents. The communication varied due to the differences in family relationships and reason of migration, as well as perturbed by the COVID-19 mobility restriction (for more information see Popyk & Pustułka, 2021).

All children attended either state (n=12) or private (n=8) primary school. Though four of those children from the state schools were primarily in the private multicultural school with a prevailing number of Turkish and Middle East children included in this group. The school itself was attended by children of more than twenty nationalities. Some of the children (n=4) repeated the year due to their parents' decision to catch up with the material or peers, as children emigrated during the school year. Thus, for a considerable time were not able to attend school, or be able to participate in the activities due to their low language competencies.

At the time of interviewing, all children spoke either English or Polish at the communicative level. Hence, part of them insisted on talking in a foreign language. Nine children felt comfortable speaking English, and one girl, who attended the public school, preferred having an interview in Polish. The rest of the participants were keen on speaking their native languages: Turkish (n=5), Ukrainian (n=3) and Russian (n=2). Two of the participants, who arrived in Poland during their first year at school, expectedly revealed the highest level of language acquisition. Moreover, they found communication in English as comfortable as in their native language.

Parents

The recruitment of parent-respondents was driven by the recruitment of children. Thus, it was also based on the maximum variation cases to present a wider picture of the transnational transitions' experiences of their children. The heterogeneous sampling represents the participants with various ethnic backgrounds, working experience, job qualifications and duties, gender, age and language. Heterogeneity was used to "construct a model to illuminate the primary dimensions of and the factors" (Patton, 2002, p. 235) in evaluating the transnational transitions of migrant children in Poland.

Most of the parent participants (n=16) were mothers, with an average age of 35 years old. The three father participants were older, with an average age of 43. 15/19 mothers, mostly Turkish, were staying at home, taking care of children and household, while four mothers had permanent (n=2), or temporal (n=2) employment. Nevertheless, all participants declared their families were having a regular income from different sources (employment or self-employment). It is worth noting, that the majority of unemployed mothers had regular jobs in their home countries prior to migration.

The language of the interviews with parents also varied. The majority of the participants preferred having an interview in their native language, Turkish (n=7), Ukrainian (n=3), Russian (n=2). Seven participants felt comfortable talking in English.

Teachers

According to the prevailing share of women working as school teachers, the majority of the respondents (n=8) were female. The participants originated from Poland (n=6), Turkey (n=2), and Albania (n=2). The average time of them working with migrant children in Poland was 5 years. Two of the participants did not work with migrant children at the moment of interviewing but had substantial previous experience.

This group also included a maximum variation sample. Participants were the teachers at both early-stage and higher grades (4-6/7) of the primary school, teaching various subjects, such as early childhood education, English, Polish, Maths, Science, Art. The mean age was 36 years old. All the participants were keen on sharing their experiences of working with migrant children and their parents.

Conducting Interviews with Children, Parents and Teachers

All the interviews with teachers, parents and children were mostly scheduled according to the participants' availability, as I dedicated three months to the interviews only, drawing from the other major activities. Hence, I was available either time and day. As the talks were held online, the time of the meetings varied from earlier moorings to the late evenings, as parents and teachers preferred, and it did not collide either with their or mine professional or personal matters.

All the meetings started with the description of the project’s aim and procedure, the participants were provided with the necessary information on their rights to refuse to give answers to any question and withdraw from the study without providing a reason and having

no negative consequences. The adult participants were provided with an informed sheet and a voluntarily consent form (see Annexes 4-8[3]), which they were asked to read and discuss if necessary.

To facilitate the online interviewing and omit quandaries with the physical signing of the consent forms, I decided for oral consent from adult and child participants, which was given before starting recording the interview. The written consent form was sent to the participants during the meeting online to be able to read carefully and ask any emerging questions. To have the consent/assent proof, I asked the participants to repeat it after the recording started.

Before recording, I asked the participants whether they prefer audio talk or video. Most of the interviewees chose video conferencing as it facilitated the information transfer (James & Busher, 2016; Salmons, 2014). All the video recordings were immediately transformed into audio files and deleted right after the interviews ended, to exclude using the visual image of the participants.

The average length of the interviews with teachers was 82 minutes, with the shortest interview lasting 57 minutes, and the longest of 110 minutes. The teacher participants' responses took a form of rather narrative than structured, as all of them were acquainted with the topic of migrant children's adaptation and socialization.

During the interviews with teachers, I asked about their experience in working with migrant children in Poland. Teachers discussed some of the 'example' cases of socialization,

[3] All the information sheets on the project and informed consent were prepared in the required language. Though, not all the interview languages have corresponded to written versions of the documents, as the interviews were conducted online during which the researcher (and the interpreter) presented the necessary information in oral form.

and those cases that lead to psychological and emotional complications after the emigration and change of the life and school settings. The teachers were also asked about the role of different socialization agents (e.g. teachers, parents, siblings, peers, media, religion, relatives) in transnational transitions. Teachers also reveal their viewpoint on the role of school in the children's aspirations and plan to make. The interviews were ended with reflections on distance learning. Some teachers describe their experience in rather a generic way, while others based their speech on specific examples and cases. Teachers were also keen on sharing their observations of various changes at school after terminating my cooperation (which was two and a half years before interviews), as well as their visions on distance learning.

Meeting with parents and children, I was trying to set the egalitarian communication by rather leading a talk than an inquiry. I also shared some of my personal experiences concerning migration and bringing up children in migration.

The average time of interviews with parents was 74 minutes, with the shortest interview lasting 40 minutes, and the longest of 140 minutes. During the interviews, some parents felt very keen on sharing their experiences from their home countries and other countries of residence, as they felt a genuine interest in the topic of transnational migration. Thus, those interviews lasted more than two hours. On the other hand, two of the interviews with fathers were rather brief, while answering the interview questions. They explain their terse responses with the limited time available and the upcoming family obligations.

The interviews started with asking about their history of coming to Poland. Depending on the narration direction parents talked about their life in the home countries (and countries of precious residence), children's education, family composition and relations. I also suggested parents describe their first week/ months/ year of living in Poland, paying more attention to their children's experiences. Further, the respondents talked about the children's school and afterschool life, peers contact and leisure activities. The interviews ended with the

questions on the parents' perception of distance learning and future family plans, including further education of their children.

The interviews with children were usually followed by interviews with their parents. The talks with the young respondents lasted 45 minutes, whereas the shortest was 30 minutes and the longest – 59 minutes. I asked parents to provide children with possible intimate space for the time of the interviews, though to stay at the reach in case children need help or support. One of the families decided to have the interview with a child first, then with a parent, as it was more convenient for them. While talking with children, only one interview was held in presence of the mother, who stayed in the same room due to the dwelling limitations. This, in my opinion, slightly affected the child's responses, who, generally, was positive and happy about her migration experience.

The interviews with children started after giving their assent to participate in the research project. During the meetings, I asked open questions about their experience, people, things and places that have been important during their transnational transitions' experience. I first started asking about their story of coming to Poland, which was followed by describing family and school life in their home countries and countries of the previous residence. Much of the time we spend discussing children's current peer relations in school and after school, leisure activities and holidays. The interview included their perceptions on distance learning, followed by the discussion of hardships migrant children face in education. I also asked about the further education and life plans and aspirations they get from different socialization agents.

All the meetings were ended by expressing my gratitude to the participants and providing them with a contact to me. I asked parents if they could provide their address details (or post-pick-up point details) to be able to send the compensation presents for children. 18/19 parents agreed to give their home address, while one parent expressed his

gratitude and mentioned that the present for them is that someone is interested in their lives and seeks to support migrant children.

The role of an interpreter in interviewing migrant children and parents is also worth attention (Filep, 2009; Temple & Edwards, 2002). In total, 14 interviews with parents and children were held in a presence of a translator. All the participants were contended to having a chance to express themselves in their native language. Those interviews, in comparison to the ones conducted in the non-native language, were longer for two reasons. First, because the interpreter translated the question to the participants, and their responses back to the Polish language, it takes longer than the immediate answer. Second, participants were keen on providing extensive speech once give a voice. Despite my initial concerns about prolonging the interviews or boring the participants while waiting until the interpreter's translation, all the interviews were lively and active, and did not make an impression of interruptions. For more on the role of interpreter see section 'Cross-Cultural Research Considerations in Practice'.

All the meetings with teachers, parents and children were held in a pleasant and friendly atmosphere, with a different level of formality. Being aware of the ethical issues and being acquitted with the topic of children's migration experiences, I paid great attention to avoiding the appearance of negative emotions connected with the migration experience and adaption of migrant children (Graham et al., 2015; Shaw et al., 2011).

The interviews with children seemed to be enjoyable, as children found using digital devices as a reward (James & Busher, 2016). Moreover, the young participants felt comfortable as they could enjoy talking at any place, in any position. Some children were walking around the home, some were laying on the sofa. This created a casual and laidback atmosphere, which positively affected children, and convinced them to talk about their experiences.

Nevertheless, despite facilitated access and less time-consuming meeting, online research with vulnerable groups required multiple efforts and has certain drawbacks.

First of all, aiming to fit the participant's availability, I had to conduct interviews out of my regular working hours and days. Second, the internet instability and connection problems (James & Busher, 2016) once caused an interruption of interviewing. Fortunately, the contact was drawn back. Third, one of the interviews with children was not saved as the Zoom application did not allow for saving two consequential recordings, required one at one time. To preserve the data, right after the interview ended, I wrote a short report including most of the issues covered by the participant. Nevertheless, I missed the data necessary for presentation during data dissemination, thus, was not able to present the interview quotes.

Data Analysis

My research project takes on the children-centred Mosaic approach (Clark, 2017), which helped me to conduct the qualitative study with three groups of respondents (children, parents, and teachers). Hence, I applied different analysis techniques for the overall study, as well as for the particular articles. For my study two models of collecting and interpreting data were used: hypothetico-inductivist and hypothetico-deductivist (Wengraf, 2001). Knowing the research field far before doing the study, I pre-analysed the data and looked for the theories, which could explain the outcomes of the future inquiry. Thus, the research project I started with a hypothetico-deductivist model, which anticipates considering "a body of prior theory if only to decide which set and 'collectable facts' should be collected and generated" (Wengraf 2001, p. 2).

As a result of the analysis work, I have published five articles answering the research questions. Each published article includes a description of the analysis. The collected data from the qualitative study has gone through meticulous transcription of recordings (voice-to-text) (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Miles & Huberman, 1994) and was uploaded to the coding and

analysis software MaxQDA. I created the code tree and provided coding of all interview scripts. I applied both selective and complete coding of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2013) Besides, the traditional technique of paper and pen was used to analyse the major themes for the study (Clarke & Braun, 2016). Additionally, I have used the interview notes, completed after each interview. These three sources of data (coded fragments, themes scripts, interviewer's notes) were used as a baseline for analysing the data (Witzman, 2000).

Apart from that, the frits article, which was published before the empirical data was acquired, presents the analysis of cultural distinctions and educational curricular in Poland and Ukraine. This work is based on the critical discourse analysis (Faiclough, 2013), conducted using MaxQDA programming.

Ethics Considerations in the CHILDTRAN project

During this research project, I face some challenges during preparing, conducting and analysing the data. These quandaries I divided into two parts, the general ethical issues and those caused by the cross-cultural research nature. First, all the phases of the study required some confidentiality and anonymity considerations, which anticipate data storage and data presentation.

To store the data with restricted access to other people, I have used a personal laptop and an external hard drive, which was provided by the funding institution of the National Research Centre of Poland, under the research grant PRELUDIUM. Besides, I have changed the names and deleted all personal information of the participants while doing the analysis (Macdonald, 2013). The new pseudonyms were given each time I published the research outcomes (e.g. articles, working papers, conference presentations, etc.) to exclude the possibility to be recognized. I also shuffled the participant's data each time presenting an overview of the participants, though keeping the participant's data united.

The following ethical issue raised in the research was the participants' possible feeling of discomfort (Graham et al., 2015; Shaw et al., 2011). A considerable amount of attention was paid not to generate a feeling of discomfort or stress in all the groups of participants. First of all, I trying to positive dispose of the respondents by pointing to the importance of this study, as well as assuring their confidentiality and anonymity. Besides, I applied the formal procedure of contacting the respondents and followed all the formal requirements before starting the interviews. This, I believed, generated a feeling of being a part of a research project, not feeling as being under the evaluation because of one's status. Moreover, each question was prepared and asked with particular care and evaluation of the interview atmosphere and mood of the participants. It is worth mentioning, that my cultural, pedagogical and linguistic competencies and previous experience of working with migrant children (Polish Sociological Association, 2012, points to the importance of adequate cultural and scientific preparation and knowledge on the researched topic) became an asset in conducting the research, as I had previously been acquainted with the cultural peculiarities of the respondents from Ukraine, Romania, Lithuania and Turkey.

It is important to stress, that two of the mother respondents became very sensitive while talking about the migration reasons and process, pointing to the arduous political, economic and societal situation in Turkey, which caused them to refuge. Both women were asked if they feel well and want to continue the discussed topic. After I got a positive answer, I changed the manner of the questions in order to alleviate stress, but stay focused on the topic, which was specifically important in understanding the migration experience of migrant children.

Another important ethical issue enclosed in this research was a matter of compensation for the participants (Shaw et al., 2011). To ensure every child was rewarded for their participation, I used an appreciation compensation type (Wendler et al. 2002). Every

child participant was given an appreciation gift (some school stationery) with a hand-made acknowledgement certificate. Most of the presents were sent via post office as the interviews were held online. After the parcels were delivered all the personal data concerning participants' addresses were deleted.

Cross-Cultural Research Considerations in the CHILDTRAN project

Language and Translation Issues in Practice

This study anticipated the representatives of multiple ethnic groups, with different native languages and dialects, as well as foreign language knowledge. For this reason, the talks were held in five languages, aimed to provide the participant with a chance to feel free and comfortable during the recruitments process, and while interviewing (Seidman, 2006).

Due to my language competencies, I was able to research children, parents, and teachers by using four languages, namely Polish, English, Ukrainian, Russian. The interviews in Turkish were held in the presence of a qualified interpreter. The interviews were conducted in the Polish as a native (N=6), Polish as a foreign (N=1), English as a foreign (N=18), Ukrainian with dialects (N=6), Russian with dialects (N=4), Turkish with an interpreter (N=14).

My research in a cross-cultural setting anticipated the following language issues:

1. Translation of the informed consent forms
2. Interview interpreting
3. Interview data translation.

Multilanguage consent forms. To provide parents, children and teachers with clear research information, I have provided them with the information about the project and the consent forms in three different languages: Polish, English, and Turkish (all of the adult respondents were able to read and comprehend at least one of these languages). Additionally,

great attention was paid to the language used in consent forms, based on excluding sophisticated and exotic words, which could distract, confuse or discourage potential participants. Besides, the consent was discussed with each of the respondents, including the minors, to assure their unambiguous understanding.

Interview interpreting. Despite the language issues and technical matters of the interpreters/translators' work, it is significant to consider their influence on the atmosphere and the respondents' feeling of comfort during the interviews. Temple and Edwards (2002, p. 4) noted that "interpreters are also involved in producing identity borders for those whose words they work with". Thus, I paid particular attention while choosing the Turkish-Polish/English interpreter for the project. I was looking for a person, who makes a nice impression and has experience in communicating with children. The interpreter had also to be flexible and open-minded. The selected translator had another trump, she had a long experience in working and translating for Turkish ethnic groups and, what's important, was not a typical insider of that community. The lady herself is a migrant coming from Belarus, who is interested in Turkish life and culture. These had a positive impact on the respondents, who were impressed that someone else knows their language and culture and were not hesitating to share their own experience and views due to the political situation and political repressions in Turkey.

Apart from that, I came across the issues of using the word 'family' during interviewing (Temple & Edwards, 2002), which, at the first sight seemed to be a single meaning, but, as appeared, were perceived differently. The nuisance was during asking the respondents: "Where does your family live?". All the respondents from Turkey were trying to make sure: "A small family or a big one?". This is an example of a 'technical translation' and an epistemological meaning of the word. To translate it properly, one should know that

Turkish people are characterized by ‘big’ family units, who often share the household and have tight relations with siblings, aunts, uncles and cousins.

Interview data translation. When the data was collected another challenge concerning language use was tackled. This entailed ensuring the provision of accurate translations of the interview extracts while disseminating the data. During the analysis, I have worked on the interview transcripts in four languages: Polish English, Ukrainian and Russian. As the data presented should go far beyond the sum of words (Temple, 1997) provided by the interviewees, I endeavoured to transmit the given meaning as close as possible. For this, not only the spoken words are important, but the overlap of the different lenses is required, particularly language knowledge, cultural knowledge, context give, personal observation and atmosphere during the interview (Inhetveen, 2012). Hence, the transaction and interpretation of the data were done by me, based on interview transcripts and personal interview notes. Each piece was also checked by the native English language speaker proof-reader, who evaluated the accuracy of the chosen words.

The last, but still important, language issue of conducting the multilingual research is the dissemination of the results in non-native languages (Ventola & Mauranen, 2011; Sionis, 1995). While conducting the study requires a communicative language level and high cultural knowledge, the dissemination of the results requires a high level of scientific non-native (English and Polish) language knowledge needed for producing texts which can fit international highly-impacted journal requirements. Consequently, a substantial part of preparing reports, articles and book chapters, on the study results, took on searching for adequate and correct words. English language texts preparation involved multilinguistic shifts between Ukrainian-Polish-English-Russian, with numerous checking of dictionaries, glossaries and thesaurus.

Multiple Positionalities in Cross-Cultural Research

Apart from the mentioned ethical considerations, this research encompasses the positionality (Anthias, 2008; Braun & Clarke, 2013; Chavez, 2015; Seidman, 2006) shifts.

My personal, working and research experiences caused the changes of the subjectivity status at different stages of the project. At first, being a migrant researcher with a Ukrainian background and doing qualitative research with migrant children and their parents who originated from Turkey, Romania and Lithuania in Poland, classified me as an insider by proxy (Carling et al., 2014). Hence, representing other than the majority group, simplified the recruitment and interviewing procedures because the respondents 'were less reluctant to be critical towards [host country's] society' (Carling et al. 2014, p. 50). Additionally, the parent respondents from Turkey felt more trustful and confidential talking to other than Turkish person, as they were uncertain of sharing their own experience and views because of an insecure political situation in Turkey after the purge in 2016, which became the major reason for emigration. On the one hand, the participants and I were 'in the same boat' of being immigrants in Poland, and facing political and economic problems in our home countries (Turkey and Ukraine). On the other, I managed to set distance by representing other immigration groups and contexts, and, as a result, I took a trespassing insider status (Pustulka et al., 2019), which points to the 'characteristics that differed [me] from interviewees' (ibid, p. 9).

At some point, my role as an interviewer was shifted to a hybrid insider-outsider (Carling et al., 2014) position when meeting with the participants, particularly migrants from Turkey, who rather considered me to be a representative of the majority group – Polish, due to my physical appearance, language skills and long-time stay in Poland. This was one of the markers that particularly distinguished "me" and "them". Ukrainians and Poles, because of the geographical locality, religion, cultural and language similarities, can be mixed up by the

non-European citizens. The contradiction ‘us’ and ‘them’ is based on the following categories: geography (European vs. the Middle East), ethnicities (Slavic vs. Turks), religion (Catholics vs. Muslims).

The other role in the project I performed was an apparent insider (Carling et al., 2014) while involving the countrymen from Ukraine in the study. The ethnonational characteristics and common language defined me as an insider. Besides, bringing up a school-aged child (as a guardian), who has also experienced transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019), at the same age as the interviewees, helped me to stay with the interviewees “on the same side” (see also Pustulka et al., 2019).

The position of insider research may also have negative input to the study because the respondents are likely to believe that the interviewer intuitively knows the background or understand ‘between words’ (Seidman, 2006). Consequently, some information was not mentioned by the participants, because considered to be obvious for both of us. To keep a distance during the research, I had to balance between conducting an official interview and a friendly talk. For making an appointment I used my University e-mail address and followed all the steps of the interviews: informing about the project, participants rights, setting the interviews’ time and gaining the consent/accent while stressing the academic purpose, ethical issues and confidentiality of the meeting. Despite a formal procedure, there might have been pressure on the participants, especially children. At some point, I noticed their desire not to reveal the information in order not to be judged (see also Pustułka et al. 2019).

Nevertheless, some interviewees could perceive me as an outsider because of the differences in residence status and language skills (Carling et al., 2014; Chavez, 2015). All the participants from Ukraine came to Poland 1-4 years before interviewing, as a part of the recent migration inflow. I was viewed, however, by the respondents as the representative of an older immigration wave. The stay length in Poland also affected the level of the Polish

language knowledge difference. Moreover, some interviewees perceived me as an outsider due to having my child being born in Poland. One of the respondents, who did not know I have a school-aged son, mentioned:

> Well, it was different for you. You have a child born here [in Poland]. She used to be here and won't struggle to adapt. (Mother of a 12-year-old boy from Ukraine)

An important role in negotiating the researcher's positionality plays the hierarchical relations with the respondents in case of interviewing acquaintances or previously supervised people (Seidman, 2006). Consequently, to minimalize the possible feeling of hierarchy because of my previous status of being an English teacher at school, which some of the child respondents attended, I applied the following steps:

1. Paid much attention to my clothing, not to look like a typical teacher;
2. Asked rather open questions, to avoid 'questioning' and 'testing' like a teacher at school;
3. Used simplified language, to avoid the participants feeling like they are being assessed on their language skills;
4. Arranged the interviews with an interpreter, to make the interviewees feel comfortable speaking their language;
5. Talked about my personal experience and family.
6. The aforementioned techniques helped me to create a pleasant and friendly atmosphere, where the interviewees could disclose some private issues and experiences. Though, during the research, I found that the participants took part in my research because of various reasons, which I divided as follows (see Figure 8):

Figure 9. CHILDTRAN Qualitative Interview Participation Reasons

Source: Own elaboration.

- *Support*. Some of the parent respondents stated that they agreed to help me, as they see their participation as important for me and my PhD studies.
- *Exchange*. Sharing similar transnational experiences, having similar viewpoints on politics and science.
- *Gratitude*. Sharing gratefulness for researching and bringing up the issues related to the respondents' personal experience.
- *Profit*. Some parent participants agreed to have an interview in the Polish language to be able to practice their language skills, thus, they misinterpreted the purpose of the study and tried to get some contribution to their personal development (see also Morrow, 2009). Whist, other participants perceive me as a bridge to the socialization fields and support in integration.

- *Therapy*. Some parents, despite stressing the research aim and process, expected me to give a 'recipe' for managing the transnational transitions of their children. Thus, I clarified my role and position in the study, to avoid "changing the interviewing relationship into the therapeutic one" (Seidman, 2006, p. 107).

Generally speaking, in my study, though, I have not experienced greater discrepancies between me and the participants' perceptions and viewpoints, because of having a piece of ample knowledge and understanding on the researched topic from my previous experience of working with migrant children at the primary school. This also prepared me for any potential ethical issues in cooperating with migrant families and helped me to negotiate between being an insider and an outsider.

PART III. FINDINGS

The outcomes of the CHILDTRAN research project are presented in the following published articles:

1. **Popyk, A**. (2021). Social capital and agency in the peer socialization strategies of migrant children in Poland. *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny*, Vol. 4(182), pp. 7-27. https://doi.org/10.4467/25444972SMPP.21.055.14808
2. **Popyk, A**. (2021). The impact of distance learning on the social practices of schoolchildren during the COVID-19 pandemic: reconstructing values of migrant children in Poland. *European Societies*, Vol. 23, Issue: sup1, pp. 530-544. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2020.1831038
3. **Popyk, A**., Pustułka, P. (2021). Transnational communication between children and grandparents during the COVID-19 lockdown: The case of migrant children in Poland. *Journal of Family Communication*. Vol 21, Issue 3, pp. 223-237. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267431.2021.1929994
4. **Popyk, A**., (2021). Home as a mixture of spaces during the COVID-19 pandemic: The case of migrant families in Poland. *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*. Vol. 3, pp. 27-45. https://doi.org/10.35757/KiS.2021.65.3.2
5. **Popyk A.,** Perkowska-Klejman A. (2019). Critical Analysis of the National Curricula Through Hofstede's 4-D Model, *Society Register*, Vol. 3 Issue 4, pp. 115-136. https://doi.org/10.14746/sr.2019.3.4.07

PART IV. CONCLUSIONS AND KEY CONTRIBUTIONS

Key Contributions

This publication-based thesis comprises five peer-reviewed articles that demonstrate the cohesion and continuity of my empirical and theoretical work dedicated to the transnational transitions of migrant children in Poland. Besides showcasing important outcomes about the changing nature of socialization and its agents during the COVID-19 pandemic, this project also indicates the developments I offer in terms of methodological approaches in childhood studies and ethical engagement of researchers with vulnerable groups. These two pillars - theoretical and methodological - are equally of note in relation to the contribution made by this thesis in the fields of childhood studies, sociology of childhood, migration studies, research ethics and practical guidelines for qualitative research reliant on the child-centred approach.

The contribution of my research work to the sociology of childhood in migrancy is (1) the use of the modern paradigm of childhood sociology that gives a voice to children (Clark, 2017; Moskal and Sime, 2016; White et al., 2011) and (2) inclusion the experiences of migrant children from different countries and with different migration experience. The series of publications present the transnational transitions (Pustułka and Trąbka, 2019) of migrant children in contemporary Poland, taking into account the rights and dignity of children from the fragile contexts (Markowska-Manista, 2019). All publications (Articles 1-5) shed light on the role of socialization agents (see Popyk et al., 2019) in the process of migration and the formation of a sense of belonging.

The key findings of my research concern highlighting the role of children's agency in the processes of transnational transitions, adaptation and belonging formation. Agency - as shown by my research - has been largely exercised by migrant children in Poland through implementing different socialization techniques and tools.

To answer the main research question on the characteristics and paths of transnational transitions and the process of the formation of a sense of belonging of migrant children I, first, present the answers to the additional research questions concerning the role of different socialization agents and, particularly, the role of peers in the process of transnational transitions and peer socialization strategies. Second, I illustrate different factors and variables that shape the transitions of migrant children from one social, cultural, religious, school and peer environment into another one, in Poland. Third, I present how migrant children negotiate their sense of belonging in times of post-migration experiences which overlapped with the COVID-19 pandemic.

The outcomes of this research demonstrate that children's transnational transitions are largely grounded in adjusting social practices (educational, social, everyday, cultural) and negotiating values and views concerning the role of peers and school, which were exacerbated by distance learning introduced in the result of COVID-19 schools' closure. Besides, my research works contribute the concepts on technology-mediated communication and intergenerational transborder communication through illustrating the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the immobility regime on the cross-border communication of migrant children residing in Poland with their grandparents living in the home countries (or the third countries).

This thesis contributes to the sociology of childhood and the sociology of migrancy by presenting the comparative analysis of the migration and education contexts of migrant children (Article 1 and 5), delineating four of the peer socialization techniques of migrant children (Article 1), the analysis and illustration of the change of social practices and values of migrant children during the distance learning in Poland (Article 2 and 4), as well as contribution to the knowledge on cross-border intergenerational communication (Article 3).

In addition, the research contributes to the development of research methodology with migrant children: first, through the use of a child-centred approach, presented from three perspectives: children's, parents and teachers, and supporting the role of children's agency in the scientific research. Second, due to the ethnic, national and age diversity of young respondents, along with the unified tools, the outcomes and conclusions can be adopted and used to other groups of respondents and constitute the basis for further research with migrant children. Third, the research contributes to the cross-cultural and multi-lingual research methodology by presenting various ethical and methodological techniques, tools and approaches for conducting participatory research with migrant children and adults. Fourth, the use of ICT tools in the research indicates new areas of methodological tools that can be used in the research conducted online interlaced with the multilingual research tools.

This publication-based thesis, supplemented by three scientific works based on the same research project, clearly demonstrates the evolutional nature of the selected research area: from the presented analysis of the existing literature on migrant children in Poland and around the world (Popyk & Buler, 2018) and the analysis of the Polish and Ukrainian national curricular in terms of cultural differences and the differences in the child-teacher relations (Article 5), by demonstrating the main socialization agents (Popyk et al., 2019) and key aspects shaping children's transnational transitions (Popyk, 2021a); and by presenting the process of changing children's social practices and values under the influence of migration and distance learning (Article 2) to the development of a typology of cross-border intergenerational communication of migrant children with their grandparents (Article 3) and a typology of the peer socialization strategies for the acquisition of social capital by migrant children in Poland (Article 1).

More detailed answers to the research questions can be found in Table 3.

Conclusions

We live in the times when the public, political and scientific discourse is becoming more and more advanced in discussing the effects of transnational migration, with researchers tackling the implications of the growing super-diversity (de Haas et al., 2020; Faist, 2000; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2019; Vertovec, 2007), particularly exacerbated by the widening inequality caused by the spread of COVID-19 in 2020-2021 (Cohen, 2020; Grasso et al., 2021; Merla et al., 2020; Ullah et al., 2020). Simultaneously, comparatively little attention is paid to the issues related to children in such superdiverse context, both in terms of childhood studies (Alderson, 2019; Corsaro & Fingerson, 2006; Qvortrup et al., 2009), child migration (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Fog Olwig & Gulløv, 2003; Orellana et al., 2001; Pustułka et al., 2016), and children's socialization process in a highly globalized world (García-Sánchez & Nazimova, 2017; Roer-Strier & Strier, 2006; Strzemecka, 2015). However, these works mostly reveal the research conducted in the Western countries which have faced massive migration inflows. The research in countries, like Poland, where family immigration has been comparatively a new phenomenon, has still been at its initial stage, mainly concentrating on the labour/economic migration themes (e.g., Andrejuk, 2019; Kaczmarczyk, 2015).

Migrant children's issues have been prominently featured when the scholars refer to the growing educational disadvantages in the COVID-19 era, tracking effects of schools' closure on the already vulnerable foreign pupils (Abuhammad, 2020; Bol, 2020; Dąbrowa, 2020; Dietrich et al., 2020; Doyle, 2020). Yet, the discussed topics mainly cover the educational process and offer a hypothesis of inequality on the rise, arguing this will put migrant children in unfavourable positions on the labour market as adults. Hence, little attention is dedicated to the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019), which happen 'here and now' and have immediate effects on the pathways of migrant children's today. During educational,

transnational shifts, the socialization process towards the young migrants has been irrevocably altered by the immobility regime and distance learning. This study is, therefore, crucial in discerning the au courant effects of the pandemic on the lives of migrant children. In addition beyond the COVID-19 context, the findings contribute to the research body on transnational and everyday lives and practices, socialization strategies and the process of negotiating one's sense of belonging (see also Haikkola, 2011; Ni Laoire et al., 2016; Perez-Felkner, 2013; Shubin & Lemke, 2020; Sime, 2018), offering a comprehensive typology of the peer socialization strategies, the model of a change of children's social practices and values change, as well as presenting the transnational intergenerational communication modes typology.

This study confirms that migrant children are emplaced in the transnational social fields (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007), which makes them perform different transnational family practices (see Licoppe, 2004, Madianou, 2016). Those practices are not only directed towards the nuclear family members but are also performed across the borders, in the transnational field (see Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). The outcomes of my research project support the previous studies and illustrate that migrant children in Poland maintain regular transnational communication with their relatives, particularly with grandparents. However, their communication is to a large extent mediated by parents, who engage children in keeping cross-border relations with their left-behind relatives.

Besides, this research highlights the role of **parents** as the main socialization agents (Handel, 1988) in children's transitions from one country to another. Apart from engaging and mediating family communication and relationships across the borders, parents become the most important people to support children's socialization and education processes. The key assets of parents migrating to Poland from either Ukraine or Turkey (as the two main ethnic groups) were their social, economic and cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000).

Additionally, the emotional capital (particularly of mothers) was of prime importance in supporting children's migration experiences, the socialization process and affecting the formation of a sense of belonging. The emotional support of mothers was also fundamental during the COVID-19 lockdown and distance learning.

In terms of transnational intergenerational communication, parents were mostly present in the *mediated* communication mode. However, three other elaborated types of transnational intergenerational communication, namely *emotional, symbolic,* and *discontinuous* (Popyk & Pustułka, 2021), also indicate the role of parents, particularly mothers, in maintaining cross-border communication. Moreover, children's relationships with grandparents to a large extent depended on the type of relationships between their parents and grandparents, and the ability to induce the communication.

In terms of specific findings, I have argued that very important changes in transborder family communication took place during the COVID-19 lockdown. By comparing the communication modes before and during COVID-19, I have demonstrated how family communication between migrant children and their parents was being mediated by the technology (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013), and greatly modified under the 2020 lockdown. The findings illustrate that, on the one hand, the immobility regime enabled yearly family meetings, which had previously taken place during summer vacations, while on the other hand, it increased the anxiety level of being worried for the loved ones when the coronavirus was particularly seen as a threat to the elders (World Health Organization (WHO), 2020). The analysis showed that due to the inability to perform previously established communication modes, migrant children faced a decreasing level of communication frequency and quality, and, thus, their relationships with their grandparents loosened and reshaped *transnational grandchildhoods* (Souralová, 2019). This was particularly notable among those children, who relied on *emotiona*l and *symbolic* communication, which is grounded in direct contact and

presence (Popyk & Pustułka, 2021). The third communication mode, *mediated*, has been strengthened and intensified by the use of *polymedia* (Madianou, 2016). It has also been demonstrated that *discontinuous* communication mode has become more common among the participating migrant families during the lockdown than before. The inability to maintain regular communication and provide personal care and support resulted in distancing between the migrant children in Poland and their grandparents living abroad (see also Baldassar et al., 2014; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016; White et al., 2011).

Apart from showcasing the transnational intergenerational communication, this research also demonstrates that migrant children actively maintain cross-border communication practices with **peers**, both relatives (e.g. cousins) and friends, who live in home countries or third countries (Popyk, 2021b). This research has shown that peers became the second main socialization agent (Handel, 1988). As being a group with whom children spend most of their time during school and often in their after-school or leisure activities, peers mainly contributed to creating the environment in which migrant children were either welcomed, marginalized or unseen. All groups of respondents (children, parents and teachers) noted that migrant children experienced rather smooth and comparatively fast post-migration adaptation when they felt welcomed by the class or managed to establish close friendships, either intraethnic or interethnic. The feeling of acceptance (or not) was also significant in the formation of a sense of group belonging, place belonging, or even cultural and national belonging.

While analysing the peer socialization strategies within the studied cases, I have discovered that migrant children tend to actively construe peer relations on distance with their cousins (see also Haikkola, 2011). These relationships are usually based on the emotional bonds and memories of spending time together prior to the child's emigration, as presented in the *spiritual* peer socialization strategy (Popyk, 2021b). Besides, the *interests-based*

socialization strategy (ibid) goes beyond direct contact with friends and colleagues. When the interests are grounded in using the Internet, it allows children to spend time together while playing games or engaging in other activities online while being physically distant, even separated by borders.

Apart from the *spiritual* and *interests-based* peer socialization strategies of migrant children in Poland, I pointed out two additional socialization strategies: *prospect-based* and *mixed*. The first one, *prospect-based*, shows how migrant children enrich the *bridging* social capital (Putnam, 2000) and establish contact with the peers from local (native) peer groups. Within this category, children also build a bridge to a new society and culture for the other members of their families, who rarely have contact with the natives (see also Sime & Fox, 2015b; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016). One of the important issues in the *prospect-based* socialization strategy is the aim to get access to the new society. This goal is often intended by the parents (see also Sime & Fox, 2015) and bolstered by the future plans to bind family and prospective trajectories with Poland.

The last peer socialization strategy, *mixed*, showcases that the socialization process is not linear and clear (Gabi, 2013), but rather complex and multidirectional. For this reason, children adopt various strategies to buttress the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) at different socialization stages and across distinct social fields (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). When analysing the socialization strategies, much attention was paid to children's agency (James & Prout, 2015) and the ability to reinforce the socialization process through negotiating the relationships not only with peers but also with adults (e.g., parents) in order to ensure the contact with friends. In my study, this was particularly notable when children negotiated time and space for meeting/contacting their friends with their parents.

Apart from parents and peers, the important role in transnational transition (Pustułka Trąbka, 2019) of migrant children in Poland played by **teachers** (see also Bulandra et al.,

2019; Januszewska, 2015). It should be noted, that most of the children and parents participants positively assessed the level of support from teachers both in private and state schools. Though, the cases of poor contact with teachers, and even discrimination were also noted by children and parents.

The role of a teacher was particularly highlighted in times of distance learning. When children and parents were bewildered by the new learning mode, teachers from the private school were the ones who managed to sufficiently organize the learning process. Moreover, the private school teachers were supporting children's learning in terms of providing adjusted learning materials and assignments. During the first lockdown, in 2020, children from the state schools, however, were mostly deprived of the necessary support and guidelines from the teachers, who themselves were at the stage of acquiring digital access and skills. As a result, migrant children and their parents were left with few instructions and provided knowledge. This led to the reaffirmation of the role of teachers in children's education. Migrant children admitted that teachers were the key sources of knowledge because parents had little competence to provide it.

Besides these three main socialization agents (family, peers, and teachers), the outcomes of the conducted research revealed that the other two socialization agents, namely religion and media, pointed by Gerald Handel (1988) as the major ones, played a supplementary role in the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) of migrant children in Poland. Along with the other factors, which shape the socialization process and formation of a sense of belonging, such as ethnicity/nationality, language, (previous) migration experience, gender, and agency, religion and media became rather a context than the main socialization agents (see Table 3 for the socialization agents and factors detailed description).

The role of **religion** was primarily noted among the respondents from Turkey, the majority of whom were Muslim. The outcomes of this research illustrate that the Muslim

religion provides an important socialization space for migrant children from Turkey, who attended religious education either in the private school or during the out of school religious meeting usually taking place in the Mosque during the weekends. There, learning Quran was interlaced with establishing peer contacts (see also Sherkat, 2003) and the possibility to share own experiences, interests and emotions in the native language. Though, despite attending the Polish state schools, where the majority of children were Christian, Muslim children faced less predicament due to the religious differences in the state school than in the private international one. First, in both types of school children were able to choose ethics lessons instead of the Christian religion ones. Moreover, the private school offered Muslim religion lessons, where many child participants went to. The clash of nationalities, ethnicities and religions in the private school, however, resulted in the contradictions and mutual teasing between Muslim and non-Muslim children. Most of these disagreements were based on the religious outlook and food choices (e.g., Halal food). Children attending the state school were more discrete in their religious preferences, which could be among the reasons for facing fewer quandaries.

This study also demonstrates the important role of **media** in children's socialization process, and, more importantly, in the process of formation of a sense of belonging. Although the role of media of often seen in the migration studies as a source of the xenophobic treatments (see Gawnor,2016; Jawor, 2020), the participants in my research did not reveal the direct influence of the image of migrants in Polish or international media. Media was rather seen as a virtual space for peer interactions and contacts, e.g., playing online games, sharing various media content, or using various ICTs for communication. Nevertheless, media also became another space and mean for either inclusion or exclusion of migrant children through creating closed groups for online communication.

Along with religion, migrant children's socialization process was also largely determined by their **ethnicity**, which first of all affected the peer group compositions. Migrant children from Turkey were more likely to make close friendships with other Turkish children (or Turkish speaking children) than the rest of the ethnic groups. On the contrary, migrant children from Ukraine did not disclose any particular intentions to prioritize other Ukrainians among their friends. Instead, they rather sought to enrich the bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) applying prospect-based socialization strategies (Popyk, 2021b), and seeking friends among the natives. Ethnicity, however, became an important factor in the formation of an ethnic and non-ethnic group belonging.

Ethnicity/nationality has also become one of the main reasons for peer bullying and exclusion for children from Ukraine. Children at school were often treated through the lens of the stereotypes and opinions present among adults. Most of those negative connotations referred to evaluating Ukrainian migrants in Poland through the prism of the Ukrainian state politics, labour migration, or historical and cultural contradictions between Poland and Ukraine (see Koval et al., 2021). Children from Turkey, however, experienced teasing at school mostly due to their district differences in physical appearance. Though, it should be noted that Turkish children participating in the research expressed emotional distress because of observing their mothers and older siblings facing predicaments due to their religious and ethnic closing (mothers and older sisters wearing hijab in public) and being associated with Muslim terrorists (older brothers) (see also Shams, 2020).

Another key factor in shaping transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) of migrant children in Poland is **language**. To be able to become a part of the residing country's society, particularly one of a homogeneous nature like Poland, one should get acquainted with the local norms and values (see Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2011). This is primarily possible through learning the local language. Similarly to other studies on migrant children's

adaptation (Moskal & Sime, 2016; Ni Laoire et al., 2008; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Wærdahl, 2016; White et al., 2011), this study (Popyk 2021a, 2021b, 2021c) demonstrates that language becomes the main tool in building social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000). Language is also the key navigational tool for successful transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) and an important socialization factor in building bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000), particularly visible - in my study - among migrant children from Turkey. The demanding migration experience of many Turkish families, caused by the political persecution after the purge in 2016, induced fear and uncertainty among migrant children. Hence, being able to speak own language not only contributed to negotiating own national and ethnic identity (García-Sánchez, 2014; Meinhof & Galasiński, 2005; Peers, 2019) through participating in ethnic peer groups (see also Titzmann, 2014) but also provided an element of familiarity. The latter translated to the sense of stability and security, which is particularly necessary while being in a new unfamiliar environment. It should be also noted, however, that language issues also became a 'threshold' (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2011) in the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) of some migrant children because of a few reasons. First, both Ukrainian and Turkish children faced a sort of exclusion at school while being bullied due to their insufficient Polish language skills or having a prominent accent. Second, children with poor language skills could not sufficiently participate in the learning activities at school, or deal with homework because of having little educational support from parents and teachers. As a result, such kind of exclusion intensified the desire to participate in monolinguist groups and impeded belonging to the mainstream group. Third, when children were a part of different peer groups, e.g., at school and in the neighbourhood, they could benefit from participating in different language groups and practising their language skills.

For some migrant children, the prohibition to communicate in the native language at school (which was viewed as the best way to learn the local language) was perceived as an impediment to the socialization process. Children and parents reported that the first months, or even the first year, of attending a new school in Poland had been apprehensive for children deprived of expressing themselves in their native language. For this reason, some of the child respondents and their parents perceived distance learning as a relief: they did not have to get stressed because of not being able to perform well at school, and could benefit from learning from home, enjoying parents/siblings' help or support of using the Internet for translation, learning and preparation of the assignments.

The study also revealed some **gender** and **age** differences in experiencing transnational transitions by migrant children in Poland (see Popyk, 2021a). The outcomes illustrated that the children, both boys and girls, at a younger age (7-10 years old) went through the migration and socialization processes with lower emotional and psychological costs than the older children. This happened for a few reasons. First, at a younger age, children still perceive their parents to be the most important socialization agents (Corsaro & Eder, 1990; Handel, 1988). Thus, the emigration together with their parents was experienced as the family unity and in terms of family safety and security. The older children, however, had closer relationships with peers and friends, whom they had to leave in the home country. As a result, a feeling of separation and loss were present until children made new friendships in Poland. Second, the socialization process in the destination country was perceived as smoother for the younger children because of the nature of friendship, which is often play-based and is led by a desire to have many/new friends. Besides, peer curiosity became a reason to get to know other children. For the older children, however, the socialization process was rather arduous as migrant children had to fit the already formed peer groups through negotiation of their own values and interests. Moreover, the research indicates the apparent gender differences in the

group of older children. It has been shown that boys face more difficulties in making friends, as they often have to prove that they fit the selected peer group. What's more, boys at the age of 12-13 tend to be quite competitive and demonstrate their superiority through physical aggression. Girls, on the contrary, are seen as more courteous, thus, it was easier for them to join a peer group and make friends. Nonetheless, entering a social group does not always ensure full contentment and satisfaction. This study demonstrates that girls' friendships were less stable and durable than boys' ones. As a result, those boys who managed to make friendships expressed higher friendship satisfaction and fewer breaks up. For the girls, though, changing friends was more common. Notwithstanding, some mix gender friendships were also present among the children. Though, they were more prevalent among the younger groups of children.

Another important aspect, which had a considerable impact on the transnational transitions and the process of formation of a sense of belonging of migrant children was the **migration experience** (also see Popyk, 2021a). Migration experiences are viewed here in a few forms, namely the migration reason, process, and length; and the previous migration experience. All three groups of respondents acknowledged that both economic and political persecution emigration reasons were hard and demanding. Those children who knew about the families' intentions to emigrate to Poland, had some time to prepare in terms of becoming aware of the decision, learning some Polish language and getting acquainted with the cultural and historical context. This could be perceived as a facilitating factor in transnational transitions. This study, however, shows that knowing the destination place has little effect on the later socialization process. The environment (school, neighbourhood) and agents (parents, peers and teachers) were decisive in experiencing these transitions.

Political refugeeing itself is a burdensome and worrisome process, which has serious consequences in later life (Hjern et al., 1988, Fazel & Stein, 2002). My research, however,

illustrates, that those children who were brought to Poland due to the political persecution of their families in Turkey, were not aware enough of the emigration process. Many children realized they will not go back to their home country after a few weeks/months of living in Poland. For those children, the safety and security of the family were perceived as a priority, while Poland was seen as a non-life-threatening place. This was among the main reasons to minimize the home sicking and longing.

Among the other facilitating aspects for the socialization process of migrant children is their previous migration experience. It is proved (Popyk 2021a, 2021b) that those children who had lived (or at least visited) in other places before coming to Poland, expressed a higher level of preparation to enter a new social-cultural context. This, however, was not the case for those children who were forced to live in different countries before coming to Poland due to the travel documents and permissions policy and process. The multiple transitions usually resulted in significant emotional and psychological losses, which negatively affected children's socialization and adaptation when arriving in Poland.

The last, but not least factor, which shapes the socialization process of migrant children participating in this research is the **agency** (see also Alderson, 2016; Clark, 2017; A. James, 2007; Mayall, 2000; Prout & James, 1997; Qvortrup et al., 2009; Thompson et al., 2019). This study goes in line with the previous research (e.g., Ni Laoire et al., 2008; Sime & Fox, 2015; Strzemecka, 2915; White et al., 2011) and proves that migrant children in Poland from both major ethnic groups (Ukrainian and Turkish) were taking the major steps in building the links and contacts in a new culture and society through establishing relations at school and neighbourhood. Apart from being the translators and assistants for their parents at different institutions in Poland, as children were the ones who often knew the Polish language the best, migrant children also demonstrated a high level of self-determination in negotiating their

social roles and autonomy. This became significant in the process of formation of a sense of a group and place belonging.

Migrant children's transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka, 2019) and the process of formation of a sense of belonging have been greatly shaped by the COVID-19 pandemic and school's closure. Being cut off from their Polish peers and teachers, most of the children who had had poor peer contact, found themselves disjoined from school as the main site of socialization. Despite feeling joy and contentment of being able to use the Internet and devices for learning purposes, children's ease was soon replaced with the concerns and anxiety linked to neither being able to perform well at school nor have the capacity to enjoy peer contacts and their direct support. This led to the significant transformation of children's social, everyday, and educational practices, as well as to the reconsideration of the values of school, teachers, peers and home (Popyk, 2021c). The schools' closure reconfirmed that the school serves as the major socialization space and the main place for migrant children's direct contact with teachers and peers representing the cultural setting.

Besides, the COVID-19 pandemic required the revaluation and reconsideration of the notion of 'home' in migrant families (Popyk, 2021d). While school is viewed as the main bridge between migrant children (and often their families) and society, it is often perceived as foreign and unknown. On the contrary, home is associated with something intimate and familiar. The feeling of familiarity contributes to the sense of ontological security (Giddens, 1991; Sime, 2018) among children, particularly for those who have undergone significant changes in the living context. The lockdown caused the saturation of the space, in which migrant families face one of the two delineated space mixtures, *homogeneous* and *heterogeneous* (Popyk, 2021d). The first one indicates the absolute space solvation (see Sarnowska et al., 2020), which illustrated the inability to separate home and school in terms of time and space. The second type presents a heterogeneous mode and points to the space

mixture in which intimate and school/work-life remain separated despite being performed in one place.

To recapitulate, this publication-based thesis demonstrates that the transnational transitions (Pusułka & Trabka, 2019) and the process of formation of a sense of belonging among migrant children in Poland are complex and multiplex. They are not only shaped by different socialization agents but are also established on multiple levels (micro, meso, and macro) (Popyk et al., 2019). The presented analysis demonstrates the migrant children's socialization process and the process of formation of a sense of belonging before and during the COVID-19 pandemic and contributes to developing theoretical, methodological and empirical knowledge in childhood and migration studies.

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APPENDIX 1.

Table 1. CHILDTRAN Project Research Questions, Personal Characteristics and Methods

Research Questions	**Personal Characteristics**	**Method**	**Techniques**	**Tools**
1. How do migrant children in Poland experience transnational transitions?	age; sex; agency; interpersonal skills; ethnicity; reason and process of migration; language; home country culture and religion; place of residence; previous migration experience; previous migration experience of parents; type of school; social, cultural and emotional capitals.	Qualitative	Semi-structured interviews with children, parents and teachers	Interview
2. What/who are the main socialization agents in the transnational transitions and multi-scalar belonging of the migrant children in Poland?	age; gender; language; culture and religion; media use; ethnic community participation; discrimination country's community and neighbourhood	Qualitative	Semi-structured interviews with children, parents and teachers	Interview
3. What is the role of the peers in the transnational transitions and multi-scalar belonging of the migrant children in Poland?	age; gender; agency; interpersonal skills; language; culture and religion; media use; community significance; place of residence; social capital; parents' social capital	Qualitative	Semi-structured interviews with children, parents and teachers	Interview

APPENDIX 2

Table 2. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Child Participants

No	Pseudonym[1]	Gender	Age[2]	Country of origin	Language of interview	Previous residence[3]	Time in Poland (years)	Type of school
1	Adam	Boy	12/6	Romania	EN	1	6	private
2	David	Boy	10/8	Turkey	TR/PL	1	2	public
3	Edward	Boy	12/11	Ukraine	RU	0	1	public
4	Amy	Girl	13/9	Turkey	TR/PL	0	4	private
5	Molly	Girl	9/6	Turkey	EN	1	3	public
6	Amir	Boy	13/11	Turkey	EN	3	2	private
7	Ali	Boy	12/8	Turkey	EN	0	4	public
8	Amel	Boy	12/8	Turkey	EN	2	4	private
9	Oleg	Boy	13/11	Ukraine	RU	0	2	public
10	Zoya	Girl	10/8	Turkey	TR/PL	1	3	private
11	Ivo	Boy	11/9	Turkey	EN	0	2	public
12	Linda	Girl	12/8	Turkey	TR/PL	0	4	public
13	Mehmet	Boy	11/9	Turkey	EN	0	2	private
14	Inga	Girl	12/11	Ukraine	UA	0	1	public
15	Sarah	Girl	11/7	Lithuania	EN	0	4	private

[1] Note, that in order to provide anonymity, the pseudonyms were changed in each publication, while preserving the relevant data.

[2] The second number indicate the age of arriving to Poland

[3] Number of countries of previous residence

16	Alina	Girl	12/8	Ukraine	UA	0	4	private
17	Matthew	Boy	11/9	Turkey	TR/PL	1	2	public
18	Nina	Girl	12/8	Turkey	EN	2	4	public
19	Sonia	Girl	13/10	Turkey	TR/PL	0	3	public
20	Lena	Girl	12/10	Ukraine	UA	0	2	private

APPENDIX 3

Table 3. Answers to the Research Questions

Research Questions	Answers (findings)
R.Q. 1.: How do migrant children in Poland experience transnational transitions?	The analysis and outcomes of this research go in line with some of the previous studies dedicated to migrant children, offering complementary knowledge on the Polish context and contributing proposals on specific themes. Generally, the empirical material demonstrates that the process of transnational transitions and the formation of a sense of belonging are socially complex and even perplexing, as they are shaped by various direct and indirect factors, which have been divided here into the following groups: attributes and demographic variables (age, gender, agency, family patterns and communication, religion, family socioeconomic status, and social capital); migration experience and context (migration reasons, aims and process; previous migration experience of children and their parents); home country's and receiving county's social, cultural and educational contexts. Migrant children experience transnational transitions in Poland in the setting shaped by socialization agents, predominantly peers who create norms in the spaces relevant for the formation of a sense of belonging. Moreover, transnational transitions of migrant children in Poland are connected to the ways their family members - both parents and other relatives in the transnational spaces - support their transitions from one social and cultural context into another. Besides, school (mainly class teachers) contributes to the process of entering a new social group. Teachers act as the links to the learning system in Poland, but also to the peer groups.
R.Q. 1ad.: What/who are the main socialization agents in the transnational transitions and multi-scalar belonging of the migrant children in Poland?	Socialization actors can be categorized in two ways: spatial, i.e. those in the country of origin (or third country) and those in the country of residence, but also they can be viewed through the prism of their level of action as micro, meso and macro agents. Among the most important socialization agents which interlace between the three main levels of socialization (micro, meso and macro) are family (parents and other significant relatives), peers, and school (class teachers, subject teachers and the administration staff). <u>Family</u> Parents are pivotal in supporting children's migration experiences, the socialization process and educational transitions. The resources (capitals) ensure comprehensive material and emotional assistance when children face challenges related to being betwixt and between cultures, schools, peer groups and kin influences.

	Parents' social capital, namely the acquaintances in Poland, were decisive for the families from Turkey and Ukraine to choose Poland as the residence country. Besides, previous contacts helped most of the parents to get employment in Poland and, in the case f the Turkish children, sign children to the private international school. The economic capital, either brought to Poland or acquired as a result of employment, allowed for sustaining all/most of the family members living in Poland and choosing the private school for those who could effort and those who perceived it as the bolster for transnational transitions or a springboard for further achievements. The cultural capital of parents was also the main asset, as most of the parents revealed sufficient knowledge necessary to support their children's education, particularly for the younger children (7-10 years old). Even though, parents were often less acquainted with the social and cultural norms in Poland, less familiar with the education system and requirements, and had lower Polish (and sometimes English) language skills than their children. they were the ones who took the decisions of migrating to Poland, choosing the place of residence and schools. Parents' support was particularly notable in times of COVID-19 pandemic and distance learning. Parents tried to ensure access and skills necessary for online learning. Besides, they were the ones who took care of children's social lives and entertainment in times of immobility regime. Additionally, personal and cross-border (mediated by parents and technology-mediated) communication with grandparents living in a country other than Poland plays an important role in the process of migrant children's socialization. The study was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, so it was observed that the long-term absence of spatial mobility adversely affected communication between children and grandparents and contributed to the development of a *discontinuous* model of intergenerational communication. <u>Peers:</u> Peers from both countries (home and destination) play an important role in the transnational traditions and the formation of a sense of belonging (see also below: answer to question R.Q. 2ad). <u>Teachers:</u> Another important category of socialization actors is teachers (especially class teachers) and school staff. A difference was noticed in the context of the age in the perception of the role of teachers in the transnational traditions of migrant children in Poland: the role of the

	teacher/educator among younger children is greater than in the case of older children. This is mainly due to the fact that in grades 1-3, the class teacher is responsible for teaching the majority of the subjects. This means that children spend more time with one adult who, firstly, has the ability to observe children and interfere in peer relationships, and, secondly, becomes a trusted person for children aged 7-9, when it is still a person adult is an authority. During the first years of school, children not only learn the material but also are taught how to build social skills and maintain contact with peers. In the older grades (4-8, 4-7 in this research) of the primary school in Poland, the main focus is put on the learning outcomes, and comparatively less time is dedicated to the socialization issues, as having only one hour or the teachers' guidelines lesson (where the class teacher meets with the whole class). For these reasons, migrant children who joined the school in grades 4-6 are more likely than the younger children to face challenges in establishing contact with peers and with teachers. Rare contact with the class teacher and the subject teachers also results in a low level of trust and familiarity, and, thus, a sense of security. The teachers' role was also significant during the schools' closure. They were responsible for organizing the learning process and providing needed emotional support in times of insecurity. The outcomes indicate that the first COVID-19 lockdown left teachers, parents and children with little knowledge and resources of supporting migrant children transnational transitions, managing social and leisure time.
R.Q. 2ad.: What is the role of the peers in the transnational transitions and multi-scalar belonging of the migrant children in Poland?	This study with migrant children in Poland shows that peers, especially acquaintances and friends, play one of the most important roles in the process of transnational transitions and the formation of a sense of belonging. It should be noted that good friendships were the main determinant of the successful socialization and integration of migrant children in Poland, as those children who felt welcomed and acknowledged revealed a higher level of emotional satisfaction from being in a new social and cultural context. Moreover, those children having good peer contact could benefit from support in completing the learning tasks and learning new countries norms and rules faster. The study also reveals that the older children (11-13 years old) had more freedom to negotiate their peer relations as there were able to contact and meet their friends out of home and school without parents. Besides, peers, both from the same and different ethnic groups, have a crucial role in negotiating own identity and building a sense of belonging through either sharing the same cultural and social values and experiences, or learning the

	new/other ones, and, thus, searching for the answers of 'Who am I?' and 'Where do I belong to?' What's more, the outcomes of the research demonstrates that peers are the key channels of practising/learning the language, which is not only used for sharing own thoughts, emotions and experiences but also contributes to children learning process and educational outcomes, as peers become both cultural and learning assistants for the newcomers. The research shows that migrant children, who took part in this research project, apply different socialization techniques, which are tightly linked to children's interests and hobbies, e.g., computer games, sports, which provide valuable space and occasions for communication and building relationships with peers. The following peer socialization strategies were delineated in this research: 1. spiritual; 2. interest-based; 3. prospect-based; 4. mixed. The last but not least, those children who spend more out of lessons time with their peers, e.g., in the common room (after the lessons) or in the school bus, revealed a higher level of peer socialization and more advanced social contacts and satisfaction.

Annexe 1.

Interview Sheet (interviews with parents in English)

GENERAL INFORMATION

Time:

- ok. 60-90 min

Steps:

1. Inform about the aim, procedure and outcomes usage of the research

Dear Parent,
Thank you for your interest in the research!

This research project is conducted by Mgr. Anzhela Popyk, a PhD student at the University SWPS in Warsaw. The main aim of the research, entitled "The Role of Socialization Agents in Transnational Transitions and Formation of Sense of Belonging Among Migrant Children in Poland", is to study migrant children's experience during the change of a country of living, school and environment. Participation in the interview is absolutely voluntary. You have all the right to withdraw from it at any moment without giving any reason and without any negative consequences.

During the interview, you will be able to ask any questions and refuse to give an answer to any question if you consider it inappropriate.

When you state your consent to participate in the research, we will start the interview, which will last about 1,5 hours. We will talk about your and your family's experience in migration to Poland/other countries, if applicable. We also will talk about your life before your arrival in Poland and your children's experience living and studying here.

The information is anonymous and confidential.

2. Read and ask for the consent
3. After a talk fill in the notes

Part A. Before Poland

- ✓ I would like to talk about your family
- ✓ How long have you lived in Poland? What is the story of your migration here?
- ✓ Did you come with your family? Who is in your family?
- ✓ Could you tell me about the country of the previous residence? Is it your home country?
- ✓ Was your wife/husband born in the same country? Where were your children born?
- ✓ How long have you lived in a country of the previous residence (only if they lived somewhere else)? With whom?
- ✓ What language do you speak at home?
- ✓ Did your children go to school in home country? Other countries? What grade?
- ✓ Did they like school? What did they say about school? About classmates? Teachers?
- ✓ What subject was their favourite?

- ✓ Did they have friends at school? Out of school? How often did they meet? Who they were (nationalities, relatives, age)?
- ✓ What kind of relations did they have with the teachers in the home country?
- ✓ Did your children go to kindergarten in home country? How long? What type of kindergarten, private or public? Did they like it?
- ✓ Do children keep in contact with an old friend? How often do they get in contact? Meet?

Part B. Migrate

- ✓ Whose decision was to move out? When?
- ✓ When did you inform kids? Did you discuss it with the children? Other relatives?
- ✓ What was children's first reaction? Why?
- ✓ What was the reaction of your relatives? Why?
- ✓ Did you know anyone in Poland before you came here?
- ✓ Did you come directly to Warsaw?
- ✓ How did you feel in Poland in the first weeks? How did your children feel? What did they say?
- ✓ How do you find living in Poland now?
- ✓ What was the most surprising thing in Poland? Positive/negative?
- ✓ Did children go to school right after moving to Poland? What school? Why?
- ✓ Did your children like school? What did they say about it? Classmates? Teachers?
- ✓ What subjects did they like? Which ones didn't? why?
- ✓ Has anything changed? How it is at school?
- ✓ Did your children tell about their friends and relations with their classmates? Who were their friends?
- ✓ Was there anyone that they didn't really like? Why?
- ✓ What children didn't like about the school/class?
- ✓ Has anything changed? What relations do children have with their classmates?
- ✓ Do children go to the extra activity classes/clubs? Which ones? Did they choose them?

Part C. Free time/relatives

- ✓ Now I would like to ask you about your free time. How do you spend it?
- ✓ Do you stay at home? What do you do?
- ✓ How often do you go out/ visit friends?
- ✓ How do you spend the holidays? At home? With family or friends? Going back to the home country?
- ✓ How often do you contact relatives and friends from the home country?
- ✓ How much time do children spend with relatives/grandpas when you lived in a home country? What did they like to do?
- ✓ Who helps your children to learn your traditions? Family/relatives? How do you teach your traditions?

- ✓ How do your children spend their free time? Do they have friends out of school? Who they are?
- ✓ How did you use to spend your time living in your home country?

Part E. Pandemic

- How do you like distance learning?
- How do children like staying at home while learning?
- What pluses and minuses do you see of distant learning?

Part D. Future plans

- ✓ Where do you see your family in 5 years? Why?
- ✓ would you like to live in Poland? Why?
- ✓ What about your children? Where do you think they will live when growing up?
- ✓ What do you think they will be/do when growing up?
- ✓ Where will they go to the Uni? What specialization? Why? Whose choice?

End of the interview

Thank the respondents. Remind that if they have any questions they can contact me or you anytime.

Fill in the notes

Annexe 2.

Interview Sheet (interviews with children in Polish)

Czas:

- 30-45 min.

Etapy badania.

1. Poinformowanie o celach, przebiegu projektu. Możliwości wycofania się i przerwania wywiadu.
2. Uzyskanie zgody na udział w projekcie od rodzica/có w
3. Uzyskanie zgody na udział w projekcie od dziecka
4. Badanie z dzieckiem – scenariusz

Blok A. Szkoła/nauka i koledzy/koleżanki

Przykładowe pytania:

- ✓ Czy możesz opowiedzieć mi o swojej szkole? Do której klasy chodzisz? Czy to jest Twoja pierwsza szkoła w Polsce? Kto wybrał tę szkołę?
- ✓ Czy pamiętasz, kiedy się dowiedziałeś/aś, że przeprowadzacie się do Polski? Czy rozmawiałeś/aś o tym z rodzicami? Jak wtedy się czułeś/aś?
- ✓ Czy mówiłeś/aś w języku polskim lub angielskim kiedy przyjechałeś/aś do Polski?
- ✓ Czy znałeś/aś kogoś z twojej szkoły przed przyjazdem do Polski? jeśli tak: gdzie poznałaś/eś tą osobę? jak długo się znacie?
- ✓ Czy miałaś kolegów w Warszawie? czy to są osoby, których poznałaś przed przyjazdem do Polski? Gdzie mieszkali? Jak często się widzieliście się? Jak spędziłeś/ aś z nimi czas?
- ✓ Jak pamiętasz swój pierwszy dzień/tydzień w szkole? Czy pamiętasz kogo najpierw poznałeś/aś? Kiedy to było? Jakie miałeś/aś wrażenie po pierwszym tygodniu? Czy poznałaś kolegów z klasy/ szkoły?
- ✓ Kto odbiera Cię ze szkoły? Kiedy (tuż po zajęciach)?
- ✓ Czy przed wyjazdem chodziłeś/aś do szkoły kraju ...? Jak wspominasz początek tej szkoły i tę szkołę? Jak wspominasz zmianę szkoły?
- ✓ Czy obecna szkoła się różni od Twojej poprzedniej szkoły? Czym? Liczba uczniów w klasie? Zasady w szkole? Relacjami z kolegami/nauczycielami?
- ✓ Jak sie czules w szkole w kraju X? A jak sie czujesz sie teraz w szkole X w Polsce? Czy od poczatku tak sie czules w tej szkole? Kto sprawil, ze wlasnie tak sie czules? Jak zachowywali sie Twoi nauczyciele gdy przyjechales? a jak jest teraz? Kogo na poczatku polubiles w Polsce i dlaczego? A czy sa jakies osoby za ktorymi nie przepadasz? Albo ktorych nie lubiles wczesniej? Co do tego doprowadzilo?
- ✓ Lubisz swoich nauczycieli? Kogo najbardziej lubisz? Jacy oni są?
- ✓ A znajomi w szkole – fajni są? Lubisz ich? Dlaczego/Dlaczego nie? Czy są jakieś inne dzieci z Twojego kraju w klasie? Czy możesz mi powiedzieć więcej o Twoich kolegach/koleżankach? Skąd oni są? Jak często spędzasz czas z kolegami/ rówieśnikami? Co lubisz robić razem?

- ✓ Czy chodzisz na jakieś zajęcia pozalekcyjne [dodatkowe]? Jeśli tak to co Ci się tam najbardziej podoba? Lubisz swoich nauczycieli? Jacy są?
- ✓ Którego języka najczęściej używasz w rozmowie z kolegami?
- ✓ Czy wychodzisz się pobawić na podwórko? Jak często? Z kim tam się bawisz?
- ✓ Czy odwiedzasz jakieś imprezy organizowane w mieście/dzielnicy/osiedlu? Z kim wychodzisz? Co tam lubisz robić?
- ✓ Opowiedz proszę o swojej poprzedniej szkole (w kraju pochodznienia lub pobytu). Pytania się powielają w zależności od liczby szkół uczęszczanych przez dziecko.

Blok B. Rodzina i czas wolny

- ✓ Czy mógłbyś/mogłabyś opowiedzieć o swojej rodzinie? Z kim tu przyjechałaś/eś? Z kim mieszkasz?
- ✓ Czy masz rodzinę w swoim kraju? Kogo? Jak często się kontaktujecie?
- ✓ Czy masz rodzinę w innych krajach?
- ✓ W jakim języku mówicie w domu? Z dalszą rodziną?
- ✓ Oglądasz telewizję? Lubisz oglądać telewizję? Czy masz ulubiony program? Jaki? W jakim języku? Z kim oglądasz telewizję?
- ✓ A co lubisz robić w weekendy [sobotę, niedzielę]? Zostajesz w domu czy gdzieś wychodzisz? Jeśli tak to gdzie? Z kim? Jak często? Uprawiasz jakieś sporty? Gdzie? Dlaczego? Z kim? Jak często? Lubisz to robić? Jeśli nie to co byś chciał/a robić?
- ✓ Mogę zapytać co robiłeś/laś w ostatni weekend? Coś ze swoją rodziną? Kto chciał to robić? -> Rodzice? Ty? A może ktoś inny?
- ✓ Opowiesz mi jak spędzasz święta? Jedziesz gdzieś wtedy? Jeśli tak to gdzie? -> Z kim? Jak często jeździsz do kraju pochodzenia? Kogo tam odwiedzasz? Lubisz dostawać prezenty? Co lubisz dostawać? Co chciałbyś/chciałabyś dostać? Dlaczego? Od kogo?
- ✓ A jak spędzasz wakacje? Co robisz? Jedziesz gdzieś? Jeśli tak to gdzie? Z kim? -> Jak często? [Co roku/częściej/rzadziej]?
- ✓ Jak spędzasz czas kiedy jesteś w domu? Używasz komputera czasami? A Internetu? Po co? Jakie strony lubisz? W jakim języku?

Blok C. Pandemia

- ✓ Jak Ci się podoba nauka w trybie dalnym?
- ✓ Jakie widzisz plusy i minusy takiej nauki?
- ✓ Czy potrzymujesz kontakt z kolegami? Jak czesto się spotykacie/zdwaniacie się?

Blok D. Przyszłość

- ✓ Za X lat skończysz szkołę, do której chodzisz teraz. Czy wiesz już do jakiej szkoły chciałbyś pójść później?
- ✓ Kim chcesz być, gdy dorośniesz? Dlaczego? Jak myślisz co musisz zrobić, żeby zostać X?
- ✓ Czy rozmawiałeś/aś o swoich planach/marzeniach z rodzicami? Co oni o tym myślą?
- ✓ Kim są Twoi rodzice? Co robią? Czy ich zajęcia Cię ciekawią? Dlaczego?

Annexe 3.

Interview sheet (interviews with teachers in Polish)

INFORMACJE OGÓLNE

Czas trwania wywiadu:

- 60-90 min

Język badania:

- Wywiad będzie prowadzony w języku angielskim, polskim, ukraińskim lub rosyjskim, a także tureckim w obecności kwalifikowanego tłumacza.

Etapy badania.

1. Poinformowanie o celach, przebiegu projektu. Możliwości wycofania się i przerwania wywiadu.
2. Uzyskanie zgody na udział w projekcie
3. Rozmowa
4. Wypełnienie notatek

Blok A. O szkole

1. Chciałabym porozmawiać o P. Pracy. Jak długo P. Pracuje w … szkole?
2. Czy mógłby/łaby P. Opowiedzieć o swoich obowiązkach w szkole? Czego P. Uczy? Jakie klasy? Ile godzin ma z każda klasą tygodniowo?
3. Jaka jest historia pracy z migrantami? Dlaczego wybrałaś?
4. Jak liczne są klasy? Skąd pochodzi większość dzieci? Czy są dzieci z kraju P. Pochodzenia (jeśli inny niż polski).
5. W jakim języku P. Mówi z dziećmi na zajęciach? Na przerwach/po zajęciach z dziećmi/z kolegami? W jakim języku mówią dzieci?
6. Jaki jest proces zakwalifikowania dziecka do szkoły? Czy są jakieś wymagania? (wiem, że w mojej szkole nie ma, nawet z zerowym poziomem językowym dzieci są przyjmowane)
7. Jak wygląda nauka dzieci w szkole? Czy klasy są podzielone? Jak (chodzi tu o podział językowy czy poziom wiedzy dzieci)?
8. Jak długo dzieci pozostają w szkole? Ile mają lekcji? Czy mają czas wolny? Jak długie są przerwy? Czy jest świetlica?
9. Jak wygląda nauka dzieci, które dopiero dołączyły do klasy? czy jest oferowane jakieś wsparcie językowe, kulturowe, pedagogiczne, psychologiczne? Czy szkoła oferuje zajęcia wyrównawcze? Czy jest asystent kulturowy? Jeśli tak, to jakich kultur. Jeśli nie, to kto pomaga w trudnych sytuacjach? (często nauczyciele, które pochodzą z tego samego kraju).
10. Czy szkoła posiada przewodnik po postępowaniu i nauczaniu dzieci, które dopiero się dołączyły do szkoły?
11. Czy P. Prowadzi dodatkowe lekcje/ wyrównawcze, kluby? Jakie? Dla kogo? Ilu dzieci chodzi na te zajęcia? Czy te zajęcia są zalecane dla dzieci czy wolnego wyboru?
12. Jaki P. stosuje system oceniania? Czy on się różni od sposobu oceniania dzieci, które dopiero się dołączyły do szkoły?

Blok B. O dzieciach

1. Na podstawie P. obserwacji jakie trudności dzieci przeżywają po dołączeniu się do szkoły? Jak długo zwykle to trwa? Dlaczego?
2. Jak sam/a P. wspiera dzieci w sytuacji pojawienia się trudności?
3. Kto jeszcze i jak je wspiera/pomaga w tym czasie?
4. Po czym poznaje Pan/i, że dzieci przeszły lub nie przeszły adaptacji?
5. Jeśli adaptacja trwa dłużej niż zwykle (ponad rok zakładam), jakie szkoła oferuje dodatkowe wsparcie?
6. Gdzie dzieci szukają pomocy? Jakiej? Z kim się kontaktują (koledzy, nauczyciele, wychowawca pedagog)? Czy to się zmienia jakoś w czasie od momentu dołączenia do szkoły?
7. Jaka jest rola rodziców/rodziny/rodzeństwa w procesie adaptacji dzieci w nowej szkole? Jaki rodzice mają stosunek do takiej sytuacji? Jaka jest ich postawa?
8. Czy jest różnica pomiędzy dziećmi które mają rodzeństwo i nie?
9. Jaki stosunek mają nauczyciele/rówieśnicy w procesie adaptacji dzieci migrantów w nowej szkole?
10. Z pozycji dziecka kto jest ważniejszy? Czy to się zmienia z czasem?
11. Rola media/religii?
12. Czy dzieci dzielą się z P. Swoimi przeżyciami? W jakich okolicznościach przychodzą do Pani/a? Z jakimi problemami przychodzą? O czym opowiadają? W jaki sposób P. reaguje? radzi/interweniuje/ (kontaktuje się z rodzicami/ angażuje w aktywności/rozmawia z innymi dziećmi)?
13. Czy dzieci opowiadają o swoim kraju? Rodzinie? Poprzedniej szkole? W jakich okolicznościach? Czy są o to proszone? W jakich okolicznościach? Jakie budzi to reakcje innych dzieci?
14. Czy w szkole są zajęcia/nauka o wielokulturowości? Jakie? Co jest poruszane na takich zajęciach? Jaka jest postawa nauczycieli w szkole wobec wielokulturowości/ różnorodności kulturowej? Jak nauczyciele wprowadzają wiedzę o innych narodowościach i kulturach?
15. Czy w szkole pojawiały się problemy pomiędzy: 1) dziećmi lub 2) dziećmi i nauczycielami, 3) nauczycielami a rodzicami na tle kulturowym? Jakie? Proszę podać jakieś przykłady. Dlaczego P. zdaniem takie problemy wystąpiły? Jak były rozwiązywane?
16. Ile czasu wolnego dzieci mają w szkole ciągu dnia? Czym się zajmują? czego dzieci nie mogą robić w szkole w czasie wolnym?
17. Jak dzieci tworzą grupy? W jakiej konfiguracji (płeć, narodowość, inne widoczne i mniej widoczne różnice społeczne/ kulturowe)? Jak to się odbywa podczas zadań w klasie? A co dzieje się na przerwach? Z P. wiedzy, czy te kontakty są potem przekładane na życie pozaszkolne?
18. Jak ocenia P. wsparcie, które szkoła oferuje dzieciom? Co można byłoby zrobić inaczej/ lepiej? Na jakie bariery szkoła natrafia w pomocy dzieciom? Jakie widział(a)bym Pan/i/ wprowadził(a)by Pan/i rozwiązania, gdyby miał/a Pan/i taką możliwość? Co szkole pomaga we wsparciu dzieci?

Blok C. Kontakt z rodzicami

1. Czy P. Ma dobry kontakt z rodzicami?
2. W jaki sposób P. Kontaktuje się z rodzicami? Jak często? Jak to wygląda w przypadku rodziców nowych dzieci?
3. Jakim językiem P. Się posługuje w rozmowie? Jak P. Sobie radzi jeśli rodzice nie mówią w tych językach?
4. W jakich sprawach rodzice kontaktują się z Panem/ Panią?

Blok D. Pandemia

1. Jak wygląda nauka w czasie kwarantanny?
2. Jaka jest postawa szkoły/dzieci/ rodziców?
3. Jakie są wady i zalety takiej nauki jeśli chodzi o socjalizacje dzieci?

Blok E. Przyszłość

1. Jaka jest rola szkoły w rozwoju indywidualnych zdolności ucznia/uczennicy? Jaka jest efektywność szkoły, jeśli chodzi o rozwój indywidualny dzieci?
2. Czy dzieci dzielą się z P. Planami/pomysłami na przyszłość? Czy są one związane z pozostaniem w Polsce czy nie?
3. Kto jest dzisiaj ważny dla dzieci? Jakie osoby? Jakie instytucje? Dlaczego?

Annexe 4.

Invitation to Participate in Research (in English)

Dear Parents,

Hope you are doing well in these times!

I'm writing to invite you to participate in the interview, which is a part of my PhD thesis, entitled "Role of the Socialization Agents in Transnational Transitions and Formation of Sense of Belonging in Migrant Children in Poland", which I'm writing at the University SWPS. During the talk, I would like to talk about your child's experience living in a home country and Poland, his/her relations with friends and teachers.

The project is approved by the University ethical committee. It's is anonymous and confidential; no personal data will be revealed. The talk lasts about an hour with a parent and an hour with a child. Time and date to agree, I will fit your schedule.

The interview will be held in one of the languages: Polish, English, Ukrainian, Russian or any other language with a professional interpreter (who also is obliged to respect confidentiality and anonymity based on the non-disclosure agreement).

I Will be incredibly grateful for your response.

More information about the project I can send if necessary.

Best regards,
Angelika Popyk
angelikapopyk@gmail.com

Invitation to Participate in Research (in Turkish)

Sevgili Ebeveynler,
Umarım bu günlerde iyisinizdir!

SWPS Üniversitesinde yazdığım doktora tezimin bir parçası olan, **"Polonya'da Uluslararası Geçişler ve Göçmen Çocuklarda Aidiyet Duygusu Oluşturmada Sosyalleştirme Unsurlarının Rolü"** başlıklı röportaja sizi katılmaya davet etmek için yazıyorum. Konuşma boyunca çocuğunuzun memleketinizde ve Polonya'da geçirdiği deneyimler hakkında konuşmak istiyorum.

Proje, Üniversite etik kurulu tarafından onaylanmıştır. Anonim ve gizlidir; hiçbir kişisel bilgi açıklanmaz. Konuşma, ebeveyn ve çocukla yaklaşık birer saat sürecektir. Şayet onaylarsanız, mülakatın tarihini ve saatini sizin programınıza göre düzenleyeceğim.

Röportaj, Lehçe, İngilizce, Ukraynaca, Rusça veya profesyonel tercümanlı basak herhangi bir dilde (ayrıca gizlilik sözleşmesine dayanarak gizliliğe ve anonimlik durumuna saygı göstermekte yükümlü olan) olabilir.

Şayet kabul ederseniz, cok minnettar kalırım!

Proje hakkında daha fazla bilgi verebilirim.

Saygılarımla,
Angelika Popyk
angelikapopyk@gmail.com

Annexe 5.

Informed Consent for Child's Participation in the Research (in Polish)
ŚWIADOMA ZGODA RODZICA NA UDZIAŁ DZIECKA W BADANIU
(Język Polski)

Projekt badawczy:

"Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce"

Informacja dla rodzica osoby badanej:

Szanowni Rodzice,
Dziękuję za zainteresowanie moim badaniem.

- Niniejsze badanie prowadzone są w ramach projektu badawczego prowadzonego przez Mgr. Anzhelę Popyk, studentkę socjologii z Uniwersytetu SWPS w Warszawie. Opiekunem naukowym jest Prof. Dr. Izabela Grabowska, opiekunem pomocniczym - dr. Paula Pustułka.
- Zanim zdecyduje się Pan/Pani wziąć udział w badaniu, proszę o zapoznanie się z informacjami zawartymi w tym dokumencie. Dzięki temu poznają Państwo cel badania oraz zdobędą informacje o jego faktycznym przebiegu.

Cel badania:
Głównym celem projektu, zatytułowanym „Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Przejściach Transnarodowych i Formowaniu Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci Migrantów w Polsce" jest zbadanie, co dzieje się, gdy dzieci przybywające do Polski z różnych krajów rozpoczynają naukę w szkole i zaczynają budować poczucie przynależności i uczucie przywiązania w nowym kraju. W szczególności projekt analizuje główne ścieżki i cechy tego, co nazywa się „przejściami ponadnarodowymi" i oznacza przechodzenie z domu do szkoły w obcym, bi/wielokulturowym otoczeniu. Proces ten przyczynia się do kształtowania poczucia przynależności wśród dzieci migrantów w Polsce. W ramach projektu zostanie zbadane, które osoby i instytucje („aktorzy socjalizacji") odgrywają rolę w tych procesach.

Czy muszę wyrazić zgodę na udział dziecka w badaniu?
Uczestnictwo w wywiadzie jest **dobrowolne**. Może Pan/Pani lub Państwa dziecko wycofać się z udziału w badaniu w dowolnej chwili bez podania żadnych powodów oraz narażenia na jakiekolwiek negatywne konsekwencje.
Jeśli wyraża Pan/Pani zgodę na udział dziecka w badaniu, to poproszę o wypełnienie zgody na udział i umówimy się na wywiad z dzieckiem.
Podczas wywiadu Pańskie dziecko będzie mogło odmówić odpowiedzi na jakiekolwiek pytanie, które uzna za niewłaściwe.

Co stanie się, gdy wyrażę zgodę na udział w badaniu?
Jeśli zgodzi się Pan/Pani na uczestnictwo dziecka w badaniu to umówimy się na dogodny termin przeprowadzenia wywiadu z dzieckiem.
Na początku wywiadu uczestnik badania będzie poinformowany/a o cele i przebieg wywiadu.

Dziecko również będzie poproszone o zgodę na udział, nagranie (audio) wywiadu oraz na wykorzystanie rysunków i zdjęć w celach naukowo-dydaktycznych. Wyłącznie pozytywna zgoda dziecka będzie rejestrowana za pomocą dyktafonu.

Podczas wywiadu, istnieje możliwość odczucia dyskomfortu przez dziecko, związanego z odpowiedzią na niektóre pytania dotyczące przyjazdu dziecka do Polski. W takim przypadku osoba prowadząca badanie jest zobowiązana do usunięcia lub złagodzenia stresu poprzez zmianę pytania, pominięcie podobnych pytań lub/oraz robienie przerw, propozycję gry, rozmowy na inny temat, zakończenie wywiadu i rozmowa z dzieckiem bez nagrania, zaproszenie rodziców.

Czy informacje, które dziecko udzieli w trakcie wywiadu będą poufne?
Tak, wszystkie zebrane informacje będą poufne i bezpiecznie przechowywane. Wyłącznie badaczka będzie miała dostęp do dokumentacji wywiadu i danych osobowych, które zostaną rozdzielone w celu uniemożliwienia zidentyfikowania uczestników badania.
Badaczka jest zobowiązana do przestrzegania standardów etycznych oraz do ochrony poufności danych.
Materiały wywiadu mogą być używane w publikacjach/konferencjach itp. wyłącznie w formie zanonimizowanej.

Proszę zaznaczyć TAK lub NIE:

Niniejszym oświadczam, że przeczytałem/łam (zaznajomiłem/łam) się z informację dla osoby badanej, ze zwróceniem uwagi na cel, procedurę i spodziewane korzyści z uczestnictwa w projekcie badawczym "**Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce**"	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Otrzymałem/am zadowalające odpowiedzi na wszystkie zadane przeze mnie pytania i rozumiem wszystkie przekazane mi informacje dotyczące tego badania naukowego.	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Zostałem/am poinformowany/a, że udział dziecka w badaniu naukowym jest absolutnie dobrowolny, również o tym, że dziecko może wycofać się z udziału w tym badaniu naukowym w dowolnym momencie, bez podania przyczyn, a jego decyzja nie pociągnie za sobą żadnych konsekwencji	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Zostałem/am poinformowany/a o możliwości odczucia dyskomfortu przez dziecko związanego z odpowiedzią na niektóre pytania dotyczące przyjazdu do Polski	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Zostałem/am poinformowany o nagraniu wywiadu za pomocą dyktafonu	❑ Tak ❑ Nie

Zostałem/am poinformowany/a, że jeśli w trakcie trwania badania naukowego dziecko będzie miało jakieś pytania lub wątpliwości, może się z nimi zwracać do osób wskazanych w informacji.	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Zostałem/am poinformowany/a o zachowaniu poufności i anonimowości danych osobowych dotyczących mojego dziecka	❑ Tak ❑ Nie

1. Z własnej i nieprzymuszonej woli zgadzam się na uczestnictwo mojego dziecka w badaniu naukowym. "**Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce**" i wiem, że w każdej chwili moje dziecko i ja możemy się wycofać z powodów, których nie musimy podawać i bez narażenia się na jakiekolwiek konsekwencje

…….

(*Podpis*)

2. Wyrażam zgodę na przetwarzanie danych osobowych moich i dziecka, *lecz wyłącznie* w celach związanych z badaniem naukowym "**Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce**"**.**

…….

(*Podpis*)

3. Rozumiem i jednocześnie wyrażam zgodę na użycie przeprowadzonego wywiadu z dzieckiem, jako danych w projekcie badawczym. Uzyskane informacje mogą być również (w formie anonimowej) użyte podczas konferencji, sympozjów, a także w publikacjach naukowych i innych oraz dla celów dydaktycznych.

…….

(*Podpis*)

4. Wyrażam zgodę na rejestrację głosu dziecka podczas wywiadu "**Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce**".

…….

(*Podpis*)

5. Zgadzam się na udział mojego dziecka w wywiadzie w terminie wcześniej ustalonym z osobą prowadzącą badanie.

.....
Imię i Nazwisko dziecka

....
Imię i Nazwisko rodzica/opiekuna prawnego badanego Data Podpis

Annexe 6.

Informed Consent for Adult's Participation in the Research

(English Version for Parent)

The research project:
"The Role of Socialization Agents in Transnational Transitions and Formation of Sense of Belonging Among Migrant Children in Poland"

Information for the respondent:

Dear Parent,
Thank you for your interest in the research!

- This research project is conducted by Mgr. Anzhela Popyk, a PhD student at the University SWPS in Warsaw. The supervisor of the project is Prof. Dr. Izabela Grabowska, and Dr. Paula Pustułka.
- You are asked to read the following information before you agree to participate in the research. Hereinafter, you will find the information about the aim and the procedure of the research.

The aim of the research:
The main aim of the research, entitled "The Role of Socialization Agents in Transnational Transitions and Formation of Sense of Belonging Among Migrant Children in Poland", is to study migrant children's experience during the change of a country of living, school and environment. The research is also aimed to study the "transitions" (changes), experiencing during studying in a foreign country, which may have an impact on the formation of a sense of belonging and attachment among children. During the research, I will study what role the socialization agents (parents, teachers, peers, communities, media) have on mentioned processes.

Why was I asked to participate in the project?

You were asked to participate in the research project because of the fact that you are a parent of a child (children), who experienced the change of environment caused by the migration experience.

Should I consent to my participation?

Participation in the interview is absolutely voluntary. You have all the right to withdraw from it at any moment without giving any reason and without any negative consequences.

If you agree to participate in the project, you will be asked to state your consent before the interview. The consent will be recorded and saved with no access to the third person.

During the interview, you will be able to ask any questions and refuse to give an answer to any question if you consider it inappropriate

What will happen when I state my consent?

You will be asked to say your consent aloud and it will be recorded.

If you state your consent to participate in the research, we will start the interview, which will last about 1,5 hours. We will talk about your and your family's experience in migration to Poland/other countries, if applicable. We also will talk about your life before your arrival in Poland and your children's experience

living and studying here.

The researcher is obliged to avoid any situation that may lead to making the participant feel any discomfort during the interview.

Will the information that I share be kept anonymous?
Yes, all the information is anonymous and confidential. The researcher is the only person, who will have access to it. All the consents will be kept separately from the interview transcripts. The results of the research will be used in an anonymous form.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding and discomfort, the interpreter will participate in the interview. The interpreter is obliged not to share any information or reveal personal data concerning the research project. The interpreter signs a statement under penalty of criminal liability due to the GDPR and Research Ethics Law.
The outcomes of the research will be used for scientific and didactic purposes only (publications, lectures, conferences).

Tick YES or NO:

I, hereby, state that I have read and understood the information for the participants, aim, procedure and outcomes analysis and dissemination of the research project entitled **"The Role of Socialization Agents in Transnational Transitions and Formation of Sense of Belonging Among Migrant Children in Poland".**	❑ Yes ❑ No
I was answered all my questions and understand the given information.	❑ Yes ❑ No
I was informed that the participation is voluntary and I am able to withdraw without giving any reason and it will lead to no consequences.	❑ Yes ❑ No
I was informed about the probability of feeling discomfort during the interview.	❑ Yes ❑ No
I was informed about the recording of the interview.	❑ Yes ❑ No
I was informed that in case of any questions during or after the interview I can ask the researcher.	❑ Yes ❑ No
I was informed that my personal data and information will be kept anonymous and confidential.	❑ Yes ❑ No

1. I voluntarily consent to participate in the research, entitled **"The Role of Socialization Agents in Transnational Transitions and Formation of Sense of Belonging Among Migrant Children in Poland".**

…….
(*Signature*)

2. I consent to process my personal data, although only for the scientific purposes related to the project **"The Role of Socialization Agents in Transnational Transitions and Formation of Sense of Belonging Among Migrant Children in Poland".**

…….
(*Signature*)

3. I consent to use the outcomes of the interview for the academic, scientific, and didactic purposes

…….
(*Signature*)

4. I consent to the recording of the interview

…….
(*Signature*)

....
Name and Surname Date (*Signature*)

Thank you for your participation!

Information about the researcher:
Name and Surname: Anzhela Popyk
e-mail: apopyk@st.swps.edu.pl
tel. +48535343631

Signature: .....

Do użytku wewnętrznego:
Notes:
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Dane osoby odpowiedzialnej za przebieg badań:
Imię i Nazwisko: ..Anzhela Popyk.....
Kontakt: e-mail: apopyk@st.swps.edu.pl, ……..
tel. +48535343631 …….
Podpis prowadzącego badanie: .....

Informed Consent for Adult's Participation in the Research (in Turkish)
ARAŞTIRMAYA KATILIM KABUL FORMU
(Veli)

Araştırma projesi:
"Polonya'da Uluslararası Geçişler ve Göçmen Çocuklarda Aidiyet Duygusu Oluşturmada Sosyalleştirme Unsurlarının Rolü"

Katılımcı için bilgiler:

Sevgili Veli,
Bu araştırmaya gösterdiğiniz ilgi için teşekkür ediyorum!

- Bu Araştırma projesi, Varşova'da SWPS Üniversitesinde PhD öğrencisi olan Anzhela Popyk tarafından yürütülmektedir. Bu projenin gözetmenleri Prof. Dr. Izabela Grabowska ve Dr. Paula Pustułka'dır.
- Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul etmeden önce aşağıdaki bilgileri okumanız rica olunur. Daha sonra, aşağıda bu araştırmanın amacı ve prosedürü hakkında bilgiler bulacaksınız.

Bu araştırmanın amacı:
"Polonya'da Uluslararası Geçişler ve Göçmen Çocuklarda Aidiyet Duygusu Oluşturmada Sosyalleştirme Unsurlarının Rolü" şeklinde adlandırılan bu araştırmanın temel amacı, göçmen çocuklarının yaşadıkları ülkeyi, okulu ve çevreyi değiştirmesiyle edindikleri deneyimlerini incelemektir. Bu araştırma aynı zamanda ulusaşırı "geçişleri" (değişimleri) ve yabancı bir ülkede eğitim görürken çocuklar arasında aidiyet ve bağlılık duygusunun oluşumu üzerinde etkili olan faktörleri incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma boyunca, sosyalleştirme unsurlarının (ebeveynler, öğretmenler, akranlar, çevre, medya) belirtilen süreçler üzerindeki rolünü inceleyeceğim.

Ben neden bu projeye katılmaya davet edildim?

Bu projeye katılmaya davet edildiniz çünkü siz, göçün neden olduğu çevre değişikliğini yaşayan çocuk/çocukların velisisiniz.

Katılımımı onaylamam mı gerekiyor?

Bu mülakata katılım kesinlikle gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Herhangi bir sebep göstermeden ve herhangi bir olumsuz sonuç vermeden her an bu mülakattan çekilme hakkına sahipsiniz.

Eğer bu projeye katılmayı kabul ederseniz, röportajdan önce sizden rızanızı belirtmeniz istenecektir ve bu hiçbir şekilde üçüncü kişilerle paylaşılmadan kaydedilip muhafaza edilecektir.

Röportaj sırasında herhangi bir soru sorabilirsiniz ve uygun görmediğiniz herhangi bir soruyu cevaplamayı reddedebilirsiniz.

Onayladığımı belirttiğim zaman ne olur?

Sizden onayınızı yüksek sesle söylemeniz istenecek ve sesiniz kaydedilecektir

Eğer araştırmaya katılım onayınızı ifade ederseniz, yaklaşık 1.5 saat sürecek mülakata başlayacağız. Sizin ve ailenizin Polonya veya varsa başka ülkeler hakkındaki deneyimlerinizden bahssedeceğiz. Aynı zamanda, Polonya'ya gelmeden önceki sizin yaşantınız ile çocuklarınızın Polonya'daki yaşantıları ve eğitimleri hakkında konuşacağız.

Araştırmacı, görüşme sırasında katılımcının herhangi bir rahatsızlık hissetmesine neden olabilecek durumlardan kaçınmakla yükümlüdür.

Paylaştığım bilgiler isimsiz bir şekilde tutulacak mı?
Evet, bütün bilgiler isimsiz ve güvenli bir şekilde olacaktır. Bu bilgilere sadece araştırmacı kişi erişebilir. Bütün onay dökümanları mülakat belgelerinden ayrı tutulacaktır.Araştırmanın sonuçlari isimsiz bir formda kullanılacaktır.

Herhangi bir yanlış anlaşılma ve rahatsızlıktan kaçınmak için görüşmeye tercüman da katılacaktır. Tercüman, araştırma projesi ile ilgili herhangi bir bilgi paylaşmamak veya kişisel verileri açıklamamakla yükümlüdür. Tercüman, GDPR ve Araştırma Etiği Kanunu kapsamında cezai sorumluluk beyanını imzalar.

Araştırmanın sonuçları sadece bilimsel ve didaktik amaçlar için kullanılacaktır (yayınlar, dersler, konferanslar).

EVET yada HAYIR'ı işaretleyiniz:

Isbu belge ile, **"Polonya'da Uluslararası Geçişler ve Göçmen Çocuklarda Aidiyet Duygusu Oluşturmada Sosyalleştirme Unsurlarının Rolü"** konulu araştırma projesinin katılımcıları, hedefi, sonuç analizleri ve gizliliğiyle alakalı bilgileri okuduğumu ve analdığımı belirtiyorum.	❑ Evet ❑ Hayır
Tüm sorularıma cevap verildi ve verilen bilgileri anladım.	❑ Evet ❑ Hayır
Bu çalışmaya katılımın gönüllülük esasına dayandığı, herhangi bir gerekçe göstermeden geri çekilebileceğim ve bunun hiçbir sonuca yol açmayacağı konusunda bilgilendirildim	❑ Evet ❑ Hayır
Görüşme sırasında rahatsızlık hissetme ihtimalim hakkında bilgilendirildim	❑ Evet ❑ Hayır
Mülakatın sesinin kaydedileceği hakkında bilgilendirildim.	❑ Evet ❑ Hayır
Mülakat öncesi veya sonrasında herhangi bir sorum olursa şayet araştırmacıya sorabileceğim hakkında bilgilendirildim.	❑ Evet ❑ Hayır
Benim kişisel verilerimin ve bilgilerimin isimsiz bir şekilde kaydedileceği ve bu bunların gizli tutulacağı konusunda bilgilendirildim.	❑ Evet ❑ Hayır

1. **“Polonya’da Uluslararası Geçişler ve Göçmen Çocuklarda Aidiyet Duygusu Oluşturmada Sosyalleştirme Unsurlarının Rolü”** adlı araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katıldığımı onaylıyorum

……
(*İmza*)

2. Kişisel verilerimin yalnızca **“Polonya’da Uluslararası Geçişler ve Göçmen Çocuklarda Aidiyet Duygusu Oluşturmada Sosyalleştirme Unsurlarının Rolü”** adlı proje ile ilgili bilimsel amaçlar için kullanılmasına izin veriyorum

……
(*İmza*)

3. Röportaj sonuçlarını akademik, bilimsel ve didaktik amaçlar için kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum

……
(*İmza*)

4. Röportajın kaydedilmesini kabul ediyorum

……
(*İmza*)

....
Ad ve Soyad Tarih (*İmza*)

Katıldığınız için teşekkür ediyorum!

Araştırmacı hakkında bilgi:
Adı ve Soyadı: Anzhela Popyk
e-mail: apopyk@st.swps.edu.pl
tel. +48535343631

İmza: .....
Do użytku wewnętrznego:
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Dane osoby odpowiedzialnej za przebieg badań:
Imię i Nazwisko: ..Anzhela Popyk..........
Kontakt: e-mail: apopyk@st.swps.edu.pl, ………..
tel. +48535343631 ………………………………….
Podpis prowadzącego badanie: ....

Annexe 7.

Informed Consent for Teachers Participation in the Research (in Polish)
ŚWIADOMA ZGODA OSOBY BADANEJ NA UDZIAŁ W BADANIU
(Nauczyciel)

Projekt badawczy:

"Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce"

Informacja dla osoby badanej:

- Niniejsze badania prowadzone są w ramach projektu badawczego prowadzonego przez Mgr. Anzhelę Popyk, studentkę socjologii na Uniwersytecie SWPS w Warszawie. Opiekunem naukowym jest Prof. Dr. Izabela Grabowska, opiekunem pomocniczym - dr. Paula Pustułka.
- Zanim zdecyduje się Pan/Pani wziąć udział w badaniu, proszę o zapoznanie się z informacjami zawartymi w tym dokumencie. Dzięki temu poznają Państwo cel badania oraz zdobędą informacje o jego faktycznym przebiegu.

Cel badania:

Głównym celem projektu, zatytułowanym „Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Przejściach Transnarodowych i Formowaniu Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci Migrantów w Polsce" jest zbadanie, co dzieje się, gdy dzieci przybywające do Polski z różnych krajów rozpoczynają naukę w szkole i zaczynają budować poczucie przynależności i uczucie przywiązania w nowym kraju. W szczególności projekt analizuje główne ścieżki i cechy tego, co nazywa się „przejściami ponadnarodowymi" i oznacza przechodzenie z domu do szkoły w obcym, bi/wielokulturowym otoczeniu. Proces ten przyczynia się do kształtowania poczucia przynależności wśród dzieci migrantów w Polsce. W ramach projektu zostanie zbadane, które osoby i instytucje („aktorzy socjalizacji") odgrywają rolę w tych procesach.

Dlaczego zostałem/łam poproszona o udział w badaniu?

Został/a Pan/i poproszony/a o udział w badaniu z racji na fakt, że pracuje Pan/i z dziećmi, które doświadczyły/doświadczają zmiany środowiska w związku ze zmianą kraju zamieszkania.

Czy muszę wyrazić zgodę na udział w badaniu?

Uczestnictwo w wywiadzie jest **dobrowolne**. Może Pan/Pani wycofać się z udziału w badaniu w dowolnej chwili bez podania żadnych powodów oraz narażenia na jakiekolwiek negatywne konsekwencje.

Jeśli zdecyduje Pan/Pani, że chce wziąć udział w badaniu, poproszę o podpisanie formularza wyrażenia zgody.

Podczas wywiadu będzie Pan/Pani mógł/mogła odmówić odpowiedzi na jakiekolwiek pytanie, które uzna Pan/Pani za niewłaściwe.

Co stanie się, gdy wyrażę zgodę na udział w badaniu?

Jeśli zgodzi się Pan/Pani na uczestnictwo w badaniu to rozpoczniemy wywiad, który będzie trwał ok. 60 minut. Skupimy się na roli szkoły w tranzycjach transnarodowych dzieci migrantów. Szczególnie porozmawiamy, o udziale Pana/i w procesach socjalizacji i formowania przynależności dzieci migrantów w Polsce.

Zostanie Pan/Pani poproszony/a o zgodę na nagrywanie rozmowy za pomocą dyktafonu/skype'u.

Czy informacje, które udzielę w trakcie wywiadu będą poufne?
Tak, wszystkie zebrane informacje będą poufne i bezpiecznie przechowywane. Wyłącznie badaczka będzie miała dostęp do dokumentacji wywiadu i Pańskich danych osobowych, które zostaną rozdzielone w celu uniemożliwienia zidentyfikowania Państwa.
Badaczka jest zobowiązana do przestrzegania standardów etycznych oraz do ochrony poufności danych.
Materiały wywiadu mogą być używane w publikacjach/konferencjach itp. wyłącznie w formie zanonimizowanej.

Proszę zaznaczyć TAK lub NIE:

Niniejszym oświadczam, że przeczytałem/łam (zaznajomiłem/łam) się z informację dla osoby badanej, ze zwróceniem uwagi na cel, procedurę i spodziewane korzyści z uczestnictwa w projekcie badawczym "**Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce**"	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Otrzymałem/am zadowalające odpowiedzi na wszystkie zadane przeze mnie pytania i rozumiem wszystkie przekazane mi informacje dotyczące tego badania naukowego.	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Zostałem/am poinformowany/a, że udział w badaniu naukowym jest absolutnie dobrowolny i mogę wycofać się z udziału w tym badaniu naukowym w dowolnym momencie, bez podania przyczyn, a moja decyzja nie pociągnie za sobą żadnych konsekwencji	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Zostałem/am poinformowany/a o możliwości odczucia dyskomfortu związanego z odpowiedzią na niektóre pytania dotyczące przyjazdu dzieci do Polski	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Zostałem/am poinformowany o nagraniu wywiadu za pomocą dyktafonu/skype	❑ Tak ❑ Nie

Zostałem/am poinformowany/a, że jeśli w trakcie trwania badania naukowego będę miał/a jakieś pytania lub wątpliwości, mogę się z nimi zwracać do osób wskazanych w informacji.	❑ Tak ❑ Nie
Zostałem/am poinformowany/a o zachowaniu poufności i anonimowości danych osobowych	❑ Tak ❑ Nie

1. Dobrowolnie wyrażam zgodę na udział w badaniu naukowym. **"Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce".**

…….

(*Podpis*)

2. Wyrażam zgodę na przetwarzanie danych mnie dotyczących, *lecz wyłącznie* w celach związanych z badaniem naukowym "**Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce".**

…….

(*Podpis*)

3. Rozumiem i jednocześnie wyrażam zgodę na użycie przeprowadzonego wywiadu, jako danych w projekcie badawczym. Uzyskane informacje mogą być również (w formie anonimowej) użyte podczas konferencji, sympozjów, a także w publikacjach naukowych i innych oraz dla celów dydaktycznych.

…….

(*Podpis*)

4. Wyrażam zgodę na rejestrację głosu podczas wywiadu "**Rola Aktorów Socjalizacyjnych w Procesie Transnarodowych Tranzycji i Formowania Poczucia Przynależności Dzieci-Migrantów w Polsce"**

…….

(*Podpis*)

....

Nazwisko i imię badanego Data Podpis

Dziękuję bardzo za pomoc w realizacji badania!

Do użytku wewnętrznego:

Uwagi:
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Social Capital and Agency in the Peer Socialization Strategies of Migrant Children in Poland

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Abstract: The transnational transitions of migrant children are complex, mobility-affected processes during which they mediate between various social fields. Their attachment to these fields is often determined by different socialization agents, among which great attention should be paid to peers and friends. Peers not only introduce a new culture and society to migrant children but also affect the young migrants' motivation, formation of identity, and group socialization. This study adopts the theory of social capital and agency, defined by Putnam, to explore migrant children's peer socialization strategies. It draws on qualitative research with migrant children in Poland aged 8–13, their parents, and their teachers, and is based on a child-centered approach. The findings present three main ways in which migrant children exercise their own agency to build social capital by maintaining ethnic/non-ethnic ties in the receiving country. The age, gender, and ethnic differences that appear in the application of peer socialization strategies are also revealed.

Keywords: peers, socialization, transnational transitions, migrant children, social capital

Introduction

Transnational migrant families (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002) have been the subject of multiple studies within the social sciences over the last few decades, and this growing interest is linked to the increasing number of migrants globally (Grabowska 2014; Castells et al. 2009; Okólski 2012). Within the last 19 years, the number of international migrants increased by 51 million to reach 272 million in 2019. The same

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trend was also observed among children aged 0–19, the share of which grew to 14% (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2019). This growing number of international migrants has, in turn, led to the formation of super-diverse societies (Vertovec 2007).

The scholarship on transnational families, however, has often ignored the issues of migrant children, who have long been perceived as the "luggage" brought along with their parents (Orellana 2009). Nevertheless, over the last few decades, children's issues have become central to studies that have taken an interpretative approach (Corsaro & Eder 1990; Qvortrup et al. 2009), which was adopted by migration studies and turned into the child-centered approach (Ni Laoire et al. 2010; White et al. 2011). Thus, young children and adolescents have begun to be seen as active agents (James & Prout 2015, Wyness 2015) of the migration process who have a great impact on their transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka 2019).

To demonstrate youngsters' active participation in migration and adaptation processes, contemporary scholars have investigated how migrant children negotiate their relationships with family members (Holland et al. 2007), relatives (Slany & Strzemecka 2016), teachers (Deslandes et al. 2012), and peers (Holland 2009; Reynolds 2007) within transnational spaces, namely "here," "there" (Slany & Ślusarczyk 2015), and across borders (Popyk et al. 2019). A bulk of work has also been dedicated to the topic of building social capital (Bourdieu 1986; Putnam 2000) and language socialization (García-Sánchez & Nazimova 2017; Duff & May 2017) at school (Strzemecka 2015; Devine 2014) or in other socialization spaces (Sime & Fox 2015).

The research on migrant children in the Polish discourse has mostly investigated the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka 2019) of Polish migrant families abroad (Slany & Strzemecka 2016) and few studies have engaged with the processes of adaptation and socialization of immigrant children in Poland (see Popyk & Buler 2018) despite the increasing number of immigrant children in Polish schools. The Supreme Audit Office of Poland (2020) reported that an unprecedented number of more than 51,000 foreign-born children attended Polish schools in the 2019/2020 academic year. Some scholars have hitherto undertaken research to explore how the Ministry of Education, schools, educators, and pedagogues are coping with the growing number of migrant children (Błeszyńska 2010). Some works have also referred to migrants' integrational practices and the educational challenges faced by the children of Polish repatriates from Eastern Europe and Asia (Grzymała-Moszczyńska et al. 2015) and of other groups of migrants, for example, Vietnamese children, Roma children (Głowacka-Grajper 2006), and Chechen children in Poland (Nowicka 2014). Nevertheless, very limited attention has been paid to the socialization process of migrant children and the ways in which they build social capital and maintain relations with their peers.

The present study aims to analyze migrant children's socialization strategies, as viewed through the theoretical lens of two types of social capital, bonding and

bridging, developed by Putnam (2000). The analysis draws on qualitative research with migrant children aged 8–13 (n=20), their parents (n=19), and teachers (n=10). The following research questions were posed: First, what are the peer socialization strategies of migrant children in Poland? Second, what are the roles of age, gender, and ethnicity in the socialization strategies of migrant children in Poland? Third, what is the role of bonding/bridging social capital in the socialization strategies of migrant children in Poland?

This study contributes to the current research on migrancy and childhood by arguing that migrant children are active agents in the socialization process who deliberately choose certain ways and means to establish relationships with peers within the transnational field. Three main peer socialization strategies are presented that confirm that children are active agents in creating their relationships with peers and negotiating their own autonomy with adults. The study also illustrates the age, gender, and ethnic differences at play in maintaining peer relations.

The value of children's agency

As a response to the growing cross-border movement, significant sociological research has been devoted not only to the conceptualization of transnational familyhood (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002) but also transnational childhood (Orellana et al. 2001). The contemporary understanding of children "on the move" often relies on perceiving children as active agents who "affect and are affected by society and culture" (Corsaro & Fingerson 2006: 125): In other words, contemporary studies on childhood have switched from the deterministic model of socialization, which perceives children as passive agents of society, who should be controlled and trained, to the constructivist model, which sees children as active agents (Corsaro 2017; Ensor & Goździak 2010) in the "construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and the societies in which they live" (James & Prout 2015: 8).

Children's agency, however, has to be seen not simply as autonomous but as "emerging from social relationships" and "embedded in their daily lives," which helps to "contract a variety of environmental factors that impinge on their lives" (Wyness 2015: 14, 24–25). Thus, agency is an instrument for children to negotiate their relationships within family, school, and friendships. Consequently, agency is shaped by adult–child and child–child relationships: while school expects them to submit, children tend to be more powerful in family relationships and feel more freedom with their peers (Wyness 2015).

Peer and friend relationships have been seen as part of children's social capital, where agency has also been central to the theory (Bourdieu 1986). Social capital, as one of the three capitals—the other two being economic and cultural—is distinguished as the "aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of

mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 1986). Putnam (2000) further developed the theory of social capital and distinguished its two forms, namely bridging (inclusive) and bonding (exclusive). The bonding form of capital is "inward looking and tend[s] to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups … includ[ing] ethnic fraternal organizations" that can create "strong in-group loyalty" and "strong out-group antagonism" (Putnam 2000: 22–23). Meanwhile, bridging social capital is "outward looking and encompass[es] people across diverse social cleavages," and is better for "linkage to external assets and for information diffusion" (Putnam 2000: 22). Weller (2010: 874) further mentioned that social capital "is not an 'object' but rather a set of interactions and relationships based on trust and reciprocity that have the potential to be transformative."

Thus, peer and friend relationships become significant sources of migrant children's social capital, which can be seen as the "resources individuals access through social interactions and relationships, the extent to which these interactions help migrants access resources seems key to examining their social lives" (Sime & Fox 2015: 525). Moreover, the "negotiation of friendships is an important way in which social inclusion and exclusion are lived out in daily life. For migrant children, who may have experienced considerable disruption in their personal and family relationships, friendship can be a particularly fraught and intense experience," however, "[it] may be perceived [a] more important issue today" (European Commission 2007: 25, 72). As such, this study evaluates the role of children's agency in building bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam 2000).

Migrant children's peer socialization

Children are highly prone to face hardship in the socialization process, no matter their origin, length of stay, type of residence, economic status, or networks. Those with a migration background are even more likely to become vulnerable because they are more likely to experience the "exclusionary practices" (European Commission 2007: 24) that are realized through bullying and discrimination of different categories, such as for their distinct appearance, race, ethnicity, language, culture, habits, or simply their country of origin (Gardner & Mand 2012). Consequently, this leads to the formation of social homophily (Silbereisen & Titzmann 2007).

Migrant children's socialization processes in the host country are shaped by both the host and home country contexts (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007; Suárez-Orozco, Marks, & Abo-Zena 2015) and the impact of multiple agents which can be placed on the three levels of macro, meso, and micro (Popyk et al. 2019). While the discourse on macro and micro-level socialization agents has been somewhat covered by researchers and public institutions in Poland (see Popyk & Buler 2018), the mezzo level—namely, the role of peers, friends, out-of-school activities, and neighborhoods—has been largely omitted. Nevertheless, it has been proved by multiple studies that peers and

friends undoubtedly have a crucial impact on migrant children's adaptation in a new country (Slany et al. 2016; Slany & Strzemecka 2016; Silbereisen & Titzmann 2008; Weller 2010; Vandell 2000).

Peer groups create an essential context in which children try to understand who they are (Devine 2009), as well as the conception of "cooperative socialization" where "self and other are equally agents and recipients" (Youniss 1980: 7–8). Peers also impact the formation of a child's identity and sense of belonging through the negotiation of relations with others (Slany & Pustułka 2016; Popyk et al. 2019). It should also be noted that peers are important agents of gender identity (Strzemecka 2017) and ethnic identity because "friendship relationships most closely matched the values associated with social capital, such as trust, reciprocity, emotional support, community and identity" (Reynolds 2007: 384).

Friendship does not simply support migrant children's adaptation in a new country (Deslandes et al. 2012) but also helps to lower their levels of depression (Obradović, Tirado-Strayer, & Leu 2013), make them feel happier, and render them more motivated to go to school (Vandell 2000). Previous studies have shown that migrant children use different ways to negotiate peer and friend relationships; for example, those children who share similar, often traumatic, migration experiences or face racial discrimination and social exclusion are more likely to join the same ethnic group (Reynolds, 2007). Strong ties with an ethnic community can also provide children with a "safety zone" where they can build their ethnic identities (Holland 2009: 343). On the other hand, ethnic homophily (Titzmann 2014) can become a "constraint" (Holland 2009: 232) during socialization in a new society, and ready-formed ethnic groups can become obstacles for new members to join. Thus, lonely children tend to reiterate their anger and sufferings on others, while other children tend to be silent so as not to bring up other issues (European Commission, 2007).

Among the major obstacles to building bridging social capital, researchers have noted foreign language competency (Strzemecka 2015; Duff & May 2017; Moskal & Sime 2017) and limited access to socialization spaces at school and after classroom hours, such as leisure activities or clubs, which have been observed to be the most efficient means of socialization (European Commission 2007). Moreover, some children have limited access to the communication channels needed to create contacts with peers. Such means of communication enable children to plan their free time and to organize social activities with friends (Wyness 2015). These activities typically take place in local spaces; the neighborhood is thus not only a place for spatial orientation but also for engaging in different cultural and social activities (Sime & Fox 2015; Perez-Felkner 2013) outside of parents' control (Weller 2010; Reynolds 2007). Further, digital devices became the key communication method during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, when personal meetings and leaving the house were restricted. Consequently, those children who had limited technical support and were locked at home found themselves isolated from their peers and friends (see Popyk, 2021).

Methodology

This paper is based on a qualitative study that employed a child-centered approach and followed the relevant research guidelines with children (Clark 2004). The participatory research methods in the research with children allow for the viewing of young respondents as active agents of their own lives and experiences (Hyvönen et al. 2014). The research strategies, which anticipate active listening to children, are "respectful of children's views and opinions" (Morrow & Richards 1996: 91) and seem to be less harmful and more child-friendly (Fargas-Malet et al. 2010).

Two principal aims of the interviews were to investigate socialization agents' role, namely, family, school, peers, religion, and media in transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka 2019) and examine the formation of migrant children's sense of belonging in Poland. The study included three groups of respondents: migrant children (n=20), their parents (n=19), and teachers (n=10). The research with children is central in this study, while the interviews with parents and teachers aimed to acquire socio-demographic information about the children. The study included 10 girls and 10 boys; their mean age was 12 years old. The major ethnic groups were Turkish (n=13) and Ukrainian (n=5)[2]. The recruitment process was based on approaching the respondents through the researcher's contacts (n=6) and was followed by the snowball sampling technique. Participants' main inclusion criteria were that they had no previous contact with Polish culture or language, attended school in at least two countries, and were aged 8−13. There were no gender, ethnicity, or length of stay specifications.

We conducted semi-structured interviews that lasted 40−45 min with the children and 60−90 min with the adults. The study gained approval from the appropriate ethics committee. This application included information about the project (the aim, the research questions, concept, methodology, methods of analysis, and storage and dissemination of the personal data and research data), an example of consent and assent forms, interview scripts, and examples of the research tools.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown and restrictions on face-to-face research, the interviews were conducted online, using the Zoom application, which allowed us to save the data directly to an external hard drive increasing our ability to ensure the confidentiality of personal data. It should be noted that the ethics committee approved all changes to the research.

The participants were informed about the aim, procedure, their rights to withdraw, outcomes usage, and dissemination before the interviews, which were held separately, and they gave their voluntary consent (adults) and assent (children). The consent forms were given to the participants in one of the selected languages (Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, English, or Turkish) to provide the participants with precise information. After the participants provided consent, the researcher started the interview

[2] See Table 1 for participant names and demographic information.

Table 1

Overview of the respondents' (children) socio-demographic characteristics

No	Pseudo-nym	Gender	Country of origin	Language of inter-view	Age	Grade	Time in Poland (yrs)	Type of school
1	Olga	Girl	Ukraine	UA	12	6	4	private
2	Igor	Boy	Ukraine	RU	13	8	2	public
3	Antony	Boy	Ukraine	RU	12	6	1	public
4	Michele	Boy	Romania	EN	12	6	6	private
5	Katie	Girl	Turkey	EN	9	4	3	public
6	Anna	Girl	Turkey	TR/PL	13	7	4	private
7	Ali	Boy	Turkey	EN	12	6	4	public
8	Emel	Boy	Turkey	EN	12	6	4	private
9	Zeliha	Girl	Turkey	TR/PL	10	5	3	private
10	Ismail	Boy	Turkey	EN	11	5	2	public
11	Rabia	Girl	Turkey	TR/PL	12	6	4	public
12	Omer	Boy	Turkey	EN	11	5	2	private
13	Sadik	Boy	Turkey	EN	13	7	2	private
14	Liliana	Girl	Lithuania	EN	11	5	4	private
15	Mehmet	Boy	Turkey	TR/PL	11	3	2	public
16	Duran	Boy	Turkey	TR/PL	10	3	2	public
17	Serife	Girl	Turkey	EN	12	6	3	public
18	Meryem	Girl	Turkey	TR/PL	13	6	3	public
19	Yulia	Girl	Ukraine	UA	9	3	2	public
20	Natalia	Girl	Ukraine	UA	12	6	1	public

Source: Author's own study.

with a parent first, followed by the interview with the child. The interviews were held in one of the languages listed above. For Turkish, the questions and answers were translated by a qualified interpreter.

In order to understand the socialization strategies of migrant children, each interview addressed the following topics: peer relations and friendships in the migrant's home country, as well as how they changed after the migration; the first moments of socialization in the host country (questions: How do you remember your first day at the new school? Who was the first person you talked to?); and socialization agents and locations in Poland (questions included: What do you do in your free time

during school hours—such as during breaks, common room, and after-lesson activities? Where and with whom do you like spending your free time? Do you know anyone from your neighborhood? How often do you meet your friends? Who are they?).

The data analysis was performed as following: meticulous transcription of recordings (voice-to-text), developing and applying codes to all material, identifying common themes, patterns, and relationships concerning the created codes, and summarizing the data (Saldaña 2016). The material was analyzed through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006).

Findings

Friendship facilitates the socialization process

The present study supported the findings of existing research (Corsaro 2006; Moskal & Sime 2017; Silbereisen & Titzmann 2007), proving that peer relations and friendship are significant socialization agents of migrant children. All the children and parent respondents noted that sufficient peer relations, an amiable atmosphere in the class, and close friendships were beneficial for transnational transitions, especially at the beginning of the adaptation period.

Antony, who arrived in Poland less than a year ago, shared his concerns regarding not having "real friends" in Poland and being bullied for being Ukrainian. Moreover, his communication was limited to only those peers who were eager to improve their Russian language skills (Antony is fluent in Russian).

> ***R: Where do you feel better, here or in Ukraine?***
> *A: I felt better there because I had many friends. Not peers, but friends. I do not really have friends here, just some acquaintances … I do not really think of it. Maybe sometimes. It does not really bother me. Whatever will be, will be.*
>
> ***R: If you had friends like your brother does, would it change the situation?***
> *A: Totally. I would not start making videos. I would go out all the time. I would probably give up school. I think so. Because they [friends] would call me to go out, and I want to go. It would change totally. (Antony, UA, 12 years old/ 1 in PL)*

All the children and parent respondents also mentioned that well-established peer relations in a host country are likely to smooth the transnational transitions of migrant children. The following statement from Iryna, the mother of the sixth-grader who came to Poland four years ago, reiterated the significance of peers in the socialization process of migrant children. Iryna stresses the negative role of bonding social capital (Putnam 2000) when children make friends, as it prevents newcomers from joining existing homophilic (Titzmann 2014) peer groups. The ethnic groups, which was a common phenomenon in the private school, require sharing a common language,

cultural/societal norms, skin color, race, or what participants referred to as "blood." Hence, newcomers that do not share any of these characteristics cannot be accepted into such a peer group. Moreover, even when multiple ethnic groups exist in a school, some newcomers may not fit into any of them and will experience loneliness. Thus, after three years of attending a private international school in Warsaw, Iryna and her daughter decided she would change schools due to unfavorable peer relations.

> *She always suffered from not having friends. She has no friends at all… When we came [to Poland], and she went to school, she had some [friends]. She always tried to find a friend. She constantly fell in and out of friendships. The first six months were very difficult, it was not "sweet" for her. She constantly had issues and questions…for example, once when she came from school she said "Mom, the whole class does not talk to me"… Maybe I don't have to say this, but it is clear, she is ambitious, and can "pull the blanket to herself." But if they [classmates] have been in the school for a long time, and they are from one country, they "are of the same blood," and, anyway, they "magnetize." It seems to me, that those who are consanguineous, they make own group and do not accept others. It's difficult … They make ethnic groups. I have always said that it does not matter what skin color or blood you have. But they are children, they "attract by blood." She couldn't get anywhere [none of the groups]. It was hard for her. When we changed her school, she did not want to change, but she also did not want to stay in the other one. Again, the first six months were so hard. It is still difficult… in the previous school she joined in the second grade, but here she came in the sixth… so, she said "Mom, that was one of the best decisions we made in our life", most of all because she made friends here. That's the most important. Not the school, but the fact that she has friends, who accept her, she is happy. That's very important (Iryna, UA, Olga's mother).*

Bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) was, however, noted by the teacher respondents as an important socialization factor for migrant children:

> *There are many settlements with children from Vietnam. They live close to each other in apartment blocks, and even if they do not go to the same school, they often meet in the yard. Their parents [meet each other] because they come from the same country. When the parents meet, the children also start to make contacts, talk, and play together. I think it is very good because those children who have been in Poland for a longer time can positively impact those children who have just arrived. [They] can help them to learn the language and adapt. (Teacher 1, private school)*

Apart from the common ethnicity in the peer groups, all the respondent groups (children, parents, and teachers) also underlined that children's age is an important factor in the peer socialization process. The experiences of Igor (13 years old/UA), Olga (12 years old/UA), and Liliana (11 years old/LT) indicate that making friends is less stressful and complicated at a younger age (8–10 years old) because of the nature of the friendship, which is based on playing together; whereas friendship at later ages (11–13 years old) often requires the sharing of common interests, values, and views.

Igor's mother, Michalina, mentioned that peers have a greater impact on children when they enter adolescence and may become levers of influence on their future life choices:

R: What role do peers play in your son's life?
M: Before, I did not see any changes. He just had some friends with whom he talked and spent time. Now [that] he is reaching adolescence, his friends play a more important role. He trusts them more, trusts what they say. For example, when we start talking about future studies, he believes what his friends say and wants to go to the same school that his friends have chosen. At the current moment, friends are the most important to him. (Michalina, UA, Igor's mother)

Liliana, a fifth-grader, also noted the more complicated nature of friendship when children get older. Consequently, she had been struggling to establish good peer relations:

L: At the beginning, it was quite easy because it was just the first year and you could just, you know, merge into different groups. I have always just been there. It's just nothing. I think in the third grade, I was in the group. But then, half of the girls left the school, and the others just went to other groups.

R: Do you think that friendship was not that serious when you were younger? That's why it was easier to make friends?
L: Yeah, I think so. (Liliana, LT, 11 years old/4 in PL)

One of the teachers further mentioned that peer socialization is not merely influenced by age but also according to gender differences. She noted that girls generally find it easier to become part of a peer group at any age, while boys in the older grades (6–8) tend to exclude newcomers from their peer group, underlining their own position and significance in a form of "rivalry for the territory." Though, female friendships tend to be more fleeting than those of males, who are more likely to build durable and stable relationships. The study, however, shows that despite the fact that girls are more likely than boys to create friendships and quickly accept others into their peer groups, these peer interactions greatly depend on personality issues (as shown in the case of Olga), and the friend-making process can be demanding and troublesome for both boys and girls.

I think, that in the grades 6–8, peers have the greatest impact on the newcomer's adaptation at school. When it comes to the girls, I noticed that when there is a new girl coming to the class, other girls always want to take care of her. But, when there is a new boy joining the class, other boys test to what extent he wants to rule the class. I do not say they do it intentionally, but it looks like a competition for territory. It is not visible in the younger grades, but rather in grades 6–8. This is a significant difference between boys and girls in the upper grades. Because in the younger grades, I noticed, when a new boy joins the class, everybody wants him on their own team, everyone wants to play with him.

And sometimes, they even argue for that new boy to play with them. However, when it comes to the girls, despite the age difference they want to take care of someone new… In our school, boys take the territory and do not want to share it. (Teacher 2, private school)

Peer socialization strategies

Apart from the age, gender, and ethnic composition of the peer groups, the study's results indicated that migrant children and their parents use different peer socialization strategies that vary according to their own purposes and needs and are shaped by different factors, including interests, religion, family composition, kin relationships, etc., as well as previous migration experiences, current needs, and future plans. The apparent socialization strategies comprise:

- Spiritual
- Interest-based
- Prospect-based
- Mixed

The distinguished strategies comply with the notions of bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000). Figure 1 illustrates the extent of the use of social capital and network creation means in each socialization strategy, with a description of each type provided hereinafter.

The spiritual socialization strategy

Spiritual socialization characterizes the way that migrant children and their parents fulfill a spiritual need for shared experience, where place and time remain as a context. The key aim of this strategy is to build bonding social capital (Putnam 2000) that satisfies the spiritual and emotional needs created by the migration experience. This social capital provides children with the emotional closeness and satisfaction of peer contact; thus, spiritual socialization anticipates children getting along with peers from the same ethnic group because such group members are more likely to share a common language, culture, values, needs, and experiences than members of different ethnic groups (Titzmann 2014).

The case of Ali, a 12-year-old boy from Turkey, demonstrated that friendship requires sharing common ground and communication, and, thus, culture and language are critical. Ali's mother shared her concerns about her son not being able to make friends during the first year of adaptation in Poland; forbidden to speak Turkish at school, Ali suffered from a lack of friends or the possibility to express himself:

R: Did your son tell you about his peers or friends at school?
B: At the beginning, …my son was very shy. And when he got to know that there are some Turkish children, at first, he was glad that he would actually be able to communicate

with them. We, on the contrary, got scared because it could be a hindrance to learning English. But it was quickly decided at school that children could only speak English, so the Turkish children did not even speak Turkish with each other. ...Friendship...is something complicated, and it needs some basic communication, some kind of emotional sharing, and so on. My son did not know the language, [and] he had a very big problem with friends. And to be honest, he hasn't had any friends or acquaintances for a long time. We even tried to talk to the families at parents' meetings and suggest that maybe our children could be friends, [that] maybe we would meet after school one day. But somehow nothing came of it. After some time, we met the family of one of the Turkish students in our neighborhood. We were very happy when we found out that they live close, and my son became friends with them very quickly. They also started going to school together on the school bus and just hanging out, and it was very important to him. It was like his first good friend. I think the country itself is not that important at this age. Rather, it was important whom he could play with. This is what he is looking for as a child. When he found a friend to play with, things got much better. (Beyza, TR, Ali's mother)

Most of the respondents who were born in Turkey stated that they used to attend the basketball training organized by their parents, the prime aim of which was to make a space for socialization and communication within the ethnic group. The "entry ticket" to the group was being fluent in the Turkish language and cultural/religious norms and values. Thus, the sporting event was a context for migrant children to satisfy their spiritual needs. In this way, the children had a chance to strengthen their previously established relationships and make new ones within the same ethnic community while spending time actively and strengthening their bonding social capital:

R: What do you like doing in your free time?
S: I play basketball. I meet my friends, and I play with my brother and sister.

B: Who are your friends?
O: Some Turkish girls. (Serife, TR, 13 years old/3 in PL)

The interest-based socialization strategy

The interest-based peer socialization strategy comprises socialization based on creating and maintaining relationships with peers that share common interests and hobbies. The findings indicated that interest-based socialization is not limited to the ethnic composition of groups. Rather, nowadays, children's interests are connected through the use of digital devices and the Internet, which enables digital socialization at a distance with both new and old friends.

Igor, a 13-year-old boy from Ukraine, revealed that his hobby of playing computer games was the key socialization factor for him in Poland: After finding this common interest with his Polish peers, he managed to establish relationships far beyond his primary interests. Moreover, the interest strategy transformed into spiritual, emotional support, and prospect-based socialization though language, culture, and special

socialization, along with relationship development. Igor described his socialization in a new school as follows:

R: How do you remember your first day at school?
I: Just did my schoolwork, answered the teachers' questions, and went home. I did not get to know people on the first day. I wanted to get used to learning the language and so on.

R: Do you remember when you first started talking to someone?
I: It was the IT lesson, when I was on the social network. My friend noticed that I'm interested in the same computer game as he is. He started talking to me. This [is how] we started communicating. Well, he was my first friend in Poland.

R: Do you still share the same interests?
I: We do not talk about the games that often now. We prefer going out, riding bikes. We are still friends. I also have another friend. We meet together, play computer games online, talk. But more often we just meet outside, in real life. ...Those are my friends from school. But I have other friends, also.

R: Who are they?
I: I have an extra basketball lesson. I need to go to another [city] district. There I have just basic relationships. There, people are not communicative. But I have another friend, who is a friend of my friend. Generally, we have a big group, and we often meet outside.

R: Are they from the same city district?
I: Some of them are from mine, others are not.

R: How often do you meet?
I: Before quarantine, we met almost every day.

R: What do usually do together?
I: It's different. Either we meet and just talk. Or we go to another district or the city center. (Igor, UA, 13 years old/2 in PL)

Additionally, digital interest-based socialization is likely to support long-distance friendships; thus, interest-based socialization indicates that peers' social lives can often be maintained transnationally, across borders (Popyk et al. 2019).

Interest-based socialization through digital devices being used as a means of communication across borders was exemplified by Michele, a 12-year-old boy, who mentioned that he maintains communication with an old friend by playing games online:

R: You said you play some computer games. With whom do you play?
M: I had a friend from America, and he went back to America. Sometimes we play games on the computer. (Michele, RO,12 years old/6 in PL)

The prospect-based socialization strategy

In the prospect-based peer socialization strategy, children take steps to establish contact and maintain relationships with peers to gain certain benefits, for example, learn the foreign language or culture and be introduced to the host society. This type of

socialization leads to relationships with members of other ethnic groups, often the representatives of a host society. Thus, bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) is key for this socialization type. The prospect-based strategy also requires children's personal efficiency to negotiate the relationships, which do not necessarily fulfill their spiritual needs.

This peer socialization strategy was presented in the case of Ali, a sixth grader from Turkey who suffered from the lack of opportunity to talk in his native language and the inability to express himself. Despite being at school with quite a number of Turkish children, students were not allowed to speak their native language so that they could learn English and Polish faster. Consequently, the case of Ali presents a unique situation in which a migrant child was keen to establish friendships through the spiritual strategy and obtain psychological support through the adaptation process, but was unable to due to the external requirements of the school and parents who want their children to assimilate. Thus, Ali had to use the prospect-based socialization strategy while establishing relationships with his peers:

R: With whom did you like to spend free time?
A: I wanted to spend time with my Turkish friends, but I had to learn English more, that's why spend my time with people whom I did not know and who know English, or who can help me. (Ali, 12 years old/ 4 in PL)

Another case, that of Mehmet and Duran, also indicated that the prospect-based socialization strategy is often based on parents' decisions regarding the socialization conditions for their children—for example, limiting their communication only to the native language, confining them to contact with peers from the same ethnic group, and so on. Thus, children become the active agents of own socialization though within the limits set by their parents or institutions.

These two brothers, Mehmet and Duran, were enrolled in parallel classes to limit their communication and enhance their adaptation to the host culture and society.

R: What grade are you in?
D: Third.

R: So, are you in the same class as your brother?
D: No, different.

R: Different? But the same grade?
D: My brother is in class 3B, I'm in 3C.

R: I see. Why are you in different classes?
D: I sometimes argue with my brother. And also [so we don't] speak Turkish, [our] parents decided to sign us up for different classes. (Duran, TR, 10 years old/2 in PL)

Nevertheless, despite attempts to strengthen the adaptation process through the prospect-based strategy, migrant children turned to satisfy their spiritual needs by

maintaining relationships with those who share common values and views, regardless of these peers' ethnicity and origins, thus building both bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam 2000). For example, Duran mentioned that his best friends were Turkish, but he also had a good friend from Poland:

R: What do you like doing in your free time?
D: I like to talk to my friends after lessons. I also have a good friend from a different class, [who I] meet on breaks. I like to meet my friends the most.

R: Who are your friends?
D: Both of my best friends are Turkish. But, as I said, I have a friend from a different class, he is Polish, and likes Turks a lot. That's why he treats us well. We also like him. (Duran)

Mixed socialization strategy

The results also indicated that migrant children do not use just one peer socialization strategy, which can be changed along the socialization process, but are also likely to apply different strategies at the same time. Firstly, children search for the appropriate means of socialization with different peer groups in various contexts. The case of Olga, a 12-year-old girl from Ukraine, depicted how children negotiate their peer relationships while aiming to fulfill their spiritual needs, share their interests, and reinforce their educational achievements.

Olga described how multiple changes in her family and her parents' employment led to numerous changes of setting. She attended three different kindergartens, two schools in her home country, and two schools in Poland. Olga was aware of her problems in maintaining long-term relationships with peers; thus, when joining a new school, she set herself the task of making a friend:

R: What kind of peer relationships did you have in your previous school?
O: It was very difficult to find out, but the class just didn't like me.

R: What about your new school?
O: At the beginning of the year, when I came, there was a girl in the class, she is Polish. And when I saw her, I set myself a task: I want to be her best friend because she's a copy of me, [she] just looks a little different. And she also likes to do TikTok, that's all. She also studies English. She goes to extra English lessons. At first, it was...not very good, but now it is very good, and we are best friends. I'm very happy. (Olga, UA, 12 years old/4 in PL).

Further, Olga's mother mentioned that her daughter had created relationship ties with peers regardless of their ethnicity or age. Thus, Olga had friends who were Polish, Ukrainian, German, and Vietnamese. She also shared her hobby of drawing with the other children online.

For example, here at school, she [Olga] communicates with girls who are Polish, she also goes to the Ukrainian [weekend] school, [where] there are Ukrainian girls. Now she thinks,

"Oh, maybe I'll meet friends from the previous school…" Well, she does not choose those [friends] or those [nationalities]. She loves everyone…She has friends whom she has never seen. She makes...drawings, and she found girls with the same interests.

R: On the Internet?

Yes. They are from different countries. Sometimes they chat. What I like is that she practices her English. They even organize some teleconferences and discuss things. They call each other, and she says, "Mom, do not disturb me, I have a teleconference." (Iryna, UA, Olga's mother)

To summarize, the results indicate that migrant children become active agents in the process of peer socialization, in which they take different strategies. To fulfill their own needs and interests, children also tend to apply different techniques to maintain contact with the same or different peer groups. It was also noted that migrant children from neighboring countries, namely Ukraine, Lithuania, and Romania (Michele's mother is Ukrainian), were more likely to build bridging social capital with children from other ethnic groups, including Polish children. Migrant children from Turkey, in contrast, were more likely to remain in their ethnic groups, at least at the beginning of the socialization process, due to their lack of foreign language skills, cultural differences, and parents' methods of building social capital.

Discussion

This study analyzed the socialization strategies of migrant children in Poland through the lens of two types of social capital, bonding and bridging, proposed by Putnam (2000). The research outcomes indicate that migrant children tend to use various ways to build and maintain relationships with peers and friends in the host country, the most common of which can be classified as spiritual, interest, prospect, and mixed strategies.

Due to the differences between the Polish and Turkish languages and cultures, migrant children from Turkey demonstrated a high necessity for emotional support during the transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka 2019). On the contrary, those children who did not experience hardship in language socialization (Moskal & Sime 2017; Titzmann & Silbereisen 2009) were able to socialize in a shorter time, and, thus, were more likely to concentrate on building their bridging social capital (Putnam 2000). It was also shown that some parents impose certain socialization strategies upon their children (e.g. Mehmet and Duran), which are aimed at speeding up socialization and improving the child's societal knowledge. Consequently, migrant children are drawn from their "ethnic bubble" and establish a prospect-based socialization strategy.

This study also demonstrates that the most favorable socialization strategy was the interest strategy, which tends to fulfill children's emotional needs and help them develop the necessary social skills for adapting in a new country. Moreover, the

interest-based socialization strategy enables children to build and develop their own skills and hobbies and favors transnational transitions (Pustułka & Trąbka 2019).

The outcomes, however, demonstrate that children become active agents in negotiating their relationships with adults and peers through combining different strategies, though the preference for a strategy depends on the variables, such as age, gender, and ethnicity. Hence, primary school migrant children (aged 8–10) are more flexible in maintaining peer and friend relationships than older migrant children (aged 11–13). This further confirms that friendship becomes more important during adolescence (Titzmann 2014), while younger children depend, to a greater extent, on their parents' and teachers' decisions (Deslandes et al. 2012; Perez-Felkner 2013; Strzemecka 2015). Older children are also more likely to possess their own digital device, and, thus, have more opportunities to establish contacts with peers through these media or by arranging to go out and socialize without being under their parents' control (Reynolds 2007).

However, it should be noted that while friendships can support children's motivation to attend school, they can also prevent them from better educational achievements as children tend to want to spend more time socializing than learning, as noted by Antony, who has been struggling with not having friends in his host country.

Overall, the study confirms that migrant children use different strategies for the socialization process and the formation of their peer cultures (Corsaro & Eder 1990; Devine 2009; Holland et al. 2007; James 2007). The children's agency is key in negotiating peer relationships when children are left alone after being "displaced" by their parents—all the respondents stressed that the decision to migrate was made by the parents, bringing their children along with them to another country (Orellana 2009). Importantly, the study also represents research that adopts the child-centered approach, including active listening (Clark 2004) to children, to guarantee their rights to be heard and represented.

To summarize, the outcomes of this study demonstrate that, despite having no influence on their parents' decision to move to Poland, migrant children shape their own socialization processes by implementing one or more friendship-making strategies. By defining their own needs and possibilities, children use different strategies to establish and maintain peer relations in their home and host countries, or elsewhere, as well as across borders. As such, often perplexing peer relations (Corsaro & Eder 1990) become even more entangled due to the clash of different cultures, languages, experiences, and values.

Some limitations of this study should be noted. The research sample comprised 20 migrant children from different backgrounds and migration contexts. Despite a wide range of ages, genders, ethnicities, social and cultural capitals, and socialization contexts (both private and public schools) in the sample, the study only features a few representatives for all the mentioned groups. Thus, future studies should address the socialization strategies of migrant children in Poland at a greater scale.

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The impact of distance learning on the social practices of schoolchildren during the COVID-19 pandemic: reconstructing values of migrant children in Poland

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The impact of distance learning on the social practices of schoolchildren during the COVID-19 pandemic: reconstructing values of migrant children in Poland

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ABSTRACT

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Polish government decided to shut down all public and private institutions, including schools, from 12 March 2020. Since then, 4.58 million students from 24,000 schools have remained in their homes and practiced distance learning. Distance learning has greatly affected children's social practices, including domestic, everyday, specialist, and cultural practices. This paper applies social practice theory, rooted in Schatzki's ontological theory of practices, and Shove, Pantzar, and Watson's structure of social practices to study the changes to migrant primary school children's social practices during distance learning in Poland. The data are derived from a subsample of a larger qualitative study of the transnational transition processes of migrant children in Poland. This paper investigates how the COVID-19 lockdown and distance learning have prompted migrant primary school children to reflect on the transformation of traditional social practices and the value of school.

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KEYWORDS Distance learning; social practices; migrant children; values

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has had substantial repercussions in almost every sphere of human life, including its 'social, cultural, political, educational, psychological, and interpersonal' aspects (Markowska-Manista and Zakrzewska-Olędzka 2020: 93). Many scholars, scientists, and analysts have been conducting studies of the pandemic's influence on various fields, including migration (Sirkeci and Yucesahin 2020), education (Ministertwo Edukacji Narodowej 2020; OECD 2020; UNESCO 2020), and families (Darmody 2020; WHO 2020). Studies with young

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people and children reveal the impact on the learning/teaching process, children's well-being, and how families function during times of chaos and disorganization caused by restrictions and limitations (Markowska-Manista and Zakrzewska-Olędzka 2020).

On 12 March 2020, the Polish government introduced restrictions aimed at diminishing the prevalence of COVID-19, a temporary shutdown of educational and cultural institutions (Kancelaria Prezesa Rady Ministrów 2020). There were further limitations on the movement of minors and changes in the workplace. Parks were closed, shopping was limited, and employees of public and private institutions had to work remotely. All these changes were put into effect on April 1 by the Polish Ministry of Interior and Administration (Serwis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2020).

Consequently, changes in how institutions functioned have required modifications to common and long-established social practices, because 'the traditional daily routines, habits and patterns and the old tools that worked up to this moment are failing to function in the new situation' (Markowska- Manista and Zakrzewska-Olędzka 2020: 93). Social practices are repetitive actions that emphasize the reproduction of traditional meanings, previously established skills, and certain tools and technologies (Spurling *et al.* 2013), and thus these practices make history (Kemmis *et al.* 2014).

Welch (2016) mentions different types of practices, that is, specialist practices (going to work or school), cultural practices (socializing outside the home; visiting cultural sites; attending church or community meetings), everyday practices (daily routines, driving, or walking), and domestic practices (running a household to raising a family). These types of social practices reflect children's practices in the following way: specialist (learning), cultural (maintaining interpersonal skills and social contacts), everyday (daily routines), and domestic (relationships with parents and siblings).

This paper is based on the theory of social practices derived from Schatzki's (1996, 2005) ontological theory of practices as spatio-temporal entities. Besides, it employs the structure of social practices proposed by Shove *et al.* (2012), which consists of three integrated elements (material, competence, and meaning) to study the changes to children's learning practices, social relationships, and the change in daily routines during the COVID-19 outbreak. Additionally, it shows how the newly acquired practices affect children's values and attitudes toward school as an educational and social institution. I argue that a change in one of the

elements of the structure of social practices, namely the material, induces a transformation in the other two elements, competence and meaning, as discussed in detail below.

This paper contributes to the studies on the impact of COVID-19 on children's values' transformation. I focus on how specialist, cultural, and everyday social practices change during the schools' shutdown. Additionally, I demonstrate how distance learning shapes children's attitudes toward the role of the school as a learning and socializing space.

Social practices framework within educational studies

Social practices theory has a long history and a broad application in a variety of fields, including daily life (Shove *et al.* 2012), education (Kemmis *et al.* 2014), and learning (Alkemeyer and Burschmann 2017; Lave and Wenger 1991). The roots of the theory of social practices lie in Bourdieu's (1977: 82) concept of *habitus*, described as a 'product of history, [that] produces individual and collective practices'. The theory of social practices has been broadly employed by Theodore Schatzki (1996, 2005), who sees these practices as repetitive doings, happening at certain space–time arrangements (Schatzki 2003), through which one improves their abilities and skills.

When the practices become common for all the groups, they are called *collective practices* (Welch 2016). Children's collective practices are shaped by their daily routines and group activities organized at educational institutions.

Kemmis *et al.* (2014) distinguished three arrangements of social practices (cultural- discursive, material-economic, and social-political), which exist in sequential dimensions (semantic space, physical space–time, and social space). In such space structures, at home and in school the three dimensions overlap. Both home and school are spaces where children share their activities, knowledge, and feelings with family and classmates. They also constitute the physical space and time that construe the systems where the educational practices are shared and reproduced (Schatzki 2005) and also became vital social spaces to establish and maintain relationships.

The contemporary school system has not changed greatly since the mid-nineteenth century. Children acquire their learning practices through a long history of memories and interactions that are based on previously produced social patterns (Kemmis *et al.* 2014). Therefore, school is not merely an institution that provides instruction regarding the transition of knowledge and skills between generations, but also a

space where school participants from various positions interact while jointly performing practices (Alkemeyer and Burschmann 2017).

For many children, especially those who have experienced a transition from one school, place of residence, or even from one country to another, the school often becomes the only place to establish and maintain their social lives. It is also the only place to learn and share educational practices, as many parents are unable to adequately support their children for a variety of reasons (being new themselves to the local language and school culture, their adaptations, feeling overwhelmed by their employment or legalization status, etc.). Moreover, peers and school become important socialization agents (Popyk *et al.* 2019) and anchors in a host country not only for migrant children but also for their parents (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2018). Because of the COVID-19 outbreak and schools being shut, spaces were swapped and they stopped serving their traditional functions. The *school* has temporarily stopped being a place that construes new experiences based on old/traditional ones (Bourdieu 1990). Consequently, the *home* became the space where children, parents, and teachers performed their practices. Thus, distance learning resulted in a substitution (Spurling *et al.* 2013) of not only *specialist practices* – attending school, studying at school, methods of learning, etc. – but also *cultural, domestic*, and *everyday* practices.

Regarding the ways to change the education system, Kemmis *et al.* (2014: 3) claimed:

> Education and schooling cannot be other than what they were yesterday and what they are today unless there are some significant transformations of the practices that reproduce schooling as we know it.

Thus, the traditional education system was automatically transformed because of the changes to the practices and learning/teaching modes from traditional models to distance learning. A study detailing the impact of the COVID-19 lockdown on families with children in Poland (Markowska- Manista and Zakrzewska-Olędzka 2020: 90) noted:

> Adults' and children's lives have moved online to an even greater degree, lost their rhythm of traditional preschool, school, and professional functioning. Suddenly, we have been pulled out of our daily rituals and responsibilities and held back in place.

To disclose the impact of distance learning on the transformation of practices and the consequences of this transformation, I applied Shove *et al.*'s (2012) concept of the structure of social practices.

Their concept, which is based on studies of science and technology, consists of the following three elements (mentioned above): *material* ('things, technology, tangible physical entities'), *competence* ('skills and know-how'), and *meaning* ('symbolic meanings, ideas and aspirations') (Shove *et al.* 2012: 14). The material element discloses the learning/teaching mode at schools; competencies are the skills every actor in the learning/teaching process must acquire to adapt to the material element; meaning signifies the actors' values and attitudes toward their relationships since 'learning [is] embedded in social (power) relations' (Alkemeyer and Burschmann 2017: 14).

Shove *et al.* (2012) state that different correlations between the three elements of the social practices can occur within three different scenarios: before the links are made (proto-practices) when they are made (practices), and after they are broken (ex-practices). Proto-practices existed before implementing distance learning and, thus, there were no links yet between the elements. In the second scenario, the current process of social practices performed during distance learning illustrates a full integration of the three elements. In the final scenario, however, there are no links between the elements. Concretely, this represents the temporary interruption of traditional education and demonstrates what will happen to the social practices of distance learning once the school shutdown ends and children return to school. My analysis portrays how the practices are invented or disappear when the links are established and broken between the elements of the specialist, cultural, and everyday practices that migrant children have performed during distance learning in Poland.

Migrant children in Poland

An unprecedented number of 44,000 foreign-born children attended Polish schools in the 2018/2019 academic year (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, 2019). Although this might be a novel phenomenon in the country, media, politicians, and scholars worldwide have drawn attention to the issue of migrant children for the last few decades because the visibility of migrant children is linked to the growing number of migrants globally (Miller and Castles 2009; Okólski 2012).

In the context of global mass-mobility, Poland as a country of origin has remained a host to a homogeneous nation. According to the Migration Data Portal in 2019, the share of international migrants in Poland was 1.9%. The United Nations informs that, in 2019, the

number of immigrants in Poland reached 656,000, and about 14% were under 19 years of age. This means that migrant adults arrived in Poland together with their children and the young population becomes more and more visible.

Previous studies investigated how schools cope with the changing situation (Grzymała-Kazłowska *et al.* 2008). However, limited data are available on transnational transitions (Pustułka and Trąbka 2019) of migrant children, especially those arriving from Ukraine, which constitutes the major ethnic minority group in Poland (Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców 2020[1]), and Turkey, which constitutes a small share of the immigrants in Poland but is worth paying attention to given the cultural and religious differences between Turkish and Polish cultures (Andrejuk 2019). These two groups of migrant children, Ukrainian and Turkish, were given major attention in the present research.

Migration experiences greatly influence the specialist (educational) and cultural (interpersonal) practices of migrant children in a host country. The post-migration adaptation depends on numerous aspects, among which school and family contexts (Rumbaut 2005). The school is a key, and often the only, space for migrant children's language and culture adaptation, as well as for maintaining peer relations, which influence children's well-being and motivation to go to school (Vandell 2000). Consequently, the COVID-19 shutdown brought another transition to migrant children's lives and formation of practices, as presented below.

Methods and materials

The study of the transformation of children's social practices is based on the subsample of a larger qualitative study of the transnational transition process for migrant children in Poland, which consists of 49 interviews with children aged 7–13 ($N = 20$), their parents ($N = 19$), and teachers ($N = 10$).[2] This paper presents the outcomes of the interviews with 19 primary school children, with a migration background (the first interview took place before the lockdown and was held face-to- face) (see Table 1). In part, the interviews aimed to study the impact of distance learning on children's transnational transitions, learning processes, and maintenance of relationships with peers during the school shutdown. Purposeful

[1]Data on some immigrants in Poland holding a legal status, 1 January 2020.
[2]The research was conducted in five languages, Polish, English, Ukrainian, Russian, and Turkish. All quotations were translated by the author.

Table 1. Overview of the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics.

No	Pseudonym	Gender	Country of origin	Language of interview	Age	Grade	Time in Poland (yrs)	Type of school
1	Igor	Boy	Ukraine	RU	13	8	2	public
2	Antony	Boy	Ukraine	RU	12	6	1	public
3	Michele	Boy	Romania	EN	12	6	6	private
4	Katie	Girl	Turkey	EN	9	4	3	public
5	Anna	Girl	Turkey	TR/PL	13	7	4	private
6	Ali	Boy	Turkey	EN	12	6	4	public
7	Emel	Boy	Turkey	EN	12	6	4	private
8	Zeliha	Girl	Turkey	TR/PL	10	5	3	private
9	Ismail	Boy	Turkey	EN	11	5	2	public
10	Rabia	Girl	Turkey	TR/PL	12	6	4	public
11	Omer	Boy	Turkey	EN	11	5	2	private
12	Sadik	Boy	Turkey	EN	13	7	2	private
13	Liliana	Girl	Lithuania	EN	11	5	4	private
14	Mehmet	Boy	Turkey	TR/PL	11	3	2	public
15	Duran	Boy	Turkey	TR/PL	10	3	2	public
16	Serife	Girl	Turkey	EN	12	6	3	public
17	Meryem	Girl	Turkey	TR/PL	13	6	3	public
18	Yulia	Girl	Ukraine	UA	9	3	2	public
19	Natalia	Girl	Ukraine	UA	12	6	1	public

sampling was used in the study, whereas the channels of recruitment involved the researcher's contacts and snowball sampling technique. The study adopts the child-centered approach (Merriman and Guerin 2006) and active listening to children (Clark and Moss 2001), wherein the interviews with parents and teachers aimed to set the socio-demographic background of immigrant children. The research was conducted in June and July 2020 using Zoom for communicating and recording. All data and materials were directly saved onto an external hard drive accessed only by the researcher. The interviews were held in different languages, that is, English, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, and Turkish (with the presence of a qualified interpreter), to provide the respondents with comfort and the opportunity to express themselves in a native/comprehensive language.

The research follows all the requirements and guidelines on research including children and was approved by the appropriate ethics committee. All study participants gave informed voluntary consent, which was presented in the participants' native language to avoid ambiguous interpretations. The consent form contained information regarding anonymity, the confidentiality of the interviews, aims and procedure of the research, the methods of storing and analyzing the data and using personal data, disseminating the outcomes, as well as the possible discomfort occurrence and the ways the researcher would avoid, minimalize, or eliminate this possibility.

The analysis of the data followed these steps: meticulous transcription of recordings (voice- to-text), developing and applying codes to all material, identifying themes, patterns, and relationships concerning the created codes, summarizing the data (Saldana 2009). The information was analyzed through thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Findings

The outcomes of the interviews with immigrant children proved the paramount role of the school as both a learning and a socializing institution. The significance of school was highlighted during the COVID-19 lockdown and online learning. Among the issues of distance learning experienced by immigrant children, the following prevailed:

(1) Learning issues
    (a) specialist practices (going to school, mode of learning)
    (b) everyday practices (daily routine, schedule)
(2) Social life issues
    (a) cultural practices (social contact, visiting cultural places)

The children emphasized that online education had been fairly unsuccessful because of the learning issues related to the disturbances caused to their specialist practices. All respondents stated that they found it difficult to understand the school material while sitting in front of screens. Thus, as the method of learning changed, children had to master new learning practices. Acquiring new skills involved another challenge for the migrant children, who were in the process of getting acquainted with the new norms and rules of educational practices in a host country:

> First, I thought having classes online would be good, but I don't like online classes very much, and I don't learn things like this. I missed two months of online lessons … Teachers are trying to do their best, but some of the teachers don't give clear information, and it is quite hard to learn like this. (Anna, TR, 13 yrs. old/4 yrs. In-country)

> For example, eye contact. Looking directly at the teacher is very important; it is very helpful. But it's because of this pandemic that learning is hard. (Katie, TR, 9 yrs. old/3 yrs. In-country)

Moreover, after the schools' shutdown, children were overwhelmed with work, because teachers used the strategy of sending most of the information as homework to save time familiarizing themselves with online

tools. For the newcomers, homework took lots of time and effort, as they had to translate the material to their native language, learn it and do the tasks with the help of parents or siblings, and translate it back to Polish. Thus, migrant children had to develop their learning skills, as their educational practices relied on individual work and parents' support – this effect was compounded during the shutdown:

> At first, they were sending too much homework. They were sending us lots of documents. Finish this. Watch this. Do this. Finish this. (Yulia, UA, 9 yrs. old/ 2 yrs. In-country)

> Teachers are giving too much homework. They're saying do this because we need to get grades. (Anna, TR, 12 yrs. old/4 yrs. In-country)

> Our extra Polish teacher was giving us so much homework. (Sadik, Tr, 13 yrs. old/2 yrs. In- country)

Overloaded with lectures and information, children appeared to have gaps in their knowledge, as some parents could not provide any support. As a result, the new specialist practices led to frustration and demotivation for some migrant children:

> If we do not have online lessons, we have offline lessons. The teacher can't explain things to you well because they usually have another lesson with somebody else. So, it's just really frustrating. (Liliana, LT, 11 yrs. old/4 yrs. In-country)

Nevertheless, two of the student respondents, who had difficulties with comprehending the material at school and were shy to reach a teacher or classmate for help, found distance learning advantageous. At homeschooling, they had more time to check the material on the Internet or consult the adults. Their new learning practices had a positive impact on their psychological well-being and a positive perception of distance education:

> In online lessons, we don't learn so much, but they are less stressful, normal school is more stressful, but I had better grades. (Emel, TR, 12 yrs. old/4 yrs. In-country)

> Frankly speaking, it is easier for me, because if I don't know anything, I can check the Internet. When I was at school it was hard to understand the material. At home, I can use the translator and check it out. (Meryem, TR, 13 yrs. old/3 yrs. In-country)

In a new learning mode, children intertwined their educational and everyday practices with cultural practices, and communication with family members or friends, during 'school time'. All of the young

participants stated that distance learning positively altered their everyday practices as daily routines and schedules were transformed. Thus, the home became a united spatio-temporal entity for performing children's school and home duties:

> The good part is that I can stay home and do whatever I want. (Michele, Ro, 12 yrs. old/6 yrs. In-country)

> We are at home and in breaks, I can just go and talk with my family, but at school when I want to go home, I can't. Also, when I want to eat during the lesson, I can't. (Emel, TR, 12 yrs. old/4 yrs. In-country)

Another challenge of the shutdown concerned the reduced personal meetings, which, consequently, influenced children's social lives, transferring them to the virtual world or making them feel lonely at home. The lack of personal contact with peers led to a change in children's communication practices with both positive (e.g. fast and frequent contact) and negative consequences (e.g. increase of cyberbullying, social exclusion). Virtual communication disturbs the social lives of those who have poor access to information and communication technologies, as well for those whose only source of interaction with peers was the school. Hence, during the shutdown, migrant children valuated school more than before:

> It's kind of boring because I cannot go outside and socialize. I want to meet my friends, not through a computer but actually meet them. (Michele, RO, 12 yrs. old/6 yrs. In-country)

> I had never liked this school, but now, when we stay at home, I started missing it. I had never thought that I would miss school. (Natalia, UA, 12 yrs. old/1 yr. In-country)

> My phone broke. That's why I can't contact anybody. I am waiting for [it to be] repair[ed] (Ali, TR, 12 yrs. old/4 yrs. In-country)

> Further, the COVID-19 lockdown suspended the social lives of 15 out of the 19 respondents, as school and community members' meetings (popular among the Turkish families) have been the only socialization spaces out of school. The community meeting is an important space not only to cultivate the cultural practices of migrant children but also to support each other during the transnational transitions (Pustułka and Trąbka 2019).

Discussion and conclusions

The COVID-19 outbreak and school shutdown undoubtedly had an impact on the social practices of school-aged children. Specialist practices

were modified by changes to the learning mode and the performance of everyday practices. Moreover, cultural practices moved online, with positive and negative effects. In terms of the structure of social practices, two elements – material (learning mode) and competence (skills to learn through distance) – were reshaped and new between-element links were established. This, consequently, required adjustments to the third element, meaning, (attitude toward school as a learning/teaching and socializing space).

Shove *et al.* (2012) demonstrated a change in the practice and modification of the links between the practice elements through the example of automobiles replacing horse-drawn carriages: changes to the material element rendered old practices redundant; thus, drivers and mechanics had to acquire new competencies.

This linkage of the elements to of the social practice structure demonstrates that traditional school practices have temporally become *ex-practices* because the links between the elements were broken. Additionally, they were substituted by the new educational, everyday, and communication practices of children.

Hence, I argue that children who acquired new skills and competences at learning, communicating, managing social relations, and performing everyday practices during the shutdown gave a new meaning to their current educational practices and interpersonal skills. Moreover, homeschooling migrant children stressed the importance of school and face-to-face social life.

Some migrant children realized after the shutdown that personal contacts with teachers and peers lay the ground for a successful learning process. Moreover, during the lockdown, immigrant children gave greater value to the school as a socialization space, where they establish and maintain their social contacts, which often are the only acquaintances in a host country.

Additionally, the schoolchildren's collective practices (Kemmis *et al.* 2014) have been substituted by the separate practices of each child, who had to individually manage the new learning process. Hence, collective educational practices have temporarily become ex-practices (Shove *et al.* 2012). Thus, children's new individual specialist (learning on distance) and cultural (maintaining social relationships on distance) practices are in the second scenario of the social practice structure (Shove *et al.* 2012).

Furthermore, the spatio-temporal entities (Schatzki 2005) have changed because of the social practices of schoolchildren and the new arrangements and shift in the three dimensions (semantic space, physical

space–time, and social space of shared doing and relations) (Kemmis *et al.* 2014).

To summarize, this study analyzed the changes to the social practices resulted from COVID- 19, particularly the shutdown of public and private institutions. I demonstrated how the links between elements of these practices were established and maintained. Additionally, I disclosed how distance learning shaped students' values and attitudes toward school and social life. Further research is needed to gain more insights into how different social practices acquired by children, parents, and teachers will develop and be shaped in the future, especially after schools are open and in session again.

Some limitations of the study should be noted. First, the research was conducted using qualitative methods with a group of migrant children in Poland, which does not constitute a representative group of Polish children. However, the study's outcomes were consistent with the findings of Markowska-Manista and Zakrzewska-Olędzka (2020) on the impact of COVID-19 on families in Poland. Second, qualitative research with children using online interview techniques is not yet popular among researchers in Poland. Nonetheless, the study was conducted three months after distance learning started; thus, the children were well-acquainted with the online tools.

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Transnational Communication between Children and Grandparents during the COVID-19 Lockdown. The Case of Migrant Children in Poland

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ABSTRACT

Transnational intergenerational communication between migrant children and their grandparents depends on family relationships and the specific migration context, but also shifts in response to emerging factors, such as the current COVID-19 crisis. The goal of this study is to offer an agile typology of communication between migrant children in Poland and their grandparents in other countries. It points to two types of family communication practices, namely direct (face-to-face) and technology-mediated communication (TMC). Drawing on data from a qualitative study of immigrant children (n = 19) and parents (n = 18) conducted during the lockdown and associated travel restrictions caused by the pandemic, the study offers a typology of emotional, symbolic, mediated, and discontinuous modes of intergenerational family communications. It also indicates that cessation of direct contact during an "immobility regime" reduces the scope of intergenerational communication in transnational families.

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Introduction

Intergenerational communication in transnational families is known to rely heavily on information and communication technologies (ICTs) as a means of maintaining a sense of collective kinship or familyhood (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002) across borders. While at first the advances offered by technologies were often said to alleviate the burdens of separation, many scholars underlined that virtual co-presence could not replace the physical experience of being together (Rainie & Wellman, 2012). The debate about the line between physical and digital experiences has been revived by the COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing lockdowns. However, the restrictions have had particular implications for migrant families, in which bonds depend on the mixture and tacit rules of distance communication and direct contact as a means of reinforcing the sense of belonging and affection achieved through face-to-face communication (Baldassar, 2007; Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). In this article, we investigate the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic mobility restrictions on this particular type of geographically distant intergenerational bond, looking specifically at the experiences of migrant schoolchildren in Poland.

The aim of this paper is to gauge the effect of the pandemic on the "transnational intergenerational arch" (Slany & Strzemecka, 2016, p. 276), which typifies the relations between migrant children and their grandparents "back home." Drawing on studies of transnational family practices, we focus on two aspects of intergenerational communication, namely technology-mediated communication (Barakji et al., 2019; Pustułka, 2015) and face-to-face communication (Baldassar, 2007). In doing so, we analyze qualitative data from 37 interviews with immigrant children in Poland, demonstrating,

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first, the pre-pandemic context of how they related to their grandparents (and in some cases other family members) through communications and visits. Second, we shed light on the impact of the cessation of family visits due to the COVID-19 pandemic, investigating the interdependency between technology-mediated and direct communication in migrant families. Third, we provide practical recommendations for intergenerational communication in the era of global (im)mobility.

Besides this introduction, the paper consists of three main parts. The first section gives an overview of the direct and indirect settings of transnational, intergenerational, family communication practices. It moves on to examining grandparent-grandchild ties during separation, and offers contextual information on migrant children in Poland and (im)mobility regimes. The second section outlines the data and methods used in the study. The third section presents the results, which are organized in four proposed modes of grandparent-grandchild communication, drawing on Souralová's (2019) dimensions of *grandchildhood* and taking into account the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic. Examination of the s*ymbolic, emotional, mediated*, and *discontinuous* transnational communication modes constitutes the basis for the discussion, recommendations, and conclusions put forward in this paper.

Home visits and ICT Use in intergenerational communication of migrant families

Gjokaj et al. (2013) underline that "families are becoming more dispersed" (p. 284) worldwide, living across several countries and continents. Therefore, as defined in foundational work by Bryceson and Vuorela (2002), transnational family members "live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders" (p. 3). The interplay of proximity (affinity/emotional closeness) and distance (physical/geographical separation) necessitates new transnational family practices. These focus primarily on maintaining, creating, and managing relationships, and are largely assisted by what Vertovec (2004) aptly called the *social glue* of transnational kinship networks, namely taking advantage of cheap calls and cheap flights for communications and home visits, respectively.

It is through communications that "family relationships are established and maintained, attachment and intimacy are created, children are socialized, gender roles and expectations are formed, decisions are made, problems and conflicts are resolved, social support is provided, and the physical and mental well-being of others are affected" (Caughlin et al., 2011, p. 683). In the large body of work on transnational families, studies on the relationships between family members across borders are prevalent; they refer directly to the role of face-to-face (FtF) communication during home visits (e.g., Baldassar, 2007), as well as to technology-mediated communication reliant on various information and communication technologies (ICTs) (e.g., Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011; Barakji et al., 2019).

According to the *communicative interdependence perspective* proposed by Caughlin and Sharabi (2013), people in close relationships do not "communicate exclusively through any particular mode [e.g., technology-mediated communication or face-to-face]" (p. 876), but rather create amalgams of channels and media. As two sides of the same coin, direct (face-to-face) and indirect (mediated by ICTs) family communications are interdependent enactments of transnational families. Unlike families who live in spatial proximity, members of transnational families are likely to face *mode segmentation* and *difficulty transitioning* between the two communication modes, which can lead to the disintegration of communication and negatively affect family closeness and satisfaction (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013).

Migrants' use of *polymedia* (Madianou & Miller, 2013), that is, a wide range of different channels, has become the usual way of maintaining family networks (Baldassar, 2007), providing care across borders (Licoppe, 2004), and cultivating intimate social relations (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). Thus, the crucial spheres of family practices are reliant on the quality and frequency of communications at a distance, with the promise of extensive virtual contact being a safeguard of continued *emotional interdependency* (Rooyackers et al., 2016) and a sense of familyhood (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002).

Besides, technology-mediated communication can "alleviate some of the challenges of communicating across distance by providing instantaneous and real-time contact" (Brandhorst et al., 2020, p. 266).

Despite ICTs, scholars consistently portray face-to-face communication as "the more intimate mode" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013, p. 880), which remains vital in making sure that family members "are really ok" (Baldassar, 2007, p. 394). As we have argued elsewhere (Pustułka, 2015), just because virtual tools are available does not mean that everyone uses them intensively, because of barriers ranging from insufficient technological skills to a lack of willingness to maintain ties. Moreover, virtual co-presence deals more with routinized family practices, while actually being together in a shared physical space is needed for the process of displaying family bonds during rituals and special events (e.g., weddings, childbirths, birthdays, and crises (Baldassar, 2007).

Research indicates that the "integration" of different means of communication in family relationships leads to *high communicative interdependence*, and is "positively associated with relational closeness and relational satisfaction" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013, pp. 880–881). This study examines migrant children's transnational, technology-mediated intergenerational communication in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and its "immobilizing regime of migration" (Merla et al., 2020, p. 393), which removes the chance of face-to-face communications, and in which such integration is not possible.

Migrant child-grandparent communication

Most of the research on transnational families and their communication focuses on relationships between members of two juxtaposed generations. This entails examining either issues around transnational parenting (Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 2001) or the relations between adult migrants and their aging parents (Rooyackers et al., 2016). Emerging studies on intergenerational transnational ties between grandchildren and grandparents focus on two major issues. First, they deal with issues related to the direct, physical care that evokes close emotional bonds within otherwise transnational grandparenting (Da, 2003). This may entail children being left in their grandparents' care during home visits, or the mobility of flying grandmothers (Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 2001) who step in to provide caregiving in the destination countries. Second, they gauge the impact of grandparents on migrant children's identity formation and sense of belonging, especially in the context of intergenerational transmission of the values, traditions, and culture of the origin country (Slany & Strzemecka, 2016).

Through both types of transnational family practices – those realized through face-to-face and those realized through technology-mediated communication – grandparents can become active agents of migrant children's socialization (Da, 2003; Popyk et al., 2019) and create a "by proxy" (Baldassar, 2008) co-presence, as they may symbolize objects, places, and people from the home country. Notably, both emotional propinquity and identity work can be realized in the virtual sphere (Slany & Strzemecka, 2016). To date, research in this realm has concentrated mostly on the frequency of different media usage (Holladay & Seipke, 2007), and grandparents' involvement in cultural exchange as a basis for teaching migrant children about their heritage and ensuring continued use of the home-country language (Forghani et al., 2013).

It should be underlined that most of the aforementioned studies feature adults. That is, they present the views of grandparents or migrant parents. It is only recently that Souralová (2019) has proposed the notion of "transnational grandchildhood, "which is understood as "the meaning and practices of intergenerational transnational ties with grandparents and the reproduction and maintenance of those ties across borders" (p. 2). Three dimensions need to be included in analyzing transnational grandchildhood, namely the *symbolic, emotional*, and *normative* components of bonds enacted within transnational communications and visits.

The symbolic dimension describes child-grandparent relationships based on "the symbolism of primordial ties – blood, genes, and commonalities given by the biology of kinship" (Souralová, 2019, p. 13). The emotional dimension characterizes intergenerational relationships grounded in

communication supported by frequent personal contact. This type of intergenerational relationship hinges upon "supportive communication" of an affective and caring kind (Caughlin et al., 2011, p. 689). Lastly, the third, normative dimension of child-grandparent relations is shaped by communication driven by family obligations and cultural norms of the family of origin as a biological structure (Fitzpatrick, 2006). This type is often mediated by parents, and anticipates a limited emotional aspect, instead emphasizing children's duty to maintain contact.

Migration to Poland in the context of the "immobility regime" in 2020

After decades of being primarily a sending country and a homogenous nation, Poland started admitting more migrants in the 21st century, with the immigrant population reaching 656,000 in 2019. About 14% of immigrants are those aged 19 and under (The Office for Foreigners, 2019). Thus, immigrant children have recently become a prevalent subject in the Polish media and political discourse, with 52,000 foreign-born children attending Polish schools in the 2019/2020 academic year (The Ministry of National Education of Poland, 2019). It is only this year that the Ministry plans on collecting nationality data, but it has been observed that foreign pupils mostly come from the Ukraine, China and Vietnam. Other nationalities, including Turkish and Indian, are also on the rise.

Regardless of their ethnic background, children experience a transfer of family values and traditions that focus on respecting and caring for older family members, including parents and grandparents. Since transnationalism is no longer a single-generational affair (Reisenauer, 2015), migrant children tend to be transnationally active in communications and visits, as agents building and maintaining family ties beyond borders, especially when it comes to grandparents (Slany & Strzemecka, 2016; Souralová, 2019). However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, members of transnational families have faced significant changes in their cross-border communication due to border closures and limited mobility.

In response to the spread of coronavirus, most countries decided to tighten immigration regimes (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2012) and, as Ullah et al. (2020), "there is no doubt that the COVID-19 is an amplifier of existing vulnerabilities of the migrant population around the world" (p. 8). In Poland, the pandemic resulted in the national borders closing for nonresidents on March 15, 2020. After a period of relaxed restrictions in July (a lifting of the 14-day quarantine obligation for EU travelers), visitors from beyond Europe continued to face difficulties linked to seeing relatives, not least because of the increased cost and unreliability of air travel. At the time of writing (March 2021), we are facing the prospect of renewed restrictions, which means transnational families living (spatially and politically) far apart must often postpone visits indefinitely. So far, migrant families residing in Poland have experienced an "immobilizing regime of migration" (Merla et al., 2020, p. 393) for ten months.

The purpose and procedure of migration, legal status, and place of residence for transnational family members are now bound by this "immobility regime" (Turner, 2007), which will clearly have a bearing on family communications (Caughlin et al., 2011; Şenyürekli & Detzner, 2008). Transnational and intergenerational care have been "put on hold" (Brandhorst et al., 2020) because the pandemic travel restrictions prevent family meetings.

The pandemic movement restrictions have also exacerbated the "mobility gap" (Shamir, 2005 in Brandhorst et al., 2020) among those in unfavorable positions due to political or other circumstances, often making travel to/from home countries impossible. This particularly applies to non-EU migrants unable to travel during lockdown.[1] For these families, the "temporality in an immobility regime" (Brandhorst et al., 2020) translates into the "withholding" of intergenerational care (Sakti, 2020), or to the "silencing and sieving" (Sampaio, 2020, p. 281) of some information from family members so as not to upset them. Thus, COVID-19 has significantly altered family communication across borders. Virtual communications have become the only means of sharing information, care, and support (Baldassar, 2008).

Hence, this paper aims to answer the following questions:

RQ1: How do the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown and travel restrictions affect intergenerational communication between migrant children in Poland and their grandparents living in the home (or other) state?RQ2: What were the main modes of intergenerational communication between children and their grandparents before and during the pandemic lockdown?

Method

The analyses presented in this paper are based on interviews with migrant children and their parents conducted as part of a qualitative study on the migration experience and transnational transitions of immigrant children living in Poland. The study included 37 semi-structured interviews: 20 with children (ages 7–13), and 19 with their parents. We adopted the child-centered approach and active listening to children technique (Clark & Moss, 2001), wherein the interviews with parents served as supplementary background material. Specific details and procedures used during the research are discussed next.

Before the start of the data collection, the study was approved by the ethics committee at the implementing institution. A combination of convenience and purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants. The channels for finding interviewees were the researcher's contacts[2] and the snowball sampling technique, wherein participants recommended members of their networks willing to take part in the study (n = 14). The recruitment process began by looking for immigrant children who were between 7 and 13 years old, then contacting their parents to inform them about the research project. All of the parent participants gave informed, voluntary consent for their own and their children's participation. Child participants gave oral confirmation, first to their parents and then at the start of the interview, that they wanted to take part. The consent forms approved by the Ethics Committee were translated and presented to the participants in their native languages to avoid ambiguous interpretations. These were supplemented with information regarding the anonymity, confidentiality, aims and procedure of the research, as well as the methods of storing, analyzing, and disseminating the data (including personal data).

The research was conducted in five languages – Polish, English, Ukrainian, Russian, and Turkish – as noted in Table 1. While Author 1/the lead researcher is fluent in the first four, a qualified interpreter accompanied them to the interviews conducted in Turkish. Interviews with children were preceded by interviews with their parents, and were held separately.

The interviews were conducted online between June and July 2020. The mean age of child participants was 12, with the mean time they had lived in Poland amounting to three years (see Table 1 for the participants' characteristics). All data and material were directly saved onto an external hard drive accessible only to the lead researcher, who had the necessary experience and training to avoid, minimalize, or eliminate participants' discomfort.

The main topics covered in the interviews were: migration decisions and experience, family and school life in the home country; peer relations in home and host countries; family and school life in the host country; reflections on distanced learning during the COVID-19 pandemic; and family life across borders during the pandemic.

To study grandchild-grandparent communication models, the following subjects were analyzed: family life before and after the migration experience (questions: How often do/did you use to contact your grandparents/relatives living back in Turkey [or other country of residence]? How often do/did you meet? When was the last time you met your grandparents [relatives]? What do/did you like doing together?); frequency of virtual communication with grandparents (questions: How often do you talk to your grandparents? Do you contact them directly or through your parents?); and plans for future communication (question: What do you plan to do this [2020] summer?).

The data analysis followed the standard steps for qualitative analysis under the interpretivist paradigm (Miles & Huberman, 1994). After meticulous transcription of recordings (voice-to-text), the authors began a data reduction phase. It included developing and applying codes to all material;

identifying themes, patterns, and relationships concerning the created codes; and summarizing the data with vignettes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). At the stage of creating data displays, thematically ordered approaches (based around the question topics listed above) and conceptually ordered approaches were used. Cross-case comparisons followed, resulting in the verification and extension of the typology through multi-level extraction and cross-checks, and finally to the emergence of four ideal types from a series of single cases (Gerhardt, 1991). The revision reflected the spirit of thematic analyses proposed by Wengraf, who argued that even having a general sense of certain (pure) types does not preclude new cases from causing multi-branching and the construction of a revised tacit typology (Wengraf, 2001).

Findings

Transnational intergenerational communication between immigrant children and their grandparents relies on two key methods: face-to-face and technology-mediated communication. Both are interlinked to frequency (many or few visits/online exchanges) and the meaning of contacts, ranging from perfunctory to emotionally deep and significant. In relation to RQ2, the analysis of migrant children and their grandparents before and during the COVID-19 pandemic allowed us to distinguish four types of cross-border communication modes, namely emotional, symbolic, mediated, and discontinuous modes, which we proposed could account for the specificity of ICT use and types of mobility experiences (see Table 1). Both the frequency and meaning of communication were understood subjectively and analyzed on the basis of the interview accounts elicited from children and parents. A description of the grandchild-grandparent communication modes before and during the pandemic is presented in Table 2.

Emotional mode

The young participants operating in the emotional communication mode reported frequent and regular technology-mediated communication with their grandparents, as well as engagements in bilateral family visits despite living in Poland. The emotional communication across the borders was reciprocal, and often a result of close intergenerational relationships established before leaving the home country.

An example of such a migration setting was seen in the family of Emine, a 13-year-old from Turkey who had lived in Poland for four years. Before migration, she had been accustomed to spending weekends and holidays with her grandparents. For the past two years, Emine had been separated from her father, who lived in Canada, while she resided in Poland with her mother and two younger siblings. To alleviate the burdens of separation, both Emine and her mother declared emotional support from relatives a necessity. Beyond relying on technology-mediated communication, which her mother facilitated, Emine reported that her relatives from Turkey had previously come to Poland every three to four months. From Emine's narrative, it can be said that regular visits "inspire[d] an increase in transnational communication both before and immediately following [contact]" (Baldassar, 2007, p. 405). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the family had not been able to arrange the usual meetings with their relatives. Emine stated:

> My grandparents came to Poland in February [2020] to see us, and my other grandmother and grandfather came here once . . . . My cousins and my uncle wanted to come here, but now, because of the coronavirus, they cannot (Emine, 13 years old, 4 years in PL).

In this case, the frequent direct contact was intertwined with intensive use of polymedia in everyday communication, supporting emotional interdependence (Rooyackers et al., 2016). However, relationships remained stronger on the maternal side of the family, as these grandparents could visit Emine and her siblings. Similarly, for Ebru, another 13-year-old girl from Turkey, direct communication had been the base for emotional propinquity, acting as "fuel" for the preexisting bonds:

> [Living in Turkey] I liked to spend time with my grandmother, father's mom . . . I visited them every weekend. She was doing everything I wanted. We visited a lot of new places together . . . My grandmother (now) lives in Germany, so we meet often . . . Now we cannot go there because of the virus. When the lockdown is over, we will go to Germany (Ebru, 13 years old, 3 years in PL).

The girl communicated with her grandmother while awaiting a chance to meet. This communication was largely seen as important from the perspective of transnational "familyhood" by her mother, whose narrative is included here for contextual reasons:

> We tell the girls that . . . we need to take care of [their grandparents]. It is important to call them every day, even if you have nothing to say. You still need to remember and call, ask them how they are doing, remind them that we care for them (Ebru's mother).

Even if some young participants do not own personal electronic devices, thus having somewhat restricted access to ICTs, their parents may promote more "traditional" media, like daily phone calls. It is noticeable, however, that if emotional grandchildhood has been initiated before migration, its transnational realization is similarly important and, even during the COVID-19 pandemic, technology-mediated communication helps to maintain the contact and bonds. The emotional mode clearly demonstrates what Slany and Strzemecka (2016) call a "transnational intergenerational arch," serving here as a communicative bridge between young migrants and their grandparents across the borders.

Symbolic mode

The symbolic mode characterizes immigrant child-grandparent relationships established and maintained through physical co-presence (Baldassar, 2008). This is especially observed in families who have left their home countries for other than political reasons, and thus are able to enjoy both regular visits to their homeland, especially over the longer summer holidays, as well as visits of relatives to Poland. Within the symbolic mode, ongoing direct contact with grandparents can be established, and therefore the transnational family does not experience a "mobility gap" (Shamir, 2005, p. 200). In other words, the opportunity for frequent personal co-presence is safeguarded, and this largely alleviates the need for intensive virtual communication. Thus, children develop close intergenerational relationships during face-to-face communication, and do not need to use ICTs to maintain communication. In our study, this could be seen in the cases of Igor, a 13-year-old boy from Ukraine, and Nikolas, a 12-year-old boy from Romania, who both used to visit their paternal grandparents[3] before the lockdown, stayed with them for a couple of months during summer holidays, or enjoyed grandparents coming to their place of residence in Poland. Their communicative distance, however, was limited to sending occasional greetings, making the technology-mediated communication a bridging tool between face-to-face meetings (Baldassar, 2008).

> Well, he is at the age when I ask him: "Do you want to talk? – No, I am busy!" In general, they talk on the holidays, birthdays. When they meet in person, they speak a lot . . . When he was small, they preferred to play some games, now they enjoy just talking (Nikolas's mother).

In the same vein, two siblings from Turkey, Cevdet and David, were also able to benefit from seeing grandparents living in neighboring Germany every two to three months before lockdown. Growing up in their home country, the boys spent a lot of time with their small village community. Their relationships shifted due to migration, but Cevdet described his contentment at the prospect of seeing his grandparents:

> We came to live in Poland because my grandfather had problems in Turkey. [My grandparents] could not stay in Poland and went to live in Germany, we stayed here. Of course, I miss Turkey and it was hard to get used to Poland, but when the holidays start, we will go to Germany to visit our grandparents. I'm very happy about that (Cevdet, 11 years old, two years in PL).

Cevdet noted that visiting relatives was regular and unproblematic. Consequently, children faced communication "mode segmentation" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013), preferring face-to-face over technology-mediated communication. Nevertheless, the boys had temporarily been unable to go to Germany because of their residence permit expiring during the COVID-19-related shutdown of institutions. Similarly, their grandparents had not been able to come to Poland due to anxieties about exposure to the virus at their age. Thus, Cevdet and David had experienced great changes in their usual, face-to-face communication with their grandparents, which had been substituted by the occasional use of virtual space. The boys were clearly disappointed and felt powerless in their predicament. Cevdet described his regret about the missing component of visits as a transnational family practice:

> We do not go anywhere now because of the lockdown. Even if the borders are reopened, we will have to stay in quarantine. My uncle [who lives in Poland] wanted to go to Germany, but cannot due to the pandemic. My mother also wants to go there, but cannot because she will have to be quarantined (Cevdet, 11 years old, two years in PL).

The COVID-19 lockdown, with the ensuing travel restrictions, institutional/legal challenges, and quarantine requirements has disrupted the face-to-face family communications preferred by some kinship networks, thus impeding the sense of "familyhood" and intergenerational relationships.

Mediated mode

Transnational families maintaining intergenerational relations through the extensive use of ICTs evoke a new mode of mediated communication, resulting in a new type of bond between grandparents and grandchildren. They experience ritualized, regular, and obligatorily reinforced virtual co-presence (Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016) as a holistic channel of their familyhood forged through everyday communicative practices. This was the case in the family of Enes, a 13-year-old boy from Turkey, who had not seen his grandparents for three years:

> We talk online, also on WhatsApp. We usually communicate with our grandfathers, grandmothers, also with our great-grandmother and aunts. We are all waiting to be together again (Enes, 13 years old, two years in PL).

The boy and his parents relied on ICTs, as they had no other way of meeting their relatives. The family had migrated to Pakistan when he was nine, and then moved to Poland two years later. Despite this long separation, Enes' mother mentioned that she had taught her children to contact their relatives regularly in order to keep the family ties strong. Still, after such a long time, the mediated mode leans toward symbolism in terms of the communications being used as a way of adhering to the family norms of the "old country." This could be seen from the narrative of Enes' mother, who said that calls are needed, so as "not to have regrets after they [their relatives] pass away."

The pandemic introduced a further "mobility gap" (Shamir, 2005), and sense of precarity for the family, which then had trouble with paperwork and questions about how and when (if ever) a family visit could be organized. Enes' mother mentioned that family visits had had to be canceled due to their residence permits being put "on hold" during the lockdown:

> Last summer I went on a course, that's why we couldn't go to Turkey. And now this summer our residence time is finished, but because of this virus problem, processing (sites) are closed, we are waiting again, we don't know if we can have a residence card again or not. It just takes time, I think. Maybe this summer we won't be able to go again. Also maybe the virus will be a problem (Enes' mother).

However, the mediated mode is usually used by families declaring high motivation and significant skills in ICT usage (see also Pustułka, 2015). In these cases, children and grandparents master different communication tools to provide frequent and regular contact for sharing special and everyday life experiences.

For Adil, an 11-year-old boy from Turkey with experience living in four different countries, using ICTs for mediated contacts with his grandparents was the only option. The boy had lived in Turkey for only three years before moving to Indonesia. When he was 8, he moved with his family to Germany, arriving in Poland a year later. Adil had not been to Turkey for five years, and had not seen his

grandparents since the family was in Indonesia, a very long time ago. Still, Adil contacted his relatives online and, most importantly, his mother maintained an omnipresent co-presence (Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016) for the whole family:

> We contact them [grandparents] a lot by phone. My grandfather learned how to use WhatsApp, and he just calls us with the video call, and we talk to him. We basically talk a lot. It happens every two to three days, maybe sometimes every week. It changes, but we're getting along pretty well with them (Adil's sister translating her mother's interview).

The family highlighted the intensive use of communication tools for intergenerational communication. Adil himself said:

> We haven't met our uncles, our grandma, grandfathers for four or five years. But we contact them by phone. Mostly it is my parents, but, sometimes, me and my sister contact them too (Adil, 11 years old, two years in PL).

In response to the question about whom he missed most, Adil said he favored no specific relative and mentioned, "Grandma, grandpa, uncles, aunts, they're all equal" (Adil), indicating that his transnational family bonds were quite diffuse and encompassed a wider sense of kinship rather than a personal affinity with a particular relative/grandparent. This was also the case with Asya, who was quite ambivalent in her relations with relatives, vaguely answering the question about missing her relatives as follows: "I do not know. Probably most of them [relatives]" (Asya, 12 years old, four in Poland). From the collected accounts, it can be argued that the rituals of virtual proximity, in the case of migrant children in Poland, do not seem to offer psychological connectedness to those who are physically apart (see Barakji et al., 2019).

Discontinuous mode

Going one step further from the above, as many as six children in the study seemed to have broken communication channels, both in terms of direct conversation and stories during family visits, as well as with regard to ICT-enabled communications. Turkish immigrant families in Poland highlight the burdens of emigration, especially in relation to political prosecution, during which political instability caused limited or monitored technology-mediated communication (Karraker, 2015).

As a result of traumatic experiences and general disillusionment with their country of origin, some migrant families choose to limit family communication as a transnational practice. This was the case with Aysel and Amin, whose families had to escape Turkey through the Balkan countries. After eight months, these migrant children's families obtained visas and came to Poland. The context of political migration meant that Aysel's parents did not inform their relatives about the decision to leave, while Amin's parents rarely contact family members due to perceived risks related to political agendas.

There was a clearly discontinuous vision of intergenerational relationships. Despite minimal indirect and no direct communication with her grandparents in the last four years, Aysel reminisced about warm relationships with relatives – including more than 25 cousins – whom she remembered from Turkey. Aysel's father described the last family meeting in the following way:

> The last meeting [more than four years ago] we didn't explain to all family we are going abroad, so some of them also do not know the real situation. They're told we are living in another city in Turkey . . . So, now we speak and connect on the Internet with my brothers. That's all. And also with my mother, I can speak, sometimes. But with parents, and most of relatives we don't have any connection now (Aysel's father).

Due to the generational misalignment in ICT usage, migrant children rarely have direct contact with grandparents, though some of them maintain technology-mediated communication with cousins.

> All my family lives in Turkey. We seldom contact them. Sometimes, I talk to my cousins, but I am shy, and we do not really communicate (Aysel, 12 years old, three years in PL).

Amin reported ambivalent relationships with his grandfather, and his grandmother had passed away. The boy had no close family ties while living in Turkey: the family met once a year, usually during

summer holidays. The long geographical distance, and limited direct and virtual contacts, had resulted in very strained communication:

> I have a grandpa. My grandma died . . . . They live in another city in Turkey. I went to them during the summer holidays . . . I have not been to Turkey since we started to live here. My grandparents came here once (Amin, 12 years old, four years in PL).

The years of separation usually end up in "key moments" (Baldassar, 2008) of long-awaited meetings. Amin's mother indeed indicated that there was supposed to have been a possibility of a reunification between grandchild and grandfather, which had been abandoned due to the pandemic. The boy said:

> [My grandfather] was planning to come this summer. But he cannot because of the virus. Maybe next year (Amin, 12 years old, 4 years in PL).

Consequently, family communication between Amin and his grandparents was never established and had a very low likelihood of being introduced. The pandemic has extended the period in which there were no direct options of meeting, making the relationship somewhat perfunctory, based on an incidental sense of duty, transnational family norms, and parental efforts, rather than on the emotional need to stay in touch and exchange information or stories.

Discussion

The findings of our study broaden and nuance our understandings of family communication (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013) as a transnational family practice (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Pustułka, 2015). While showcasing two types of face-to-face and technology-mediated communication modes between geographically separated immigrant children in Poland and their grandparents, we account for the importance of family face-to-face communication in the context of transnational migration. Our contribution looks specifically at realizations of a relational, "transnational intergenerational arch" between grandchildren and grandparents across the borders (Popyk et al., 2019; Slany & Strzemecka, 2016). The COVID-19 pandemic lockdown and travel restrictions have affected intergenerational communication between migrant children in Poland and their grandparents living elsewhere (RQ1), and the new setting for the "immobility regime" (Turner, 2007) are likely to warrant a transition to technology-mediated communication, while eliminating the chance for face-to-face communication within transnational kinship (see also Baldassar, 2008). Moving on to the main modes of intergenerational communication between children and their grandparents before and during the pandemic lockdown (RQ2), we argue that the "communicative interdependence" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013), which could formerly be realized via "integration of TMC [technology-mediated] and FtF [face-to-face] communication" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013, p. 880), is nowadays no longer possible due to the "immobilizing regimes of migration" (Merla et al., 2020, p. 393). Thus, the members of transnational families face communication "mode segmentation" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013). Based on our analyses, we propose a new matrix of communication mode transitions, and their effects on intergenerational relationships in times of restricted cross-border movement. The proposed intergenerational communication modes draw on the dimensions of "grandchildhood" (Souralová, 2019), namely the emotional and symbolic. The research does not include the normative dimension delineated by Souralová (2019), as it applies to intergenerational relationships solely based on communication with grandparents that is perceived as an obligation and cultural norm. We found this mode was not "associated with relational closeness and relational satisfaction" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013, p. 881). Thus, this type of communication was not seen in the present study.

Our data predictably showed that migrant children who, before the pandemic mobility restrictions, had established an emotional communication mode (which anticipates extensive use of polymedia intertwined with relatives visiting each other often (see Madianou & Miller, 2013) had experienced a transition to technology-mediated communication during the pandemic. Consequently, emotional intergenerational communication appeared to remain similar to the pre-pandemic mediated mode,

greatly relying on technology-mediated communication. Five of the nineteen interviewed children still maintained close and emotional connections with their grandparents, thus indicating that the disruptive intergenerational effects of migration have not been exacerbated by the pandemic lockdown.

Next, in the symbolic mode, wherein face-to-face communication is the key form of intimate communication (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013), including practical support as well as sharing knowledge and experience beyond words (Baldassar, 2007), we can observe the biggest challenges in the form of relationships weakening. In the case of "difficulty transitioning" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013, p. 880) between the communication modes, especially from face-to-face to technology-mediated communication, intergenerational communication is likely to shift from the symbolic to the discontinuous mode. Our study indicated that the symbolic communication mode was most common among the migrant children partaking in the study (N = 6). The data support the assertion that symbolic communication can be enacted successfully only when the regularity of personal meetings is not threatened by extended geographical distances and mobility restrictions. Consequently, during the pandemic lockdown, migrant children experience family care being "put on hold" (Brandhorst et al., 2020) or, in the case of prolonged absence of face-to-face communication, eventually withheld (Sakti, 2020).

Partially mirroring the broader landscape of reasons behind recent migration to Poland and beyond (Reisenauer, 2015), five of the interviewees reported the intensive use of polymedia (Madianou & Miller, 2013) for creating a virtual co-presence (Baldassar, 2008). They used ICTs directly or indirectly (through parents), confirming that these means have become a major "asset in helping them maintain a sense of family across sustained geographic distance" (Şenyürekli & Detzner, 2008, p. 465).

Grandchildren and grandparents greatly rely on virtual connectedness, in which "the boundaries between absence and presence eventually get blurred" (Licoppe, 2004, p. 136). On the other hand, not all migrant families have ICT capabilities, as these can be limited by a lack of skills, diminished determination to stay in touch (Popyk et al., 2019) or political pressures which result in them leaving the country of origin in a hectic manner or fearing persecution. However, by favoring one communication mode, namely technology-mediated communication, to another, face-to-face, members of transnational families tend to experience "low communicative interdependence" (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013, p. 880) and consequently withdraw from practical family care (Baldassar, 2008; Sakti, 2020).

Finally, we propose a discontinuous communication mode to describe the situation of children who only occasionally benefit from intergenerational family communication when living apart from their grandparents (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). Discontinuous intergenerational communication is limited to infrequent contacts through ICTs, mediated by parents who employ "silencing" as a form of care practice (Sampaio, 2020). This is done to protect and avoid upsetting parents living far away with their migration burdens. Besides ICT contacts, children have experience of occasional face-to-face communication before the onset of pandemic mobility restrictions. As a consequence, the discontinuous communication mode indicates that, during the lockdown, migrant children's lives can be devoid of any form of intergenerational communication.

More broadly, the study emphasizes the influence of multiple factors – from migration circumstances to cultural norms and age (see Da, 2003) – on the shape of intergenerational bonds maintained through communication. Crucially, the study demonstrates that immigrant children's relationships with their relatives are largely regulated by the communication mode of their parents. We posit that younger immigrant children are likely to experience shifts in communication modes, from emotional to mediated, and from symbolic to discontinuous, due to the mobility restrictions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, on the topic of gender and age differences in establishing intergenerational communication and relationships, the analysis suggests that girls are more likely to maintain emotional supportive communication (Caughlin et al., 2011), especially through the use of ICTs (see also Table 1) and more frequent initiation of technology-mediated communication with their grandparents. Boys, however, are more likely to maintain close intergenerational relations through face-to-face communication. Besides, older children (those aged 12–13 years) are more likely to state that their intergenerational communication is associated with relational closeness and

satisfaction (Caughlin & Sharabi, 2013). However, each communication mode can be present in the intergenerational relationships across borders, with various genders, ages, and origins represented under the types found for specific interviewees and presented in Table 1.

The cessation of family visits due to the global pandemic has only accentuated the weakening of emotional ties and diminishing of intergenerational communication when physical co-presence is infeasible (Baldassar, 2008). Deprived of direct family communication, migrant children have become more likely to experience diffused and disarrayed family practices, possibly resulting in reduced propensity for future direct communication and support (Baldassar, 2008). Drawing on the results of the study, we therefore propose following the practical implications and recommendations, which can be applied to facilitate transborder communication between members of transnational families.

Practical implications and recommendations

We live in the "global era" wherein mass mobility characterizes the experiences of many children. For too many of them, international migration signifies difficulty in forging intergenerational bonds, even though these are especially crucial in the socialization processes, whether for creating a sense of belonging, or shaping children's identities (see also Popyk et al., 2019). The study underlines that the COVID-19 spread has further increased the challenges of transnational family communication between migrant children and their grandparents residing elsewhere. As a result, family practices and relations suffer, with children often being vulnerable to emotional costs (Şenyürekli & Detzner, 2008).

The practical implications of this study encompass several systemic levels, from macro (policy), to meso (educational institutions and practitioners), and micro (migrant families). On the first plane, we suggest that obligatory quarantine requirements should take into consideration psychological well-being stemming from intergenerational bonds and support. Following the practices adopted, for instance, in Italy and Croatia, more countries should acknowledge the needs of migrant families by permitting quarantine in shared households, subject to the usage of protective measures. Moving to practitioners, we believe it is important for educational programs to foster transnational intergenerational practices, for instance, by proposing activities that children can complete together with their family members at a distance via ICTs. Increasing the scope and frequency of indirect family communication can alleviate some of the larger costs of the COVID-19 pandemic that immigrant children face (see also Popyk, 2020). Finally, a clear recommendation should be issued for migrant families, be it through institutional channels or through (social) media campaigns, underlining the importance of maintaining transnational and family bonds as a means of widening the web of social support provisions available to immigrant children within transnational grandchildhood.

Notes

1. During the first pandemic lockdown in Poland in spring and summer, the Offices for Foreigners were closed, and later provided limited services. As a consequence, a number of migrants were "put on hold" (Brandhorst et al., 2020) in terms of getting their residence documents. They could neither leave Poland until their residence cards were issued, nor provide visiting privileges through visas for their relatives, therefore preventing family visits from those without EU nationality/permits.
2. The researcher (the first author) had five years' experience working as a teacher of migrant children. For three years before the research project, the researcher had not had any direct contact with the participants. The researcher took great care to avoid putting any pressure on potential participants. The researcher's previous working and life experience, however, was an important factor in approaching such a vulnerable group of children and adults with migration experience, especially those who had faced violence and political persecution in their home countries. Thus, the researcher was aware of the discussed issues.
3. Nikolas had established a rather discontinuous communication mode with his maternal grandparents, who lived in Ukraine and they rarely communicated (either through face-to-face or technology-mediated communication).

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Appendix A

Table 1. Overview of respondents' characteristics.

Communication modes	Pseudonym/ gender (G-girl, B-boy)	Age	Time in Poland (yrs)[1]	Country of origin[2]	Language[3] of interview	Reason for migration	Frequency of direct contacts[4]	Frequency of virtual contacts
Emotional	Emine/G	13	4	TR	EN	Political	Yearly	Every day
	Ebru/G	13	3	TR	TR	Political	Few times a year	Every 2–3 days
	Antony/B	12	1	UA	UA/RU	Economic	Yearly	Every 2–3 days
	Natalia/G	12	1	UA	UA	Economic	Yearly	Every 2–3 days
	Lena/G	11	4	LT	EN	Other	Few times a year	Every 2–3 days
Symbolic	Emre/B	11	2	TR	EN	Economic	A year ago	Weekly
	Nikolas/B[5]	12	6	RO	EN	Other	Few times a year	Weekly
	Cevdet/B[6]	11	2	TR	TR	Political	Few times a year	Weekly
	David/B	10	2	TR	TR	Political	Few times a year	Weekly
	Igor/B	13	3	UA	UA/RU	Economic	Few times a year	Weekly
	Yulia/G	9	2	UA	UA	Economic	Few times a year	Every 2–3 days (mediated)[7]
Mediated	Alice/G	9	3	TR	EN	Political	Yearly	Every 2–3 days (mediated)
	Emir/B	12	4	TR	EN	Other	Yearly	Every 2–3 days
	Adil/B	11	2	TR	EN	Political	4 years ago	Every 2–3 days (mediated)
	Asya/G	12	4	TR	PL	Economic	4 years ago	Every 2–3 days
	Enes/B	13	2	TR	EN	Economic	3 years ago	Every 2–3 days
Discontinuous	Amin/B	12	4	TR	EN	Political	4 years ago	Weekly
	Fatma/G	10	3	TR	TR	Political	Once a year	Weekly
	Aysel/G	12	3	TR	EN	Political	3 years ago	Rarely

[1]Time spent in Poland at the time of the interview
[2]Countries of origin: TR – Turkey, UA – Ukraine, RO- Romania, LT – Lithuania, PL – Polish, EN – English, RU – Russian
[3]Languages of the interviews: TR – Turkish (with the Polish interpreter), UA – Ukrainian, PL – Polish, EN – English, RU – Russian
[4]Frequency (of direct and virtual contacts) refers to grandparent-grandchild communications
[5]Nikolas used to have a symbolic form of communication with his paternal grandparents and discontinuous communication with maternal grandparents.
[6]Cevdet and David are siblings
[7]Communication is mediated by parents

Appendix B

Table 2. Intergenerational communication modes before and during the COVID-19 "immobility regime" using the technology-mediated communication (TMC) and face-to-face communication (FtF).

Communication modes	Before the COVID-19 immobility regime	During the COVID-19 immobility regime
Emotional	• Extensive TMC • Regular FtF communication • High relational closeness and satisfaction	• Limited FtF communication, increased TMC • Longing and emotional costs • Diminution of practical support
Symbolic	• Limited TMC • Regular FtF communication • Strong/Moderate relational closeness and relational satisfaction	• Limited communication (TMC and FtF) • Significant emotional costs and worsening of symbolic relationships • Weakening relational closeness through the unavailability of practical support provisions
Mediated	• Extensive TMC (often mediated by parents) • Occasional FtF communication • Moderate relational closeness and satisfaction	• Frequent (direct and mediated) TMC • Limited FtF communication • Weakening relational closeness due to the limited FtF communication
Discontinuous	• Limited TMC • Limited FtF communication • Weak relational closeness and satisfaction	• Limited TMC • Limited FtF communication • No direct/practical support • Weakening relational closeness

Warszawa, dnia 26.10.2021

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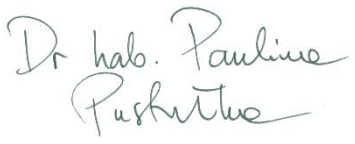
Oświadczenie o współautorstwie

Niniejszym oświadczam, że mój udział w pracy **Popyk, A., Pustułka, P. (2021). Transnational communication between children and grandparents during the COVID-19 lockdown: The case of migrant children in Poland. Journal of Family Communication. Vol 21, Issue 3, pp. 223-237. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267431.2021.1929994** polegał na przygotowaniu części przeglądu literatury dotyczących transnarodowości - w tym transnarodowych rodzin i transnarodowego dzieciństwa, relacji rodzinnych, kontekstu Polski, jak również opisaniu strategii analitycznych w części metodologicznych. Dokonałam całościowej rewizji interpretacji wyników oraz współtworzyłam dyskusje oraz podsumowanie artykułu. Wraz ze współautorką poprawiałam tekst po recenzjach i korektach. Mój udział w powstanie pracy oceniam na 40%.



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A R T I C L E S A N D E S S A Y S

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HOME AS A MIXTURE OF SPACES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE CASE OF MIGRANT FAMILIES IN POLAND

INTRODUCTION

As a consequence of the restrictions introduced by the Polish government to prevent the spread of the coronavirus, many spheres of people's lives have been subjected to significant changes. From mid-March to the end of June 2020[1] families and schools were testing a new mode of education. While the schools and teachers, who were forced to work from home, were trying to manage the teaching tools, children and parents experienced a kind of "self-education" due to the amount of materials and homework sent (Popyk 2021). Consequently, parents implemented different techniques for coping with school commitments (Parczewska 2020).

Meanwhile, adults started working remotely from home due to the country's overall lockdown. The home thereby became a place in which all family members were confined, performing various tasks. As a result, since March 2020, the home has lost its primary purpose and character as an intimate, private place (Allan and Crow 1989; Dorey 1985) where

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[1] The second wave of the lockdown and distance education was announced in October 2020.

a family can relax and "escape" from work or school (Moore 1984). From being restricted to a mixture of special relationships (Massey 1994), the home has become a place for the diffusion of various spaces, such as those for work, school, sport, entertainment, and socialising.

For migrant children and their parents, distance learning has become not only a context of growing learning gaps (Darmody et al. 2014; Engzell et al. 2021; Janta and Harte 2016; You et al. 2020), but also social disadvantages (Gornik et al. 2020). Lacking support from relatives and grandparents (Popyk and Pustułka 2021) and being particularly vulnerable due to the working and living conditions (Guadagno 2020) in times of the immobility regime (Merla et al. 2020), migrant families have found themselves "stuck" (Ullah et al. 2020, p. 4) far from the homeland.

This paper investigates how migrant families in Poland have experienced the COVID-19 lockdown, particularly the school shutdown. The study adopts the theory of *social diffusion* (Dodd and Winthrop 1953) and the concept of *social solvation* (Sarnowska et al. 2020) to demonstrate the diffusion of spaces and the formation of a special social unit located within the home.

This work demonstrates the ways migrant families in Poland have assessed and accessed distance education. Moreover, it presents how the diffusion of spaces has changed families' schedules, domestic practices, and routines. The analysis draws on a qualitative study of migrant children (n = 19) and parents (n = 18) that was conducted during the lockdown in the spring and summer of 2020.

This paper adheres to the following structure: to begin with, it presents the concept of "home" and its meaning for family life. Secondly, "school" as a social unit is characterised, highlighting the role of school in migrant families' process of adaptation and socialisation. There is then a brief description of the theory of social diffusion and the concept of social solvation, followed by the methodology. Finally, the section of findings and conclusions is followed by the hypothetical viewpoint on how home, as a place and space, might look once the lockdown is over.

"HOME" AND "SCHOOL" AS SPECIFIC SPACES

"Home" has been seen as a multidimensional concept perceived through various psychological and social approaches, including privacy, identity, familiarity, gender, social class and status, and age or tenure (Easthope 2004; Mallet 2004; Somerville 1997). Although the notion of "home" is often understood as a physical house or dwelling, the

embodiment of family, or one's city or country (as birthplace) of origin (Collins Dictionary, n.d.), it can also mean a "congenial environment" and "the social unit formed by a family living together" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Hence, as a "fusion" of the "physical unit of the house" and the "social unit of the household" (Saunders and Williams 1988, p. 83), home is a space where the relationships between family members and other social units are established and reproduced (Giddens 1984). Gilman (1980) mentioned that a single household becomes a home when "family are in it. When family are out of it, it is only a house" (p. 80). Moreover, Pawliszyn (2016) noted that a home belongs to people, while people belong to their home. He said that a home is our "own property, and meantime [we] are its, without [us] it ceases to exist, and somehow [we do] too" (p. 135).

Some scholars have pointed out that home is not only a place and space for maintaining social relationships (Somerville 1997) or dwelling (Doulas 1991), but also for shaping one's identity (Massey 1992; Rapport and Dawson 1998) and sense of belonging (Gurney 1990). Different ethnic identities are built in different households (Saunders 1989), which are "invested with diverse cultural meanings that differ within and between households and across cultural and social settings" (Mallet 2004). Thus, the identities of migrant children may differ greatly from those of natives.

The concept of "home" is also associated with familiarity (Somerville 1997) and comfort (Dorey 1985), in the meaning of both physical place and space where family members can relax (Moore 1984) and "take refuge" from work/school or the outside world, setting the boundaries between public and private (Mallet 2004). The private dwelling with "access restricted to family members" (Allan and Crow 1989, p. 3) constitutes a safe and secure space unless there is a risk of home violence (Goldsack 1999). The sense of security within a home has been formed throughout history (Duda 2017), from the physical preserving of one's possessions in ancient times, to changes in the significance of home caused by globalisation and migration processes today (Rapport and Dawson 1998).

As a social unit, home can be seen as a "kinship system" (Saunders and Williams 1988, p. 82) that encompasses the household structure maintained by a "routine of practices" and "repetitions of habitual social interactions" (Rapport and Dawson 1998, p. 27). The domestic relations within a household tend to have a special meaning based on gender and age (Mallet 2004). Accordingly, the household can be associated with "a

women's place" (Roberts 1985), as, in the past, it appeared to be more significant for women than men because of the former spending more time there and having more home duties (Allan and Crow 1989). Earlier studies underline the prominent role of women/mothers in household formation (Hunt, 1989; Madigan et al., 1990) and carrying out family practices (Morgan, 2011) by indicating a "cult of domesticity" (Hall 1979) and women's roles in "everyday domestic practices" (Somerville 1997, p. 228).

For children, home is the "first universe" (Bachelard 1969 in Mallet 2004, p. 74), where they dwell and are nurtured after birth or during childhood (Mallet 2004). However, the "domestication" of children can be realised by familiarising them with the world "through relationships with members of their immediate family [. . .] and contacts of their wider family, neighbours (especially other children), and key adults, such as teachers" (Somerville 1997, p. 236). Thus, home is a place where young family members experience their "primary socialisation" and get prepared for their "secondary socialisation", which takes place in other structural units, namely at school and in the neighbourhood (Nowicka 2014).

Another structural unit, namely school, also plays an important role in children's lives. Similarly to home, a school can be viewed both as a physical place, where children spend a significant amount of time, and as a social unit characterised by certain roles and structures (Jensen 1954). School not only provides children with knowledge but also introduces them to the social world by providing an example of social structures, norms, and regulations, as well as certain values, beliefs, and practices (Slany et al. 2016; Ślusarczyk and Pustułka 2016), which may differ from those at home. Besides, school is an important socialisation agent (Popyk et al. 2019) not only for children but often for the whole family. That is why school is particularly important for migrant children, who are likely to perceive it as the main source of adaptation to and inclusion in a new society (Moskal and Sime 2016; Slany and Pustułka 2016; Ślusarczyk et al. 2018).

For migrant children, home and school can become contradictory units, as the home is associated with "own", "familiar", and "intimate", while school is seen as "new", "foreign", and "strange". Besides, traditional practices, values, and beliefs at home and school tend to differ when these structures are formed under different cultural and social circumstances. Moreover, the successful socialisation and education of children requires the interaction of the social units of both home and school (Sime and Fox 2015).

For migrant families, school is not only a place for acquiring knowledge but also a bridge to the residence country's society (Reynolds 2007; Strzemecka 2015). Moreover, for some migrant children and parents school is the only means of enriching cultural and social capital (Barglowski 2019; Crosnoe and Ansari 2015; Devine 2009). Consequently, migrant children and their parents experienced a strong deficit of educational and social support during the schools' shutdown (Popyk 2021).

SOCIAL DIFFUSION/SOLVATION OF PRACTICES WITHIN THE HOME

This study is rooted in the *dimensional theory of social diffusion* designed by Dodd and Winthrop (1953) and the concept of *social solvation* proposed by Sarnowska et al. (2020). The theory of *social diffusion* investigates the way "novel behaviour, once it occurs in at least one person, diffuses through a given population, particularly when its chief means of spread is by person-to-person interaction" (Dodd and Winthrop 1953, p. 180). Therefore, this paper aims to present how new practices, schedules, norms, and rules brought home by migrant children from school diffuse through the whole family and home setting in the time of distance learning.

The concept of social solvation, however, demonstrates how legal regulations and policies imposed by the state dissolve in the social substance, causing "differentiated micro-rational strategies of working parents" (Sarnowska et al. 2020, p. 135). By way of explanation, social solvation shows to what extent state policies influence and modify parents' existing strategies, especially in a weak society, which tends to be subject to changes. Accordingly, this paper addresses how and to what extent school practices, schedules, and norms are dissolved in the home life of migrant children in Poland in times of distance education.

THE HOME DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

As the pandemic spread, the Polish government decided to close schools on 12 March 2020 in order to lower the prevalence of COVID-19 (Kancelaria Prezesa Rady Ministrów [Chancellery of the Prime Minister of Poland], 2020). As a consequence, 4.5 million schoolchildren, 52,000 of whom were declared migrant children (Najwyższa Izba Kontroli [Supreme Audit Office] 2020), stayed at home, practising distance education.

Previous studies indicate that during the spring lockdown the process of distance education did not run as expected, and did not provide children

with the necessary educational skills and knowledge, but caused a certain degree of chaos (Nalaskowski 2020). In Poland, distance learning tended to take the form of home schooling, during which children and parents were given materials (included in the school curriculum) as homework. Thus, the whole learning process was conducted and monitored by children and parents, which increased studying time (Parczewska 2020). Additionally, the new form of learning resulted in significant change to children's everyday, domestic, specialist, and cultural practices. Moreover, such changes in practices are likely to cause changes in migrant children's values and their perception of school and teachers. During the distance learning, some families experienced a blurring of boundaries between lesson time and home time; breaks and free time were spent at home, simultaneously with regular after-school or weekend activities, having meals, playing with siblings, doing the housework, and so on (see Popyk 2021).

Besides, the closure of schools and distance learning highlighted immigrant children's disadvantaged position in several ways. First of all, migrant parents tend to have fewer social and cultural resources than the parents of native-born children, who make use of processes that are essential for supporting migrant children's education and socialization (Caarls et al. 2021; OECD 2020). Secondly, migrant families are more deprived of the emotional and practical support of grandparents and other relatives due to the mobility restrictions caused by the pandemic (Popyk and Pustułka 2021). Thirdly, migrant parents are more prone to the growing unemployment during the lockdown (OECD 2020), which is likely to lead to their families having a less stable emotional and material situation causing double precariousness (IOM 2021).

At the time of writing (June 2021), education in Poland remains switched to distance learning, as the result of a second wave of the virus's spread in October 2020. Consequently, the home has become a place of schooling, working, and (in most cases) socialising processes.

METHODOLOGY

The study of the transformation of the institution of home, its structure, and its practices is based on a subsample of a larger qualitative study into the transnational transitions of migrant children in Poland, conducted during the spring lockdown (see Popyk 2021; Popyk and Pusułka 2021). The analysis embraces 19 interviews with children, with a mean age of 12, and 18 interviews with their parents (the first interviews

with children and their parents were held before the quarantine). In part, the qualitative study aimed to investigate the impact of distance learning on migrant children, and thus on their families.

Methods and recruitment procedure

The research was based on the child-centred approach implemented through active listening to children (Clark and Moss 2001), and the interviews were conducted online using the Zoom application for communicating and recording. This allowed data to be saved directly to an external hard drive accessible to the researcher only, which in turn enabled the security and confidentiality of the data and personal information of the respondents.

Purposeful sampling was implemented in the study, wherein the respondents were contacted through personal channels and encouraged to recruit others through the snowball sampling process. The interviews were conducted in Ukrainian, Russian, English, Polish, and Turkish (in the presence of a qualified interpreter), and I translated all the quotations into English myself.

The study met all the requirements for research on vulnerable groups, such as migrants and children, and was approved by the appropriate ethics committee. All the participants were given voluntary informed consent forms in one of the five languages mentioned above, which aimed to provide each participant with unambiguous information regarding the study's aim, its procedure, personal data processing, how the findings would be used, and its dissemination.

Respondent profile

The research project included migrant families from Ukraine (n = 4), Turkey (n = 12), Lithuania (n = 1), and Romania (n = 1). 16 of the 19 children lived with their parents and siblings in Warsaw. The fathers of three of the child respondents were temporarily residing in their home country due to family and economic reasons. In all families, the adult respondents stated that the father was the main or the only working person in their family. Hence, fourteen mothers stayed at home doing housework and childcare, while three had part-time jobs. Most of the mothers in the study claimed to have had a permanent job back in their home country. The mean number of children in the families was two (varying from one to four). Most of the interviews with the parents

were held in their native languages for two reasons: first, to provide the participants with the opportunity to tell their stories in comfort, and, secondly, because of the parents' poor command of Polish and English.

Data analysis

The data were analysed by taking the following steps: (1) meticulous transcription of the recordings (voice-to-text) and analysis of memos drawn up during the interviews and immediately afterwards, and (2) the development and application of codes (Saldana 2009) that identified the topics of distance learning and migrant families' lives during the lockdown.

FINDINGS

The analysis of this study points to changes in the traditional image of "home" in migrant families as a private and intimate place that constitutes one of the social units within a greater societal structure (Allan and Crow 1989). The findings demonstrate that, during the schools' closure and remote learning, there was a social diffusion of spaces. Social solvation of school practices in the home setting was brought about through the following:

1. A mixture of school and home schedules
2. Modification of family members' domestic practices
3. Saturation with other activities (e.g. sports activities, entertainment, socialisation).

Schedule chaos: Time and space confusion

One of the most common elements the respondents mentioned as demonstrating how distance learning had changed family life was the change in family schedules. Parents expressed their positive and negative perceptions of the impact of remote education. Among the benefits, the respondents noted the reduced time of travelling to and from school, which was considered a waste of time. Drawbacks, on the other hand, were the transformation of familiar, long-established family routines that formed the household structure (Rapport and Dawson 1998) and the requirement of considerable effort and time to establish a new one. A mother of two primary-school children shared her thoughts on the new daily practices:

> It is a less tiring process since they [the children] can attend learning without having to leave home, without having to wake up much earlier than normal. Because when they were attending school, we used to wake up at 6:30 or 7:00 am to have breakfast, and then there is a traffic jam. But now he [my son] is able to wake up later. For example, he wakes at 8:20 for a lesson that starts at 8:25. And during that time he can also have his breakfast. (Damaris, mother of a fifth-grader from Turkey)

The majority of parents also mentioned that their children confused their lesson time and free time, which points to the unusualness of having lessons at home and spending most of the time at home. Consequently, children did not distinguish between school and home time, or the boundaries between learning and resting places. Amina and Laura, mothers of a third-grader and a sixth-grader, described place and time confusion as follows:

> Children treat learning as their vacation time. Only when they sit in front of the screens, they understand that it's lesson time. Between and after lessons, the children feel like they're on holiday. Besides, the whole time they're at home there's all the housework taking place, like cleaning, cooking, dishwashing, eating, and so on; and the child is constantly lost between studying and such household matters. Which is bad for their concentration. Children do not realise that this is homework that should be done for tomorrow, that this should be regular studying. They do not understand what online learning should be like when they start school at eight a.m. and leave at 3 p.m. They should be completely focused on their studies from eight to three. (Amina, mother of a third-grader from Turkey)

> Distance learning cannot be compared to traditional education when children go to school. First of all, I mean their ability to concentrate. Children easily lose attention and are not able to follow the lesson. Consequently, they cannot keep up with all the material. (Laura, mother of a sixth-grader from Turkey)

The end of work-life balance

Apart from children, who cannot separate learning and leisure time while having online lessons at home, the respondents also mentioned that home had become saturated not only with school life, but also with work. While students and parents have had to manage their studying time on one side of the screen, teachers have been forced to maintain a work-life balance on its other side.

> I can say it was three hard months for both children and teachers. Children lose their attention during online lessons. They cannot concentrate.

> Meanwhile, teachers have their own families at home and have to conduct lessons while maintaining their own household and own children. (Barbara, mother of a sixth-grader from Ukraine)

In addition, because of school life taking place at home, some respondents also noted that, during the lockdown, parents were forced to reshape their working practices to adapt to their children's mode of learning. Working parents had to stay at home, monitoring and supporting their children's education while simultaneously carrying out their job duties. Thus, the diffusion of family, school, and work lives has brought about a certain degree of inconvenience and hardship. Maya, the mother of a fifth-grader, describes her home during the lockdown:

> At first, it was a problem, because I only have one computer and a tablet or phone is not suitable for online lessons. During his lessons I was waiting at the salon, on the sofa until 2 p.m. I watched lots of films during that time. It was a bit of a lazy time for me. I get bored because everybody's calling me and asking me send an email, it's not comfortable for me to write on my phone; I am not using my phone for email or work. I always postpone my work to the evening, after he [my son] goes to sleep because, after his lessons, I can't start my job. I must sit or eat something or spend time with him. At first, it was really difficult. (Maya, mother of a fifth-grader from Turkey)

Those parents who used to do some housework or infant care during the day have had to reshape their previous practices, in order to monitor their children's education and support them, since school support during the schools' shutdown was insufficient for migrant children, while private tutors were unable to visit families' homes to assist children in their education (Popyk 2021).

> I control the learning process by myself via Microsoft Teams. I enter and check homework and monitor my daughter completing it. Because children cannot understand or manage the material by themselves. As for me, I value the time when children were going to school. (Ana, mother of a third-grader from Ukraine)

New models of daily family life during the lockdown also required a rearranging of the physical space within the dwelling. Those residing in larger homes were able to enjoy personal, intimate places for studying, working, or leisure. Meanwhile, for many parents, the sofa, kitchen, or bathroom became temporary "waiting areas" while children were having online learning.

> Before we moved to this apartment, my son had to do his homework in the salon next to me, and I prefer not to listen to his teachers as it's

> uncomfortable for them and me to hear them shouting [laughs]. But now he has his own room, and I have a room of my own, and we have a common salon and kitchen. He begins his lessons at eight o'clock, and I try to do some of his homework with him afterwards. 'Do it next to me, I'll watch you,' I say. (Ezra, mother of a fifth-grader from Turkey)

Energy excess and socialisation deficit

The concentration of school and work in a single household has also revealed some parenting issues connected with teaching and raising children, as well as ensuring entertainment and social life, which, in the case of migrant children, mostly took place at school (Gornik et al. 2020).

> First of all, children's social life is important, because when they stay at home for a long time they get used to spending time alone, and they get lonely. This also affects the families, who are confused and don't know how to support their children, how to contribute to or help develop their social skills. So I think it would be a big loss if it [the lockdown] stays as it is now. (Sofia, mother of a fifth-grader from Lithuania)

The school shutdown was a particularly desperate time for those migrant children who had just arrived in Poland, joined a new school, or had not yet established peer contacts before the lockdown. Such children were anxious about feeling socially marginalized while having little or no peer contacts during distance learning. Emre, a 12-year-old boy from Turkey, who had switched from private to public school just before the quarantine started, shared his concerns of being socially excluded because of neither having friends at the new school nor keeping in touch with those from the previous one:

> … I don't know where anybody is, I have no contact with them [friends from the previous school], that's why I cannot meet with anybody. Just a few Turkish people … I have my friends' phone numbers, but they don't respond. (Emre, 12-year-old boy, 4 years in Poland)

Moreover, during the lockdown, children and other family members were deprived of outdoor social and sports activities. Consequently, the home became a place for exercise, sport, or simply working off the accumulated energy. But extensive physical activities at home might disturb other family members' privacy and intimate atmosphere. One of the father respondents noted:

> Children do not have a place to burn off their energy, because they have too much of it. Then they start causing problems for the parents at home.

> Likewise, spouses begin to quarrel with each other and somehow get on each other's nerves. So families suffer a lot, simply because they have nowhere to work off that excess energy. (Omar, father of a fifth-grader from Turkey)

Finally, the findings of the study reveal that some parents experienced difficulties because of the changes caused in their lives by the schools' shutdown and distance learning . Fourteen of the eighteen parents informed that they used to do home duties before the lockdown, which included domestic duties, infant care and shopping. Moreover, for some Muslim immigrant families shopping in a multicultural mall was the only entertainment, as mothers expressed fear and uncertainty of going outside while wearing a hijab. During the distance education their homes have changed their original purpose and function, and become a place saturated by studying, working, and sport and entertainment activities.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In these times of school closure, the new learning mode has not only affected children's everyday, domestic, educational, and cultural practices (Popyk 2021) but has also caused changes in other family members' schedules and previously established practices. Besides, homeschooling has led to changes in the division of spaces within the family dwelling. Moreover, the home has changed its primary purpose from being an intimate place where family members can relax (Moore 1984) that is separate from the outside world (Allan and Crow 1989). During the lockdown, the home has become a conflux of different places and spaces, such as those for school, work, socialisation, sport, and entertainment.

The current study shows that despite the changes to the home, resulting from the process of globalisation and making the gender positions in the household more equal (Rapport and Dawson 1989), the pandemic lockdown has caused a reversion of "domestication" (Somerville 1997) of women and children in migrant families. During the school shutdown, mothers stayed at home monitoring and supporting their children's education. Moreover, migrant children became more domesticated through constant familiarisation with household activities and domestic practices, as school and home lives became diffused.

As a consequence of the lockdown, "school time" diffused in the home, causing a "perpetual confusion" of spaces and time. Migrant children were unable to distinguish between their lesson and leisure times, while their parents organised the family day around completing children's school

duties, including online lessons and homework. Migrant children tend to require parents' or siblings' support in doing schoolwork due to a low level of language and cultural knowledge (Popyk 2021). As a result, migrant families' lives became merged with school life to a significant degree.

Besides, the study indicates that, for migrant families, the home has temporarily stopped being an intimate and private place (Allan and Crow 1989; Mallet 2004) for the family members, because parents have had to rearrange their household duties and free time to fit their children's schedules. Moreover, due to the pandemic chaos (Nalaskowski 2020) in the educational process, migrant families have been forced to fully include school in their home life, adapting to school schedules and practices (Slany et al. 2016; Ślusarczyk and Pustułka 2016).

What's more, during the spring lockdown the home was imbued with another function, "secondary socialisation" (Nowicka 2014), because children had limited access to other socialisation spaces. Furthermore, migrant families' adaptation to the host society, which was often primarily realised through school (Slany and Pustułka 2016; Ślusarczyk et al. 2018), was interrupted, which led to the social marginalisation of certain migrant children who had previously established only poor contacts and relations with their peers.

This paper demonstrates the diffusion of various spaces for home, school, work, and entertainment during the pandemic lockdown. In addition, the study illustrates the process of social solvation (Sarnowska et al. 2020) of these spaces through perceiving school (also work, sport, and entertainment places) as a solute and home as a solvent. Thus, the solvent mixture of "home" depends on the "physical" state and "chemical" characteristics of both elements: home and school. Consequently, "liquid" domestic and family practices are more likely to be diffused with school practices than the "solid" family practices. To reword, the less rooted and set family practices are in migrant families, the more likely they are to be subjected to the changes brought about by the host country's practices, introduced by the schools.

THE POST-PANDEMIC WORLD

This paper demonstrates how school, as a social institution, with its practices, norms and regulations, became dissolved in another institution, namely home. The changes that distance education has brought to migrant families' homes indicate that migrant families have a high tendency to be affected by changes introduced by the social units of the host country. The

level of social solvation of spaces in migrant families' homes depends on the significance of school as an educational and socialisation institution not only for migrant children but also for their parents.

Hence, distance education, which has already lasted five months, has caused substantial changes in household functioning, namely the formation of new studying and childcare practices, assigning additional tasks and obligations to parents, and the division of the dwelling into some kind of studying, working, and resting spaces. As a result, both parents and children may experience long-lasting difficulties and obstacles in maintaining intimate family relationships.

As a result of the solvation process, two types of mixture can be formed: homogeneous and heterogeneous. Similarly, when the school element is "'dissolved" in the "home", one of two possible mixtures can be formed. In the first, school and home constitute a plain mixture that cannot be separated once distance education is over. In the second, school and home are mixed, but the components of the mixture are visible and can later be separated. However, the mixture components can leave stains or flavours on each other. In other words, when the lockdown is over, children will go back to traditional education and parents to their customary work and domestic practices, yet families are likely to preserve certain practices, norms, or habits acquired during the remote education (for example they may continue to rely on digital devices and media, expect children to be more autonomous, value intimacy, and be more effective in working under unexpected conditions). Besides, schools are also likely to adopt certain new approaches developed during the distance learning (e.g. the digitalisation of education, expecting children to be more self-reliant and autonomous in the learning process, and expecting children to have better problem-solving skills).

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HOME AS A MIXTURE OF SPACES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE CASE OF MIGRANT FAMILIES IN POLAND

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Abstract

The spread of the coronavirus has led to significant modifications in the majority of social and private institutions. For most families, home is now the location of many activities that are usually kept separate, such as work, school, entertainment, and socialising. Migrant families, for whom the school was the primary place for socialising, were forced to "host" school at home. As a result, migrant families' homes have been reconstructed from a private household and intimate dwelling place into a mixture of spaces. This paper applies the theory of social diffusion developed by Dodd and Winthrop, and the concept of social solvation designed by Sarnowska et al., to study the diffusion of places at the time of lockdown. The data are derived from a qualitative study of migrant families in Poland during the school shutdown. This study investigates how the mixture of various places within the home has affected the lives of family members.

key words: home, social diffusion, diffusion of spaces, migrant family, COVID-19

DOM JAKO MIESZANKA PRZESTRZENI PODCZAS PANDEMII COVID-19: PRZYPADEK RODZIN IMIGRANTÓW W POLSCE

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Abstrakt

Pandemia COVID-19 spowodowała znaczące zmiany w funkcjonowaniu zarówno instytucji społecznych, jak i prywatnych. Dla większości rodzin dom stał się przestrzenią wykonywania różnych aktywności, takich jak praca, nauka, rozrywka czy życie towarzyskie, które jeszcze przed pandemią były realizowane osobno. Rodziny imigranckie, dla których szkoła była przede wszystkim miejscem socjalizacji i źródłem kontaktu z nowym społeczeństwem, były zmuszone przenieść

ją do swoich domów. W związku z tym dom rodziny imigranckiej przekształcił się z prywatnego gospodarstwa i intymnego miejsca w „mieszaninę przestrzeni". W artykule zastosowano teorię dyfuzji społecznej opracowaną przez Dodda i Winthropa oraz koncepcję społecznej solwatacji opracowaną przez Sarnowską i kolegów do zbadania dyfuzji przestrzeni w czasie trwania lockdownu spowodowanego rozprzestrzenianiem się pandemii COVID-19. Dane pochodzą z jakościowego badania rodzin imigrantów w Polsce przeprowadzonego podczas zamknięcia szkół w roku 2020. Celem badania jest analiza sposobu, w jaki mieszanina różnych przestrzeni w domach migrantów wpłynęła na życie członków ich rodzin. W wyniku analizy wyodrębniono dwa rodzaje mieszanin przestrzennych o różnej wielkości i znaczeniu dla członków rodzin imigrantów: jednorodne i niejednorodne.

słowa kluczowe: dom, dyfuzja społeczna, dyfuzja przestrzeni, rodzina imigrantów, COVID-19

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THE VISION OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS IN POLISH AND UKRAINIAN CORE CIRRICULA. ANALYSIS BASED ON THE HOFSTEDE 4-D MODEL

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ABSTRACT: National curricula are documents describing the knowledge, skills and social competences that students should acquire at the appropriate stages of education. In our article, we assume that these documents have the power to buttress the existing status quo or to change reality. Generally speaking, they are an attempt at transforming selected areas of culture in a deliberate, planned, and systemic manner.

This paper, by means of Hofstede's 4-D model of cultural differences among societies (viz power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity), is aimed at studying the way Polish and Ukrainian national curricula define the educational processes and Teacher-Student relations, in order to reveal the correlation between the cultural differences and learning/teaching process in Poland and Ukraine. A critical discourse analysis of the two state curricula has been done to interpret their contents.

KEYWORDS: educational process, teacher-student relations, cultural dimensions, discourse analyses, core curriculum

INTRODUCTION

Education is the basis of the intellectual, spiritual, physical and cultural development of an individual, their successful socialization, economic well-being, key to the development of a society, united by shared values and culture, and the state (Ukraine, Law "On Education" 2017).

The plot of the world-famous Houellebecq (2016) novel *Submission* (French: *Soumission*) takes place in a fictitious space and presents a vision of the future, but selected elements of the reality contained therein could happen. It is 2022. The Muslim Brotherhood wins the elections. The winning party is particularly interested in that area of state apparatus which is education. Controlling this ministry, controlling schools and colleges and dictating the content of the national curriculum allows for the rapid implementation of major social changes.

Education is an integrative part of the development of every child in the majority of countries. Primary and secondary education are compulsory till the age of 18 in both Poland and Ukraine (Ukraine, Law "On Education" 2017, Art. 12, Poland, The Law on School 2016, Art. 31). Education is the "state priority that provides innovative, socio-economic and cultural development of society" (Ukraine, Law "On Education" 2017, Art. 5). The central requirements concerning the education process in a country is determined by law at a national level, whilst the specific conditions of learning and teaching are presented in other regulations. In Ukraine, the educational process is defined by the Decree "The State Standards for Primary Education" (2011) and "The State Standards for Basic and Complete Secondary Education" (2011); in Poland its defined by the Regulation of the Minister of National Education of Poland of 14 February 2017 on the core curriculum for pre-school education and the core curriculum for general education in primary schools.

One of the key purposes of students' learning is to educate and carry the national, historical and cultural values of the country (Ukraine, Law "On Education" 2017, Art. 54. Poland, The Law on School 2016). On the other hand, the learning and teaching processes are determined by the existing values of society, and ecological factors (Hofstede 2001) such as historical background, geographical position of the country, ethnic composition, etc. The organization of the learning and teaching processes is greatly influenced by cultural differences. Geert Hofstede, a Dutch social psychologist, conducted studies on modern cultures and defined four primary cultural dimensions, which despite much criticism (e.g.: Baskervilleon 2013, Jones 2007, Boski 2010, Strelau and Doliński 2008) provide a comprehensive and widely applied models of the cultural differences in different parts of the world. Moreover, he described the role of cultural differences in learning and teaching process, which is pertinent to this article. In his work, Hofstede refers to some perplexities that may arise when teacher and students come from various cultural backgrounds (Hofstede 1986). The indicators of the four cultural dimensions (The Power Distance, the Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism versus Collectivism Dimension, Masculinity versus Femininity Dimension) for Teacher-Student interactions are used for the analysis of the national curricula in order to study the way Polish and Ukrainian educational laws define the learning and teaching

processes and Teacher-Student relations. Additionally, the goal of this article is to study the correlation between the national curricula and Polish and Ukrainian cultural differences in their teaching and learning processes, as well as their management and organization styles.

To provide a comprehensive analysis, four valid documents were studied - the Regulation of the Minister of National Education of Poland of 14 February 2017 on the core curriculum for pre-school education and the core curriculum for general education in primary schools, and three Ukrainian documents that regulate the educational process in the primary and secondary schools, The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine, Decree from November 23rd, 2011, The State Standard of Basic and General Secondary Education in Ukraine, Decree from April 20th, 2011, The Concept of the "New Ukrainian School".

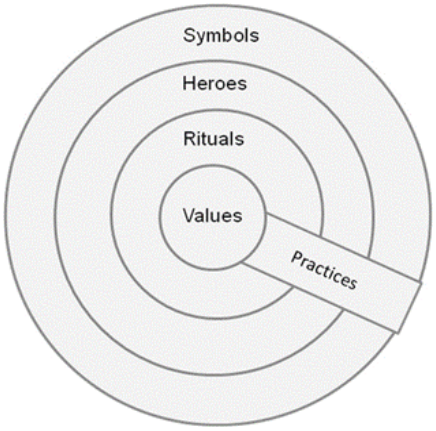
CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

Learning and teaching processes, including teacher-student relations are determined by various factors, such as the role and social status of teachers, management and the organizational styles of schools, cultural differences, etc. Culture and values play an essential role in the functioning of the T-S dyad (Hofstede G., Hofstede G. J. and Minkov 2010). Many scientists (Myers and Tan 2002, Gutterman 2016, Kluckhohn and Strodbeck 1961, Hall 1976, Trompenaars 1993 in Wackowski and Blyznyuk 2017) tried to define factors that would allow cultural characteristics to be identified.

Hofstede defines culture as a "collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group of categories of people from another" where mind is "feeling, thinking and acting with consequences for beliefs, attitudes and skills" (Hofstede 2001: 9). Culture determines the uniqueness of a certain collectivity in the same way values and personality characterize an individual.

Differences and similarities between the cultures depend on the historical background and experience of a society. Hofstede points out several mechanisms, presented in Figure 1, that let a group preserve their own culture for following generations.

Figure 1. The "Onion Diagram": Manifestation of Culture at Different Levels of Depth



Source: Hofstede (2001).

The value systems that are shared by most of the population are at the center of the diagram. They, on the one hand, are rooted in the certain ecological factors, such as geography, history, demography, technology, etc., while on the other, specify the structure and functioning of the institutions, e.g. family patterns and educational systems, religion, etc., in a society. The established institutions support and reinforce the social norms and values of its community. Moreover, they rarely change or influence the norms within a relatively close society.

The outer layer of the diagram represents symbols, characterized by words, gesture and pictures that carry some meaning recognized in the culture. The following mechanism represents real or imaginary heroes who are prized and followed in the group. The final one is rituals, that is the activities needed to achieve goals and these are essential for individuals to be part of the culture. Practices, which connect all the mechanisms, are visible to outsiders and have considerable meaning to the insiders of the culture (Hofstede 2001).

These mechanisms and practices are necessary for preserving a society's history and identity, as well as to passing the culture on to posterity. Hofstede (1986) analyzes cultures through four primary dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individual versus collectivist cultures, femininity versus masculinity. **Power distance** characterizes the level of the inequality which less powerful individuals tolerate and consider its normality. **Uncertainty Avoidance** characterizes the extent to which people from one culture are made nervous because of an unpredicted, unstructured or unclear situation that requires other that traditional solutions. **Individualist cultures** assume that a person minds own (and his/her immediate family) interests and matters, while in the **collectivist cultures** a person belongs to the integrated groups and protects their interests. **Masculinity and femininity** within a culture defines the social roles attributed to men and women. The masculine cultures strive to set a clear distinction between man, being ambitious, competitive, big and strong, and woman, being small and weak (Hofstede 1986).

These dimensions were brought up after the study conducted in more than 50 countries in 3 regions, the main aim of which was to gauge the impact of the differences in national culture and management. The researchers used a survey (Values Survey Module) to run the study (Hofstede 1980). As some Central European countries didn't take part in the main research, Kolman et al. (2003) conducted the supplementary one including the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. The Netherlands was surveyed to conduct a comparison. As Ukraine was not surveyed in the primary research, the scores were estimated comparing Ukraine to the rest of the European participating countries. Prykarpatska (2008) provided the estimated scores of the cultural dimensions in Ukraine basing on the comparison of the cultural dimensions ranking list for European nations composed by Mikułowski-Pomorski (Mikułowski-Pomorski 2006 in Prykarpatska 2008) [The results can be seen in the Appendix 1]. The scores are largely corresponding to the ones published on the webpage https://www.hofstede-insights.com/. The scores are rarely updated because the dimensions of the culture are changing very slowly, from generation to generation (Hofstede 2019).

As a result of the following studies Hofstede (Hofstede G., Hofstede G. J. and Minkov

2010) added two more dimensions Long-Short Term Orientation, which defines the plans for future, and Indulgence- Restraint, that shows "the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses, based on the way they were raised" (Hofstede Insights 2019).

Four primary dimensions, viz Power Distance, Individualism versus Collectivism, Femininity versus Masculinity and Uncertainty Avoidance, which Hofstede refer to the learning and teaching processes, are used in this paper and make the background for the critical discourse analysis of the national documents in Poland and Ukraine.

THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL PROCESS IN POLAND AND UKRAINE

This article analyzes the characteristics of the educational process defined by the national curricula through the Hofstede's 4-D model of cultural dimensions. The two countries were chosen for their numerous similarities: Poland and Ukraine are neighboring states with a common border of 535 km; both countries were influenced by the communist regime (Poland till 1989, Ukraine till 1991); the end of the communist regime caused many social, cultural, economic, educational changes in both states. Moreover, the Education expenditure GDP in Poland and Ukraine in recent years has been similar with 5,0% [1] and 5,1% [2] respectively. Despite the geographical and historical similarities, Polish and Ukrainian cultures differ a lot. The figure bellow presents the results of the survey of cultural differences in Poland and Ukraine presented by the Hofstede Institute.

Figure 2. Cultural Differences (in %) Between Poland (blue colour) and Ukraine (violet colour) (estimated) by Hofstede Insights 2019

Source: Self-generated, based on Hofstede 2019.

According to the survey results, Poland revealed a relatively large **Power Distance** in comparison to Western Countries, though the lowest indicator among the four Central European countries. At a score of 62 in Kolman's et al. (2003) and 68 in Hofstede Insights, Poland is a hierarchical country. It indicates that "[Polish] people accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place, and which needs no further justification" (Hofstede Insights 2019). Poles used to have good relations with their superiors, who tended to have an autocratic management style (Kolman 2003). Poland still maintains authoritative, less democratic and participative, business relations than the Western European countries (Odrowąż-Coates 2017).

Ukraine scored 92 on this dimension. Its historical background of the XX century strongly influenced the centralization of power and authorities, where the power holders put great emphasis on social status and national symbols (Hofstede Insights 2019). Corruption Percentage Index (CPI) is among the indicators of Power Distance. In 2016, the Index for Ukraine was 131 and 29 for Poland (maximum 176). CPI in a way explains the 92 and 62 Power Distance Dimension scores in the Ukraine and Poland (Wackowski and Blyznyuk 2017, Woldan 2009). Large Power Distance, hierarchical order and autocratic attitude may increase the fear and lack of trust among employees (Baranowski and Odrowąż-Coates 2018; Odrowąż-Coates 2017). The hierarchical position of teachers at school also cause fear and distrust among pupils. The table below presents the indicators of the level of Power Distance in educational institutions.

Table 1. Differences in Teacher/Student Interactions related to The Power Distance Dimension (Hofstede 1986: 313)

SMALL POWER DISTANCE SOCIETIES	LARGE POWER DISTANCE SOCIETIES
- knowledge can be obtained from any competence person or source	- teacher is the only reliable source of knowledge and a "guru" to the students
- student-centered education	- teacher-centered education
- the teacher respects the students' independence	- the teacher is the one who set the paths and starts communication
- the teacher gives students the chance to start a conversation	- the teacher is not publicly criticized
- students can contradict the teacher	- Students speak when the teacher invites
- teachers are treated equally outside the school	- the learning effectiveness depends on the teachers' excellence
- parents support students' side	- parents rather support the teachers' side
- young teachers are more liked by the students	- students show the teacher respect outside school
- the teacher expects students to find their own paths	- older teachers are more respected than young ones
	- students expect teacher to outline the paths

Source: Self-generated, based on Hofstede 1986.

On the **Individualism** dimension Poland scored 60. This means that Poland is average among the Central European countries, but more collectivistic than Western European countries, though much more individualistic than Asian countries. Ukraine, on the contrary, scored 25 on this dimension, that demonstrates the influence of being a part of the Soviet Union for quite a long time. The main postulate of the USSR was to create the community and perceive an individual as an integrative part of it (Wackowski and Blyznyuk 2017, Hofstede Insights 2019). In the collectivist countries, employees are more likely to cooperate than to work individually. Additionally, relations in business are very important and must be built carefully. Poland, however, has a unique culture with a high level of PD and high level of IDV, that requires lots of skill in managing the companies where "the manager is advised to establish a second "level" of communication, having personal contact with everybody in the structure, giving the impression that "everybody is important" in the organization, although unequal" (Hofstede Insight 2019).

In terms of school Individualism-Collectivism, these cultures are illustrated in the learning programs and materials, which are developed to educate and raise some values, and perceive students either as an individual or a part of the group. The table below shows level indicators of Individualism and Collectivism in educational institutions.

Poland has a highly **masculine** culture with a score of 64, where business is driven by competition, achievement and success. In masculine cultures the main motivation for employees is a desire to be the best and admired (Kolman et al. 2003, Hofstede Insight 2019). Whereas, according to the study, Ukraine is rather a feminine country with a masculine score of 27. Feminine culture is characterized by modest behavior, great care for others and the importance of relations (Wackowski and Blyznyuk 2017).

A low score at a masculine might be related to the large Power Distance in Ukraine, where the superiors show their dominant behavior, whilst is not appreciated among the peers (Hofstede Insights 2019). This dimension illustrates the way the school specifies the reward and punishment systems, along with the purpose of the education.

Table 2. Differences in Teacher/Student and Student/Student Interaction Related to the Individualism versus Collectivism Dimension (Hofstede 1986: 312)

INDIVIDUALIST SOCIETIES	COLLECTIVIST SOCIETIES
- positive association in society with whatever is "new" - one is never too old to learn; "permanent education" - students expect to learn how to learn - individual students will speak up in class in response to a general invitation by the teacher - individuals will speak up in large groups - subgroupings in class vary from one situation to the next based on universals criteria (e.g. the task "at hand" - confrontation in learning situations can be salutary: conflicts can be brought into the open - face-consciousness is weak - education is a way of improving one's economic worth and self-respect based on ability and competence - diploma certificates only have symbolic value - acquiring competence is more important than acquiring certificates - teachers are expected to be strictly impartial	- positive association in society with whatever is rooted in tradition' - the young should learn; adults cannot accept student role - students expect to learn how to do - individual students will only speak up in class when called upon personally by the teacher - individuals will only speak up in small groups - large classes split socially into smaller, cohesive subgroups based on particularist criteria (e.g. ethnic affiliation) - neither the teacher nor any student should ever be made to lose face - education is a way of gaining prestige in one's social environment and of joining a higher status group ("a ticket to a ride") - diploma certificates are important and displayed on walls - acquiring certificates, even through illegal means (cheating, corruption) is more important than acquiring competence - teachers are expected to give preferential treatment to some students (e.g. based on ethnic affiliation or on recommendation by an influential person)

Source: Self-generated, based on Hofstede 1986.

The table 3 displays the indicators of the Feminine and Masculine types of running the educational institutions.

Poland scored 93 at the **Uncertainty Avoidance** (UA) dimension, which is relatively high, while Ukraine 95 respectively. A high Uncertainty Avoidance indicates rigid beliefs and practices, where citizens are against sudden and unexpected change, have a strong attachment to established rules and norms and used to plan the nearest future (Hofstede Insight 2019). A high level of Uncertainty Avoidance is also characterized by the rigid hierarchical management structure and conservative rules and procedures in business relations (Wackowski and Blyznyuk 2017). A UA level directly outlines the management style and structure of the institutions, for example schools. It also determines the learning programs and the approach to teaching styles. The table below presents the indicators of Uncertainty Avoidance typical for educational institutions.

Table 3. Differences in Teacher/Student and Student/Student Interaction Related to the Masculinity versus Femininity Dimension (Hofstede 1986: 315)

FEMININE SOCIETIES	MASCULINE SOCIETIES
- teachers use average student as the norm	- teachers use best students as the norm
- system rewards students' social adaptation	- system rewards students' academic performance
- students admire friendliness in teachers	- students admire brilliance in teachers
- corporal punishment severely rejected	- corporal punishment occasionally considered salutary
- male students may choose traditionally feminine academic subjects	- male students avoid traditionally feminine academic subjects
- students choose academic subjects in view of intrinsic interest	- students choose academic subjects in view of career opportunities

Source: Self-generated, based on Hofstede 1986.

Table 4. Differences in teacher/student interactions related to the uncertainty avoidance dimension (Hofstede 1986: 314)

WEAK UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE SOCIETIES	STRONG UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE SOCIETIES
- students feel comfortable in unstructured learning situations: vague objectives, broad assignments, no timetables	- students feel comfortable in structured learning situations: precise objectives, detailed assignments, strict timetables
- teachers are allowed to say "I don't know"	- teachers are expected to have all the answers
- a good teacher uses plain language	- a good teacher uses academic language
- students are rewarded for innovative approaches to problem solving	- students are rewarded for accuracy in problem solving
- teachers are expected to suppress emotions (as are students)	- teachers are allowed to behave emotionally (as are students)
- teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as a stimulating exercise	- teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as personal disloyalty
- teachers seek parents' ideas	- teachers consider themselves experts who cannot learn anything from lay parents-and parents agree

Source: Self-generated, based on Hofstede 1986.

The aforementioned cultural differences with the indicators listed state the basis for the analysis of the national curricula of Poland and Ukraine.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of our article was to show whether and to what extent the individual indicators of the cultural dimensions described by Hofstede are "reflected" in Polish and Ukrainian laws which define the learning and teaching processes, and teacher-student relations. The legal documents we have analyzed function as national curricula. Let's remember that the additional goal of this article is to study the correlation between the national curricula and the cultural differences of Polish and Ukrainian cultures in teaching and learning processes, as well as their management and organizational styles.

In Polish education law, the applicable teaching content and skills that must be included in the curriculum are presented in the Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 14 February 2017 which contains the core curriculum for pre-school education and the core curriculum for general education in primary schools. This is the main document that organizes the learning process in Polish schools. There is no exact equivalent of the Polish core curriculum in Ukraine, but there are other national documents regulating the learning and teaching process. They are: The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine, Decree from November 23rd, 2011, The State Standard of Basic and General Secondary Education in Ukraine, Decree from April 20th, 2011, and The Concept of the "New Ukrainian School" from 2018. All three documents are currently in force and regulate the educational process in primary and secondary schools in Ukraine. The concept of the "New Ukrainian School" has been implemented since the 2017/2018 school year, firstly for the first graders, and is expected to supersede the other two Decrees by 2021. The listed documents in their original languages - Polish and Ukrainian - were the subject of our analysis. We chose critical discourse analysis as the research method. We remained aware that there are two approaches to discourse analysis popularized among researchers from around the world: the so-called French concept of discourse (Foucault, Habermas, Ducrot) and the Anglo-Saxon concept of discourse (van Dijk). According to *the French school*, linguistic layers of the text are the primary subject of analysis. According to the Anglo-Saxon school, discourse analysis falls within the socio-cultural current and its purpose is to recognize the social and political structure, as well as to identify current social problems that are reflected in the discourse (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2004).

Critical discourse analysis has now grown into one of the most popular interdisciplinary research perspectives. It covers a rich and diverse range of methods and positions (Ostrowicka 2014), and, for several reasons, proved to be the suitable for our studies. First, we treat national curricula as specific statements on education that are communicatory in character yet contain elements of persuasion (Śliwerski 2009). Secondly, specific indicators of cultural dimensions which appear in national curricula are an expression of what from the outset is considered important in educational reality. (Generally speaking, "the creators of national curricula have decided what is

important"). It can also be assumed as that the contents of national curricula are conveyors of belief systems and values, and even of presumed visions of a certain social order. The belief system and values in question have been analyzed by us using Hofstede's cultural dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individual versus collectivist cultures, femininity versus masculinity. We want to discover how visions from national curricula coincide with reality. Thirdly, we want to show the manipulative role of national curricula. The documents which we will analyse oblige – at least formally – Polish and Ukrainian teachers and students to understand learning and teaching, and the organization of these processes in accordance with national curricula. Critical discourse analysis will allow us to take a "new" look at the analyzed documents. We will see which elements of Hofstede's cultural analysis are particularly strengthened and which are not found in the analyzed documents. Fourthly, we assume that as researchers we are not axiologically neutral. Each of us will analyze documents from our country of origin. We realize that we are representatives of different cultures and identify with different Hofstede's dimension indicators. As reflective researchers, however, we are aware of this and try to make it an asset, not a disadvantage (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2004; Giddens 1993)

Most often, critical discourse analysis consists of three stages. These are: 1) analysis of the text that is the subject of the research, 2) analysis of discursive social processes involving the analysis of the reception and interpretation of text by people, 3) research on the impact of discourse, i.e. reflecting on discourse as a key factor in the construction of social life (Darłowicz 2016). We will briefly touch on the first two stages because of the limited volume of our text. Given the objectives of our article, we focus primarily on the third stage.

RESULTS OF RESEARCH – NATIONAL CURRICULA SEEN THROUGH THE HOFSTEDE'S 4-D MODEL OF CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

Most definitions of culture contain a material and a spiritual aspect. Culture is defined by Hofstede at al. (2010) as a collective mind programming that distinguishes members of one group or category from members of another. National cultures are defined as collective mind programming resulting from growing up in a particular country. Culture contains specific dimensions (described as Hofstede's 4-D model) that are subject to observation and measurement.

Let's look at the contents of core curricula through the prism of **Power Distance**. In both Ukrainian and Polish core curricula there is a clear advantage to *small power distance*. One of the indicators of this dimension *is societies-knowledge can be obtained from any competence person or source*. The ability to independently search for information, critically evaluate it and form independent judgments is emphasized. For example: a student is to: "critically analyze and use information from various sources" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 12), "formulate judgments on selected social problems of the modern world" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 109); "student's ability to use information and communication technologies and other means for performing personal and socially important tasks" (The State Standard of Primary Education in

Ukraine 2011: 2). However, we did not notice a single entry affirming that *the Teacher is the only reliable source of knowledge and a "guru" for the students*. Polish and Ukrainian national curricula entries support student-centered education. A personalistic concept of education manifests itself, for example, in the "ability to express one's own expectations and social needs" (Regulation of the Minister …: 32), "encouraging students to self-assess their own work" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 81). "The most nurturing teaching methods are those that mobilize the student, enabling him to build knowledge by himself" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 129). In Ukraine: "there isn't any administrative control that limits pedagogical creativity, children's active participation in the educational process, interests and experience-oriented education" (The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine 2011: 18). Students are to have the opportunity to experiment, work with projects, their cognitive activity is to be stimulated (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 150). Education –applied to the subject of preparation for family life – concerns the ability to adopt an integral vision of an individual as well as the choice and implementation of values serving personal development (Regulation of the Minister …: 197). Despite the general attitude towards *student-centered education*, there are manifestations of teacher-centered education in the Polish national core curriculum. These are noticeable at the education planning level – those responsible for this sphere are the teachers, who 'by organizing classes plan the education process (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 54). However, teachers are not *the ones who set the paths and start communication*. On the contrary, in both national core curricula we find many regulations supporting *respecting students' independence by teachers*. Let's give some examples. Teachers are obliged to: "support the student in identifying his own predispositions and determining the path of further education" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 11), "encouraging <students> to organized and conscious self-education based on the ability to prepare their own workshop (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 11).

Ukrainian curriculum states: „distributed leadership (productivity, making a choice and responsibility for it)"; also "[the educational institution] needs to ensure freedom and children's rights in all aspects„ (The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine 2011: 17,19).

Education, therefore, has as its task: "to awaken and develop a student's reflexivity and axiological sensitivity and to nurture an attitude of respect, openness, cooperation and responsibility" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 30). Whilst in the Ukrainian curriculum "[teachers] need to make the educational environment as a bright element of childhood" and "[a teacher] needs to take into account the individual abilities and skills of every pupil" (The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine 2011: 18, 19). Polish and Ukrainian national core curricula contain many records proving that a *teacher allows students to start a conversation and choose a path*. However, there is no record that a *teacher cannot be publicly criticized, and that student can only speak when the teacher invites them to*. We discovered indications of *giving the students the opportunity to choose their own education path and the unfettered voice* in the following narratives: "encouraging organized and conscious self-education based on the skill of preparing their own workshop" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 11), "the student

attains the need and the skill of independent, reflective, logical, critical and creative thinking "(Regulation of the Minister 2017: 33)," the student... agrees with or disputes other people's opinions, substantively justifying his own opinion (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 68), "the student 1) recognizes his/her own needs and the needs of others; 2) plans further education, taking into account his/her skills and interests; ... 4) presents his/her own rights and obligations "(Regulation of the Minister 2017: 104). Additionally, Ukrainian documents inform of „ensuring the possibility to make choices and independent decisions while realizing their consequences" (Bibik 2018: 45); "provide time and opportunities for critical thinking; appreciate this, allowing children to think freely" (Bibik 2018: 62).

Some of the indicators listed by Hofstede on both the small and large power distance were not identified by us in the Polish and Ukrainian national core curricula. These were indicators that the parents were either for or against the teacher and related to the importance of the teacher's age - *neither are young teachers more liked by the students, nor are older teachers more respected than the young ones*.

Our analyses of the Polish and Ukrainian core curriculum from a small-large power distance perspective in the context of research on national cultures allow us to draw some conclusions. Firstly, the hierarchical nature of Polish society is reflected in the Polish core curriculum to a negligible (practically imperceptible) degree. Similarly – though not so clearly – it is presented in the Ukrainian core curriculum, with greater attention to child-centered education with respect to children's rights, voice and choice. Secondly, teachers and children are treated as partners. "[The educational process] is realized by the joint participation of teachers and students, teachers and parents, which involves understanding, shared interests and aspirations for the personal development of students" (Bibik 2018: 17). Moreover, the partnership principals are defined as: "respect, goodwill and positive attitude, trust, dialog, cooperation, shared leadership (pro-activeness), and social partnership (equality of parties, voluntary commitment, and an obligation to fulfill agreements) (Bibik 2018:17).

Let's remember that Polish culture, according to Hofstede research, is characterized by a fairly high degree of **individualism** and the Ukrainian culture is more **collective**. Is this result reflected in the core curricula we analyzed and if so, to what degree? What do the Polish and Ukrainian core curricula say about interpersonal relations; social networks; sources of identification – "I", "we"?

The authors of the Polish core curriculum repeatedly refer to social collectivism and try to show the importance of tradition. Specific and easily identifiable examples are: 'Education and upbringing in a primary school are conducive to developing civic, patriotic and social attitudes of students.' The school's task is to strengthen the sense of national identity, attachment to national history and traditions" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 14). " In the implemented didactic and educational process, the school undertakes activities related to places important for national memory, forms of commemorating figures and events from the past, the most important national holidays and state symbols" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 15), "The awakening of a sense of love for the homeland through respect and attachment to the tradition and history of one's nation and its achievements, culture and mother tongue is shaped during the

implementation of the history subject" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 22), "The teacher's task ... is above all ... to develop a sense of national identity and respect for tradition" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 70) and many others. A similar position is taken by the Ukrainian educational system, noting that it's important "to be able to cooperate with various partners in groups and pairs, play different roles and functions within a group" (The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine 2011: 2).

In the light of the analyzed documents, *positive association in society with whatever is "new"* is also noticeable, but to a lesser extent than traditionalism, Contents of the core curriculum relating to modernity are limited to the "technical" side of education and relate to the latest technologies, e.g. "The student ... distinguishes between modern forms of messaging (e.g. e-mail, SMS) and uses them properly, observing the rules of language etiquette" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 64), "Programming and solving problems using a computer and other digital devices: arranging and programming algorithms, organizing, searching and sharing information, using computer applications" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 175). Meanwhile similar content can be found in the Ukrainian curriculum: "[pupil can] search the necessary information using search engines and expert systems, including the Internet" (The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine 2011: 13). At one point of the core curriculum, we noticed a provision about *permanent education*, namely: "The student plans further education, taking into account his own interests, abilities and skills as well as advice of other people and the situation on the labor market" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 105). In the Ukrainian curriculum, lifelong learning makes up one of the key skills of the pupils: "there should be provided the possibility for individual development of pupils, who will be able to self-realize and participate in the life of a democratic, social, legislative and civil society of the today's diverse world with a help of the gained skills and knowledge" (The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine 2011: 8).

An indicator of Hofstede's collectivism is the following category – *students expect to learn how to do*, and of individualism the following category – *students expect to learn how to learn*. Both are clearly displayed in the Polish core curriculum and it is difficult to discern which is the more predominant. Clearly the authors of the core considered both categories equally important. The following fragments may be taken as indicators of *learn how to do*: "To understand the essence of life science, practical knowledge is also indispensable" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 25), "Therefore, they should learn the basic methods of IT so that they can use them in the future in practical situations in various fields" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 27), "The student attains ... the ability to ask questions, perceive problems, collect information needed to solve them, plan and organize the activity, as well as solve problems" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 33), "It is necessary to implement the content of teaching in such a way that students understand the usefulness of individual issues in the everyday life of a human being – a member of individual social groups and communities (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 109). *The how to learn* category was noticed by us in the following – selected – fragments of the Polish core curriculum: "Even the best school will not teach everything. However, it will provide tools to expand knowledge independently, while maintaining the necessary criticism and ensuring the reliability

of the communication" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 22), "The student ... uses acquired skills to solve problems and explore the world, taking care of (their) own development and creating individual learning strategies" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 36), "Developing skills of independent information access, selection, synthesis and evaluation. Developing habits of systematic learning and of organizing acquired knowledge and deepening it" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 60). The Ukrainian educational program also tends to teach pupils how to learn: "[pupil] has an ability to learn - prove their own opinion and shared thoughts" (Bibik 2018: 17).

In the Polish core curriculum, we found an entry indicating collectivism, indicated by *individual students will only speak up in class when called upon personally by the teacher*. This entry read: "The student ... listens and waits his turn, controls the urge to speak suddenly (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 34).

The Polish core curriculum contains individual entries which we have identified as manifestations of individualism, but which are difficult to relate directly to indicators distinguished by Hofstede, e.g. "The project method assumes a significant independence and responsibility of participants, which creates conditions for students to individually manage the learning process" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 14) or "The school and individual teachers undertake actions aimed at individualized support for the development of each student, according to his needs and abilities" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 13).

Ukraine is defined as a collectivist country, whereas the New Ukrainian School, which provides the foundation for a new Standard of the Primary and Secondary Education, presents proof of both dimensions – individualism and collectivism. It's said that it's important, on the one hand, to "build skills of collective work and cooperation" (The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine 2011: 2), while on the other, "[develop] critical thinking: pupils learn to question, doubt and assess opinions, which are different or similar to theirs" (Bibik 2018: 49). The new program also promotes teachers' impartial treatment, noting: "fairness and impartial treatment ... a teacher and children perceive the contribution of every child equally, with kindness and respect regardless of their abilities, social background or gender" (Bibik 2018: 49).

Another dimension of Hofstede's 4-D model of cultural differences among societies is determined by **masculinity** at one extreme and **femininity** at the other. In fact, we didn't find any references to *masculinity* in either of the core curricula. The exception is the provision in the Polish core, testifying that *students admire brilliance in teachers*, which reads: "The student: listens carefully to the teacher's statements ... shows respect to the speaking person" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 34). There are references to *femininity* in the Polish and Ukrainian cores, but in trace amounts. Examples from the Polish core curriculum are: the school ensuring safe conditions and a friendly learning atmosphere (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 11) and "introducing students to the world of values, including dedication, cooperation, solidarity and altruism" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 11).

The Ukrainian curriculum stresses the necessity of taking into account the abilities and skills of every child: "...refusal to focus on the educational achievements of the average student and compulsory consideration of the interests of each child"

(Bibik 2018: 19). The new Ukrainian Standard of Education is based on the following principals that qualify the country to the feminine dimension group: "Recognizing that every child is talented. Ensuring equal access to education, prohibiting all forms of discrimination. Separation of children based on pre-selection at individual, group and institutional levels will not be allowed" (Bibik 2018: 22). Moreover, the curriculum prohibits psychological or *corporal punishment* by stating "Security. Creating an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect. Making the school a safe place where there is no violence and harassment" (Bibik 2018:23). Additionally, the core curriculum gives advice to the teachers about how to choose and realize the topic of the lessons, taking into the account every child's interests. It is said that "Additional training sessions for assistants may be held throughout the year, depending on the needs and interests of the assistants …Make a list of tasks for each assistant, including their interests in the skills and needs of the teacher" (Bibik 2018: 112).

The categories of femininity and masculinity are associated with consent or lack of it to show concern for others, friendly or competitive relationships; valuing or not material success and progress, and clearly divided into male and female roles. Both countries promote the feminine approach to the learning and teaching processes, highlighting the importance of perceiving each child as an individual with their own needs, ideas, and opinions; free of violence and corporal punishment at school.

Societies with **weak uncertainty avoidance** have few rights and principles. If existing regulations are often unobserved, they should be changed. These societies are tolerant and friendly to young people. Societies with **strong uncertainty avoidance** abide by many detailed laws and principles. Conservatism, law, order and a hostile attitude to young people dominate. It is easy to conclude that these societies are intolerant and marked by religious, ideological and political fundamentalism. The discovery of manifestations of both *week uncertainty avoidance societies* and *strong uncertainty avoidance societies in national core curricula* was a major research challenge.

In the Polish national core curriculum, there is relatively little content that can be related to the analyzed dimension, and if it is present then it is rather on the week and not strong avoidance societies' side. Interestingly, according to Hofstede, the fact *that teachers are allowed to behave emotionally (as are the students)* is an indicator of *strong uncertainty avoidance*. References to the emotional aspect of education and upbringing are revealed in the selected quoted narratives: "The school's tasks include … understanding of emotions, own feelings and those of others, conducive to maintaining mental, physical and social health" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 18), "Emotionality is an important factor shaping the development of the student and determining the perception of themselves, other people and the world" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 21), "The student achieves … the ability to realize the feelings experienced by other people while trying to understand why they occur, as well as differentiating forms of their expression depending on age" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 32) "The student uses the names of emotions and feelings to describe his own experiences and the experiences of other people in the context of various moral experiences; uses these concepts to characterize the experiences, actions and attitudes of the characters in novels, stories, films, theater performances and computer games" (Regulation of

the Minister 2017: 203). A closer look at the fragments concerning feelings and the expression of emotions, recorded in the Polish core curriculum raises some doubts as to the assignment of these descriptions to the category of the *strong avoidance societies*. In social practice, the free expression of emotions is after all an expression of tolerance and friendship in interpersonal contacts, i.e. it is equivalent to *less avoidance societies*. Undoubtedly, this very dimension, i.e. of *less avoidance societies* - is reinforced by the indicators of the category: *students are rewarded for innovative approaches to problem solving* written in the Polish national curriculum. Examples: "General education in primary school aims to: ... 4) develop competences such as creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship; 5) develop the skills of critical and logical thinking, reasoning, arguing and inferring" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 11), "The most important skills developed as part of a general education in a primary school are: ... 4) creative problem solving in various fields with the conscious use of methods and tools derived from computer science" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 12), "The subject of physics is above all an opportunity to constructively verify students' views and a time in which to build the foundations of scientific thinking - asking questions and looking for structured answers" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 159). The Polish core curriculum contains individual entries that can be indirectly referred to the category – *teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as a stimulating exercise*. These read as follows: "Teachers ... should aim for students to shape within themselves an attitude of dialogue, the ability to listen to others and understand their views (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 29-30). We also have an indirect reference to the category – *teachers seek parents' ideas.* "Raising a younger generation is the task of the family and the school, which in its activities must take into account the will of the parents" (Regulation of the Minister 2017: 15). The same category also appears in the description of the subject of preparation for family life – "The school's tasks in the field of preparation for family life include in particular: supporting the educational role of the family "(Regulation of the Minister 2017: 201). The Polish core of the programs does not contain a single record stating that *teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as personal disloyalty* nor that *teachers consider themselves experts who cannot learn anything from lay parents – and parents agree*.

In the comparison, Ukrainian curriculum promotes the ideas of open-minded teaching styles, that give more freedom and accounts for everyone's needs. The school day is planned, and the lessons are conducted based on chosen topics, as the curriculum points out all the topics that should be covered at the primary and secondary school. The new core curriculum, however, suggests a more flexible approach towards lesson plans. It is mentioned that "the educational tasks and time for their [primary pupils] implementation depend on the individual characteristics of the students ... training should be organized through activities, by means of play both in the classroom and beyond" (Bibik 2018: 20, Nychkalo 2017), what's more "It is recommended that 20% of the planned study time must be reserved to enable students to meet their educational needs, balance their achievements, develop transversal skills, etc." (Bibik 2018:25). It is also mentioned that *teachers are allowed to say "I don't know,* that characterizes the weak uncertainty avoidance cultures, "[teachers] should be honest and admit

their mistakes" (Bibik 2018: 45). In the category *students are rewarded for innovative approaches to problem solving*, the national curriculum of Ukraine says that "a creative self-expression … critical thinking and creative thinking" (The State Standard of Primary Education in Ukraine 2011: 3, 8) is appreciated. In order to prove that *teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as a stimulating exercise*, the core curriculum of Ukraine highlights that "A child may not agree with the ideas of others, then these issues are considered in the process of free discussion. Various ideas are listened to and discussed because there is mutual trust among children" (Bibik 2018: 49). And finally, the new Ukrainian program advises *teachers to seek parents' ideas* and support in educational process. It is mentioned that "Teachers invite parents and other family members to join the learning process … Teachers regularly interact with parents and other family members to increase support for children in their learning" (Bibik 2018:110).

Attempting to summarize the *weak – strong uncertainty avoidance dimension*, we note that in the attitude of the Polish program the *weak uncertainty avoidance dimension* category is reinforced. Let us note, however, that the documents analyzed were quite poor in describing the behavior and attitudes of students and teachers that could directly refer to this dimension. However, based on what we have, we can say that the most important Polish documents regulating the processes of education and upbringing support student innovation – and therefore they support the young. They allow those who are subject to education to express their feelings freely and – to a limited extent – allow students *disagreement* understood as *a stimulating exercise*.

Ukrainian educational standard, with a high score of the strong uncertainty avoidance of the culture, almost completely organizes the learning process with a little share of self-study time. Though, it points to the necessity of teacher-parent cooperation and anticipates that teacher should admit own mistakes if there are so. The mentioned issues prove the new orientation the Ukrainian schools.

CONCLUSIONS

This article introduced the critical discourse analysis the Polish and Ukrainian national curricula through the prism of four cultural dimensions defined by Geert Hofstede. It was aimed to study the way both national standards of education define teacher-student relations and support/contradict the data of the cultural dimensions presented by the Hofstede Institute.

Although close geographical position and cultural and language similarities, Poland and Ukraine have divergent history, including the history of education and core curricula, and refer to different cultural dimensions. According to the data, Polish culture is more individualistic and masculine than Ukrainian one. Though, has a less power distance and similar uncertainty avoidance.

National curricula bare reciprocal objectives, on the one hand, to present and cherish the national culture and values, while on the other, to delineate the teaching/learning process with the high standards and contemporary orientation of education. Poland and Ukraine have very different paths of educational programs and institutions, that are determined by the time of becoming independent. Poland became a

sovereign country in 1918 and began to implement the unification of the secondary education and compulsory education in 1919 through the first educational programmes, published in 1918-1922. Since then, Polish national educational programs have come through many reforms and changes (Osiński 2010).

Meanwhile, Ukrainian educational standards were determined by the USSR policies for seventy years. The first independent Ukrainian law on education was passed in 1992, while the first concept of the national standard of education was adopted in 1996. The national curriculum of Ukraine had been developing till 2018, when the concept of New Ukrainian School, that supports contemporary educational standards of many European countries and Children's Rights, was legislated.

The history of the national curricula greatly affected the orientation of the education processes in both countries. Polish curriculum with its larger history presents greater attention to the student-centered education, that tend to provide space for individual work and development, while at the same time, respect and support pupil's rights and views.

Ukrainian recently adopted educational standards of a "New Ukrainian School" promotes child-oriented teaching/learning process to a greater extent than the previous ones. It stresses the necessity to provide time and space for self-study and self-evaluation of the students. Moreover, similarly to the Polish core curriculum, the new educational law of Ukraine reorganizes the learning process in the primary school. Education during the first three years lets pupils educate at own pace and does not anticipate any grades but description evaluation of the students' progress. This approach provides no pressure but motivation for the pupils.

Poland with its individual culture stresses individualism in the learning process of the pupils with cultivating skills of cooperation and ability to work in a group. Although Ukraine is an example of a collectivist culture, it promotes very similar approach towards the individual work and cooperation of the pupils of the primary and secondary schools.

Both Ukrainian and Polish curricula assume rather feminine approach to the teaching/learning process, despite the different result of the culture statistics from the Hofstede's study. Similarly, the two curricula foresee the low uncertainty avoidance of the educational process, that contradicts the results of the culture studies.

The aim of this article was to evaluate at what degree the national core curricula of Ukraine and Poland go with or contradict the indicators of the four cultural dimensions by Geert Hofstede. As a result, we can state that in the most cases the orientation of the national educational documents do not reinforce and prove the results of the cultural studies.

We would like to stress that the presented analysis concerns the study of the national documents, but not the factual situation of the teacher/learning process and teacher-student relations in Polish and Ukrainian school. In order to verify whether the actual educational process in the schools uphold the orientation of the core curricula, a distinct study should be provided.

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LEGAL ACTS

Regulation of the Minister of National Education of Poland of 14 February 2017. In: ROZPORZĄDZENIE MINISTRA EDUKACJI NARODOWEJ1 z dnia 14 lutego 2017 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej wychowania przedszkolnego oraz podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły podstawowej, w tym dla uczniów z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną w stopniu umiarkowanym lub znacznym, kształcenia ogólnego dla branżowej szkoły I stopnia, kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły specjalnej przysposabiającej do pracy oraz kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły policealnej.

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Appendix 1.

Table 1. Value Dimensions for Ukraine (estimated by Prykarpatska)

Dimensions	**Ukraine**
Individualism	~ 38
Power Distance	~96
Masculinity	~40
Uncertainty Avoidance	~93

Source: Prykarpatska 2008.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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Oświadczenie o współautorstwie

Niniejszym oświadczam, że w pracy **Popyk A., Perkowska-Klejman A. (2019). Critical Analysis of the National Curricula Through Hofstede's 4-D Model, Society Register, Vol. 3 Issue 4, pp. 115-136. https://doi.org/10.14746/sr.2019.3.4.07** mój udział polegał na

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Mój udział w powstaniu pracy wynosi 50%.

Anna Perkowska-Klejman

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Podpis