CHAPTER 11

Polish Children in Norway: Between National Discourses of Belonging and Everyday Experiences of Life Abroad

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Introduction

> *I would like to live in a place that is a blend of Norway and Poland. It seems so strange to go for summer holidays to your own country, your home country. It somehow doesn't sound right. (Adrian, ten years old)*

This chapter revolves around the issue of "blending" or hybridizing, as well as seeking to unpack the "why" in Adrian and other children's accounts of feeling peculiar or strange as youths with migratory backgrounds. To start with some illustrations, seven-year-old Marek, who arrived in Oslo three years ago, begins his meeting with the researcher by underscoring that he is not Norwegian; Norway-born Jan, also aged seven, keeps switching between talking about life and events in Poland and Norway—indicating that his life is happening "here and there." Finally, Sylwia, 12, browsing international fashion stores and websites on her iPad throughout the interview, states that English is her language of choice, thus demonstrating all the markers of being "a global teen." While the three examples pertain to the lives of three children all residing in Norway and born to Polish parents, their stories of (national) belonging and affinity are dissimilar, showcasing a range of identities that migrant children construct for themselves and narrate.

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In order to explore when and how migrant children construct national and transnational identities, this chapter examines the stories shared by school-aged children with (a more or less pronounced but family-tied) Polish ethnic origin, as they speak about their dynamically changing identities while living with their families in Norway. Drawing on interviews with the children, we outline those dimensions of children's lives that relate to their subjective sense of belonging and articulations of identifications found on the national, transnational, and pan-national continuum (e.g., Purkayastha 2005; Somerville 2008; Veale and Donà 2014).

Studying Migrant Children's Experiences—an Overview

Broadly speaking, the theoretical framework employed is a response to a turn toward childhood studies (Prout and James 1990; Smart 2011, 100) and migration scholarship addressing the changes to the positionality of children in mobility (Hess and Shandy 2008; Orgocka 2012; Sime and Fox 2014a), which are supplemented by the Polish context of family and mobility nexus.

The focus and degree of scholarly reflection to migrant children are often tied to the disciplinary assumptions, under which "a migrant" may signify an adult (Dobson 2009, 355). In migration scholarship, it resulted in children being—similarly to women—overlooked as "tied leavers" who are "socially present but sociologically invisible" (Morokvasic 1983, 13–24; Devine 2009, 521), and prompted contemporary researchers to state that children's position was formerly equated with that of "luggage" (Orellana et al. 2001, 578). Current research pertaining to children "on the move" instead favors studies on child migrants and their agency (Hess and Shandy 2008, 765, 767) in the mobility processes (e.g., Purkayastha 2005; Somerville 2008; Ní Laoire et al. 2011; Sime and Fox 2014a). In a somewhat compensatory trend (e.g., Dobson 2009; Smart 2011, 100; Orgocka 2012, 2), it identifies an urgency to describe experiences of "growing up transnationally" from children's standpoints (De Lima, Whitehead, and Punch 2012; Sime and Fox 2014a, 2015). As a composite result of both the *childhood studies*, and a *transnational turn* in migration scholarship, the studies recognize that children's belonging is dynamically constructed. Therefore, children must be given a voice in the decision-making processes that directly affect them (Smart 2011, 101–102, 107). This approach complements earlier research proving that transnationally raised (now adult) children may benefit from diverse

forms of bi-located social capital (Reynolds 2008). It also shows the positive effects of the maternal transnational "capital brokering" (mitigating the presumed disadvantages of ethnic minority backgrounds through networks, as well as language and competencies; see, e.g., Erel 2012), as well as engages in the debate on the effects of cultural and educational transnationalism (see, e.g., Hess and Shandy 2008; Ní Laoire et al. 2011; Tyrrell 2011; Ryan and Sales 2013).

In the latter, childhood studies-specific approach (e.g., Ensor and Goździak 2010, 3; Ní Laoire et al. 2011; Tyrrell et al. 2013; Sime and Fox 2014a, 2015), children's voices are seen as crucial for understanding the complex nature of European young people's belonging in the global era (Tyrrell et al. 2013). Caitríona Ní Laoire and colleagues, for instance, aimed to challenge the application of predetermined notions and the transgressed limitations of adult-centered mobility assumptions by employing active methods designed to highlight how children with Polish origin living in Ireland talked about their migrant trajectories (2011, 1–2). Reiterating that children's experiences vary from those of adults, it is vital to note that the negotiations and performances of identities in the destination countries are tangibly bound to both that new locale and the connections and affinities they have with the places that they (or their parents) come from (Ní Laoire et al. 2011, 7).

What sets the scene for the case of children of Polish origin is that Polish families of post-European Union accession largely follow the pattern of migrating in stages (or phases): from *pretransnational* (migration of one family member, separation) to *posttransnational* family. In addition, various scholars have argued that "Polish" global families are marked primarily by kinship-oriented transnational family practices (White 2011; Praszałowicz et al. 2013), and migration-decision processes are concerned with children's well-being (Ryan and Sales 2013). The scale, type, and consistency of belonging practices have so far been described from the adult family members' perspective (e.g., Pustułka 2014), but might similarly affect the sense of belonging among children and determine their alternative embeddedness: "exclusively there," "exclusively here," "here and there," or, even, in neither of the societies they are involved with, depending on a particular context.

It has been noted that children make more or less strategic but definitely reflective decisions about their sense of belonging(s), and in doing so creatively escape the essentialist "two cultures" trap (Adams and Kirova 2006; Ní Laoire et al. 2011). In this chapter, we wish to address the evident dearth of studies dedicated specifically to migrant

children as agents within the intra-European Union post-2004 mobility, seeing children through the above lens—that is, as constantly navigating and negotiating fluid identities influenced by two (or more) national contexts and globalization. This allows for dynamically conceived research and analysis, conceptually useful for capturing lived realities, marked by attachments, performances, longings, and boundaries, extending beyond a simplistic view of ethnic/national identification (see Ní Laoire et al. 2011, 7–8) but nonetheless affected by (bi)national and global elements. In that sense, the analysis seeks to determine how identities are shaped or hybridized across the contexts of post-migration lives. The *rooting into place(s)* and *routes within mobilities* may point to interconnectedness and/or be indicative of what is known as multi-belonging (Ní Laoire et al. 2011, 8).

Methodological Approach

This study was conducted within the Transfam project dedicated to Polish migrant families in Norway.[1] The data comprise the preliminary findings from the *Children's Experiences of Growing up Transnationally* sub-study, which consisted of 50 interviews with children aged 6–13 living in Norway and born to at least one Polish parent.[2]

The approach relies on the arguments outlined by contemporary childhood studies' methodologies (e.g., Greene and Hill 2002; Dockett, Einarsdottir, and Perry 2011; Lambert, Glacken, and McCarron 2013). The qualitative technique of interviewing was tailored to reflect the call for children's spontaneous accounts and engaged participation (Mason and Danby 2011; Lambert et al. 2013), while meeting the standards of ethnical research conduct (e.g., obtaining parental and children's consent). The recruitment activities centered on visiting places frequented by Polish migrants (e.g., the Polish Saturday School in Oslo, School Consultation Point at the Polish Embassy, Caritas Infosenter, "Polsk Kino" film screenings, and the Holmenkollen Ski Festival) aided by subsequent snowball sampling. These strategies yielded a group of children from various backgrounds under the following recruitment criteria: children's age (6–13), residence in Oslo and its surroundings (up to 200 km radius), and an ability to communicate in Polish. A deliberately inclusive approach encompassed stories from children born in Poland and in Norway, children from ethnically homogeneous (Polish) as well as mixed-couple families that in addition represented a variety of family sizes, living arrangements (married/cohabitating/divorced parents), employment statuses (from professionals to laborers), and religious

beliefs. Children also varied in regard to their length of stay in Norway (from several months to their whole lives).

The interviews with children (lasting from 20 minutes to almost 3 hours) yielded the core empiric material. Polish was the main language used by children during the interviews (with marginal usage of Norwegian and English). The language used and the fact of being interviewed by Polish researchers were examined as potential factors obscuring prompting the later discussed identification choices (Spyrou 2011), though it appears that children rather openly declared their belonging throughout the narratives. Active interview probing was paired with a task of drawing one's family for the younger children (6–9) and a sentence completion method test available in three language versions of the child's choice for the older children (9–13). Additional material was collected through a structured observation of children's rooms (see, e.g., Lambert et al. 2013).

All interviews were meticulously transcribed and analytical grids were used to combine material with field notes and findings from supplemental techniques. Coding procedures were used as an elementary data analysis process for breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing text units of the interviews (Inowlocki 2000). The data analysis entailed narrowing the selected empirical evidence through a careful winnowing process, acknowledging that the researcher exercises a degree of judgment over the selection of data in crafting the vignettes and the profiles of the respondents (Wolcott 1994; Seidman 2013, 120–123). The ongoing data analysis comprises open and selective coding, in which interviews are initially treated as stand-alone cases, and are then subjected to cross-case comparisons.

Multiple Belonging and Relations

First and foremost, the children articulate their understanding of ethnic differences (Moinian 2009; Eriksen 2012) and they manage their own identifications, depending on their individual circumstances, surroundings, and the people they encounter. The children's awareness of difference is activated by socialization agents (family, school, peer groups), and signifies reflexivity in matters of their identifications and belonging. Notably, these aforementioned contexts entail socialization settings (Znaniecki 1973) of a different type—the private realm of home and family on one hand, and the "public" or institutional importance of schooling and peer groups on the other. Following the works of Ní Laiore et al. (2011), we assume that migrant children construct their identities in a relational and context-dependent way, as

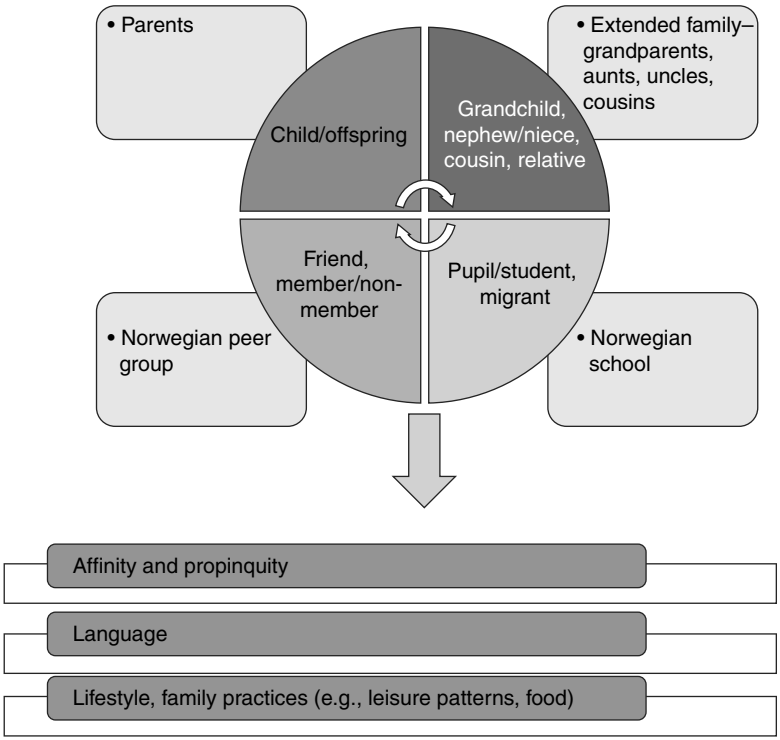

Figure 11.1 Multiple belongings and relations: Polish and Norwegian social contexts for children

illustrated by the model in Figure 11.1. Therefore, by examining *how*, *when*, and *why* children express and declare their belonging to either Poland or Norway, one can investigate everyday life factors—such as being in a temporally specific moment with certain people, as well as the presence of Polish/Norwegian elements (e.g., rituals, language skills) in family practices and within contact with the broader society (e.g., school, culture).

Affinity and Language—Polish Children in Norway or Young Norwegians of Polish Origin

While migration is often explained through national discourses in the narratives of adults, children have little awareness of Polish history as the nation's backbone. Instead, they largely associate "Poland" and understand being "Polish" through the relationships they have with

their grandparents and cousins left behind. Despite the spatial separation, Aneta (nine), who lives in Bekkestua, has an emotional and close relationship with her grandmother who remains in Poland, evident in the fact that whenever she gets "sad or angry," she texts her:

> Always on a Saturday, every Saturday . . . when I call and our favourite TV programme *Win a Million* [a Polish game show] is on then and we always watch it together and speak to each other over the phone . . . And sometimes, when I should be sleeping but can't fall asleep I pretend that my grandma is there with me, [like during my visits to Poland].

For our respondents, grandparents have become "friends" who, unlike their busy parents, have the time they can invest in togetherness, which is often aligned with the transmission of "Polishness." The grandparents tell stories and legends, teach Polish history, correct the children when they speak Polish incorrectly, sign them up for Polish courses and summer camps, and foster relationships with other Polish kin. In that sense, they reinforce a national narrative that could otherwise be lost.

Although we particularly focus on the role of the grandparents, other kin and non-blood-related friends of the child are equally important:

> I don't have [siblings] but my Polish aunt [mother's sister] has a baby, who, well, now, she is almost big now and she is like a sister to me. We spend a lot of time together but only when I am at my aunt's place in Poland. (Karolina, eight)

When returning to her country of residence from a visit to Poland, Paulina (nine) has a sense of loss, saying that she would like to live there, be close to her grandmother and family, and that "her heart breaks" when she leaves for Norway:

> I would like to live in Poland because that would mean I would live close to my grandma and I would understand more at school. Whenever I visit Poland, I don't have the heart to leave for Norway. [When talking with her Norwegian friend at school about Poland] I speak a lot about how Poland is, talk about my grandma, and how things look like there, for instance that she has a dog, has 9 children, what she looks like, and what I do when I am there.

Oliwier (11) still regrets not being able to visit his grandmother and great-grandmother, who presumably do not travel abroad, and

expresses a certain longing for connection, which causes an ambivalence about his life between two countries:

R: Do you like it here?
O: Hmm, very much so.
S: And what do you like best?
O: That here you can [do much], [it's a] big country. But just a little bit, yes, just somewhat I was also sad when I had to leave Poland…
S: And do you stay in touch with people in Poland?…
O: For me [Skype] is okay but ideally I like to see the other person…Not through a computer but "live", in person. I mean Skype also works but I don't want to speak on Skype too much. I can't talk to anyone—I only have one person in the contacts. And that's my mum's contact. I was going to ask my friends [in Poland]—one was going to give me [his Skype details], he was going to give it to me, but then he forgot his password and now I don't have it anymore.

For some children, the ties to Poland are somewhat incidental and relationally driven: Poland is (or becomes narratively) important mostly because certain significant others (i.e., kin) live there. As one might expect, the children's narratives often lack defined meanings of state, nationhood, or even local communities, but describe rather the local curiosities, differing holidays, and the like. It appears that parents cultivate this relational kind of more tangible bond with "nation" through family, as in children's accounts visits to Poland mostly comprise family practices—visits, celebrations, (care) obligations, and leisure activities. One of many examples for Poland being equated with family meetings can be seen in eight-year-old Klaudia's story:

I like, like Poland very much. This is our tradition that we go to Poland [on holidays]. It is a family trip to my grandma and granddad…We are there for some time and then we come back…For me and Beata [sister], Poland is a second home, just not for the everyday…as that is more Norway. But it would be very sad without [going to] Poland.

Despite the persistence of transnationalism in families evidenced by, for example, an annual holiday in Poland, it should be noted that children's relationship to Poland is incidental in the sense of the particularity and "special" nature of the events connected to Polishness, such as rare rituals (e.g., attending the Polish First Communion ceremony) or contact with a given relative only once per year during the summer.

Consequently, the everyday life of the nuclear family is tied to Norway, even if we bear in mind that "children's identity formation

is influenced by at least two distinct, and sometimes contradicting, cultural systems: the home culture and the school culture" (Adams and Kirova 2006, 8), too. For this reason, it is valid to assume that relationally constructed belonging to Poland will be declared by the children for as long as family bonds remain strong, especially since identity work is just as much directed at entering the society, belonging to the community, and being in coherence with social groups significant for the individuals.

The possible "belonging" constructions are always relational but must also take into account the temporal and life-course perspectives of children's development, as growing up and being a teenager generally has consequences in the form of weakened family bonds and a growing importance of the local Norwegian peer group, as well as global youth culture, which often transgresses national labels. In accordance with seeing identity as a process of evolving, one can see how the sense of belonging to Poland and the declaration of being a Pole may at a certain stage of life become "nested" (Medrano and Gutiérrez 2001), while the Norwegian sociocultural context leads to the creation of (additional) relationships (of differing strength and form) with Norwegian (national or localized) belonging, as well as possible emergence of other forms of Polishness or global ("citizen of the world") belonging. A fluid understanding allows for a multifaceted composition of context-dependent feelings of belonging on a socio-temporal level.

Focusing on the subsequent component of national belonging and identities as closely associated with networks (Reynolds 2008; White 2011), it is crucial to acknowledge peer groups just as much as families. Karolina, even at the young age of eight, believes that being primarily in Norway means that this is where most of her closest friends are:

> I had friends in Poland—one girl and one boy. We used to play together, but now I can't find [and meet] them . . . When I go to Poland [these days] I live mostly with my Polish grandma. We sometimes bake a cake together . . . and generally do some cooking. And also sometimes I draw, watch the birds that come to eat the seeds . . . I would rather live here in Norway because this is where I have many friends. And here I spend the most time.

Interestingly, one can observe a feeling of loneliness that stems from the lack of a peer group in Poland: as much as family bonds with adults signify emotional propinquity, they increasingly become insufficient when there are no Polish peers in children's lives. Thus,

while their pathways are likely to be marked by ambiguity at times, the children also often find a balance between different types of bonds in both countries, which are relationally created across borders. This is pinpointed by 12-year-old Dawid, who expressed acceptance and approval of his binational belonging and, when asked about friends, said:

> A lot are in Poland and a lot in Norway. I am friends with most of my [classmates], mostly with boys from Norway . . . I generally feel good in both countries.

So, at the same time, interactions with members of various groups serve as an important context of social comparisons (Giddens 1991) and requisition processes of self-positioning that determine how children frame their identity and sense of belonging (Kiuru 2008, 9; Ní Laoire et al. 2011, 73) and multicultural competencies within the context of global orders (Giddens 1991). Examining the processes of verbal self-labeling remains a crucial method for understanding the sense of belonging (Becker 1963), also among children, and in our analysis it corresponds well with the elements occurring in the model. Originating from the associations that one has about one's membership in different groups, self-labeling operates in the context of multiple choices, as a selection of "belongings" allows for a formulation of (subjective) identity and opinions about others (Becker 1963, 9). During interactions with others, the children not only negotiate their social positions and create bonds with others, but also need to dynamically redefine their status and inevitably make choices about their identities within a transnational realm (Ní Laoire et al. 2011, 155):

> Me, I am, well . . . Some people don't even know that I am from Poland when I talk to Norwegians . . . I like Norway also because many Polish people live here, and I like sport—the people [who I exercise with] are really great . . . I really like my life. (Marta, nine)

Among our respondents, self-positioning has predominantly been done in relation to Norwegian society, and included an evaluative component of whether or not they feel like they "fit in" (see also Ní Laoire et al. 2011, 156). Children often found it strange that they are Norwegian but can speak Polish. As such, language should be seen as one of the key factors that children understand as something that distinguishes them from their peers. Importantly, it is not necessarily knowing the language, but more its usage—both at home and

in the public sphere—that determines the feeling of belonging to the two milieus. As children's everyday lives predominantly take place in Norway, they spend their days speaking Norwegian at school. At the same time, fluency in another language is a reason for pondering one's possible otherness and, as a consequence—"Polishness," as Igor (seven) expresses:

> I am not learning Norwegian. I know all the words already. I learnt it in kindergarten. I was not taught, it happened normally just so. I went online and learnt. I don't need to any more. I have taught myself. I am Polish, I am Polish, I am like . . . I am Norwegian. I can speak Polish—very strange, very, very strange.

As good observers of norms, values, and behaviors, children are capable of comparing and contrasting the elements that they attribute to the different national contexts of the sending and receiving societies, even though they are sometimes initially surprised or even confused by the realization of their unique positionality in the society they live in. Twelve-year-old Wojtek described these clashes of national discourses in a quote that illustrates not only the significance of ethnicity, but also the role of parental creative re-narrating of a rather negatively framed "us versus them" model of national/ethnic differences contingent on stories collected among other Poles who encounter cultural heterogeneity in the West[3] (see, e.g., Praszałowicz 2010, 49–51; D'Angelo and Ryan 2011, 254). It is valuable to take a look at the specific nature of Wojtek's narration—not only the meaning itself, but also the choice of wording, which suggests a Polish-Norwegian belonging with a strong connection to his parents' home country and ideals attached to those:

> Here in Norway children are interested in different things from me. They have their own different behaviors, different food. Different [sometimes] means same, but still they have their own. They have their national holiday on May 17th, it is therefore different . . . [Norwegians] have different rules. They believe that everyone should be friends . . . In Poland it is different: you have one best friend, one favorite friend. There's no requirement for everyone to play with everyone else, like here in Norwegian school [where teachers] say that this is how it must be. They [Norwegian peers] talk about things differently. They ask how much your dad makes, and how much your mum does . . . Norway is a very rich country. I understand that this is a very rich country, and that it is good that there are not only poor countries but also rich countries. Even though—come on!—talking about money in school is too much . . . This is what I think, but well, my mum now says that children

> in Poland are also changing . . . But luckily my parents raised me well enough not to ask you how much money your father makes.

Notably, talking about Norway and Norwegians for Wojtek equals the use of the "they" pronoun, which stands in stark contrast with his language referring to Poland ("us") and, additionally, his story contained the usually absent reference to Poland as a society that is one's "own," something guided by somehow familiar rules, not only in family life:

> I am happy to go to Poland, as I can just go into a shop and say "I want this and that, a Tymbark [famous Polish food company] juice and some crisps". I feel like this is more my country, I can speak my language, can talk in my own national language to people. Here in Norway there are also nice people, yes, but I think that in Poland it is nicer. It is home, [at home] in the local community gardens many people know each other, because they are nice to each other. Simply put, in Poland I feel more like I am home than here.

For Wojtek, the opportunity to use Polish (which he considers his mother tongue) is significant, similarly to other occurrences rooted in daily life, such as buying a favorite Polish product (juice) and knowing the people in his neighborhood.

Keeping the various influences in mind, it is possible to explain why identities and belongings must be seen as dynamic, flexible, and subject to change, as they always somewhat depend on adults in respect to the affordability of journeys to Poland, grandparents' access to technologies (Internet, Skype), or presence of intra-family conflicts that may prevent children from "discovering" their Polishness.

Everyday Lives, Cultural Scripts, and "Obviousness"—Behaviors, Food, and Leisure

Following the arguments broadly outlined above, we further specifically argue that, particularly in the case of children, national identity is reproduced in what Michael Billig calls the "banality of the everyday" (1995, 6). Robert Foster (1999) delineates this from national identity in the political and patriotic sense, underlining the fact that identity practices are shaped by consumption patterns and everyday choices. This remains one of the easily identifiable areas of similarities and differences in identity-centered work:

> For them [Norwegians] a soup means something like tomato soup, or simply water with some add-on flavor, throw in some sausages and

> carrots—here you go—that is "a soup". Or spaghetti—it [is] pasta with ketchup. And children normally eat it. My sisters eat it. I look at her and she said [she was having] ketchup with noodles, and I just glanced at her and said I would rather throw up and eat that rather than [her dish]. Or maybe not even then would I have eaten that. (Kasia, 13)

This example of culinary practices, as part of consumption practices discussed above, reflect the broader scholarship on "feeding the family" as a means of cultural transfer and caring, which is gaining interest in the Polish context. Both Agnieszka Bielewska (2013) and Izabella Main (2013) recently illustrated how migrants express Polishness through choosing Polish food, and they also discussed the importance of scheduling family meals in a certain way reflecting Polish customs. This kind of nostalgia for certain products and dishes as well as celebrating holidays primarily through food resurfaced in the stories of children:

> Norway can become a bit boring. I am really missing my grandma's apple pie, Polish milk and also the yoghurts, Kubuś [Polish juice brand], as well as many, many things. That is why I like to take a ferry to Poland—it takes a lot of time but then you are allowed [i.e., unlike on the plane] to take a lot of milk with you. (Adrian, 10)

Many issues may be at play here, as children develop their own specific culinary and consumer preferences (e.g., the aforementioned Kubuś and Tymbark brands of juice are specifically targeted at children), but they may also evoke the broader family narrative about ways of preserving cultural identity practice that takes place in daily life abroad. These practices are often primarily associated with the grandparents' or "home" country, but they should be understood as forms of "displaying family"[4] (Finch 2007, 65–67), usually openly expressed toward both fellow conationals and other people who families happen to interact with. This is a form of demonstrating the elements of culture and identity that a migrant considers important, valuable, or distinctive. When they come into contact with different cultures, children notice, analyze, and describe a variety of situations, statements, practices, or ideas, and in doing so perform interpretations of cultural codes (see Rapaille 2007). The children were prone to displaying their cultural belonging and often wanted to proudly familiarize their "foreign" friends with Poland through food products:

> [The Norwegians ask me at school] if, for example, we have different sweets, different candy. Because yes, there are many, many kinds

> in Poland that do not even sell, people do not buy so much of it . . . , while in Norway there are not many sweets, not many kinds, so they sell them out quick. So for example, Norwegians would really like to have all this candy, right? They only have one shop—for example Sandvika. However, there you can also find sweets that are originally from Poland. For example, Wedel [old and famous Polish chocolatier] sweets are there, things from Poland and other countries. For instance you see . . . mayonnaise that is called Kielecki [an adjective for something from the Polish town of Kielce and also an established brand of condiments]—you then know that this is a Polish product. Recently a friend of mine showed it to me at her home [but] she did not know it was from Poland . . . I think she would not have bought it had she known it was Polish . . . This one time I brought some Polish sweets to school—just so that the others could taste them, and they immediately asked me how much they were. And they were cheap, because they were from Poland, and they told me how expensive these sweets would have been to buy in Norway.

Alongside the culinary practices, lifestyle, leisure, and consumer choices factor into strengthening or decreasing one's sense of belonging to either the sending or the receiving country. The leisure patterns and modes of spending holidays "like the Norwegians do" were often conceived of as something facilitating belonging, as was the fulfillment of the more materialistic cravings (i.e., possessing particular electronic devices or a specific brand of items of clothing) under this strategy. The alternative choice pertained to being proud of one's uniqueness, which has taken the form of teaching school friends some Polish vocabulary, describing Polish customs and traditions, or debating famous Polish sportsmen:

> Sometimes I talk to my friends from school about Poland, especially when Kamil Stoch [Polish Olympic ski jumping champion] was in Norway. Also about Marit Bjørgen, Justyna Kowalczyk [among the world's top female cross-country skiing competitors]. So I talk about Kowalczyk and then I start speaking about Poland. The same goes for tennis and Agnieszka Radwańska [Polish female tennis player]. (Marta, nine)

Finally, while the elements of national culture might be promoted by migrant children's grandparents via intergenerational value transfer, and the Norwegian way of life supplies the backbone of daily life, Henry Jenkins (2006) argues that communication technologies facilitate the extra-generational youth mass culture transmission of styles and fashions, and teenagers from distant localities copy American youths, who simultaneously draw on these "foreign" inspirations. In

a rapid cultural exchange, similarities belong to the area of leisure patterns and the likeliness of a degree of homogeneity when geographically (and culturally) separated youths of similar ages are likely to play the very same computer game or hum the same English pop song. Let us hear from Oliwier (11):

O: My mum does not like to play on the computer but I really do.
R: What games do you play?
O: The Lego games. One I have already completed . . . And sometimes my [Norwegian] friend asks [online] "Where are you, you Pole?" Just for fun, not in a serious manner but just jokingly when she is trying to find me in the [online] game. Because we have this one very popular computer game.
R: Which game is that?
O: Minecraft.

Indeed, the child respondents in this study uniformly referred to the Minecraft computer game, specific Lego block sets, and particular characters from what Jenkins (2006, 155) has called pop-cosmopolitanism and can be seen as yet another shape of belonging—a "citizen of the world" ideal of hybridity, which replaces hierarchical ethnic/national discourses.

Closing Remarks

Alongside hybridization, our findings foreground Steph Lawler's (2008) claims on identities as produced and embedded in social relationships, which are flexibly adapted to situational daily life practices. Belonging should therefore be addressed through the contextual lens—not an inherent, stable, and individual trait, but rather as something that children (just like adults; Lawler 2008) construct and dynamically negotiate with others. Importantly, children's identities are not only influenced by geographic or national spaces but also equally determined by temporality—the moment of time and the passing of time cause children's self-labels dynamically shift. In this way, identity is not something we have, but something we do, and is a cursively constructed category that can serve a variety of purposes (Potter and Wetherell 1987), as Beata's (13) words express:

> I was told that I have been asking who I was since I was little. I would ask what I should say when someone asked me who I was. My mum would say: "If you want, you can say you are half-Polish and half-Norwegian, or that you are Norwegian but your mum is from Poland."

While numerous works propose to treat national cultures as "hybrids," mosaics of multiple elements rather than monoliths (e.g., García Canclini 1995), the arguably homogeneous Polish society fosters nation-building on the pillars of ethnicity and religion (Zielińska 2010), which plagues the research on Polish mobility. While Poland experiences some influx of migrants, the low numbers and visibility do not necessitate a debate on multiculturalism or diversity (Slany and Slusarczyk 2008). Conversely, we argue that our respondents exhibit hybridity (to a varying degree), further agreeing with Ingunn Eriksen's reading of Bhabha on the need to avoid the term "multicultural," because it hides "the fact that cultures exist on uneven ground, where one culture often occupies the center, while others are in peripheral positions" (Eriksen 2012, 27). For our respondents, the two national contexts of Poland and Norway were clearly registered and generally it was (with few exceptions) not uncommon for one identity to be foregrounded, or even for the two ethnic contexts to be in competition, though this occurred in specific situations when displaying one or other ethnic identity was somewhat unavoidable. Conversely, many children managed to fittingly navigate relational dimensions of their ethnic identities across their differing environments.

The notion of "hybrid" belonging used to understand children's identities in this study takes into consideration the fact that Polish and Norwegian accents or cultural aspects, values, and customs must neither be evenly placed nor similarly shaped across various stories of individuals. They instead depend on where and with whom they are inter-negotiated. As Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo Qin-Hilliard suggest (2004, 2): "While human lives continue to be lived in local realities, these realities are increasingly being challenged and integrated into larger global networks and relationships." These processes are coupled with children growing up in nation-states that "continue to regroup in fundamental ways on supranational lines" (Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hilliard 2004, 9) and experiencing further cultural changes that are rapidly altering young people's experiences of youth. The entanglement of the migration and globalization processes leads to the reframing of the earlier concepts of "culture shock" and "loss." After overcoming initial difficulties, children's identity formations are usually inherently marked by cultural hybridity and relational constructions of belonging (Inda and Rosaldo 2002, 13–14; Reynolds 2008) necessitated by "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2007).

Therefore, all dimensions of socialization should be acknowledged as important for the analyses of children's narrations pertaining to national identities and sense of belonging (see also Ní Laoire et al.

2011, 155–156), which must be examined in a holistic manner, rather than bound to a singular environment of family, school, or peer group, or even pop culture that are truly mutually entangled.

Notes

1. The research leading to these results received funding from the Polish-Norwegian Research Programme operated by the National Centre for Research and Development under the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2009–2014 in the framework of Project Contract No. Pol-Nor/197905/4/2013.
2. Significantly, these were largely conducted concurrently to interviews with parents done within a second sub-study of the TRANSFAM project. While we do not discuss the findings from parental interviews in this chapter, it is important to acknowledge the particular undergird of intrafamilial multi-perspective and the validity that these interviews ensured during the complementary data analysis.
3. Polish national identity remains built on the notions of universal unity pertaining to race/ethnicity and religion (Katarzyna Zielińska, "W poszukiwaniu nowej wspólnoty? Feministki o narodzie, obywatelstwie i demokracji," in *Ponad granicami: Kobiety, migracje, obywatelstwo*, ed. Marta Warat and Agnieszka Małek [Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2010]). The macro-level data, which portrays social reality and affects the perceptions of homogeneity, shows that 98.6 percent of the Polish population is White-European, with 97.7 percent ethnic Poles (NSP 2011). During the 2011 census, only 1.44 percent among the 39 million residents stated that they are descendants of a single ancestry other than Polish. Ninety-eight percent of the inhabitants declare Polish as their first language (Eurobarometr 2012) and 87.5 percent of the population is Roman Catholic (NSP 2011). Regardless of high out-migration, the influx of foreigners to Poland is relatively low, estimated at around 100,000 (UdSC).
4. Drawing on H. G. David Morgan's (*Family Connections: An Introduction to Family Studies* [Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996]; and *Rethinking Family Practices* [Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011]) scholarship that centralizes family activities as the main scholarly research for defining what family is, Finch similarly focuses on what families do, and what sorts of meanings they assign to the various things they do. She defines "displaying family" as "the process by which individuals, and groups of individuals, convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain of their actions do constitute 'doing family things' and thereby confirm that these relationships are 'family' relationships'" (Janet Finch, "Displaying Families," *Sociology* 41 (1) (2007): 67). In migration research, "displaying families" can be seen as an interface and interplay between family practices performed by the "majority" opposite ethnic minorities.

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