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Article title

Negotiating learning in early childhood: narratives from migrant homes

Abstract

The study investigates how parents of Polish ethnic background, resettled in Norway, reflect on their children's learning in Norwegian early years educational institutions through 19 qualitative interviews. With narratives of experience as the main theoretical and analytical vantage point, their negotiations of positioning towards the Norwegian educational practice are explored in the narrative worlds they construct, in the interactional context of the interview and in the wider socio-cultural contexts. While questioning, challenging and deliberating the observed practice through a variety of narrative formats and discursive means, their positions are shown to range from open contest to variable forms of ambivalence and acceptance, subject to thematic variation. The study thus provides a platform for the interviewed parents to orchestrate unique situated voices engaged in a discursive process of reflection on their children's new educational reality.

Keywords

Learning, early years education, multilingual children, migrant parents, narrative discourse, positioning

1. Introduction

Parents' involvement in their children's learning has received growing scholarly attention in the last few years. Consistently linked to student achievement (see Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005), it is seen as "a shared aspiration and goal" in educational policy and practice (Harris & Goodall, 2008, p. 278). A multidimensional concept with variable meanings across cultures (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009), parental involvement has been explored in terms of, for example, home-school communication and cooperation (Kjaerbeck, 2008; Kotthoff, 2015; Reference withheld 2, n.d.), teachers' perceptions of home-based support (Huss-Keeler, 1997; Kim, 2009) and parental perceptions of educational practice and support (Rogers & Brefeld, 2015).

Scholarship focusing specifically on parental voices in ethnolinguistically diverse communities shows that parents often value their children's schooling and engage in school-related and non-school-related activities that may benefit their children's language and literacy development (Compton-Lilly, 2007, 2012; Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Rogers, 2002; Roy & Roxas, 2011). Parental beliefs about children's language development have also been shown to vary across cultures (Aukrust, 2001). In the face of rapid technological change, families also find creative ways to draw on their literacy repertoires and include digital resources to connect, share and learn across generations (Delgado-Gaitan, 2012). Furthermore, rather than relying solely on the extended family for counsel on their children's education, multilingual families may consider varied community opinions in their decisions (Wesely, 2016). Careful consideration of family cultural capital and their experience of early learning in a resettlement context has been called for (Yahya, 2015).

Despite these empirical insights, non-mainstream migrant families often remain foregrounded in terms of binaries such as "strength and deficits", "literate and illiterate" or "match and mismatch" between the home and pre/school cultures of learning (Compton-Lilly, Rogers, & Lewis, 2012, p. 33). With middle-class norms as the assumed benchmark for

home-school partnerships, these families often remain an untapped resource for schools (Crozier & Davies, 2007). Given a rapidly growing migrant population worldwide (United Nations, 2016) and the accompanying changes in the ethnic composition of preschool and school classrooms in receiving countries, the need to pay continued empirical attention to resituated families' "funds of knowledge" (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) as a springboard to successful home-school partnerships remains high.

The aim of this paper is to contribute to this growing body of research through interviews with Polish migrants, parenting pre-schoolers and school-goers (3–8 years) in Norway. The focal analytical interest is on how they reflect on and negotiate their children's learning in the resettlement context. Drawing on the notion of positioning in narrative discourse (Bamberg, 1997), I explore how the interviewed parents negotiate their positions in the situated micro-context of the story worlds they construct, the interactional dynamics of the interview and the wider socio-cultural discursive context in which their narrative accounts are embedded.

To contextualize the study, I first outline the shifting currents of educational practice and discourse in today's multicultural Norway, focusing particularly on the early years. This is followed by an explication of my theoretical and methodological choices, including existing empirical knowledge on the Polish community in Norway. I then provide a broad overview of my findings as well as a detailed analysis of selected representative excerpts of data. In a summarising discussion, I underscore the multiple ways in which the study may be seen as a platform for the participants' discursive reflection on their new social reality, their parenting practices in the resettlement context and their children's learning against the backdrop of a broader discursive change.

2. Early Years Education in the Multilingual Norway

In the welfare societies of Northern Europe, including Norway, childhood has long been conceptualized as an essential stage of life during which each individual child has a right to unfold and explore the world on his/her own terms (Wagner & Einarsdottir, 2006).

Constituted as a subject, the “participating child” is entitled to shape his/her own life as a valued member of the wider community that respects his/her various needs and legislative rights (Thuen, 2008). Along with the Nordic welfare model, child-centredness is pivotal for understanding how it is to grow up in contemporary Nordic societies (Kristjansson, 2006).

The Nordic discourse on children and childhood resonates with the traditional epistemology of early years education in Norway where children’s rights, learning through play and caring child-adult partnerships remain focal (Bae, 2009; Wagner & Einarsdottir, 2006). Conceptualized here as a continuum covering both education before the compulsory school age, in Norway set at six, and the early grades in school, values such as curiosity, solidarity, democracy, independence, individuality and respect for difference are considered key at the national curricular level (Ministry of Education and Research, 2006a, 2006b). With play-based learning as particularly prominent in preschool pedagogy as well as in the transitional period of initial school training, ample empirical evidence has been generated on, for example, how peer-play in early childhood may contribute to longitudinal language-developmental gains for both first and second language learners (Aukrust, 2004), the role of outdoor play in development (Lundhaug & Neegaard, 2013) and the prevalence and forms of play in transitional first grade literacy classes (Hagtvet, 2003) and L2 classes in early school grades (Bezemer, Kroon, Pastoor, Ryen, & Wold, 2004).

However deeply entrenched, the collective allegiance to the national and local elements in what constitutes a *good Norwegian childhood* is increasingly challenged by globalization and multiculturalism (Strand, 2006). Within only four decades, the Norwegian society has

made a leap from being largely ethnically homogeneous to becoming highly diverse. Currently, 15% of Norway's population have an immigrant background; in the Norwegian capital, Oslo, the numbers go up to 30% (Statistics Norway, 2015). This is reflected in the increasingly multi-ethnic profile of Norwegian preschools and schools, which is accompanied by a growing interest among policy-makers and practitioners in issues that arise from these changes. Enveloped in an increasingly polarized public and political discourse on Norway as a multicultural society (Andersson, 2012), the differential achievement of language minority children vis-à-vis their ethnic Norwegian peers across different educational levels has garnered much attention. Policy initiatives aimed at levelling out these differences proliferate (see e.g. Ministry of Education and Research, 2010).

Not surprisingly, in this context, education in early childhood is increasingly promoted as a key policy area, foundational for language minority children's later educational attainment through early educational interventions as well as more systematic and rigorous L2 skills development and monitoring (Reference withheld 1, n.d.). A closer alignment with the global educational accountability discourse (Ball, 2012) is also reflected at the national curricular level, and its variable implementation has become subject to much current debate in Norway (e.g. Elstad, 2009; Løvlie, 2005). Looking at early years education as a Bourdiesian field of practice and a discursive space in which symbolic values continue to be re-assigned and re-circulated in a regulated way (Heller, 2008, p. 50), its Norwegian variant is clearly in a state of internal negotiation and change.

3. The Theoretical and Analytical Approach

In this study, the main theoretical and analytical interest is in narratives constructed by Polish migrant parents on their children's encounters with Norwegian educational practice in the early years. In the vast research literature on narrative, the seminal works of Labov and Waltezky (1967) and Labov (1972) are regarded as establishing an analytical canon for the

structural analysis of narrative as a distinct form of discourse to report on and evaluate past events.¹ For more than a decade, debates on canonical versus non-canonical storytelling, also referred to as a move from “big” to “small” stories (Bamberg, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2006, 2007), have generated much empirical work that looks beyond structurally accomplished stories relating past experience and towards more fragmentary accounts of past, present and future events (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Ochs & Capps, 2001). In addition to narrative formats, the traditional divides between data elicited in natural conversational contexts and research interviews have come under much scrutiny, with empirical voices erasing clear-cut boundaries, questioning dichotomies in participant roles and emphasizing context as essential in understanding how identities and positions are orchestrated in a variety of narrative occasions (De Fina & Perrino, 2011).

In line with recent theorizing (Baynham, 2000; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008), the narrative accounts in the present study are viewed as a form of social practice, firmly rooted in their interactional contexts and displaying socio-historical specificity. This implies that in addition to their local occasioning, narratives are here understood as replete with common sense, everyday theories that build on shared ideologies and presuppositions, and provide an interpretative context for individual social action (Compton-Lilly, 2007; De Fina & King, 2011). Variably referred to as “figured worlds” (Holland, Skinner, Lachicotte, & Cain, 1998) or “cultural models” (Gee, 2012), they do not imply a static condition. Much like Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (1990), these dispositions are both structuring but also constituted in practice. Individuals may adopt agentive positions in their figured worlds, contest dominant discourses and construct alternative counter-narratives (Compton-Lilly, 2007; Rogers & Brefeld, 2015; Simpson, 2011). Orchestrating positions indirectly through story characters,

¹ Labov’s / Labov and Waletzky’s classic units of narrative analysis include: 1) abstract – how does the story begin? 2) orientation – who/what does the story involve and where/when does it occur? 3) complicating action – then what happens? 4) resolution – what finally happened? 5) evaluation – so what? and 6) coda – what does it all mean? (signals the end of narration).

and/or narrative events (Poveda, 2004), narratives can be seen as discursive sites *par excellence* for the negotiation of social reality (De Fina & King, 2011).

I draw on the notion of positioning in narrative discourse (Bamberg, 1997), recognized as offering an analytical toolkit that bridges traditional dichotomies between approaches that privilege macro-level and micro-level perspectives (De Fina, 2013; De Fina, Schifffrin, & Bamberg, 2006). The emphasis is on how narrators position themselves in discourse as well as how they are positioned therein by their interlocutors or co-narrators and the wider social contexts of practice that make indexical and representational resources available to speakers. Positions thus function as “discourse spaces in which participants make sense of each other, themselves and the nature of events that are being reported” (Poveda, 2004, p. 398). Bamberg’s positioning framework includes the following three levels, which are also pursued in the present study: 1) the level of the story world constructed in the process of telling, particularly the way in which the theme of the story and its characters are established; 2) the interactional world or the immediate context in which the story world is occasioned and the interactional work accomplished and 3) the socio-cultural contexts where dominant Discourses (Gee, 2012) or normative meta-narratives circulate and towards which the narrator/s may orient in their distinct ways.

4. Study Design

4.1. The Polish in Norway

The empirical material in this study is based on a set of 19 qualitative interviews with parents of Polish ethnic background, all resident in the Norwegian capital Oslo and neighbouring municipalities. The Polish community in Norway has experienced a phenomenal growth after Poland’s accession to the EU in 2004. With 100 000 legal residents, corresponding to 15% of all immigrants (Statistics Norway, 2015), it is currently the most sizable ethnic community in the country.

Friberg and Eldring's (2011) large-scale comparative data showed that while being initially male-dominated, concentrated primarily around employment opportunities in the Norwegian construction industry and with diffuse ties to Norway, the Polish community has become far more established in the last few years, not least because of a significant increase in family reunifications. Nonetheless, the majority continues to work on temporary contracts in low-paid segments of the labour market, possesses generally low L2 skills and reports an increasing sense of differential treatment by their employers. Despite a common representation of Polish workers as having high work ethics, this form of symbolic capital, combined with stereotyped employment practices, seems to reinforce rather than attenuate ethnic differences (Friberg, 2012a). Friberg (2012b) has also noted that despite their greater temporal adaptation to life in Norway, most Polish migrants remain ambivalent towards permanent settlement. This also applies to reunited Polish families, even though many perceive their children's onset of compulsory school attendance in Norway at age six as pivotal for their future planning.

Looking beyond labour and work-related issues relating to the Polish community in Norway, a growing research interest within applied linguistics (Golden & Tenfjord, 2014) and educational sociology has been noted (Slany & Pustulka, 2016; Slusarczyk & Pustulka, 2016; Wærdahl, 2016). Slany and Pustulka (2016), for example, point out that parental normative frames based on hearsay reports as well as parents' own past experience of schooling in Poland may negatively affect their children's integration in school in the host country. Wærdahl's (2016) findings underscore the dissonance between home and school perceptions of schooling and their differential understanding of roles in home-school partnerships. In assessing the dilemmas and difficulties of the Polish educational system at the turn of the millennium, Tomiak (2000) has listed relational teacher-student hierarchies, the rigorous implementation of strict behavioural code in schools, curtailed pupil spontaneity and strict

assessment regimes as key areas for future reform efforts in Poland. Seen against the backdrop of the above contextual information on the Norwegian early years educational practice, and as argued elsewhere (Slany & Pustulka, 2016; Slusarczyk & Pustulka, 2016; Wærdahl, 2016), comparisons of the ideological underpinnings of Polish and Norwegian educational policy and practice reveal apparent differences ranging from didactics to classroom management and educational assessment.

4.2. Material and procedure

The study participants were targeted according to the following criteria: 1) both parents were of Polish ethnic background; 2) Polish was the main home language; and 3) at least one child attended the last years of preschool (3–6 years) or the first years of school (6–8 years). While recruited through snowballing, the interviewed families displayed a fairly typical demographic profile of the Polish community in Norway: mostly secondary-educated fathers with employment in construction services and mothers with a varied educational background, seizing professional opportunities in a wider spectrum of the Norwegian employment market than their male partners (Friberg & Eldring, 2011) (see Table 1).

	Completed education		Employment in Norway		Average length of residence of all families
	Secondary	Post-secondary			
Mothers	7	12	Public & other administration	4	6 years
			Teaching	4	
			Cleaning services	4	
			Self-employed	4	
			Other services	1	
			Unemployed	2	
Fathers	14	5	Construction services	14	
			Business	4	
			Other services	1	
Children	Children's educational stage at the time of the interview				
	Preschool only (6 families)	Early grades in school only, with previous experience of Norwegian preschools (7 families)	Both preschool and school (6 families)		

Table 1: Demographic profiles of the interviewed families

Although I do not share the participants' ethnic background, I conducted all interviews myself in Polish as the participants' preferred language of mutual communication and a viable option for myself, given my command of the language. The mothers were, in most cases, the

sole informant on behalf of the family, with a few fathers participating as informants or as onlookers volunteering occasional commentary. Following loosely a thematic guide (see Appendix A), I paid much attention to allowing the participants to delve into issues they considered important and relevant in the flow of the interview. Thus, while necessarily constructing my research subject already in selecting the participation criteria (Miller, 2014), an active co-construction on the part of the interviewees was encouraged throughout the interview process.

All interviews were initially transcribed verbatim by a Polish research assistant and myself. Subsequently, the entire data set was analysed thematically in NVivo-10. In the present study, only narrative accounts of experience where participants rendered their own or their children's past, present or hypothetical future encounters with the Norwegian preschool or school were included. While language and literacy skills represent an essential aspect of learning in early childhood and are foregrounded in specific ways in the present data set (Reference withheld 2, n.d.), the narratives included in the present study target learning in a generic sense, including but not limited to language and literacy development. In applying the positioning framework in the subsequent step, particular attention was paid to tracing how the following features were discursively orchestrated in each identified narrative: 1) story theme; 2) participating characters and 3) the way individual positioning was enacted through a combination of 1) and 2). A detailed transcription capturing interactional details was conducted on a selection of representative passages.²

5. Findings

The collected interview material provides a rich tapestry of parental reflections on learning and ways of doing preschool and school in Norway. They frequently, though not exclusively, come in the form of a systemic contrast that sets the stage for drawing on

² See Appendix B for the transcription conventions adopted.

storytelling as an argumentative device or as an exemplum that enables the narrator to elaborate and illustrate evaluative content. These are accomplished through variable narrative formats ranging from stories with an elaborate characterization and/or well-developed action to fragmentary narratives, accomplished through, for example, the employment of reported speech that only recreates snippets of past conversations (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008).

In the initial thematic analysis, the following story themes emerged as particularly salient, corresponding broadly to several key aspects of early years educational practice in Norway: 1) academic, where learning outcomes or academic content are specifically foregrounded; 2) emotional, where child-centredness as an approach in early childhood learning is prominent; 3) relational, where both teacher-child and child-child relations are in focus and 4) organisational, where instructional aspects such as indoor/outdoor play, the use of learning tools as well as eating or cleanliness routines are central (see Table 2). While reflecting on these themes, the interviewees draw on lexical descriptors that bear witness to a variable degree of consonance or dissonance with concepts associated with the traditional discourse on Norwegian early childhood education, such as the nature-bound child as an agentive participant in learning through play.

Academic	Level of academic learning
	Hands-on/theory-driven learning
	Play-based learning/skills-based academic learning
Emotional	Child-centred learning/child's experience of preschool and school attendance
Relational	Child-teacher:
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence/absence of learner-teacher hierarchies
	Child-child:
Organizational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • age-diversity in classrooms • multicultural aspects of classrooms
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-/outdoor learning
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instructional tools
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cleanliness in preschools
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eating routines
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General classroom management

Table 2: Summary of themes identified across the data set

The data set displays some general positioning tendencies. On the whole, while a few participants may on occasion voice critique towards aspects of the new system, the majority actively engages in challenging and negotiating their views on Norwegian early years

education and the concept of learning itself. Positions thus range from open rejection or expressions of ambivalence through to careful refrain from a clear-cut positioning and towards variable forms of acceptance and alignment with the observed practice. Beyond these general tendencies, positions also vary depending on which of the four broad themes of learning is foregrounded. While the merits of play-based learning are subject to much active negotiation, child-centredness, relational hierarchies and classroom organisation are more readily embraced. As such, the emerging positioning tendencies in the data can be seen as forming a continuum of locally occasioned and situationally adopted stances that are subject to thematic variation. Below, I provide an in-depth analysis of four narrative excerpts, which are representative of the main themes outlined above. The presentation generally follows Bamberg's (1997) three-step positioning procedure, notwithstanding a certain degree of interconnectedness and inter-dependence between the levels (Wortham & Gadsden, 2006).

5.1. Academic concerns: Play-based learning under scrutiny

A particularly prominent theme in the data concerns academic aspects of doing preschool and school in Norway. This includes narratives on two sub-themes: 1) those where the parents specifically thematize the level of academic skills their children may obtain in Norway, often in comparison with their peers in Poland, and 2) those where they reflect on the merits and challenges of a play-based approach to learning in early childhood in general or in relation to language learning and early literacy training. The range of positions within this theme is not clearly distinguished by one preferred tendency. Nonetheless, it does include some of the most vocal and clearly delineated narrative examples of worry, doubt and contest across the entire data set, particularly when the parents discuss their children's Norwegian language (L2) and early literacy development.

How this latter positioning is discursively accomplished is the theme of the first excerpt below, constructed in an interview with a mother whose child has just entered school. In

several preceding turns, the interaction revolves around differences between Norwegian and Polish schooling whereby the mother constructs Poland as an educational space with particularly high academic standards compared to Norway and underscores the academic challenges children in Polish families may face if they opt to return to Poland. When prompted to reflect on her own experience in Norway, she offers the following account:

Excerpt 1 (in the original language – Polish)

- Int: 1: no w związku z Jo i Robinem³ to pani jest zadowolona czy::?
- M14: 2: no na początku byłam bardzo NIEzadowolona
 3: bo twierdziłam że przecież oni nic nie robią!
 4: ale z kolei porozmawiałam z norweskim tatą
 5: i on był STRASZNIE zbulwersowany!
 6: „jak można dziecku zadać DWIE STRONY do odrobienia w domu?”
- Int: 7: ehmmm
- M14: 8: ja tak na niego popatrzyłam „dwie strony i w ogóle to było no co on ma tam zrobić na tej kartce?”
 9: no miał szlaczek narysować między – samochodzik przeprowadzić między szlaczkiem. jakieś takie podstawowe proste rzeczy
 10: ja tak na niego pat – ja nie wiedziałam czy ja go dobrze zrozumiałam czy nie
 11: i tak na niego patrzę mówię „co on do mnie mówi?
 12: czy ja go dobrze rozumiem?
 13: o co on ma pretensję w ogóle?”
 14: no przecież to jest – te dzieci nic nie mają do zrobienia
 15: nic nie zadane! no szlaczek narysować przecież to jest jakaś pestka!
 16: a on twierdził że to jest TAKIE ciężkie dla dziecka.
 17: i oni już tak MĘCZĄ tego dzieciaka w tej szkole
- Int: 18: hmmm
 19: że za dużo jest zadane stanowczo jak dla pierwszoklasisty.
 ((one of the children calls out to his mom from another room and she responds))
- M14: 20: no. ale:: –
 ((the child replies))
- Int: 21: to dla pani jest –
- M14: 22: za mało mają zadawane. to stanowczo za mało pracują.

Excerpt 1 (in English translation):

- Int: 1: and in relation to Jo and Robin are you happy or::?
- M14: 2: well at the beginning I wasn't happy AT ALL
 3: because I claimed that well they do nothing!
 4: but on the other hand I had a conversation with a Norwegian dad
 5: and he was TERRIBLY appalled!
 6: “how is it possible to give children homework over TWO PAGES?”
- Int: 7: hmmm
- M14: 8: I look at him “two pages and is that all he had to do on that piece of paper?”

³ All names in the presented data are pseudonyms.

9: well he was supposed to draw a trail between – help a little car across the trail.
 some kind of elementary basic stuff.
 10: I look at h – I wasn't sure if I understood him well or not
 11: and so I am looking at him I say “what is he saying to me?”
 12: do I understand him well?
 13: what is his point at all?”
 14: well it is really – the kids have nothing to do
 15: nothing is assigned! well to draw a trail that's a piece of cake!
 16: and he claimed that it is SO hard for the kid.
 17: that they really TIRE the kid in school
 Int: 18: hmmm
 M14: 19: that it's definitely too much for a first grader –
 ((one of the children calls out to his mom from another room and she responds))
 M14: 20: so. bu::t –
 ((the child replies))
 Int: 21: so for you it is –
 M14: 22: they have too little to do. they definitely work too little.

On the level of the story world, this narrative presents a past conversation between two characters, the mother herself and the father of her child's peer from school, on the issue of literacy homework in first grade. It is not the action but the elaborate characterisation that drives the story forward. Through both prosodic cues, such as increased loudness (line 2), and lexical choices (“they do nothing” - line 3), the mother adopts the role of a sceptical and worried parent questioning the academic content of initial school training in Norway from the outset and as the story unfolds, such as through elaborate inner speech (lines 11–13) as well as a series of evaluative repetitions (lines 14-15). The Norwegian father represents a comparative reference. Resorting to lexical and prosodic intensification (line 5, 6), direct and indirect speech (line 6, 16-17, 19) and switches in temporal frames (lines 10-11), he is positioned as a parent who disapproves of the demands placed by school on young learners.

Representing a dyad, the interactional work is limited to brief confirmations of attention signalled by the interviewer (line 7, 18). Although such minimal interlocutor presence is a frequent point of critique of interview narratives as an empirical source for analysing talk in interaction (for discussion, see De Fina, 2009), it clearly signals a situational alignment with the expectations of the genre (Wortham & Gadsden, 2006). Indeed, the mother is positioned in the role of a narrator expected to tell her story to an attentive audience, a position that she

clearly accepts. She turns down even minimal interactional bids for elaboration that may potentially challenge her stance or prompt her to nuance (line 21). The interactional mechanisms are also evident in the manner in which she tells her story: while contesting the new system is potentially face-threatening, she displays a degree of trust towards the interviewer, necessary for the story to unfold unembellished.

The analysis of positioning at levels 1 and 2 sets the stage for understanding how the narrating mother juggles the positions available to her through the wider discourses in circulation beyond the here and now. As one of the two central story characters, she vehemently contests the traditional play-based learning discourse on education in the early years in Norway and, in line with global discursive trends, constructs herself as a defendant of a more rigorous skills-based approach that puts clear demands on academic content from early on. Furthermore, the ethnic labelling of the father as Norwegian in the orientation clause also signals her own otherness as non-Norwegian. As repeatedly underscored through the comparative Norwegian-Polish references in the interaction that occasioned this particular narrative, it also here invokes her own membership in the Polish migrant community in Norway and, hence, her own status as a voluntary migrant with a specifically European heritage. Contesting any negative connotations that a stereotyped view of Polish labour migrants may signal in the Norwegian context, as discussed earlier, she adopts a stance of an active and engaged migrant parent with clear views on what forms of learning constitute a symbolic asset for her children, with an exchange value in the resettlement context and beyond.

5.2. Emotional aspects: Reflecting on stress-free learning

The second prominent theme in the data concerns emotional aspects of preschool and school attendance. Within this theme, storytelling relating to the children's individual experiences of learning is central. On the whole, the parents paint narrative portraits of

Norwegian schools as attentive to children's individual needs, such as through an individually-tailored pace of learning devoid of stress. Moreover, these stories are frequently set against the backdrop of contrastive stories from Poland. Within this theme, the narrators engage in an active discursive negotiation among story characters that voice positions ranging from careful ambivalence to variable forms of acceptance.

How positions can be negotiated indirectly through a chain of small stories is the subject of the next excerpt. It illustrates how this narrative format enables the female interviewee to enter a process of self-reflection while including her children as legitimate voices therein. Immediately preceding this excerpt, the interaction revolves around family and school language policies. The mother levels much praise at the Norwegian school: "nie wynosimy się z Norwegii bo jest tak fantastyczna szkoła i fantastyczni nauczyciele/we are not moving from Norway because there are such fantastic schools and fantastic teachers". When subtly challenged by the interviewer on whether the children's experience parallels her own, she first offers a short comparative narrative where children's variable emotional well-being in both systems is thematised, followed by the account below:

Excerpt 2 (in the original language – Polish)

- M01: 1: to ja pamiętam jak były ferie zimowe PIERWSZE ferie zimowe które przeżyliśmy tutaj (.)
 2: dzieci już nie mogły się doczekać do szkoły
 3: to już zaczęły jęczeć że one już chcą!
 4: ja mówiłam „szkoła zamknięta”
 5: „ale możemy iść chociaż się pobawić tam dookoła” @
 Int: 6: ehmm
 M01: 7: więc to zupełnie zupełnie coś innego.
 8: jeszcze tym bardziej że starsze dzieci chodziły do polskiej szkoły.
 9: więc mają naprawdę to porównanie
 10: jak Alex coś zaczął jęczeć „och tyle lekcji „ (.)
 11: Alex (.) tak po prostu zaczął „och za dużo lekcji”
 12: Jo że Samem *bare* – przepraszam – „to trzeba go zapakować mamie na rok wysłać do Polski! szybko się wyleczy” @@
 Int: 13: ehmm @
 M01: 14: on „a co?”
 15: to znaczy tłumaczyli że wracali o godzinie trzeciej
 16: i jedliśmy obiad

- 17: i od czwartej już były lekcje do godziny dziewiątej czy w poł do dziesiątej wieczora @
- Int: 18: tak jest dużo lekcji?
- M01: 19: bardzo dużo. dzieci dostają listę książek na ferie zimowe czy na ferie letnie
- 20: i muszą przeczytać.
- 21: i nie ma dyskusji.
- Int: 22: hmm. hmm. i Pani –
- M01: 23: może to jest jedyne –

Excerpt 2 (in English translation)

- M01: 1: I remember it was winter holidays FIRST winter holidays that we had here (.)
- 2: the kids could not wait to get back to school
- 3: they started to complain that they want to!
- 4: I said “the school is closed”
- 5: “but we can go and at least play around there” @
- Int: 6: ehmm
- M01: 7: so it’s really something very different.
- 8: all the more so because the older kids went to a Polish school.
- 9: so they really have grounds for comparison
- 10: when Alex started to complain “ohh so much homework” (.)
- 11: Alex (.) he basically started “ohh so much homework”
- 12: Jo and Sam *bare* ((translation from Norwegian = just)) – sorry – “we need to pack his bags and send him to Poland for a year! he will be cured fast” @@
- Int: 13: ehmm @
- M01: 14: he “what?”
- 15: so they explained to him that they would normally get home at 3pm
- 16: and we ate lunch
- 17: and from 4pm on they were doing homework until nine or half ten in the evening @
- Int: 18: there is so much homework?
- M01: 19: really a lot. kids get a list of books for Winter holidays or Summer holidays
- 20: and they have to read through them.
- 21: there is no discussion.
- Int: 22: hmm hmm. and you –
- M01: 23: perhaps there is one thing –

The data fragment presents two consecutive, brief narrative accounts of past events. In the story world of the first account (lines 1–5), the mother briefly animates a past conversation with her children. In the orientation clause (line 1), she not only positions the family as a resettled, migrant family but also places the event temporally at the beginning of their residence. This underscores the speed with which the family embraced the new system and adds to the intensity of feeling that their resettlement has generated. Through both

subsequent narration (lines 2-3) and reported speech (line 5), the children are positioned as school enthusiasts who clearly associate the Norwegian school with play and enjoyment, while she positions herself as an attentive and responsive parent in dialogue with her children. The second account (lines 7–17) functions through an orchestration of the children's voices, engaged in a short exchange on what constitutes an unreasonable homework load. Foregrounding the older children's personal experience of both systems in the orientation clause (lines 8–9), the narrator lends legitimacy to their voices. Through subsequent reported speech (lines 12, 14–17), they are performatively positioned as critics of the Polish school as particularly demanding and stress-prone in comparison to the Norwegian school. Lacking a comparative reference, the younger child is positioned as somewhat naïve and his complains about the amount of homework assigned by his Norwegian school as groundless and hence subject to teasing by his more experienced siblings. The second story thus serves as a legitimization of the first: unlike in comparable settings, the Norwegian school invokes joyful play-based learning, free of stress. Although orchestrating positions mostly indirectly, the mother nonetheless signals doubt (line 23) and goes on to nuance her story line through further narration when specifically prompted (line 18, 22).

As in Excerpt 1, the interviewer remains in the background while the occasional confirmations of attention and engagement (lines 6, 13) solicit the mother's role as a narrator involved in a process of self-reflection. On a broader scale, several available positions are invoked and actively negotiated. First, the children's prominence in the mother's story world call forth a child-centred parenting in which dialogic exchanges between younger and older children represent a form of sibling apprenticeship in learning as well as an active parental nurturing of their individual agency and autonomy as young learners and thinkers. Expressed covertly through her story characters, it subtly echoes central tenets in the traditional Norwegian practice and discourse on early childhood and early childhood education. Second,

as in Excerpt 1, the comparative references to Poland once again underscore a European context of labour migration where home and host educational practices are repeatedly weighed upon resettlement. Against the backdrop of a broader discourse in Norway on labour migration from Poland, as discussed above, also this mother engages in constructing a counter-discourse where she features as a migrant parent, actively involved in the process of narrative self-reflection prompted by the family resettlement and staged as a collective accomplishment. Rather than embedded in a vision of a future return to Poland, which would signal a temporary stay, their residence in Norway is, already prior to this excerpt, constructed as revolving around the children's well-being at school, and the story chain presented above serves as a particularly graphic, situationally performed example of this stance.

5.3. Relational concerns: Negotiating roles in learning

Relational aspects of learning, such as the presence or absence of pupil-teacher hierarchies as well as aspects of peer-relations, represent another prominent theme in the data. Also here child-centredness takes central stage. However, unlike narratives within the thematic category of emotional aspects of learning, the stories that come under this heading do not comment primarily on children's individual experience of learning as such but display an active negotiation of learner roles within various learning situations. Once again, early language and literacy learning are variably premised in the narratives, but more general aspects of early childhood learning are also taken up here, such as solidarity and respect for one another and for more mature and experienced others. In a minority of the narratives, parents express a degree of scepticism towards the observed practice, particularly when reflecting on the challenges of boundary setting against the backdrop of non-hierarchical child-adult relations. However, the majority of the parents display positions in which variable forms of acceptance are actively deliberated and weighed, once again frequently but not exclusively, in terms of a systemic comparison between Norway and Poland.

The following excerpt presents a narrative in which such negotiations assume the form of an active parental co-construction of their child's recent transition from preschool to school. Enveloped in a discussion of the child's experiences of L2 learning in preschool and school, the couple engages in a dual effort to communicate their views:

Excerpt 3 (in the original language – Polish):

- M07: 1: nikt o to nawet nie dba czy te dzieci są szczęśliwe w szkole –
 F07: 2: znaczy znaczy może powiedzmy taki jeden przykład który tutaj był
 który SZOkował naszą córkę.
 3: kiedyś tam nauczycielka nie przyszła
 4: była chora czy czy coś takiego
 5: było zastępstwo
 6: i proszę sobie wyobrazić (..) że nasza córka była WYkończona (..)
 7: padła totalnie ((inaudible))
 M07: 8: ona tobie powiedziała?
 F07: 9: tak. bo oni musieli w ławce siedzieć (.) przez 45 min.
 10: proszę sobie wyobrazić nie mogli chodzić po klasie
 11: nie mogli łązić robić czego chcą
 12: musieli siedzieć w ławce.
 Int: 13: ehh to było w Polsce?
 F07: 14: tu tu!
 M07: 15: tu
 M07: 16: i dla niej to było szokiem bo –
 F07: 17: jeden jedyny raz się zdarzyło tak.
 18: i ona była WYczerPANA!
 Int: 19: @
 M07: 20: bo ta (name of teacher) pozwala im naprawdę za dużo –
 21: dużo jest takiej swobody.
 22: te lekcje – tak czasami jak po nią przyjdę
 23: czy do lekarza ją brałam czy coś
 24: że przyszłam i widziałam jak taka –
 F07: 25: znaczy ogólnie to to dyrektor mówiła na spotkaniu gdzieś że
 26: dla tych pierwszych dwóch czy trzech klas przerwy są (..) na zasadzie jak
 nauczyciel zobaczy że klasa przestaje kojarzyć
 27: to ogłasza przerwę
 28: nie ma stałych –
 M07: 29: no a w Polsce – to wiadomo 45 minut takie dziecko sześciolatnie.
 trudno żeby ono usiedziało jednak w jednym miejscu.
 30: jedno dzieci łatwiej usiedzą drugie troszeczkę gorzej tak?
 31: nie no podsumowując naprawdę my ze szkoły jesteśmy superzadowoleni. z tej
 –
 F07: 32: póki co –
 M07: 33: póki co tak. z tej szkoły konkretnej z tej konkretnej pani

Excerpt 3 (in English translation):

- M07: 1 and nobody really cares if the kids are happy in ((read – Polish)) school –
 F07: 2 well well perhaps let's give you an example that happened here and that

SHOCKed our daughter.
 3: one day her teacher did not turn up
 4: she was sick or or something
 5: there was a substitute
 6: and please imagine (..) that our daughter was totally EXhausted (..)
 7: she collapsed totally ((inaudible))
 M07: 8: she said it to you?
 F07: 9: yes. because they had to sit at the desk (.) for more than 45 minutes.
 10: please imagine they couldn't walk freely in class
 11: they couldn't saunter do whatever they wanted
 12: they had to sit at the desk
 Int: 13: ehh that was in Poland?
 M07: 14: here here!
 F07: 15: here
 M07: 16: and for her it was a shock because –
 F07: 17: it happened only once.
 18: and she was EXHAUsted!
 Int: 19: @
 M07: 20: because this ((name of class teacher)) gives them too much –
 21: there is a lot of freedom.
 22: the classes – sometimes when I pick her up
 23: when I took her to the doctor or something
 24: I came and I saw how this –
 F07: 25: well generally the principal said at some meeting that
 26: in the first two or three grades there are breaks (..) based on when the teacher
 notices that the class has stopped paying attention
 27: so she announces a break
 28: there are no fixed –
 M07: 29: well and in Poland – of course 45 minutes a six-year old child.
 it's difficult for the child to sit in one place.
 30: some kids can sit that long some have more trouble right?
 31: well to summarize we are really very excited about the school. about
 this –
 F07: 32: for now –
 M07: 33: for now yes. about the school about the class teacher

At the level of the story world, the theme revolves around learner autonomy and the child's reaction to sudden changes in established routines. The couple's young daughter is the story protagonist, positioned as a student accustomed to the child-centred pedagogy practised at the school. When the child is suddenly stripped of her autonomy to self-adjust her movement in class during instruction time, she suffers a strong physical reaction. The characterisation is accomplished through performative means, both by drawing on prosody (lines 2, 6, 18) and repetitive lexical intensification (*shocked/shock* – lines 2 & 16; *exhausted*

– lines 6 & 18). The absent class teacher and the school head are positioned as key voices espousing the ideals of the child-centred early years pedagogy and responsible for translating them into practice. The class teacher's temporary substitute is developed only in terms of her pedagogical approach, which contrasts with the established classroom/school norm.

The parental positions are co-constructed indirectly through the gradual weaving of the story theme and characters as well as through their interaction. Initially, the father assumes the role of principal narrator, while the mother and the interviewer remain in the shadows. Clearly, the father only has indirect access to the event through a past conversation with his daughter. Nonetheless, far from presenting a matter-of-fact report, he stages a discursive performance through which he insinuates his own ambivalence, a position the mother initially condones (line 16). From an interactional point of view, lines 20 to 33 most clearly demonstrate that the couple's positioning on the issue of learner autonomy and, by extension, the pedagogical practice espoused by the child-centred class teacher and school are far from a closed chapter. In their exchange, they eagerly vie for the interactional floor and thus prevent each other from assuming a clear stance in their respective turns in which narrative snippets of past conversations and events are staged by both parents (lines 20–24 and 25–28). When, through deictic choice, the mother does position the couple as jointly approving the Norwegian educational practice in the early years on a school level (line 31), the father makes an interactional bid for temporal nuancing, which the mother approves (lines 33).

All three positional levels are thus intricately bound and situationally enacted throughout. Without resorting to a single direct evaluation, the characters orchestrated by the father voice his own doubt and position him as an actively reflecting parent who remains on guard vis-à-vis the Norwegian early years practice. Despite some alignment with the father, the mother repeatedly draws on lexical items and concepts that resonate with the traditional discourse on early years education, such as child emotional happiness as relevant for learning

(line 1) or freedom/freedom of movement in class (lines 21, 29–30) as pedagogical virtues. Her direct comparative reference to Poland (line 29), also reflected in the preceding interaction, invokes a European labour migrant identity. Contrary to ethnic stereotypes in the Norwegian context, being Polish once again signals an active and resourceful voice eager to weigh and challenge. The parental exchange demonstrates their ongoing process of self-reflection and personal engagement in questioning what constitutes learning in early childhood within their individual and shared figured worlds.

5.4. The organisational aspects: The happy, nature-bound child

The last major theme identified in the data set touches on organisational aspects of learning. This includes stories in which the parents foreground classroom management and variable instructional formats such as the employment of learning tools, variable eating and cleanliness routines as well as the physical organisation of instruction such as indoors and/or outdoors. In the present data, the latter features particularly prominently. It is readily invoked in the metaphor of a nature-bound child who, exposed to variable weather conditions, unfolds creatively in outdoor spaces and explores basic natural laws in tactile, physical play. It is also within this theme that the stories often reflect a longer chronological span that accommodates a gradual change of positions from initial doubt, contest or scepticism to a careful embrace of the educational practice encountered in Norway.

The following story illustrates this gradual shift experienced by one of the interviewed mothers. She offers the following account when prompted to describe her initial impressions of Norwegian preschools:

Excerpt 4 (in the original language – Polish):

- M19: 01: e:: na początku no e:: tak jak mówiłam że w Polsce jest inaczej.
 02: to nie umiałam się przyzwyczaić że na przykład dzieci chodzą tutaj
 03: z takimi gilami pod pod –
 Int: 04: @
 M19: 05: i jedzą na przykład kanapki i mają te gile
 Int: 06: ehmm

M19: 07: albo że idę do przedszkola pada deszcz a moje dziecko siedzi potąd –
 08: taka kałuża i on siedzi w kałuży
 09: albo że przychodzę na przykład i dziecko biega bez butów
 10: i nie mogę znaleźć tych butów i w ogóle on w kałuży!
 11: a jak zobaczyłam że moje dziecko jest szczęśliwe że (..)
 Int: 12: ehmm
 M19: 13: on e:: siedzi w tej kałuży. że tapla sobie w błocie nogi e::
 14: że maluje sobie ręce i przykle – przybija na kartkę.
 15: to jakoś tak odeszło że (..) że już wtedy nawet mi nie przeszk –
 16: jak już tak e:: z pół roku – i widziałam te gile na okrągło
 17: to już mi odeszło. już nawet się nie przejmowałam tym –
 Int: 18: tak tak
 M19: 19: że już odpuściłam. bo niektóre dmuchają chuchają.
 20: ja mówię że jeżeli jest mu dobrze że on mi nie choruje że to że tamto
 21: to po co to w ogóle – gdybać że ma być tak czy inaczej.
 Int: 22: ehmm
 M19: 23: po prostu on jest szczęśliwy i tyle.

Excerpt 4 (in English translation):

M19: 01: eh:: at the beginning well eh:: as I said it is different in Poland.
 02: so I found it difficult to get used to the fact that kids here walk around
 03: with snot under under –
 Int: 04: @
 M19: 05: and they eat for example a sandwich and they have this snot
 Int: 06: ehmm
 M19: 07: or that I go to the preschool it is raining and my kid sits in a puddle up to here–
 08: there is a puddle and he sits in the puddle
 09: or that I come for example and my kid is running around without shoes
 10: and I cannot find the shoes at all and he is in a puddle!
 11: but when I saw that my kid was happy that (..)
 Int: 12: ehmm
 M19: 13: he eh:: sits in a puddle that he is dabbling his feet in the mud eh::
 14: that he puts mud on his hands and glu - makes an imprint with it.
 15: it disappeared somehow that (..) already then it did not –
 16: when already eh:: half a year – and I saw his nose running all the time
 17: it passed already by then. I wasn't even worried that I gave up on this –
 Int: 18: right yeah
 M19: 19: I gave up. because some parents are too protective.
 20: I say that if he is happy if he does not get sick if this and if that.
 21: why at all – worry that it's supposed to be like this or like that.
 Int: 22: ehmm
 M19: 23: basically he is happy and that's it.

The story line constructed in this narrative revolves prominently around a temporal axis. Not only is it initiated as a chronological telling of events (*at the beginning* – line 1), the chronology spans a delineated temporal frame of several months (*half a year* – line 16) during which several short episodes are foregrounded through a temporal switch from past to present:

1) a brief description of a repetitive pattern of observed behaviour revolving around “snotty children” in general (lines 2–5) and 2) two short episodes when the narrating mother zooms in on her own child playing outdoor in a puddle on one occasion (lines 7–8) and running around barefoot on another (lines 9–10). Until now, she positions herself as a worried migrant parent, finding the daily life at her child’s Norwegian preschool difficult to reconcile with her normative Polish frame (lines 1, 2). Throughout this preamble, the children, including her own child, are constructed as young nature-bound individuals who can unfold outdoors without a stern adult gaze sanctioning their behaviour.

The resolution comes in line 11, where she draws on child emotional happiness as a central prompt instigating her attitudinal change. The remainder of the narrative confounds elements of the previous story snippets, such as *mud*, *bare feet* and *snotty noses*, to present a particularly graphic confirmation of her careful embrace of the concept of the nature-bound child as a happy child. As indicated earlier, her own struggle is underscored through both lexical choices (*I found it difficult* – line 2; *I wasn’t even worried* – line 17) and several references to a normative Polish frame (line 1). Similar to the other narratives, the story proceeds interactionally as a telling of an eager narrator to an attentive interviewer.

Nonetheless, also here, the collaborative nature of the narrative transpires through subtle interactional dynamics. For example, rather than providing a directly articulated critique of her encounters with the new system, she refrains from evaluations, self-interrupting several times before sentence completion (lines 3, 5, 15, 17). She also resorts to deictic indexicals, such as *if this/that* and *like this/that* (lines 20, 21) that only hint at an assumed benchmark. The interviewer’s approving laughter (line 4) and brief nods (lines 6, 12, 18, 22) discursively sanction her eschewal from further elaboration. The excerpt is also an example of a narrative negotiation of positions available to the mother in the wider cultural context. As her references to Poland suggest, she too aligns herself with the position of a migrant with a

specifically European heritage. However, rather than a passive observer or a defendant of a static categorical stance based on her own cultural frame, she repeatedly draws on lexical descriptors that resonate with the traditional educational practice in the resettlement context, most prominently *child happiness* (lines 11, 23), as key in her process of self-reflection. Through the vision of the nature-bound child, taking joy in outdoor play and in harmony with the elements, she thus offers a discursive reconciliation of her own internal contest against normative positioning over time.

6. Concluding Discussion

In the present study, the interviewed parents are shown to engage in constructing a variety of situationally performed identity positions towards early years educational practice in Norway. Subject to thematic variation, their positions range from rejection or contest through to negotiations of their partial or careful acceptance, variably discursively realized in the story worlds they construct as well as in the interactional and wider discursive contexts of their storytelling. As in previous research (Yahya, 2015), worries and concerns are more prominent in narratives on the academic aspects of learning where the fostering of language, early literacy and other skills through a play-based approach is actively questioned. In stories where the parents reflect on their children's autonomy as young learners, their social skills nurtured through peer-relations or their experiential learning outdoors, they tend more towards careful or partial alignment with the observed practice.

While negotiating multiple aspects of the early years educational practice in Norway, it is the participants' emergent identity positions as both parents concerned with their children's early literacy development, language learning and learning in general as well as their identities as Polish migrants parenting young ascending multilinguals that form a close discursive allegiance. In applying the positioning framework as an analytical toolkit, these situated identities are shown to emerge from the bottom up, with macro-level concerns

accomplished through micro-level attention to narrative, discursive and interactional detail in the data (De Fina, 2013). The parents' keen engagement in deliberating, contesting and constructing alternative discourses through a rich array of narratives is also in line with De Fina's (2009) observation that different story types and discursive resources get activated in and for different interactional contexts, constitutive of what and how much is adequate to tell in a given situation. The findings also underscore the performative aspect of research narratives, as occasioned through a collaborative effort between the interviewer and the interviewees, and add to our understanding of narrative and research interviews as social practice (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Talmy, 2011).

Resettlement clearly necessitates a process of reflection on the parents' own and their families' participation in the host society, during which, in line with Bourdieu's theorizing (1990), their system of dispositions may need to respond and adapt to new conditions that redefine which currency is of social profit and how this profit can be accumulated. While language and early literacy skills indisputably constitute a valuable cultural capital on which their children can capitalize in their adopted homeland, their encounters with Norwegian early years institutions may unleash a self-interrogation on both the conceptual and processual dimension of its accumulation: what is learning itself, and how do my children learn best here and now but also beyond? It is in negotiating such questions and, by extension, the wider discourse on education in the early years as well as the process of migration that the Polish parents in the present study engage. Thus, while the wider discourse on Norwegian early years education as a field of practice may be undergoing a discursive shift, and hence be in a process of negotiation and change itself, the process of self-reflection in individual encounters with the practice seems to be well underway and far from over, at least for the group of participants under study. On the whole, deliberating and constructing alternative discourses that morph situationally, they join a chorus of parental voices from ethnolinguistically diverse

communities that place high value on their children's education across different contexts of learning (Compton-Lilly, 2007, 2012; Delgado-Gaitan, 1990, 2012; Rogers, 2002; Roy & Roxas, 2011).

In conclusion, it is important to bear in mind that the sample is composed exclusively of a handful of members of the Polish community in Norway who have migrated on their own accord in pursuit of a better economic future for their families and who generally possess strong educational and professional credentials. As such, the aim of the study was to provide rich and nuanced discursive portraits of the sample rather than generalized statements on the community as a whole. Furthermore, the sample also deviates from a typical demographic profile of large segments of Norwegian or, indeed, global migrant communities that have been driven from their homes by military conflict, poverty or human rights abuse. Rather than providing grounds for generalizing across resituated multilingual families, the study adds nuance to the complexity and breadth of issues their resettlement may generate. It also opens avenues for future research interested in further probing the emergent issues and gaining additional insights into ethnic minority families' funds of knowledge, including bottom-up perspectives on their linguistic, social and educational participation in their host societies. This may aid educators in reaching out to ethnolinguistically diverse families and establishing home-school partnerships aimed at equitable educational and pedagogical provision for all children.

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Appendix A

Interview guide

Briefing and biodata

- children's names, age
- parents' education and occupation in Poland/Norway
- arrival in Norway and reasons for migration

Migration experience

- How was it for you to come to Norway and be completely new to the country?
- How is for you to live here now?
- How is it for you to be Polish in Norway?
- How do you see the Polish community in Norway?
- How do you see the Norwegian society?
- How do you see your and your family's future in Norway?

Multilingualism / L2 learning experiences

- How was it for you to learn Norwegian?
- What are your home language practices? Including:
 - children's bilingualism (their Polish and Norwegian)
 - L1 support at home
- How do you feel about bilingualism / your children's bilingualism?
- How is it to parent bilingual children?
- Is there anything that worries you about your children's bilingualism?

Experience with Norwegian educational institutions

- How was it when your children entered the Norwegian preschool/school?
- How do you feel about the educational opportunities your children have to learn and develop their Polish skills?
- How do you feel about the educational opportunities your children have to learn and develop their Norwegian skills?
- How is your communication with your children's preschool/school?
- Is there anything you are concerned about when it comes to your children's education or language learning opportunities in Norway?

Debriefing

Appendix B:

Transcription conventions

- . falling intonation
- ? rising intonation
- ! animated tone of voice
- (.) micro-pause
- « » direct speech
- @ laughter
- (()) transcriber comment / description
- :: elongation of preceding sound
- self- or other-interruption
- XXX (upper case) loudness

Italics instances of code-switching between Polish and Norwegian