



Unsettled settlement? Translocal social anchoring and patterns of (im) mobility among Polish families in rural Norway

Jakub Stachowski^{a,*}, Bettina Bock^b

^a Department of Sociology and Political Science, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, PO Box 8900, Torgarden, NO-7491 Trondheim, Norway

^b Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Translocalism
Social anchoring
Rural areas
Polish migration
Norway

ABSTRACT

Whilst the transnational family life of post-accession intra-European migrants has been extensively explored, past studies have rarely addressed its local dimension. The relatively recent international migration patterns to rural areas in Europe provide opportunities to explore this particular aspect. Drawing on ethnographic data from Polish migrant families and young couples in rural Norway, we investigate the relationship between the settlement of the migrants in a specific rural locality and the dynamic of their cross-border and cross-local patterns of mobility. Using notions of translocalism and social anchoring, the article offers insights into how migrants' lives as couples and families become gradually reoriented as they settle in the rural host context and how the conditions for maintaining family relationships in Poland change at the same time. We illustrate how migrants' search for stability in their lives in the host location is associated with the question of family reunion, their position on the local labour market, purchase of houses and development of place attachment. At the same time, the settlement process breeds ambivalence as it requires migrants to adjust to the new life setting and continually navigate and negotiate the family life across home and host context. The ability of migrants to organise their translocal life satisfactorily depends on and reflects their overall level of integration locally and nationally.

1. Introduction

We... we don't know. We think about it every day. Sometimes we feel like staying; sometimes, we want to return. This year we decided that we would stay (...). Here it is peaceful, you don't have any concerns (...). It is quiet, calm (...). But, I think... longing for people... I come from the city, it was hard for me to adjust. Before, I used to be all over the place. Here, suddenly, bang! You are cut-off from everything.

Patrycja and Jarek, a married couple in their 30s, moved from a small city in Poland to a rural area in Norway a couple of years ago. They had a difficult beginning, striving to achieve stability in their new country and experiencing a challenging family situation back home that caused them to reevaluate their plans concerning living in Norway. Their story illustrates many dilemmas as they tried to secure the well-being and future of their young child, take care of their parents in Poland, and decide where to settle down.

Since the EU enlargement in 2004, research on Polish migrants has highlighted many aspects of their transnational family life. Among the themes explored have been transnational care practices for children and

the elderly (Kordasiewicz et al., 2017; Krzyżowski and Mucha, 2014; Ryan et al., 2009), changing dynamics of gender roles (Fiałkowska, 2019; Pustułka, 2012), home visits and communication at a distance (Bell and Erdal, 2015; Pustułka, 2015), settlement and contemplation of return (Erdal, 2014; White, 2011a,b), and actual returns and their consequences (White, 2014). However, as existing research focused on how migrants and their families navigate between two countries and national contexts, it failed to elaborate the role of particular host localities. It is even more significant today given the widening of migrants' geographical distribution in Europe from urban into rural regions (Bock et al., 2016; McAreavey and Argent, 2018; Rye and Scott, 2018). This article analyses the post-accession settlement processes of Polish families and couples in rural Norway, in order to understand the continuous interaction between the mobility and immobility of the migrants in the translocal context of their lives.

Our analysis connects to the two-fold character of the post-accession migration that emerges from the literature. On the one hand, those patterns of migration have been described as individualised, mobile, open-ended and unpredictable (Drinkwater and Garapich, 2015; Engbersen, et al. 2010; Favell 2008; McGhee et al. 2017). On the other hand,

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: jakub.stachowski@ntnu.no (J. Stachowski), bettina.bock@wur.nl (B. Bock).

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2021.09.001>

Received 9 September 2020; Received in revised form 1 September 2021; Accepted 6 September 2021

Available online 23 September 2021

0016-7185/© 2021 The Authors. Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

there are clear tendencies towards long-term engagement and settlement of the migrants in their host countries (i.e. [Bygnes and Erdal, 2016](#); [Garapich, 2016](#); [Kay and Trevena, 2017](#); [Piętko-Nykaza and McGhee, 2017](#)). These seemingly contradictory developments reflect a more fundamental theoretical question: whilst the continual (hyper)mobility problematises the traditional understanding of migration as a linear movement of people from place A to place B and their subsequent adaptation ([Faist et al. 2013](#); [Urry, 2007](#)), critics have stressed the importance of studying mobility and immobility as complementary and interacting instead of opposing phenomena ([Bell and Osti, 2010](#); [Creswell, 2006](#); [Schewel, 2019](#); [Stockdale and Haartsen, 2018](#)).

To address the foregoing, we explore the relationship between the local settlement processes and mobility by studying practices of Polish couples and families in rural Norway. We draw on notions of translocalism and social anchoring ([Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013](#); [Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2016](#); [2018](#)) to unravel the interaction between long-term engagement of migrant families in rural places, maintenance of family relations in the home country, and their critical and strategical considerations of their present and future situations. Our analysis is based on ethnographic data from Polish migrant families and couples (ages from the mid-20s to the early 40s). A majority of them arrived in a rural coastal municipality in Norway after 2004 to work at the local salmon producer. Many have been joined by their families and decided to stay for longer-term.

The following research questions frame the article:

1. How do migrants experience the rural context, and how does the rural context affect their settlement decisions?
2. What role do home-making practices play in the process of settlement?
3. What is the relationship between practices of gradual settlement and mobility patterns in the context of the migrants' family life?

The article is structured as follows: The following section introduces our theoretical framework comprising translocalism and social anchoring concepts. The paragraphs that follow outline the main characteristics of Polish migration to Norway and the study's methodology. The analytical section discusses 1) the experiences of rural place, 2) the rationales and strategies behind home-making practices, 3) the changing patterns of migrants' (im)mobility, and 4) practices and strategies to deal with actual and potential insecurities of family life. The conclusion discusses the main findings and their broader relevance.

2. Transnational embedding vs translocal anchoring

Over the past three decades, the notion of transnationalism has become a highly influential perspective, widely applied in explorations of migrants' multiple connections between the host and home countries ([Basch et al. 1994](#); [Vertovec, 2007](#)). The lives of many migrants are embedded in so-called transnational social fields, nets of complex social relations and configurations that span across national states ([Faist, 1998](#); [Faist et al. 2013](#)). Transnationalism has problematised the traditional conception of migrants' integration that assumed their gradual incorporation and adaptation into the social structures of the host societies ([Erdal and Oeppen, 2013](#); [Faist et al. 2013](#); [Mügge, 2016](#)). Whilst some scholars have viewed integration and transnationalism as antithetical, others have endorsed it as a new mode of migrants' integration ([Faist et al. 2013](#); [Levitt, 2009](#)). On the one hand, it has been argued that ongoing contact with the home country may weaken migrants' loyalty to the receiving society and hamper the process of integration ([Castles, 2002](#)). On the other hand, integration has been identified as a precondition for transnational engagement. For instance, some degree of economic and labour market integration may provide resources that facilitate transnational practices, such as travelling home or sending remittances (see, e.g., [Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002](#); [Mazucatto 2008](#); [Snel, et al. 2006](#)).

Many scholars praise the transnational perspective as it challenges the methodological nationalism in migration studies that assumed national states as 'natural' entities and the basis of social integration. Others, however, point out that departing from a transnational perspective risks overlooking the critical part of local-to-local relations as the basis of migrants' host-home country relations ([Appadurai, 1995](#); [Guarnizo and Smith, 1998](#)). Research demonstrates that migrants' sense of belonging to a country develops through their rootedness in particular localities, i.e., cities, villages, neighbourhoods or homes ([Al-Ali and Koser, 2003](#); [Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013](#); [Hedberg and Do Carmo, 2012](#); [Sinatti, 2008](#); [Wessendorf, 2007](#)). As suggested by [deLima \(2012: 215\)](#), 'while the nation-state's role is essential in establishing the macro-level framework (...) making sense of the experiences of minority ethnic groups is also contingent on the locality that is situatedness in a particular place'. Thus, rather than substituting transnationalism, we treat translocalism as a complementary element that allows one to explore the still under-theorised relevance of various scales of belonging in migrants' lives (see: [Englert, 2018](#); [Erdal, 2020](#); [Xiang, 2013](#)). Translocalism accentuates the importance of local-to-local relationships underlying migrants' transnational mobility, and departs from the situatedness of their lives in particular locations, and, thus, may be understood as 'grounded transnationalism' ([Brickell and Datta, 2011:3](#)).

In this article, we are interested in exploring the simultaneity of the settlement of Polish families in a rural locale in Norway and the changing mobility patterns within the sphere of family life. To better comprehend the dynamics of the settlement process, we consider 'social anchoring' as a helpful metaphor for delineating what binds migrants to particular places affecting the development of their sense of belonging. Social anchoring underscores the processual and temporal aspect of settlement as migrants strive to achieve socio-psychological stability by establishing multiple footholds in receiving contexts ([Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2016](#); [2018](#)). In the context of our study, the rural location in Norway, social anchoring is related to a specific place, and the ways migrants invest it with meaning and sense ([Antonsich, 2010](#); [Gieryn, 2000](#)). Migrants' attachment refers also to their level of social embeddedness, which denotes 'social relationships that foster a sense of rootedness and integration in the local environment' ([Korinek et al., 2005: 780](#)). Social embeddedness has also a temporal dimension, it develops in time, through relations that connect different domains of social life ([Ryan 2018](#); [Ryan and D'Angelo, 2018](#)). Both anchoring and embeddedness allow us to analyse settlement as a process comprising attainment, retention, or loss of attachment in both the home and receiving context. Moreover, the socio-psychological component of the social anchoring process brings to the fore the relevance of safety and stability in migrants' settlement trajectories (see: [Ager and Strang, 2008](#)). Previous studies have illustrated how the acquisition of material stability ([Bygnes and Erdal, 2016](#)), emotional stability ([Flynn and Kay, 2017](#)), family reunion ([Kay and Trevena, 2017](#)), and creation of home ([Bocchagni, 2017](#)) enhance the socio-psychological balance of migrants abroad and their long-term engagement.

Significantly, studies of post-accession migration have demonstrated how comparisons of home- and host locations, i.e., urban and rural locales shape migrants' experiences. [White \(2011b\)](#), who studied Polish women in the UK, showed that qualities of place and their resemblance to locations of origin play a role in migrants' feelings about staying. [Moskal \(2015\)](#) illustrated how children of migrants develop a sense of place and belonging in the host location whilst retaining solid attachments to the location of origin. [Skaptadottir and Wojtyńska \(2016\)](#) showed how migrants' bi-focal orientations connect them primarily to the places of origin. [Morén-Alegret \(2008\)](#) studied the integration of migrants in rural areas and illustrated how migrants selectively distance themselves from or attach themselves to rural areas based on a range of factors.

The foregoing constitutes a backdrop for our analysis of the simultaneity of settlement and mobility within migrant families, which involves considerations of multiple actors and collective decision-making.

3. Post-accession Polish migrants in Norway

In this article, we examine the process of settlement of Polish post-accession migrants in rural Norway. In the years following the 2004 EU-enlargement, Norway has experienced the highest relative inflow of post-accession migrants among all the EEA-receiving countries (Friberg, 2016). Polish migrants quickly became the largest immigrant group in the country and today there are more than 100,000 Poles registered in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2020). A majority of them arrived in Norway to work and often perform unskilled labour in construction, services (i.e. hotel or cleaning), or agriculture.

Whilst migration from Poland to Norway is first and foremost a migration of men (ca. 65%), with time there has been registered a substantial number of families that migrated (Slany et al., 2018) as well as growing number of Polish children (an increase from 800 in January 1st 2004 to 13,300 in January 1st 2019) (Kirkerberg et al., 2019). A web survey among Polish families in Norway found that 52% intend to stay in Norway, whilst 34% were unsure about their decision; only 14% were opposed to staying in Norway in the future (Kirkerberg et al., 2019). Amongst the motives for moving to and staying in Norway, Polish migrants reported stability of life, employment opportunities, a higher standard of living, and lacking prospects in Poland (Gmaj, 2016). Research has found that stability in the sense of e.g., a permanent job, is a significant precondition for migrant families to reunite (Friberg, 2012; Ryndyk, 2020). The family's reunion is also associated with increased procreation (Pustułka et al. 2018) and affects patterns of transnational engagement. When families reunite abroad, the character of their transnational practices changes. Whilst migrants continue to support their families in the home country, the aid sometimes becomes bi-directional (Bell and Erdal, 2015). Moreover, the children of migrants appear to be important mobility agents, as upholding bonds between grandchildren and grandparents motivates migrants to travel to Poland (Slany and Strzemecka, 2018). Researchers have also analysed how Polish families experience welfare state institutions, for instance, schools (Ślusarczyk et al., 2018) and how they cope with the performance of gender roles, especially during the parental leave (Bjørnholt and Stefansen, 2018).

However, similarly to the majority of studies on Polish post-accession migration, also in Norway the literature focuses on national, transnational, or urban contexts. Many Polish migrants, however, have moved to non-metropolitan and rural places (Gmaj, 2016) because of employment possibilities (Rye and Slettebak, 2020; Søholt et al. 2012). Migrants' settlement in rural localities, hence, deserves scholarly attention.

4. Empirical data and context

This article is based on ethnographic data collected among Polish migrants living and working in a remote rural area in Norway. The fieldwork was conducted between May 2016 and May 2018 through a series of intensive fieldwork stays. The data were primarily gathered through in-depth interviews and participant observation, including 30 in-depth interviews with 36 Polish migrants (17 women and 19 men). For this article, we have analysed a subset of 24 interviews (including two repeated interviews) with young families and couples aged between their early 20s and their early 40s. As we were particularly interested in understanding the collective process of decision-making within families, we did not include data on single individuals. We are aware that, in their case, the dynamics of settlement and integration follows a different trajectory, as it does not involve establishing and maintaining a family. Individual migrants may find it easier and more attractive to engage in a more mobile way of living, and consider less important to make an effort to integrate (see: Engbersen and Snel, 2013; Stachowski, 2020). In this article, however, we do not aim at making any comparisons between those two categories of migrants. The participants in this study were at different stages of migration; some arrived relatively recently, within

the past couple of years; others had been living in the locality for over a decade. At the time of the interviews, 12 couples had children. Except in three cases, interviews included both spouses. Six of the participants came from cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, 15 were from small or medium-sized cities, and nine were from villages.

In eight cases, interviews were dyadic, whilst the rest were individual. All the interviews were conducted in Polish by the first author. Assuming migration and integration to be a process, the interviews had a biographical format (Roberts, 2002) and aimed at understanding the migrants' past, current, and future situations. They covered such topics as circumstances upon arrival in the municipality, work and working conditions, engagement in the local community and the home country, social relations in the locality and beyond, and plans for the future. Most of the interviews took place in the migrants' homes, which they either owned or rented, which offered a more natural context in which to discuss home, family, and settlement issues. Taking migrants dwellings and the immediate area where they lived as points of departure for reflections about the settlement was a way to overcome the symbolic violence hidden in questioning people about how long they plan to stay (Garapich, 2016:146). Except for one, all the interviews were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions were made in Polish and were coded thematically using CDAS programme Nvivo. Relevant parts of the transcriptions were translated to English and discussed jointly by the authors.

Participant observations were carried out mainly during events organised by the local Polish association. The first author also visited the fish processing plant, where most migrants worked, and various other places in the municipality. After the events and visits, the first author made detailed field notes.

Positionality of the researcher, which denotes how the researcher's identity may affect different stages of the research process (O'Reilly, 2012) emerged as a relevant methodological issue. The first author's Polish origin and his migration background were of importance during the project. The shared cultural background, knowledge of the language and life experience, have in many ways facilitated the contact between the parties and enabled nuanced insights to be obtained into the lived reality of the migrants. At the same time, the advantages of those commonalities have been challenged by the rural context of the study, which has resulted in a blurring of the insider-outsider categories¹ (Ganga and Scott, 2006; Carling et al., 2014). The small size of the local Polish community (ca. 200 individuals) and the concentration of many migrants within a single company have fostered a climate of dense social networks, gossips and a high degree of social visibility. Moreover, the recruitment of the participants through two gate-keepers, local Polish migrants well established in the community and by snow-balling, rendered issues of so-called 'internal' and 'external' anonymisation and confidentiality relevant (Tolich, 2004). It meant that the researcher paid additional attention to not disclosing the participants' identities to others. The migrants in this study have been assigned fictional names and we changed some of their biographical details in order to conceal their identities. Similarly, we have decided not to disclose the name of the location; nor do we provide exact data and figures about the municipality.

The municipality where the data was collected is an archipelago. It comprises the main island and several thousand smaller islands spread around, of which only a few are inhabited. Accessing the main urban area requires about a two-and-a-half-hour drive or ferry trip from the island. The principal settlement in the municipality has a population of ca. 1000 and hosts most of the services, such as shops and public offices. The rest of the municipality's population live in several villages and many smaller settlements spread unevenly throughout the territory. The settlement structure comprises almost exclusively detached housing.

¹ For a detailed analysis of the methodological aspects of the study see (Stachowski, 2020).

Since 2004, the municipality has attracted many international migrants to its expanding and prosperous farmed salmon industry. The continual and substantial in-flow of international migrants inverted the downward demographic trend of the local population and substantially increased the share of foreign-born residents from a few per cent to more than twenty per cent. Accordingly, the total population of the location has increased tangibly. Today the municipality hosts people of nearly 50 different nationalities. However, most migrants come from Eastern and Central European countries, such as Lithuania, Poland, Bulgaria, and Estonia. Most of the participants in the study arrived at the locality to work for the main local company that produces farmed salmon. The majority of our participants continue to work there, performing menial, physically demanding tasks such as slaughtering, cutting, gutting, filleting, and packing the salmon in a highly routinised and technologically advanced process. Importantly, the all-year demand for the workforce has facilitated the long-term engagement of many migrants in the locality.

5. Settlement in rural places and the translocal creation of home

The following section consists of four sub-sections. In the first section, we discuss how migrants experience living in a rural place. In the second section, we discuss the notion of home as an anchor. The next subsection explores the relationship between local anchoring and mobility within the family, and the last section discusses aspects of settlement, insecurity, and strategies for the future.

6. Experiencing the locality- ambivalences of the rural idyll

Most of the study's participants moved into the locality to work for the local salmon producer. They arrived in different circumstances and different phases of life, but a common motive was the lack of promising economic prospects in the home country. They often decided to migrate at breaking points in their lives, such as the birth of a child, graduation, downturn in the private economy, or a divorce. Those situations generated a need for additional income and made the possibility of working abroad an attractive option. Because of the high labour demand at the local salmon processing plant, many informants decided spontaneously to move abroad and within a short time. Initially, most imagined their stay as temporary and of unspecified duration, which many eventually prolonged. Amongst the couples and families single members, typically, but not exclusively men, moved to Norway first.

Whilst our interviewees univocally mentioned work prospects or family/partner reunion as the main reasons for moving, the geographical and material properties of the rural location emerged as central in their narratives. The characteristics of the rural place with its barren landscape and remote location made an immediate impact upon all the informants and were discussed by them in an ambivalent manner. Kornelia, a female informant who joined her partner in the locality, said:

I was driving through the whole of Norway. It was a strange feeling passing by all those single houses (...) and driving through this lunar landscape (in the location)... I almost cried. It was terrible... terrible. But at the same time, the weather was beautiful. I came here, and I had a job interview the next day. (...). When I was driving before (across Norway), there were a lot of green areas, but here everything is barren. And the apartment... wooden houses a bit run-down, aesthetically, the view of the island ...It is quite terrible.

Kornelia, 30s, 3 years in the municipality

The mixed experience of the remote rural place has frequently been compensated by the possibility to begin to work almost immediately upon arrival. As such, the interviewees were keen to accept the sacrifice of staying there. However, experiences varied amongst the participants regarding how they decided to move their families to the locality. For some, the decision to move to Norway with the whole family was from

the beginning part of the plan. In such cases, the families were brought together quickly; others needed to resolve various dilemmas. For instance, Natalia and her two children joined Adam, the husband and father, several years after he had migrated to the locality. The family had to overcome many doubts and hesitations and was aware of the far-reaching consequences of such a decision once they decided to reunite. The following excerpt illustrates several aspects of this process:

Natalia: "I didn't move here because I wanted it. I did it for my husband. I have never wanted [to emigrate], and I couldn't imagine myself moving abroad. (...) But I wanted them [the children] to be with their daddy. When I arrived here for the first time it was like... It was summer and kids were still small... when I saw this place I thought: Gosh, where did we arrive? And I wanted to go back. And it was... it is still not easy.

Adam: "I am used to it [the place]. But I feel for them, so it is hard for me as well. Since my family arrived here, there is nothing that holds me in Poland, nothing that drags me there. Before, I used to count every single day and even hour until visits in Poland. But now... I have no reason [to travel to Poland]. I have only my brother and my wife's family there. Well, I have some friends, but it is not anymore something I care for most. Everything I have and love is here. And that's it."

Natalia and Adam, 30s, respectively 8 and 2 years in the municipality

The story of Natalia and Adam offers insights into the multistaged process of family migration (Waldinger, 2015). The husband and wife experienced it differently as one had already been established when the other arrived. It involved a mixed experience of relief and sacrifice, where something important is gained, whilst something else, equally important, is lost. Research has shown that migration experiences within the family may vary regarding the voluntariness and length of the migration or be affected by which family members migrate and who is left behind (Puppa, 2018; Ryan et al., 2009). As the above story illustrates, reunion initiates a necessity to adjust, which reveals the importance of the character of the locality. It suggests that, from the moment of arrival, the family's life will be associated primarily with the specific locality.

Gustafson (2001) has pointed out that people's perceptions of place inevitably involve comparisons with other places with which they are familiar. In many cases, interviewees' places of origin functioned as an important reference point when describing their experience of the current location. In general, moving to a rural locale was challenging for those coming from cities because they had grown accustomed to the diversity and availability of offerings in the urban setting. They experienced the lack of services and opportunities as a loss that cast doubts on the prospects for longer-term settlement. Many expressed the need to adjust when relocating to a rural area. Families with children, or those who planned to have children, problematised the limited access to and quality of local public services. Patryk, who lives in the location together with his wife Marta and their two children, and has lived in other places in Norway as well, describes life in this area as follows:

We have the internet, but it rarely works... .. Schools are lousy; healthcare is basically non-existent. If something happens, the helicopter won't make it here. Until recently, there was no midwife, not to mention a gynaecologist. For the time being, we wait for our daughter to graduate from school. We can't picture her here, and she can't picture herself here, either. If we consider all of the things that we could take advantage of [elsewhere in Norway], it would be sheer stupidity to stay here only for the money that we can earn from the salmon industry. ... But I would still shed a tear if I had to leave this place.

Patryk, 40s, 2 years in the municipality

Patryk articulates that the location is not exclusively a place of work but rather a context that structures the daily life of the family (Creswell, 2015). His narrative illustrates a sense of insecurity that stems from the restricted access to or low quality of public and private services. He accentuates how living in a rural area detaches him and his family from

the potential goods available in other parts of Norway. At the same time, he underlines their attachment to the place. Other participants also discussed the limitations of the material aspects of the locality, especially the distance between the island and the city as well as the distances between places on the island, meaning that access to local services is more or less complicated, depending on where one lives. The ambivalent experiences of the migrants reflect the selectivity of their identifications with the rural place, which sometimes points towards 'identification with' and sometimes 'against' both specific qualities of the rural areas and familiar urban localities (Haartsen and Stockdale, 2018). Whilst migrants view many aspects of rural life as cumbersome, with time, they seem to adjust and begin to appreciate the qualities of a rural setting, especially those associated with the notion of a rural idyll such as a calm and slow-paced rhythm of life (Woods, 2011). For some, such as Bartek, his wife Kinga, and their two children, who moved from a non-rural location in Poland, the advantages of living in a rural area made earlier plans of moving to a city irrelevant:

I think that we have learned to live peacefully here, I mean slowly. My impression is that in Poland, everybody is running (...) I used to do the same, but I don't do it anymore. The calm of this place gives me mental peace, allows me to unwind. And, in the beginning, I was thinking that maybe we should try living in the city... But that idea waned with time.
Bartek, 40s, 11 years in the municipality

The story of Bartek and his family demonstrates that lifestyle-related aspects may play a significant role in the settlement in the rural locale (Lynnebakke, 2020). However, later in the interview, they explained that they undertake regular trips to the nearest urban location, to satisfy their need for city life, even though it entails a two-and-a-half-hour drive. Besides a more general feeling of attachment to place, the participants told how they engage in free-time outdoor activities such as purchasing their boats and fishing or hiking. Such practices are indicative of the acquisition of a new lifestyle and cultural integration as they do not deviate from the practices of the local Norwegian-born population.

7. Home as an anchor

Most of the couples in our study owned a house in their new location or were considering purchasing property. For many, the acquisition of a house constituted a significant life event and a milestone on their migration trajectory. It represented a tangible manifestation of settling in the new location, and an underlying desire to settle there for a prolonged, though often unspecified time.

Our data display a variety of rationales behind the purchase of houses among the migrants in the locality. One of them is viewing buying a house in terms of a financial investment expected to bring future revenues. One example is a story told by Radek and Magda, a married couple in their late 20s who, after spending three years in Norway renting a house, decided to purchase their dwelling. Viewing renting as 'purposeless' and associating it with 'volunteer work' that benefits only the landlord, they desired a 'dream house' by which they meant a house they would own. Radek explained their thoughts preceding the purchase of a house:

“Let's say we buy an apartment in Poland, let's say it costs 90,000 Polish zlotych (ca.21.000 €), three rooms. You can't rent it out because you have to fix it up first. Mostly those apartments need fixing. Whilst you are fixing it up, the money you invested doesn't give you any return. Let's assume that I rent it out for 1,000 Polish zloty per month, which is like 240 €. So, it is better to fix up an apartment here for like 100,000 zloty (ca. 23.500 €) and rent it out to a person who will live in the basement apartment and pay like 1,000 € per month. Which is like 4,500 zlotych. We will get a return on our investment more quickly (...) If I sell the house after five years, if I move somewhere else in Norway or to Poland, I won't have any debts”

Radek, 20s, 2 years in the municipality

Radek's thorough calculations are fundamental to understand the logic of decision-making. Many perceived the purchase of a property as a financial investment and a means of securing their future. The economic capital generated through hard, physical labour should not be 'wasted' or 'mismanaged' in their view by paying rent for a longer period. Thus, buying a house may be understood as a utilitarian strategy in line with Piore's (1979) depiction of a labour migrant as *homo economicus*, whose behaviour may be understood as driven by the ambition to maximise economic profit.

At the same time, when discussing the economy of the settlement, some viewed the structure and prices of the local real estate market and their work situation as essential in their considerations. Whilst initially the prices of houses were substantially lower than in urban parts of Norway, the arrival of the migrants resulted in a higher demand for housing and caused prices to rise. Combined with insecure working conditions, this made some hesitant to acquire property:

Last year, I was convinced that I wanted to buy a house. We changed our minds because my girlfriend was unsure. Since then, I have to admit, my thinking has changed. The prices are not as attractive as before. The second thing is that... I plan to live here only for some years, not my entire life. One feels comfortable living in one's own place (the place one owns). So financially, one could be better off (when buying a house). But there is a question of the work that does not offer me sufficient mental comfort and stability to allow me to buy a house.

Mateusz, 20s, 3 years in the municipality

As Mateusz's dilemmas demonstrate, property acquisition involves serious considerations of the future, which are also related to work prospects. His predicaments indicate how the decision to settle is related to a broader sense of stability and predictability that has to do with the continuity of work and income. In other words, the level of anchoring within the local labour market is for him a precondition for being anchored in other domains (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018). As most interviewees work for a single employer, some view their working possibilities as limited to the single workplace and believe that they are potentially vulnerable.

Nevertheless, portraying the purchase of a house purely in financial terms omits other important dimensions. As discussed by Boccagni (2017), home is not a static concept and the functions that a home may serve, as well as perceptions of what a home is, may change, i.e. according to people's life-stage. Despite not always having their future plans precisely specified, people realize that the purchase of a house represented an important life event conveying a desire to stay for the longer term. The case of Marek and Sylwia, a couple in their mid-30s who arrived at the locality three years ago, illustrates how the economic perspective gets blurred with considerations of a more extended stay. When asked to explain their reasoning behind the purchase of a house, they said the following:

Sylwia: *“The plan is to work here, I don't know, maybe for five years and then get back to Poland.”*

Marek: *“(...) we have come to an age when one wants to have one's piece of land. I appreciate this greatly, I come here, and this is simply mine. (...) but the truth is that it can turn out that we can stay here [forever]”*

Sylwia and Marek, 30s, 3 years in the municipality

Interviews with young couples revealed how, despite hesitations, they viewed their age as a convenient time to settle, establish a family, and 'ground' their lives (Bygnes and Erdal, 2016). The quotation above provides an example of how initial economic rationale may also foreshadow considerations of a longer stay or, to put it differently, how a house may become a home and stimulate desires to stay (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). The purchase of a house represents an initial anchoring that ties migrants to the locality for a longer time. Moreover, 'being at home' was also associated with having social relations in the locality. In

such cases, the purchase of a property was the final stage in the home-building process. As pointed out by Tomek:

I will tell you something... the older one gets, the bigger the need to put down roots (...) but a home for me, it is not the block itself, but what is around me, people that surround me. I feel at home because I know that if I need help, I know whom I can ask.

Tomek, 30s, 5 years in the municipality

Tomek emphasises a more complex understanding of home as an anchor in which the social relationships that he developed contribute to a feeling of belonging. The story of his family suggests that creating a home entails a level of social embeddedness and the development of stable social relationships locally (Korinek et al., 2005; Ryan 2018). Only after the 'social fundamentals' of the home making-process have been put in place, has the family decided to enter into what they viewed as a final stage of settlement and purchase a house.

8. Local anchoring and patterns of (im)mobility

Our data illustrate how the processes of settlement affect patterns of mobility amongst Polish migrants. Gradual anchoring of the migrants in the locality is related to their attitudes and practices that have to do with their home country.

Whilst migration signifies movement, home denotes fixity in a material, geographical, or emotional sense (Boccagni, 2017). It transforms initially essential material and financial aspects into an affective bond. The purchase of a house may bring about other changes as it redefines financial strategies and affects spending habits. Having a mortgage signifies a long-term perspective that involves repayment of debt that binds people with their new place. When Kasia and Pawel, a married couple in their 40s purchased a house, their expenditures grew, and spending patterns changed. Before becoming owners, they spent their money on everyday 'caprices' without minding the costs. After acquiring a house, they started to invest in the house to upgrade it to the desired state. Along the way, there also came a deeper level of engagement with the locality:

My place is where I have my home. I love this house. Norwegians have this specific attitude... for instance, when you register as a jobseeker... the lady in the job office forced me to check: 'I am looking for a job anywhere in Norway.' This is not a problem for them. They say that you can find a new job 300 km from here! I told her: I have a small child here, I have my home here! But there are houses there, as well! (Kasia quoting public officer). No, only here! We have put our whole heart in this house!

Kasia, 40s, 9 years in the municipality

Clearly, in Kasia's mind, the house has become a home and the core locus of life for her family, who became attached to this specific place. Her example renders visible how the home becomes invested with a complex mixture of emotions related to a particular place and family life. Such an understanding of home indicates a form of rootedness and the person is no longer considered movable. The attachment Kasia and her family developed to their home also affected her attachment to the locality and reduced her desire to move elsewhere. In this regard, children appear as critical footholds for the migrants in their settlement process. Whilst adults might have second thoughts about their future in the locality, having children makes their settlement plans significantly dependent on considerations of the well-being of their offspring. As explained by Łukasz:

For the time being, we do not consider it [return to Poland] seriously because this would mean that our daughter would have to drop out of school (...) so you can't decide to come back for a year or something... this is an ultimate decision. For the time being, she says that this is her home, so she would like to... she likes her school...we don't have serious conversations about it... but her opinion ... she wants to live here.

Łukasz, 30s, 11 years in the municipality

Studies have found migrants' children to be crucial in influencing the decision of their parents to stay and engage more actively in rural contexts (Haartsen and Stockdale, 2018; Kay and Trevena, 2017). Most of the participants' children were born in Norway or moved to the locality at a very young age. Thus, in the parents' accounts, the children were more naturally socialised into the locality, and the depth of their social embeddedness frequently reached beyond the level of their parents. When deciding where to live, parents took account of their children's feeling of belonging, the continuity of their education and their social relationships. Those aspects tie both migrants and their children to the hosting locality and their institutions. At the same time, such ties make it even more difficult to decide whether to stay or return to Poland.

Whilst the examples above reflect feelings of being anchored in the locality, mobile practices are an integral aspect of all the stories told by the migrants. The narratives concerning the mobility practices reveal their multifaceted and multidirectional character. Overall, most of the participants engaged more or less regularly in various cross-border practices. All the respondents undertook visits to Poland at least once or twice a year, usually during Christmas or summer holidays. The frequency and length of the visits were closely synchronised with the yearly rhythm of work and restricted by the Norwegian working law that entitles employees to five weeks of vacation annually. For most, the extended family back in Poland was the main reason to visit Poland. In addition, the participants engaged in various forms of 'virtual transnationalism' (Pustułka, 2015), communicating with their families, friends and peers by telephone, Skype, or Messenger. Whilst family affairs are central for cross-border engagement, for some, travelling to Poland also has to do with the challenges of living in the rural locale in Norway. Krystyna, who lives in the locality with her husband and two children, emphasised the following:

It is irritating during the holidays. The kids have nothing to do for two weeks. They simply stay at home. Whilst I know that in Poland there is a football field, a swimming pool in your backyard. Here it is difficult to drive 30 km one way.

Krystyna, 40s, 11 years in the municipality

Although the locality represents the immediate arena for migrants' lives throughout the entire year, it may not afford the same opportunities that the migrants are accustomed to enjoy in the home localities. Thus, travels to Poland are also used to access other types of free-time facilities and activities and compensate for the limited possibilities in the rural location in which they have settled. This cross-border activity illustrates how migrants relate to specific localities by engaging in practices that combine their respective qualities.

Important for our discussion is that the (im)mobility-related behaviour of the migrant families is affected by multiple factors. In the case at hand, the structure of the local industry and the recruitment strategies of the local company that relies exclusively on peer recruitment have caused the migration of extended families and friends into the locality (White, 2011a,b). For some of the migrants, such as Alicja, who counted several members of her extended family in the same area, this fact had significance for her engagement in cross-border mobility:

Alicja: I travel twice a year, in January and summertime.

Interviewer: In January? Not for Christmas?

Alicja: No, it is too expensive and everything is closed at this time. Usually, when you travel to Poland you want to arrange some things, right? (...) But I have my family here, so I don't miss Christmas that much. My brother and his girlfriend are here, they have two kids. I have three cousins and friends here.

Alicja, 30s, 10 years in the municipality

Alicja's comment illustrates another aspect of the importance of family relationships for mobility and anchoring locally. Bringing the extended family in the locality abroad may affect the needs of the

migrants to undertake routine transnational practices. As more family members gather in Norway, the orientation towards the home country may lose some of its significance. As the case of Alicja illustrates, having family and friends around makes a difference when it comes to travelling to Poland. The practice does not wane, but the travels acquire a different quality, and their purpose becomes pragmatic rather than social and emotional.

Another key aspect of migrants' settlement-mobility dialectics is that the direction of movement of the family members changes. Whilst typically migrants engage in travelling, the settlement may also transform those practices and cause the family members in Poland to visit the locality in Norway. Tomek, who has moved to Norway with his wife and a little son, describes his experiences as follows:

We have contact with our parents... they visit us here. They have been here... they visit us ca. twice a year (...). On the other hand, I have just five weeks of vacation. So when I have five weeks of vacation, I spend two weeks in Poland and then I want to take advantage of seeing something else (travel somewhere else other than Poland).

Tomek, 30s, 5 years in the municipality

Such 'reverse transnational' practices (Mazucatto, 2008) have, for the most part, been facilitated by the ownership of houses which have offered better hosting possibilities, such as more space and a higher quality of living. Thus, purchasing a house and transforming it into a home enabled the new owners to benefit from a flow of social and emotional support of visitors by family and friends living in Poland who have visited the migrants regularly in the locality in Norway. Hence, the fixity of home did not exclude mobility but instead transformed it, encouraging other types of practice. It has prepared the ground for new translocal actors, in this case, close family members, other relatives, or friends. Moreover, for many extended family members, visiting their children in Norway was the first life opportunity to travel by plane, and as such included them to a degree into the mobile lifestyle of the migrant part of the family.

A striking expression of the Polish migrants' relationship between the local attachment and the translocal family life has been the arrangement of the First Communion, an important Church ritual for children, in the locality. Held each spring in Poland, the ceremony involves festivities and is an occasion to bring together relatives and friends. The ritual was arranged by the local Polish Association, established a couple of years ago by a group of local Polish migrants. The association provides a platform for the families with children to cultivate Polish cultural practices and socialising their offsprings. Arranging the First Communion was one of the manifestations of the association's activity. The following excerpt from the field notes provides an insight into the conduct of the ritual locally.

The first communion was arranged in one of the local churches in the locality. There were a handful of Polish children, all living in the locality, participating in the ritual. Apart from children, more than 50 guests were attending the service, a great majority of them Polish. Many of the extended family members and friends of the children who participated in the ritual arrived from Poland to witness the ritual. There were gifts, commemorative pictures and words of thanks in both Polish and Norwegian. The local Norwegian priest was also present at the service.

For the occasion, the church which belongs to the Protestant order was richly decorated. White was the dominant colour meant to symbolise innocence and purity. The participating children were dressed in white albs, all ordered from Poland. A large JHS-monogram symbolising Jesus Christ was placed by the altar, whilst flowers completed the decor. All that gave the impression that one was in a typical Polish church.

The service was held in Polish by a Polish priest in the same sequence as in Poland. Traditional Polish Catholic hymns accompanied the service.

The fact that the ritual was organised in the locality illustrates

several facets of the migrants' sense of attachment to the locality and an interplay between national, transnational and translocal practices of the migrants. The transnational aspect is visible in the pursuit to recreate an important Polish ritual abroad, and the logistic, organisational and financial efforts it required. Arranging travels and, in some cases, covering the travel expenses of the visiting families, shipping of the décor and the childrens' uniforms, inviting a Polish priest to hold the mess in Polish all exemplify the transnational dimension. On the other hand, the case is a manifestation of local attachment. Piotr, one of the informants, said that he and his family decided to arrange the ritual because they considered the place to be their home, which illustrates how with time, the locale has become very important for the migrants. The local element is also visible in how the local Protestant Church facilitated the conduct of the ritual by making the church available for people belonging to a different religious denomination. The invitation of the local Norwegian priest by the Polish migrants, and the gratitude expressed during the Mass are all signs of mutual respect. The above example demonstrates the importance of the local context for the expression of identity. Still, above all, it shows a coalescence of migrants' complex identificational and family-related practices that crystallise and materialise locally.

9. Managing insecurities of transnational and translocal social space

In the previous sections, we discussed concrete local settlement practices and their implications for the lives of the migrants. We have viewed the settlement as a process involving an increasing level of fixity, implying a turn to a more sedentary lifestyle yet deeply interwoven with mobility (Schewel, 2019). Apart from the already described regular practices of transnational and translocal family life, the participants discussed also contingent and sometimes critical situations that involved close family members in the home country. Such cases demanded a higher degree of involvement and mobility from the migrants and usually were impossible to resolve during the regular trips that the participants undertook. Those situations reflected the relationship between the settlement of the migrants and their achieved status in the host context. Two cases involved migrant families that were faced with situations that required taking care of a sick family member in the home country.

The first example is Anna and Piotr, a married couple in their mid-30s with two small children who have been living in the municipality for over ten years and who are well-established in the local community. When Piotr's father's health abruptly deteriorated, the family found itself "driven to the wall" and considered several scenarios to tackle the situation. Burdened by a sense of responsibility, Piotr travelled back to Poland for a couple of weeks to take care of his father. Reflecting upon this situation, he and his wife emphasised the following:

Piotr: The best thing is that doctors didn't know how it was going to be with him. So, in the meantime, I was arranging some help. Luckily, he got better just a few days before I had to get back [to Norway]. Otherwise, I would have been forced to stay longer.

Anna: Then we would have had to find another solution. But we would have gotten help from the workplace. You can receive aid to care for a close family member if you do not have any other option. NAV [Norwegian Labor and Welfare Administration] covers this for up to six months. Because you have to take care of your parents. They would help us at work to arrange things. They wouldn't leave you on your own with all the troubles.

Anna and Piotr, 30s, 11 years in the municipality

Another example is Jarek and Patrycja, a married couple introduced at the beginning of this article, who, upon arrival to Norway with their little child, entered a turbulent phase that eventually forced them to send their child back to Poland to be taken care of by the grandparents.

After the family finally reunited in Norway sometime later, a situation developed which left them seeing no other choice but to return to Poland for an unspecified period.

We had a three months' break. (...) We quit the job, returned to Poland, but we knew that we were going to come back [to Norway]. Our parents had simply become sick, and we had to get back and take care of them. We have parents who are getting old. They [the company] didn't agree to give us unpaid leave.

Patrycja, 30s, 7 years in the municipality

The above cases illustrate the complex dynamics between settlement, mobility, and (in)security. Both demonstrate the significance of different facets of local and national anchoring, such as a stable work situation locally and eligibility for welfare state provisions, determining which solutions are available to tackle the problems. The cases illustrate how the degree of achieved stability in the host country may be crucial to cope with unexpected situations in the home country. Put differently, they show how the level of achieved integration is associated with a broader range of coping strategies and how resource-demanding those practices may be. As such, it supports the fact that a prior accumulation of resources is a necessary precondition for migrants to deal with certain situations (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002). In the first case, the stable position of the family provided a safety net in the form of both a secure position at work and an entitlement to welfare state benefits. In the latter case, the less stable status of the family in Norway was further intensified by their lack of formal support to cope with the emergency at home. Despite being re-employed in the same company, they were offered less advantageous conditions upon return. This is significant for our understanding of the mobility-immobility dialectic. It illustrates that the achieved stability enables migrants to undertake practices that require a substantial dose of mobility and flexibility when the circumstances demand it.

Apart from the situations that had taken place, our participants discussed and reflected upon possible future scenarios related to family life. Those reflections revealed strategic practices aimed at decreasing the potential harm they could involve. Particularly important were situations concerning ageing parents and growing children and their possible effect on life abroad. For example, Ela and her family, who bought a house in Norway, decided to keep their house in Poland for such reasons:

It is obvious that our parents will never... it is not going to be as we wish... They can get sick, something can happen, and they have to be able to return to Poland. We don't know whether there is going to be a job here or not. And what if our daughter, when she turns 18, will decide that she doesn't like it here and wants to go back? So, to make it easier for her, it is better to have a house there.

Ela, 40s, 4 years in the municipality

This example illustrates that, whilst the settlement assimilates migrants into the Norwegian context, this process is accompanied by a continuous parallel engagement 'back home', involving monitoring the current situation, assessing future responsibilities, and preparing pathways that may facilitate transnational mobility interventions. The insecurity that those scenarios involve is managed by the strategic maintenance of emergency plans that are feasible to implement.

Whilst most reflections concern the family situation in the home country, problems within the nuclear family living in the receiving location may also cause major disruptions. When Wojtek's marriage broke up, the whole family had to reconsider their plans and find new ways of organising their everyday life. In the interviews, Wojtek reflected upon his readiness for possible future scenarios:

I have to save money for a rainy day, in case I lose my job here or, for instance... I don't know what will happen in one or two years from now... everything may change. I can, for instance, get a message from my ex-wife that she and her boyfriend didn't make it and that she wants to get back to

Poland. So, then I would have a buffer there and could follow them and try to figure out something there, because I can't imagine that I would live here and my son there...

Wojtek, 30s, 10 years in the municipality

Even though Wojtek's situation is more an exception than a rule, it reflects a key facet of the complexity of transnational living. A divorce is an event that disorganises family life, and when it occurs abroad, it imposes additional complications. It throws open the question of the continuity of life abroad and requires that plans be modified in order to settle down or return. A common denominator of the above cases is that settlement may appear fixed and final, but there is always a potential for things to change. Hence, the transnational and translocal connections, both current and future, contribute to 'unsettle' it.

10. Discussion and conclusions

In this article, we have analysed the process of settlement of post-accession intra-European migrant families and couples from the perspective of the rural locality to which they have migrated. We have examined how the decision to settle develops in relation to these migrants' experiences of the rural setting, their local home-building practices, and how it is interwoven with translocal (im)mobility patterns closely related to family life.

Settlement in a new country is not a one-time decision. It consists of multiple stages and various events that, with time, may lead to a gradual reorientation of migrants' lives from home to the host context. Such a shift from home country orientation to host country orientation involves such events as bringing together the nuclear family abroad, gaining stability on the labour market, becoming attached to the rural locale, purchasing a house, developing social relationships, and considering the sense of belonging developed by one's children. The process is closely associated with particular life stages of the people involved, and various turning points in their lives, such as starting living on one's own and gaining independence from parents or other relatives (Wingens et al., 2011). Expressed metaphorically, the migrants develop and put down multiple anchors, which, taken as a whole, constitute their new life in the host location (Grzymała-Kaziłowska, 2016; 2018).

Our analysis has brought to the fore the significance of rural context and locale for understanding the dynamics of the settlement. As illustrated, the main reason for moving into the location was the available work opportunities and not the characteristics of the place. However, the significance of place manifests itself prominently in migrants' reflections. Evaluations of rural attributes of the host locale, especially its remote location, and the necessity to adjust lifestyles, generate ambivalent reactions. On the other hand, we have shown that, over time, migrants may find the amenities of rural areas appealing and engage in a more outdoor or laid-back lifestyle, not different from the in-born population.

Through our analysis, we have identified several components indicating the migrants' intention to stay long-term in place. One of them is undoubtedly the purchase of a house. Whilst buying a property may have economical and rational underpinnings, it may also eventually transform into affective attachment, indicating a sense of belonging and anchoring locally. Turning houses into homes and becoming attached to a place is also intertwined with 'social embeddedness' and the relationships developed by both the adult migrants and their children. Moreover, the local sense of belonging is revealed by the willingness of the migrants to recreate home-country cultural practices in the locality. Those practices, however, appear in new forms and as such are reflections of the fusion of the two contexts. All those aspects underline the significance of place and the complex ways in which it both structures the lives of the migrants and enables them to create and re-create a meaningful life (Antonsich, 2010; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Grzymała-Kaziłowska, 2016).

At the same time, the process of settlement in the host context takes

place along continual orientation towards migrants' context of origin, and especially their family back there. Settling down in a new context brings about both constraints and possibilities to maintain the family life at distance. Among the constraints are work schedules, or financial obligations which impose certain limitations regarding physical presence in the home country. Still, on the other hand, the settlement invites and facilitates what may be called 'reverse translocalism', paraphrasing Mazucatto (2008). The translocal practices within the family become more bi-directional and involve actors living in both home and host locations.

A central part of our analysis has been to view the settlement process as a search for stability amidst various destabilising situations. Again, those situations concern the family life and include responsibilities related to caring for ageing parents, securing the future well-being of children or divorce. Frequently, they generate significant strain, causing migrants to negotiate strategically between the two contexts, searching to achieve synergy wherever possible, yet also experiencing them as antagonistic or frictional (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013). The effectiveness in reconciling life here and life there, and the repertoire of available strategies depend on access to various resources accumulated in the host context, and the ability of the migrants to mobilise them effectively (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002). Amongst the resources are: solid position on the labour market, access to the welfare state provisions, and owning a house; all of these reflect the level of integration. Taken together, the settlement is far from being a harmonious process as it involves tackling and averting 'unsettling' situations that breed ambivalence and confusion.

To a degree, our findings counter the picture of post-accession migrants as hypermobile, living fluid, open-ended, temporal and unpredictable lives (Drinkwater and Garapich, 2015; Engbersen et al. 2010; Favell, 2008). As demonstrated, migrants desire, and in many ways, ground their lives in the host location whilst mobility remains a significant ingredient. Hence, mobility and settlement are two tightly interwoven and interlacing sides of the same phenomenon (Schewel, 2019). Settling down does not entail the end of mobility practices but rather reveals their shape-shifting character and their continual attuning to the overall dynamics of the process. Migrants engage in two countries and localities, and their activity has to do primarily with their families back in the home country.

Our findings invite a more general discussion concerning the significance of multi-scalarity to understand the process of settlement of international migrants and their overall integration (Erdal, 2020; Xiang, 2013). Transnationalism and translocality have emerged as two significant dimensions of migrants' lives, channelling our attention towards both more abstract connections that migrants forge and maintain, and their specific local manifestations. Whilst the literature has provided extensive evidence of the transnational maintenance of family life among migrants, the local-to-local aspects may be further explored. For instance, transnational social fields may be also understood through the prism of specific localities and conceived as translocal social fields. Focusing on the locality does not exclude the relevance of the transnationality, which remains a broader macro framework allowing us to understand more general conditions for the cross-border mobility of the migrants. However, the notion of translocalism focuses our gaze on the significance of particular localities and makes it possible to observe their pivotal role in migrants' lives. It also opens our eyes to how places change when new residents bring in new knowledge and new practices, as a result of their transnational and translocal activity. Lastly, our study suggests that the process of integration may be studied as a primarily local phenomenon, which nevertheless is framed within the broader national context.

The findings presented in this article should be seen in the light of certain limitations. Although the post-accession intra-European migration has been the object of extensive scholarly inquiry for over 15 years, it is still a phenomenon in the making. Whilst findings presented in the article complement earlier research by suggesting that the presence of

migrants in host contexts has a long-term dimension, it also suggests that the direction of future development is inconclusive. Thus, the follow-up studies and tracking the trajectories of the migrants within a longer time perspective would be welcomed. They would advance our knowledge concerning the overall picture of the settlement process and more specifically aid our understanding of the long-term effects of international migration on rural areas.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Jakub Stachowski: Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Writing- original draft, Writing- review & editing. **Bettina Bock:** Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Investigation, Writing- original draft, Writing- review & editing.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Acknowledgment

The authors are thankful to Kamila Fiałkowska, Johan Fredrik Rye, Karen O'Reilly, and participants of the seminars at the Department of Research and Political Science in Trondheim and Center of Migration in Research in Warsaw for their insightful commentaries on the earlier versions of the article.

References

- Ager, A., Strang, A., 2008. Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. *J. Refugee Stud.* 21 (2), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>.
- Al-Ali, N., Koser, K., 2003. New Approaches to Migration?: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203167144>.
- Antonsich, M., 2010. Searching for belonging: an analytical framework. *Geogr. Compass* 4 (6), 644–659. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2009.00317.x>.
- Appadurai, A., 1995. The production of locality. In: Fardon, R. (Ed.), *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*. Routledge.
- Basch, L., Glick-Schiller, N., Szanton Blanc, C., 1994. *Nations Unbound. Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Routledge.
- Bell, J., Erdal, M.B., 2015. Limited but enduring transnational ties? Transnational family life among Polish migrants in Norway. *Przełąd Polonijny* 3 (157), 77–98.
- Bell, M.M., Osti, G., 2010. Mobilities and ruralities. An introduction. *Soc. Ruralis* 50, 199–204. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9523.2010.00518.x>.
- Bjørnholt, M., Stefansen, K., 2018. On the move. Transnational family practices among Polish parents working and caring for children in Norway. In: Slany, K., Ślusarczyk, M., Pustulka, P., Guribye, E. (Eds.) *Transnational Polish Families in Norway. Social Capital, Integration, Institutions and Care*. Petter Lang.
- Blunt, A., Dowling, R., 2006. *Home*. London and New York. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203401354>.
- Bocagni, P., 2017. *Migration and the search for home. Mapping Domestic Space in Migrants' Everyday Lives*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bock, B.B., Osti, G., 2016. Rural Migration and New Patterns of Exclusion and Integration in Europe. In: Shucksmith, M., Brown, D.L. (Eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Rural Studies*. Routledge.
- Brickell, K., Datta, A., 2011. Introduction: Translocal Geographies. In: *Translocal Geographies. Spaces, Places and Connections*. Ashgate.
- Bygnes, S., Erdal, M.B., 2016. Liquid migration, grounded lives: considerations about future mobility and settlement among Polish and Spanish migrants in Norway. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 43 (1), 102–118.
- Carling, J., Bivand Erdal, M., Ezatti, R., 2014. Beyond the insider-outsider divide in migration research. *Migration Stud.* 2 (1), 36–54. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnt022>.
- Castles, S., 2002. Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization. *Int. Migrat. Rev.* 36 (4), 1143–1168.
- Creswell, T., 2006. *On the Move. Mobility in the modern western world*. Routledge.
- Creswell, T., 2015. *Place. An introduction*. Wiley Blackwell.

- de Lima, P., 2012. Boundary Crossings: Migration, Belonging/‘Un-belonging’ in Rural Scotland. In: Hedberg, C., do Carmo, R. M. (Eds.) *Translocal Ruralism: Mobility and Connectivity in European Rural Spaces*. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-2315-3_12.
- Drinkwater, S., Garapich, M.P., 2015. Migration Strategies of Polish Migrants: Do They Have Any at All? *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 41 (12), 1909–1931. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1027180>.
- Engbersen, G., Snel, E., 2013. Liquid migration Dynamic and fluid patterns of post-accession migration flows. In: Glorius, B., Grabowska-Lusińska, I., Kuvik, A. (Eds.), *Mobility in Transition. Migration Patterns After EU Enlargement*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048515493-002>.
- Engbersen, G., Snel, E., de Boom, J., 2010. A van full of Poles“: liquid migration from Central and Eastern Europe. In: Black, R., Engbersen, G., Okólski, M. (Eds.), *A Continent Moving West? EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe*. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048510979-006>.
- Englert, B., 2018. Looking through two lenses: reflections on transnational and translocal dimensions in Marseille-based popular music relating to the Comoros. *Identities. Global Stud. Culture Power* 25 (5), 542–557. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2018.1507959>.
- Erdal, M.B., 2014. This is My Home’. Pakistani and Polish Migrants’ Return Considerations as Articulations About ‘Home. *Comparat. Migrat. Stud.* 2 (3), 361–383. <https://doi.org/10.5117/CMS2014.3.ERDA>.
- Erdal, M.B., 2020. Theorizing interactions of migrant transnationalisms and integration through a multiscale approach. *Comparat. Migrat. Stud.* 8 (31) <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00188-z>.
- Erdal, M.B., Oeppen, C., 2013. Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions Between Integration and Transnationalism. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 39 (6), 867–884. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.765647>.
- Faist, T., 1998. Transnational social spaces out of international migration: evolution, significance and future prospects. *Eur. J. Sociol.* 39 (2), 213–247. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003975600007621>.
- Faist, T., Fauser, M., Reisenauer, E., 2013. *Transnational Migration. Policy Press*.
- Favell, A., 2008. The new face of East-West migration in Europe. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 34 (5), 701–716. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802105947>.
- Fialkowska, K., 2019. Remote fatherhood and visiting husbands: seasonal migration and men’s position within families. *Comparat. Migrat. Stud.* 7 (2), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0106-2>.
- Flynn, M., Kay, R., 2017. Migrants’ experiences of material and emotional security in rural Scotland: Implications for longer-term settlement. *J. Rural Stud.* 52, 56–65. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.03.010>.
- Friberg, J.H., 2012. The Stages of Migration. From Going Abroad to Settling Down: Post-Accession Polish Migrant Workers in Norway. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 38 (10), 1589–1605. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.711055>.
- Friberg, J.H., 2016. Arbeidsmigrasjon. Hva vet vi om konsekvensene for norsk arbeidsliv, samfunn og økonomi? Fafo, Oslo.
- Ganga, D., Scott, S., 2006. Cultural “Insiders” and the Issue of Positionality in Qualitative Migration Research: Moving “Across” and Moving “Along” Researcher-Participant Divides Forum: *Qualitative Social Research Sozialforschung* 7(3). <https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-7.3.134>.
- Garapich, M., 2016. *London’s Polish Borders. Transnationalizing Class and Ethnicity Among Polish Migrants in London*. ibidem-Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Gieryn, T.F., 2000. A Place for Space in Sociology. *Ann. Rev. Soc.* 26, 463–496. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.463>.
- Gmaj, K., 2016. Settling in Norway? The Case of Polish Migrants and Their Families. *Mysł Ekonomiczna i Polityczna*. 2 (53), 163–191.
- Greiner, C., Sakdapolrak, P., 2013. Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives. *Geography Compass* 7 (5), 373–384. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12048>.
- Grzymala-Kazłowska, A., 2016. Social Anchoring: Immigrant Identity, Security and Integration Reconnected? *Sociology* 50 (6), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515594091>.
- Grzymala-Kazłowska, A., 2018. From connecting to social anchoring: adaptation and ‘settlement’ of Polish migrants in the UK. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 44 (2), 252–269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341713>.
- Guarnizo, L., Smith, M.P., 1999. The Locations of Transnationalism 1: Comparative Urban & Community Research. In: Guarnizo, L.P. & Smith, M.P. (Eds.) *Transnationalism From Below*. Transaction Publishers. 10.4324/9781351301244-1.
- Gustafson, P., 2001. Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualisations. *J. Environ. Psychol.* 21, 5–16. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jenvp.2000.0185>.
- Haartsen, T., Stockdale, A., 2018. S/elective belonging: how rural newcomer families with children become stayers. *Populat., Place Space* 24 (4), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2137>.
- Hedberg, C., Do Carmo, R.M., 2012. In: *Translocal Ruralism: Mobility and Connectivity in European Rural Spaces*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-2315-3_1.
- Itzigsohn, J., Saucedo, S.G., 2002. Immigrant Incorporation and Sociocultural Transnationalism. *International Migration Review*. 36 (3), 766–798. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2002.tb00104>.
- Kay, R., Trevena, P., 2017. (In)Security, Family and Settlement: Migration Decisions Amongst Central and East European Families in Scotland. *Central Eastern Europ. Migrat. Rev.* 7 (1), 17–33.
- Kirkerberg, M.I., Dzamarija, M.T., Bratholmen Lunde, N.V., Strøm, F., 2019. Norskfødte med innvanderforeldre- hvordan går det med dem? Demografi, utdanning, arbeid og inntekt. Statistics Norway, Report 2019/21. Retrieved from: Norskfødte med innvanderforeldre – hvordan går det med dem? (ssb.no).
- Korinek, K., Entwisle, B., Aree, J., 2005. Through thick and thin: Layers of social ties and urban settlement among Thai migrants. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 70 (5), 779–800. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240507000503>.
- Kordasiewicz, A., Radziwinowiczówna, A., Kloc-Nowak, W., 2017. Ethnomoralities of care in transnational families: care intentions as a missing link between norms and arrangements. *J. Family Stud.* 24 (1), 76–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2017.1347516>.
- Krzyżowski, L., Mucha, J., 2014. Transnational caregiving in turbulent times: Polish migrants in Iceland and their elderly parents in Poland. *Int. Soc.* 29 (1), 22–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580913515287>.
- Levitt, P., 2009. Roots and routes: understanding the lives of the second generation transnationally. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 35 (7), 1225–1242. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903006309>.
- Lynnebakke, B., 2020. I felt like the mountains were coming for me.—The role of place attachment and local lifestyle opportunities for labour migrants staying aspirations in two Norwegian rural municipalities. *Migration Studies* 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnaa002>.
- Mazucatto, V., 2008. The Double Engagement: Transnationalism and Integration. *Ghanian Migrants’ Lives Between Ghana The Netherlands J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 34 (2), 199–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903006309>.
- McAreevey, R., Argent, N., 2018. New Immigrant Destinations (NID) unravelling the challenges and opportunities for migrants and for host communities. *J. Rural Stud.* 64, 148–152. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.09.006>.
- McGhee, D., Moreh, C., Vlachantoni, A., 2017. An ‘undeliberate determinacy’? The changing migration strategies of Polish migrants in the UK in times of Brexit. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 43 (13), 2109–2130. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1299622>.
- Morén-Alegret, R., 2008. Ruralphilia and Urbophobia versus Urbophilia and Ruralphobia? Lessons from Immigrant Integration Processes in Small Towns and Rural Areas in Spain. *Populat., Space Place* 14 (6), 537–552. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.516>.
- Moskal, M., 2015. When I think home I think family here and there’: Translocal and social ideas of home in narratives of migrant children and young people. *Geoforum* 58, 143–152. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.11.011>.
- Mügge, L., 2016. Transnationalism as a Research Paradigm and Its Relevance for Integration. In: Garcés-Masareñas B., Penninx R., (Eds.) *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4_7.
- O’Reilly, K., 2012. *Ethnographic Methods, second ed.* Routledge.
- Piore, M.J., 1979. *Birds of Passage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Piętka-Nykaza, E., McGhee, D., 2017. EU post-accession Polish migrants trajectories and their settlement practices in Scotland. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 43 (9), 1417–1433. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1241137>.
- Puppa, F.D., 2018. Ambivalences of the emotional logics of migration and family reunion: emotions experiences and aspirations of Bangladeshi husbands and wives in Italy. *Identities Global Stud. Culture Power* 25 (3), 358–375. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2016.1238381>.
- Pustułka, P., 2012. Polish mothers on the move: Transnationality and discourses of gender, care, and co-residentiality requirement in the narratives of Polish women raising children in the West. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis: Studia Sociologica*, 2(4), 16–175.
- Pustułka, P., 2015. ‘Virtual transnationalism’ Polish migrant families and new technologies. *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny* 3 (157), 99–122.
- Pustułka, P., Krzaklewska, E., Huang, L., 2018. Childbearing behaviours of Polish migrants in Norway. In: Slany, K., Ślusarczyk, M., Pustułka, P., Guribye, E. (Eds.), *Transnational Polish Families in Norway. Social Capital, Integration, Institutions and Care*, Pette Lang.
- Roberts, B., 2002. *Biographical Research*. Open University Press, Maidenhead Berkshire.
- Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., Siara, B., 2009. Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 35 (1), 61–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802489176>.
- Ryan, L., 2018. Differentiated embedding: Polish migrants in London negotiating belonging over time. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 44 (2), 233–251. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341710>.
- Ryan, L., D’Angelo, A., 2018. Changing times: Migrants’ social network analysis and the challenges of longitudinal research. *Social Networks* 53, 148–158. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2017.03.003>.
- Rye, J.F., Scott, S., 2018. International labour migration and food production in rural Europe: a review of evidence. *Soc. Ruralis* 58 (4), 929–952. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12208>.
- Rye, J.F., Slettebak, M.H., 2020. The new geography of labour migration: EU11 migrants in rural Norway. *J. Rural Stud.* 75, 125–131. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2020.01.014>.
- Ryndyk, O., 2020. The role of labour market integration in migrants’ decisions about family reunion: a comparative study of Polish migrants in Norway, Sweden, and the UK. *Comparat. Migrat. Stud.* 8, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00177-2>.
- Schewel, K., 2019. Understanding Immobility: Moving Beyond the Mobility Bias in Migration Studies. *Int. Migrat. Rev.* 54 (2), 328–355. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918319831952>.
- Sinatti, G., 2008. The Making of Urban Translocalities: Senegalese Migrants in Dakar and Zingonia. In: Eade, J., Smith, M.P. (Eds.), *Transnational Ties: Cities. Transaction Publishers, Migrations and Identities*.
- Skaptadottir, U.D.m., Wojtyńska, A., 2016. Labour Migrants Negotiating Places and Engagements. In: Barenholdt, J.O., Granås, B. (Eds.), *Mobility and Place: Enacting Northern European Peripheries*. Routledge.

- Slany, K., Ślusarczyk, M., Pustułka, P., Guribye, E., 2018. Transnational Polish Families in Norway. Social Capital, Integration, Institutions and Care. Petter Lang. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-06594-7>.
- Slany, K. & Strzemecka, S., 2018. Children as kin-keepers of a transnational family. Inclusive understanding of a family in the eyes of children. In: Slany, K., Ślusarczyk, M., Pustułka, P., Guribye, E., (Eds.) Transnational Polish Families in Norway. Social Capital, Integration, Institutions and Care. Petter Lang. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-06594-7>.
- Snel, E., Engebensen, G., Leekers, A., 2006. Transnational involvement and social integration. *Global Networks* 6(3), 285–308. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00145.x>.
- Statistics Norway, 2020. Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre. Statistikkbanken. Retrieved from: <https://www.ssb.no/statbank/table/05183/table/ViewLayout1/>.
- Stockdale, A., Haartsen, T., 2018. Editorial introduction: Putting rural stayers in the spotlight. *Populat., Place Space* 24 (4), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2124>.
- Stachowski, J., 2020. Positioning in 'relational claustrophobia'- ethical reflections on researching small international migrant communities in rural areas. 78, 176–184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2020.06.001>.
- Stachowski, Jakub, 2020. Processes of socio-spatial exposures and isolations among Polish labour migrants in rural Norway: Exploring social integration as a lived experience. *European Urban and Regional Studies*. vol. 27 (4).
- Søholt, S., Aasland, A., Onsager, K., Vestby, G.M., 2012. «Derfor blir vi her»- innvandrere i Distrikts-Norge. NIBR-RAPPORT, Oslo. Retrieved from: <http://www.noku.no/files/3340/file/derfor-bli-vi-har-nibr-rapport-2012-5.pdf> <https://doi.org/10.7577/nibr/rapport/2012/5>.
- Ślusarczyk, M., Wærdahl, R., Strzemecka, S. 2018. Polish children and their parents adapting to a new school reality in Norway. In: Slany, K., Ślusarczyk, M., Pustułka, P., Guribye, E. (Eds.) Transnational Polish Families in Norway. Social Capital, Integration, Institutions and Care. Petter Lang.
- Tolich, M., 2004. Internal confidentiality: When confidentiality assurances fail relational informants. *Qualitat. Soc.* 27 (1), 101–106.
- Urry, J., 2007. *Mobilities*. Polity Press.
- Vertovec, S., 2007. *Transnationalism*. Routledge.
- Waldinger, R., 2015. The Cross-Border Connection. Immigrants, Emigrants and their Homelands. Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674736283>.
- Wessendorf, S., 2007. Roots Migrants': Transnationalism and 'Return' among SecondGeneration Italians in Switzerland. *J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud.* 33 (7), 1083–1110. <https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674736283>.
- White, A., 2011a. In: Polish Families and Migration Since EU Accession. The Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qgmsz>.
- White, A., 2011b. The Mobility of Polish Families in the West of England. *Translocalism and Attitudes to return. Studia Migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny* 1, 11–32.
- White, Anne, 2014. Double Return Migration: Failed Returns to Poland Leading to Settlement Abroad and New Transnational Strategies. *Int. Migrat.* 52 (6), 72–84. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12138>.
- Wingens, M., Windzio, M., de Valk, H., Aybek, C., 2011. In: A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-1545-5>.
- Woods, M., 2011. *Rural*. Routledge.
- Xiang, B., 2013. Multi-scalar ethnography: An approach for critical engagement with migration and social change. *Ethnography* 14 (3), 282–299. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138113491669>.