A R T I C L E S   A N D   E S S A Y S

ANZHELA POPYK
Institute of Social Sciences, SWPS University

HOME AS A MIXTURE OF SPACES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE CASE OF MIGRANT FAMILIES IN POLAND

INTRODUCTION

As a consequence of the restrictions introduced by the Polish government to prevent the spread of the coronavirus, many spheres of people's lives have been subjected to significant changes. From mid--March to the end of June 2020[1] families and schools were testing a new mode of education. While the schools and teachers, who were forced to work from home, were trying to manage the teaching tools, children and parents experienced a kind of "self-education" due to the amount of materials and homework sent (Popyk 2021). Consequently, parents implemented different techniques for coping with school commitments (Parczewska 2020).

Meanwhile, adults started working remotely from home due to the country's overall lockdown. The home thereby became a place in which all family members were confined, performing various tasks. As a result, since March 2020, the home has lost its primary purpose and character as an intimate, private place (Allan and Crow 1989; Dorey 1985) where

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Correspondence address: angelikapopyk@gmail.com; ORCID: 0000–0003-4627–3517

[1] The second wave of the lockdown and distance education was announced in October 2020.

a family can relax and "escape" from work or school (Moore 1984). From being restricted to a mixture of special relationships (Massey 1994), the home has become a place for the diffusion of various spaces, such as those for work, school, sport, entertainment, and socialising.

For migrant children and their parents, distance learning has become not only a context of growing learning gaps (Darmody et al. 2014; Engzell et al. 2021; Janta and Harte 2016; You et al. 2020), but also social disadvantages (Gornik et al. 2020). Lacking support from relatives and grandparents (Popyk and Pustułka 2021) and being particularly vulnerable due to the working and living conditions (Guadagno 2020) in times of the immobility regime (Merla et al. 2020), migrant families have found themselves "stuck" (Ullah et al. 2020, p. 4) far from the homeland.

This paper investigates how migrant families in Poland have experienced the COVID-19 lockdown, particularly the school shutdown. The study adopts the theory of *social diffusion* (Dodd and Winthrop 1953) and the concept of *social solvation* (Sarnowska et al. 2020) to demonstrate the diffusion of spaces and the formation of a special social unit located within the home.

This work demonstrates the ways migrant families in Poland have assessed and accessed distance education. Moreover, it presents how the diffusion of spaces has changed families' schedules, domestic practices, and routines. The analysis draws on a qualitative study of migrant children (n = 19) and parents (n = 18) that was conducted during the lockdown in the spring and summer of 2020.

This paper adheres to the following structure: to begin with, it presents the concept of "home" and its meaning for family life. Secondly, "school" as a social unit is characterised, highlighting the role of school in migrant families' process of adaptation and socialisation. There is then a brief description of the theory of social diffusion and the concept of social solvation, followed by the methodology. Finally, the section of findings and conclusions is followed by the hypothetical viewpoint on how home, as a place and space, might look once the lockdown is over.

"HOME" AND "SCHOOL" AS SPECIFIC SPACES

"Home" has been seen as a multidimensional concept perceived through various psychological and social approaches, including privacy, identity, familiarity, gender, social class and status, and age or tenure (Easthope 2004; Mallet 2004; Somerville 1997). Although the notion of "home" is often understood as a physical house or dwelling, the

embodiment of family, or one's city or country (as birthplace) of origin (Collins Dictionary, n.d.), it can also mean a "congenial environment" and "the social unit formed by a family living together" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Hence, as a "fusion" of the "physical unit of the house" and the "social unit of the household" (Saunders and Williams 1988, p. 83), home is a space where the relationships between family members and other social units are established and reproduced (Giddens 1984). Gilman (1980) mentioned that a single household becomes a home when "family are in it. When family are out of it, it is only a house" (p. 80). Moreover, Pawliszyn (2016) noted that a home belongs to people, while people belong to their home. He said that a home is our "own property, and meantime [we] are its, without [us] it ceases to exist, and somehow [we do] too" (p. 135).

Some scholars have pointed out that home is not only a place and space for maintaining social relationships (Somerville 1997) or dwelling (Doulas 1991), but also for shaping one's identity (Massey 1992; Rapport and Dawson 1998) and sense of belonging (Gurney 1990). Different ethnic identities are built in different households (Saunders 1989), which are "invested with diverse cultural meanings that differ within and between households and across cultural and social settings" (Mallet 2004). Thus, the identities of migrant children may differ greatly from those of natives.

The concept of "home" is also associated with familiarity (Somerville 1997) and comfort (Dorey 1985), in the meaning of both physical place and space where family members can relax (Moore 1984) and "take refuge" from work/school or the outside world, setting the boundaries between public and private (Mallet 2004). The private dwelling with "access restricted to family members" (Allan and Crow 1989, p. 3) constitutes a safe and secure space unless there is a risk of home violence (Goldsack 1999). The sense of security within a home has been formed throughout history (Duda 2017), from the physical preserving of one's possessions in ancient times, to changes in the significance of home caused by globalisation and migration processes today (Rapport and Dawson 1998).

As a social unit, home can be seen as a "kinship system" (Saunders and Williams 1988, p. 82) that encompasses the household structure maintained by a "routine of practices" and "repetitions of habitual social interactions" (Rapport and Dawson 1998, p. 27). The domestic relations within a household tend to have a special meaning based on gender and age (Mallet 2004). Accordingly, the household can be associated with "a

women's place" (Roberts 1985), as, in the past, it appeared to be more significant for women than men because of the former spending more time there and having more home duties (Allan and Crow 1989). Earlier studies underline the prominent role of women/mothers in household formation (Hunt, 1989; Madigan et al., 1990) and carrying out family practices (Morgan, 2011) by indicating a "cult of domesticity" (Hall 1979) and women's roles in "everyday domestic practices" (Somerville 1997, p. 228).

For children, home is the "first universe" (Bachelard 1969 in Mallet 2004, p. 74), where they dwell and are nurtured after birth or during childhood (Mallet 2004). However, the "domestication" of children can be realised by familiarising them with the world "through relationships with members of their immediate family [. . .] and contacts of their wider family, neighbours (especially other children), and key adults, such as teachers" (Somerville 1997, p. 236). Thus, home is a place where young family members experience their "primary socialisation" and get prepared for their "secondary socialisation", which takes place in other structural units, namely at school and in the neighbourhood (Nowicka 2014).

Another structural unit, namely school, also plays an important role in children's lives. Similarly to home, a school can be viewed both as a physical place, where children spend a significant amount of time, and as a social unit characterised by certain roles and structures (Jensen 1954). School not only provides children with knowledge but also introduces them to the social world by providing an example of social structures, norms, and regulations, as well as certain values, beliefs, and practices (Slany et al. 2016; Ślusarczyk and Pustułka 2016), which may differ from those at home. Besides, school is an important socialisation agent (Popyk et al. 2019) not only for children but often for the whole family. That is why school is particularly important for migrant children, who are likely to perceive it as the main source of adaptation to and inclusion in a new society (Moskal and Sime 2016; Slany and Pustułka 2016; Ślusarczyk et al. 2018).

For migrant children, home and school can become contradictory units, as the home is associated with "own", "familiar", and "intimate", while school is seen as "new", "foreign", and "strange". Besides, traditional practices, values, and beliefs at home and school tend to differ when these structures are formed under different cultural and social circumstances. Moreover, the successful socialisation and education of children requires the interaction of the social units of both home and school (Sime and Fox 2015).

For migrant families, school is not only a place for acquiring knowledge but also a bridge to the residence country's society (Reynolds 2007; Strzemecka 2015). Moreover, for some migrant children and parents school is the only means of enriching cultural and social capital (Barglowski 2019; Crosnoe and Ansari 2015; Devine 2009). Consequently, migrant children and their parents experienced a strong deficit of educational and social support during the schools' shutdown (Popyk 2021).

SOCIAL DIFFUSION/SOLVATION OF PRACTICES WITHIN THE HOME

This study is rooted in the *dimensional theory of social diffusion* designed by Dodd and Winthrop (1953) and the concept of *social solvation* proposed by Sarnowska et al. (2020). The theory of *social diffusion* investigates the way "novel behaviour, once it occurs in at least one person, diffuses through a given population, particularly when its chief means of spread is by person-to-person interaction" (Dodd and Winthrop 1953, p. 180). Therefore, this paper aims to present how new practices, schedules, norms, and rules brought home by migrant children from school diffuse through the whole family and home setting in the time of distance learning.

The concept of social solvation, however, demonstrates how legal regulations and policies imposed by the state dissolve in the social substance, causing "differentiated micro-rational strategies of working parents" (Sarnowska et al. 2020, p. 135). By way of explanation, social solvation shows to what extent state policies influence and modify parents' existing strategies, especially in a weak society, which tends to be subject to changes. Accordingly, this paper addresses how and to what extent school practices, schedules, and norms are dissolved in the home life of migrant children in Poland in times of distance education.

THE HOME DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

As the pandemic spread, the Polish government decided to close schools on 12 March 2020 in order to lower the prevalence of COVID-19 (Kancelaria Prezesa Rady Ministrów [Chancellery of the Prime Minister of Poland], 2020). As a consequence, 4.5 million schoolchildren, 52,000 of whom were declared migrant children (Najwyższa Izba Kontroli [Supreme Audit Office] 2020), stayed at home, practising distance education.

Previous studies indicate that during the spring lockdown the process of distance education did not run as expected, and did not provide children

with the necessary educational skills and knowledge, but caused a certain degree of chaos (Nalaskowski 2020). In Poland, distance learning tended to take the form of home schooling, during which children and parents were given materials (included in the school curriculum) as homework. Thus, the whole learning process was conducted and monitored by children and parents, which increased studying time (Parczewska 2020). Additionally, the new form of learning resulted in significant change to children's everyday, domestic, specialist, and cultural practices. Moreover, such changes in practices are likely to cause changes in migrant children's values and their perception of school and teachers. During the distance learning, some families experienced a blurring of boundaries between lesson time and home time; breaks and free time were spent at home, simultaneously with regular after-school or weekend activities, having meals, playing with siblings, doing the housework, and so on (see Popyk 2021).

Besides, the closure of schools and distance learning highlighted immigrant children's disadvantaged position in several ways. First of all, migrant parents tend to have fewer social and cultural resources than the parents of native-born children, who make use of processes that are essential for supporting migrant children's education and socialization (Caarls et al. 2021; OECD 2020). Secondly, migrant families are more deprived of the emotional and practical support of grandparents and other relatives due to the mobility restrictions caused by the pandemic (Popyk and Pustułka 2021). Thirdly, migrant parents are more prone to the growing unemployment during the lockdown (OECD 2020), which is likely to lead to their families having a less stable emotional and material situation causing double precariousness (IOM 2021).

At the time of writing (June 2021), education in Poland remains switched to distance learning, as the result of a second wave of the virus's spread in October 2020. Consequently, the home has become a place of schooling, working, and (in most cases) socialising processes.

METHODOLOGY

The study of the transformation of the institution of home, its structure, and its practices is based on a subsample of a larger qualitative study into the transnational transitions of migrant children in Poland, conducted during the spring lockdown (see Popyk 2021; Popyk and Pusułka 2021). The analysis embraces 19 interviews with children, with a mean age of 12, and 18 interviews with their parents (the first interviews

with children and their parents were held before the quarantine). In part, the qualitative study aimed to investigate the impact of distance learning on migrant children, and thus on their families.

Methods and recruitment procedure

The research was based on the child-centred approach implemented through active listening to children (Clark and Moss 2001), and the interviews were conducted online using the Zoom application for communicating and recording. This allowed data to be saved directly to an external hard drive accessible to the researcher only, which in turn enabled the security and confidentiality of the data and personal information of the respondents.

Purposeful sampling was implemented in the study, wherein the respondents were contacted through personal channels and encouraged to recruit others through the snowball sampling process. The interviews were conducted in Ukrainian, Russian, English, Polish, and Turkish (in the presence of a qualified interpreter), and I translated all the quotations into English myself.

The study met all the requirements for research on vulnerable groups, such as migrants and children, and was approved by the appropriate ethics committee. All the participants were given voluntary informed consent forms in one of the five languages mentioned above, which aimed to provide each participant with unambiguous information regarding the study's aim, its procedure, personal data processing, how the findings would be used, and its dissemination.

Respondent profile

The research project included migrant families from Ukraine (n = 4), Turkey (n = 12), Lithuania (n = 1), and Romania (n = 1). 16 of the 19 children lived with their parents and siblings in Warsaw. The fathers of three of the child respondents were temporarily residing in their home country due to family and economic reasons. In all families, the adult respondents stated that the father was the main or the only working person in their family. Hence, fourteen mothers stayed at home doing housework and childcare, while three had part-time jobs. Most of the mothers in the study claimed to have had a permanent job back in their home country. The mean number of children in the families was two (varying from one to four). Most of the interviews with the parents

were held in their native languages for two reasons: first, to provide the participants with the opportunity to tell their stories in comfort, and, secondly, because of the parents' poor command of Polish and English.

Data analysis

The data were analysed by taking the following steps: (1) meticulous transcription of the recordings (voice-to-text) and analysis of memos drawn up during the interviews and immediately afterwards, and (2) the development and application of codes (Saldana 2009) that identified the topics of distance learning and migrant families' lives during the lockdown.

FINDINGS

The analysis of this study points to changes in the traditional image of "home" in migrant families as a private and intimate place that constitutes one of the social units within a greater societal structure (Allan and Crow 1989). The findings demonstrate that, during the schools' closure and remote learning, there was a social diffusion of spaces. Social solvation of school practices in the home setting was brought about through the following:

1. A mixture of school and home schedules
2. Modification of family members' domestic practices
3. Saturation with other activities (e.g. sports activities, entertainment, socialisation).

Schedule chaos: Time and space confusion

One of the most common elements the respondents mentioned as demonstrating how distance learning had changed family life was the change in family schedules. Parents expressed their positive and negative perceptions of the impact of remote education. Among the benefits, the respondents noted the reduced time of travelling to and from school, which was considered a waste of time. Drawbacks, on the other hand, were the transformation of familiar, long-established family routines that formed the household structure (Rapport and Dawson 1998) and the requirement of considerable effort and time to establish a new one. A mother of two primary-school children shared her thoughts on the new daily practices:

> It is a less tiring process since they [the children] can attend learning without having to leave home, without having to wake up much earlier than normal. Because when they were attending school, we used to wake up at 6:30 or 7:00 am to have breakfast, and then there is a traffic jam. But now he [my son] is able to wake up later. For example, he wakes at 8:20 for a lesson that starts at 8:25. And during that time he can also have his breakfast. (Damaris, mother of a fifth-grader from Turkey)

The majority of parents also mentioned that their children confused their lesson time and free time, which points to the unusualness of having lessons at home and spending most of the time at home. Consequently, children did not distinguish between school and home time, or the boundaries between learning and resting places. Amina and Laura, mothers of a third-grader and a sixth-grader, described place and time confusion as follows:

> Children treat learning as their vacation time. Only when they sit in front of the screens, they understand that it's lesson time. Between and after lessons, the children feel like they're on holiday. Besides, the whole time they're at home there's all the housework taking place, like cleaning, cooking, dishwashing, eating, and so on; and the child is constantly lost between studying and such household matters. Which is bad for their concentration. Children do not realise that this is homework that should be done for tomorrow, that this should be regular studying. They do not understand what online learning should be like when they start school at eight a.m. and leave at 3 p.m. They should be completely focused on their studies from eight to three. (Amina, mother of a third-grader from Turkey)

> Distance learning cannot be compared to traditional education when children go to school. First of all, I mean their ability to concentrate. Children easily lose attention and are not able to follow the lesson. Consequently, they cannot keep up with all the material. (Laura, mother of a sixth-grader from Turkey)

The end of work-life balance

Apart from children, who cannot separate learning and leisure time while having online lessons at home, the respondents also mentioned that home had become saturated not only with school life, but also with work. While students and parents have had to manage their studying time on one side of the screen, teachers have been forced to maintain a work-life balance on its other side.

> I can say it was three hard months for both children and teachers. Children lose their attention during online lessons. They cannot concentrate.

> Meanwhile, teachers have their own families at home and have to conduct lessons while maintaining their own household and own children. (Barbara, mother of a sixth-grader from Ukraine)

In addition, because of school life taking place at home, some respondents also noted that, during the lockdown, parents were forced to reshape their working practices to adapt to their children's mode of learning. Working parents had to stay at home, monitoring and supporting their children's education while simultaneously carrying out their job duties. Thus, the diffusion of family, school, and work lives has brought about a certain degree of inconvenience and hardship. Maya, the mother of a fifth-grader, describes her home during the lockdown:

> At first, it was a problem, because I only have one computer and a tablet or phone is not suitable for online lessons. During his lessons I was waiting at the salon, on the sofa until 2 p.m. I watched lots of films during that time. It was a bit of a lazy time for me. I get bored because everybody's calling me and asking me send an email, it's not comfortable for me to write on my phone; I am not using my phone for email or work. I always postpone my work to the evening, after he [my son] goes to sleep because, after his lessons, I can't start my job. I must sit or eat something or spend time with him. At first, it was really difficult. (Maya, mother of a fifth-grader from Turkey)

Those parents who used to do some housework or infant care during the day have had to reshape their previous practices, in order to monitor their children's education and support them, since school support during the schools' shutdown was insufficient for migrant children, while private tutors were unable to visit families' homes to assist children in their education (Popyk 2021).

> I control the learning process by myself via Microsoft Teams. I enter and check homework and monitor my daughter completing it. Because children cannot understand or manage the material by themselves. As for me, I value the time when children were going to school. (Ana, mother of a third-grader from Ukraine)

New models of daily family life during the lockdown also required a rearranging of the physical space within the dwelling. Those residing in larger homes were able to enjoy personal, intimate places for studying, working, or leisure. Meanwhile, for many parents, the sofa, kitchen, or bathroom became temporary "waiting areas" while children were having online learning.

> Before we moved to this apartment, my son had to do his homework in the salon next to me, and I prefer not to listen to his teachers as it's

uncomfortable for them and me to hear them shouting [laughs]. But now he has his own room, and I have a room of my own, and we have a common salon and kitchen. He begins his lessons at eight o'clock, and I try to do some of his homework with him afterwards. 'Do it next to me, I'll watch you,' I say. (Ezra, mother of a fifth-grader from Turkey)

Energy excess and socialisation deficit

The concentration of school and work in a single household has also revealed some parenting issues connected with teaching and raising children, as well as ensuring entertainment and social life, which, in the case of migrant children, mostly took place at school (Gornik et al. 2020).

> First of all, children's social life is important, because when they stay at home for a long time they get used to spending time alone, and they get lonely. This also affects the families, who are confused and don't know how to support their children, how to contribute to or help develop their social skills. So I think it would be a big loss if it [the lockdown] stays as it is now. (Sofia, mother of a fifth-grader from Lithuania)

The school shutdown was a particularly desperate time for those migrant children who had just arrived in Poland, joined a new school, or had not yet established peer contacts before the lockdown. Such children were anxious about feeling socially marginalized while having little or no peer contacts during distance learning. Emre, a 12-year-old boy from Turkey, who had switched from private to public school just before the quarantine started, shared his concerns of being socially excluded because of neither having friends at the new school nor keeping in touch with those from the previous one:

> … I don't know where anybody is, I have no contact with them [friends from the previous school], that's why I cannot meet with anybody. Just a few Turkish people … I have my friends' phone numbers, but they don't respond. (Emre, 12-year-old boy, 4 years in Poland)

Moreover, during the lockdown, children and other family members were deprived of outdoor social and sports activities. Consequently, the home became a place for exercise, sport, or simply working off the accumulated energy. But extensive physical activities at home might disturb other family members' privacy and intimate atmosphere. One of the father respondents noted:

> Children do not have a place to burn off their energy, because they have too much of it. Then they start causing problems for the parents at home.

Likewise, spouses begin to quarrel with each other and somehow get on each other's nerves. So families suffer a lot, simply because they have nowhere to work off that excess energy. (Omar, father of a fifth-grader from Turkey)

Finally, the findings of the study reveal that some parents experienced difficulties because of the changes caused in their lives by the schools' shutdown and distance learning . Fourteen of the eighteen parents informed that they used to do home duties before the lockdown, which included domestic duties, infant care and shopping. Moreover, for some Muslim immigrant families shopping in a multicultural mall was the only entertainment, as mothers expressed fear and uncertainty of going outside while wearing a hijab. During the distance education their homes have changed their original purpose and function, and become a place saturated by studying, working, and sport and entertainment activities.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In these times of school closure, the new learning mode has not only affected children's everyday, domestic, educational, and cultural practices (Popyk 2021) but has also caused changes in other family members' schedules and previously established practices. Besides, homeschooling has led to changes in the division of spaces within the family dwelling. Moreover, the home has changed its primary purpose from being an intimate place where family members can relax (Moore 1984) that is separate from the outside world (Allan and Crow 1989). During the lockdown, the home has become a conflux of different places and spaces, such as those for school, work, socialisation, sport, and entertainment.

The current study shows that despite the changes to the home, resulting from the process of globalisation and making the gender positions in the household more equal (Rapport and Dawson 1989), the pandemic lockdown has caused a reversion of "domestication" (Somerville 1997) of women and children in migrant families. During the school shutdown, mothers stayed at home monitoring and supporting their children's education. Moreover, migrant children became more domesticated through constant familiarisation with household activities and domestic practices, as school and home lives became diffused.

As a consequence of the lockdown, "school time" diffused in the home, causing a "perpetual confusion" of spaces and time. Migrant children were unable to distinguish between their lesson and leisure times, while their parents organised the family day around completing children's school

duties, including online lessons and homework. Migrant children tend to require parents' or siblings' support in doing schoolwork due to a low level of language and cultural knowledge (Popyk 2021). As a result, migrant families' lives became merged with school life to a significant degree.

Besides, the study indicates that, for migrant families, the home has temporarily stopped being an intimate and private place (Allan and Crow 1989; Mallet 2004) for the family members, because parents have had to rearrange their household duties and free time to fit their children's schedules. Moreover, due to the pandemic chaos (Nalaskowski 2020) in the educational process, migrant families have been forced to fully include school in their home life, adapting to school schedules and practices (Slany et al. 2016; Ślusarczyk and Pustułka 2016).

What's more, during the spring lockdown the home was imbued with another function, "secondary socialisation" (Nowicka 2014), because children had limited access to other socialisation spaces. Furthermore, migrant families' adaptation to the host society, which was often primarily realised through school (Slany and Pustułka 2016; Ślusarczyk et al. 2018), was interrupted, which led to the social marginalisation of certain migrant children who had previously established only poor contacts and relations with their peers.

This paper demonstrates the diffusion of various spaces for home, school, work, and entertainment during the pandemic lockdown. In addition, the study illustrates the process of social solvation (Sarnowska et al. 2020) of these spaces through perceiving school (also work, sport, and entertainment places) as a solute and home as a solvent. Thus, the solvent mixture of "home" depends on the "physical" state and "chemical" characteristics of both elements: home and school. Consequently, "liquid" domestic and family practices are more likely to be diffused with school practices than the "solid" family practices. To reword, the less rooted and set family practices are in migrant families, the more likely they are to be subjected to the changes brought about by the host country's practices, introduced by the schools.

THE POST-PANDEMIC WORLD

This paper demonstrates how school, as a social institution, with its practices, norms and regulations, became dissolved in another institution, namely home. The changes that distance education has brought to migrant families' homes indicate that migrant families have a high tendency to be affected by changes introduced by the social units of the host country. The

level of social solvation of spaces in migrant families' homes depends on the significance of school as an educational and socialisation institution not only for migrant children but also for their parents.

Hence, distance education, which has already lasted five months, has caused substantial changes in household functioning, namely the formation of new studying and childcare practices, assigning additional tasks and obligations to parents, and the division of the dwelling into some kind of studying, working, and resting spaces. As a result, both parents and children may experience long-lasting difficulties and obstacles in maintaining intimate family relationships.

As a result of the solvation process, two types of mixture can be formed: homogeneous and heterogeneous. Similarly, when the school element is "'dissolved" in the "home", one of two possible mixtures can be formed. In the first, school and home constitute a plain mixture that cannot be separated once distance education is over. In the second, school and home are mixed, but the components of the mixture are visible and can later be separated. However, the mixture components can leave stains or flavours on each other. In other words, when the lockdown is over, children will go back to traditional education and parents to their customary work and domestic practices, yet families are likely to preserve certain practices, norms, or habits acquired during the remote education (for example they may continue to rely on digital devices and media, expect children to be more autonomous, value intimacy, and be more effective in working under unexpected conditions). Besides, schools are also likely to adopt certain new approaches developed during the distance learning (e.g. the digitalisation of education, expecting children to be more self-reliant and autonomous in the learning process, and expecting children to have better problem-solving skills).

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HOME AS A MIXTURE OF SPACES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE CASE OF MIGRANT FAMILIES IN POLAND

Anzhela Popyk
(SWPS University)

Abstract

The spread of the coronavirus has led to significant modifications in the majority of social and private institutions. For most families, home is now the location of many activities that are usually kept separate, such as work, school, entertainment, and socialising. Migrant families, for whom the school was the primary place for socialising, were forced to "host" school at home. As a result, migrant families' homes have been reconstructed from a private household and intimate dwelling place into a mixture of spaces. This paper applies the theory of social diffusion developed by Dodd and Winthrop, and the concept of social solvation designed by Sarnowska et al., to study the diffusion of places at the time of lockdown. The data are derived from a qualitative study of migrant families in Poland during the school shutdown. This study investigates how the mixture of various places within the home has affected the lives of family members.

key words: home, social diffusion, diffusion of spaces, migrant family, COVID-19

DOM JAKO MIESZANKA PRZESTRZENI PODCZAS PANDEMII COVID-19: PRZYPADEK RODZIN IMIGRANTÓW W POLSCE

Anzhela Popyk
(Uniwersytet SWPS)

Abstrakt

Pandemia COVID-19 spowodowała znaczące zmiany w funkcjonowaniu zarówno instytucji społecznych, jak i prywatnych. Dla większości rodzin dom stał się przestrzenią wykonywania różnych aktywności, takich jak praca, nauka, rozrywka czy życie towarzyskie, które jeszcze przed pandemią były realizowane osobno. Rodziny imigranckie, dla których szkoła była przede wszystkim miejscem socjalizacji i źródłem kontaktu z nowym społeczeństwem, były zmuszone przenieść

ją do swoich domów. W związku z tym dom rodziny imigranckiej przekształcił się z prywatnego gospodarstwa i intymnego miejsca w „mieszaninę przestrzeni". W artykule zastosowano teorię dyfuzji społecznej opracowaną przez Dodda i Winthropa oraz koncepcję społecznej solwatacji opracowaną przez Sarnowską i kolegów do zbadania dyfuzji przestrzeni w czasie trwania lockdownu spowodowanego rozprzestrzenianiem się pandemii COVID-19. Dane pochodzą z jakościowego badania rodzin imigrantów w Polsce przeprowadzonego podczas zamknięcia szkół w roku 2020. Celem badania jest analiza sposobu, w jaki mieszanina różnych przestrzeni w domach migrantów wpłynęła na życie członków ich rodzin. W wyniku analizy wyodrębniono dwa rodzaje mieszanin przestrzennych o różnej wielkości i znaczeniu dla członków rodzin imigrantów: jednorodne i niejednorodne.

słowa kluczowe: dom, dyfuzja społeczna, dyfuzja przestrzeni, rodzina imigrantów, COVID-19