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Polish Mothers on the Move: Gendering Migratory Experiences of Polish Women Parenting in Germany and the United Kingdom

Pustulka, Paulina

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Polish Mothers on the Move

Gendering Migratory Experiences of Polish Women Parenting in Germany and the United Kingdom

Thesis submitted for examination for:
PhD in Sociology and Social Policy

Paulina Pustułka
School of Social Sciences
Bangor University

September 2014

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Paulina Pustułka

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Paulina Pustułka

Abstract

Situated at the crossroads of family studies and migration research, this thesis discusses the experiences of Polish migrant mothers raising their children in Germany and the United Kingdom from a gender-centred feminist perspective.

The literature review chapters of this work show the scholarly works relevant to a discussion on the migrant lives of the study's respondents as migrants, being both Poles and mothers. On the one hand, it highlights scholarly research on the processes of mobility, particularly in relation to transnationalism, migration of mothers and children, as well as the specific conditions faced by contemporary migrants from Poland to Western Europe. On the other hand, it reflects on modern families and parenting, offering in particular a feminist critique of mothering.

The thesis then supplies details on the data collection and includes a discussion of the researcher's reflexivity in the field. The empirical evidence was obtained through a qualitative, small-scale field study – a feminist inquiry using an in-depth interviewing technique.

By showcasing the findings, the thesis demonstrates a range of choices that Polish mothers abroad make when it comes to raising children. The study delineates the following ideal-type models: Mother-Pole connected to the Polish heritage, Intensive Motherhood adopted as a mainstream model of Western Europe, the peripheral instances of Feminist Mothering, and, finally, the New Migrant Mothering. The latter is an original, key contribution of this thesis, illustrated by women's stories of the transnational integrative practice of mothering that aims at hybridization of Polish and Western influences.

While addressing the earlier knowledge gap, namely the absence of the voices of Polish mothers as agents of mobility, the thesis ascertains a need for acknowledging diversity in parenting practices within the contemporary intra-European transnational families.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"I wanted to write a book on motherhood because it was a crucial, still relatively unexplored area for feminist theory. But I did not choose this subject, it had long ago chosen me"
/Adrianne Rich, Of Woman Born*, 1976:15/*

This study of Polish migrant mothers in Germany and in the United Kingdom sheds light on their diverse entanglements within the multiple dimensions that shape their parenting in foreign surroundings.

Illustratively, one nice September morning, as I was attending a mother-toddler playgroup I had joined with my son, Kasia – one of my fellow migrant mothers from Poland – appeared at the meeting for the first time after having her second child a couple of months before. She sounded quite defeated when she openly stated that becoming a mother is an experience hard enough to go through in your own country, so no one should ever voluntarily choose to do it elsewhere unless they absolutely had to. This prompted a heated debate between the local and migrant mothers coming from various countries around the globe, from which it transpired that even within the very small representation of Polish mothers that attended the same meeting, there was no consensus on the matter since many of the Polish mothers believed that the exact opposite of what Kasia had earlier stated was true. Among the "cons", they listed the 'dreadful' healthcare conditions, high costs of living, mentioned the nosiness of their in-laws and neighbours that never just 'let the mothers be', and expressed an overall discontent with the lack of support and respect from the Polish state for women in general, and mothers in particular. Those arguments, foregrounding the benefits of migrant motherhood, were made just as other women spoke about the profoundly negative consequences that the absence of friends and family continues to have – both during the early days with a new-born, and facing the problems with rearing toddlers and older children. They recounted numerous struggles caused by their teenagers growing up with a different cultural (and national) identity, and the parental sacrifice of their own language and 'not being at home'. Finally, with no consensus reached, one had to think that perhaps the experience of a migrant mothering is a little bit of both. This thesis seeks to employ a gender perspective in addressing such complexities and showcase the heterogeneity of experiences among women who have migrated from Poland to Western Europe.

Standpoint

Exemplifying the 'reflexive turn' in the social sciences, which has signalled and consistently underscored "the importance of reflecting on the process and production of knowledge, as well as drawing attention to the need to consider political, emotional and ethical issues emerging as part of the research process" (Jamieson 2011:2), this study sees the researcher as always "implicated in the construction of knowledge through the stance that he or she assumes in relation to the observed" (Bryman 2001:470). Furthermore, in this case, the feminist self in the research can assist one in making sense of the lives of others (Letherby 2003:96). As it is my belief that personal biographies factor into the choices that we make as researchers and have an impact on the study design from the topic selection to the analysis of findings, as has been recognized in previous recommendations to draw on one's self in feminist practice (e.g. Stanley & Wise 1983, 1990; Cotterill & Letherby 1993, Letherby 2003; Oakley 1992; Olesen 2009, Reinharz 1992, 2010), I consider it important to present briefly my involvement with this topic.

When taking the Gender and Migration module for my Master course in 2008 – arguably a moment in time when the Polish mass-mobility to the UK and Ireland was gaining strong momentum as a research topic -- we discussed the topic of transnational motherhood. I had several questions: "How does this phenomenon look in the Polish case?", and, more importantly "What happens to mothers after families reunite?", "What does migrant parenting look like?" As this thesis will demonstrate, both the Polish scholarship and the general literature on mobility and mothering were generally silent on these issues.

Subsequently, I based my Master research on interviews with a number of Polish mothers in Belfast and London, predominantly focusing on the problematic of 'on-remote' parenting experience. As I was still curious about the next stages of their lives abroad, I developed a PhD project which addresses the experience of migrant mothering in a more holistic and specific manner, and, at that point, I decided to settle abroad – leaving my native Poland to take up a doctoral research scholarship at Bangor University.

Importantly, I started my desk research and developed the preliminary methodology as a non-mother and conducted the first few interviews as such. Without initially realizing the impact of my 'embodied positionality', I continued the fieldwork throughout my pregnancy in 2011, first in the UK, and later on in Germany, as my DAAD-funded research stay was scheduled for that period. After giving birth to my son in

Germany in September 2011 I became a migrant mother myself – living in Bochum until September 2012, and later returning to the UK and residing with my child and partner in Chester. At present, the three of us live in Berlin, and as my son will soon turn three, I have first-hand experienced some of the challenges that my interview-partners faced in Germany and in the UK during those last years.

Becoming a mother has had a tremendous effect on my research design and the ultimate conceptual framework choices. Faced with the irrevocable effects of my personal transition to motherhood, I have incorporated my experiences and used them as a resource for access to the field and building trust-based relationships with my interview-partners. While I give additional details on positionality in the following Chapters, I am certainly aware that the project would not look the same had I not become a mother myself. I take ownership of the type of inter-subjectivity presented in the analyses and hope it offers a novel approach to ensure a better understanding of the phenomenon of Polish migrant motherhood.

As acknowledged by Allen, "the ongoing transition from feminism and family studies to feminist family studies, [means] we cannot imagine any family studies not shaped by feminist contributions" (2009:3-4). The inherent difficulty of examining migrant motherhood lies in the lack of a disciplinary subfield dedicated to theorizing it in a holistic manner, and it is rather presented either as a particularly located 'type' of motherhood in family studies, or as one of the 'issues' that have to be tackled by the migrant women who are studied by migration scholars. However, it is near impossible to examine one 'side' of the phenomenon without looking at the other component, and bridging the perspectives of the two disciplines is necessary. The study sets out to explore migrant mothering and motherhood as embedded in intra- and inter-familial relations (doing family), as well as its interfaces with mobility processes (transnationalism), and with broader society. In addition, in the specifically Polish intra-European context, this work fits with the directives of the feminist migration scholarship (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003: 4-11, Szczepanikova 2006, Parreñas 2012) and treats gender as a constitutive element of migration. The thesis assumes an intersectional perspective (Lutz et al. 2011) and addresses Morokvasic's call for more comparative research on border-crossing practices, transnational relationships and ties between countries, as well as discourses around mobility of men and women (2006:67). Furthermore, it stems from a belief that existing analyses of the gendered consequences of paternal and maternal absences (Nicholson 2006, Dreby 2006, Parreñas

2005, Pustułka 2012) should be paired with a continued research interest in the lives of reunited migrant families. As such, the presented analyses look at family practices in relation to how the different aspects are "done" and reproduced, potentially also being imprinted on subsequent generations. The analyses cover gendered socialization, constructions of belonging, framings of gender roles, as well as the impact of class and ethnicity on the family practices of Polish migrant mothers.

The research presented in this thesis relies on the basic assumption that the world in which the respondents live and are sharing their stories is socially constructed. In narrating their experiences, women largely referred to pre-existing social ideas of motherhood, exemplifying, rejecting or questioning various aspects of what it means to be 'a good mother' under the two main ideologies: the one they grew up with (the 'Mother Pole' model of the Polish motherhood), and the other – the one they are confronted with as a dominant ideology in their Western destinations ('Intensive' Motherhood). The women reshape and reconstruct their models in their everyday practices and many of them develop individual strategies that transgress the aforementioned choices. This thesis reveals the main areas where the heterogeneity among contemporary Polish migrant mothers is most apparent.

Individuals are seen as agents but do not exist in a vacuum, and the researcher relies on the metaphor of the bricolage and the *bricoleur* (Weinstein & Weinstein 1991:161, cf. Denzin & Lincoln 2009:24) to express the qualitative role and the tasks that lead to the development of an interlinked set of elements representing a specific and complex reality, organized here into the ideal types of migrant mothering. In examining the above mentioned dimensions, the project fills the gap by giving the voice to women as a formerly under-researched group within the society in general and migration in particular, showcasing also the ways in which they narrate their experiences. Consequently, the study is guided by the feminist paradigm which relinquishes the power of telling one's story to the interview-partners, and seeks to pinpoint the underlying causes of gender inequality and the persistent patriarchal orders, particularly in relation to parenthood, household obligations in everyday family lives (e.g. chores, kin, care), as well as their broader societal and intergenerational implications.

Thesis Overview

Structurally, the thesis comprises three parts that cover *Literature*, *Methodology* and *Findings and Discussion*, arranged in that order.

The *Literature Review* constitutes the first part of the thesis, and the following three Chapters present a selection of relevant scholarship drawn from Family Studies on the one hand, and the Migration Research on the other. The review undergirds the research (Marshall & Rossman 1999:43) and maps the intellectual territory for the following discussions (Alford 1998:27). Though it embarks on providing a succinct coverage of the perspectives offered by two substantial disciplines in the three countries of Poland, Germany and the United Kingdom, it predominantly includes globally recognized scholarship and encompasses some issues outlined for geographic and disciplinary spaces beyond those destinations. The literature had to be carefully scoped and balanced between theoretical and empirical texts. Quite evidently, the review is dominated by studies published in English, and complemented by the literature in Polish. This might be partially explained by the researcher's language skills,[1] but it also reflects the particular lack of studies on Polish-German transnational mobility and the abundance of relevant recent findings published from the UK-based projects on migrant families and beyond. The selection also reflects the researcher's choice to employ perspectives yielded by British Family Studies and feminist critiques of motherhood as best suited for understanding the dynamic and practical notions that drive the contemporary migrant mothering of Polish women in Europe.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to 'family', 'motherhood' and 'mothering', and has four main components. It begins by grounding the inquiry in the 'doing family' and 'family practices' approaches and proceeds with locating a Master Discourse of Motherhood in Poland within a broader overview of the Polish contexts of family research, and a presentation of the 'Mother-Pole' role-icon. Subsequently, the models of motherhood that can be seen as crucial in Western Europe are covered in such a manner that a general backdrop is given first, followed by a discussion on how those concepts and framings have been received in Polish scholarship. This logic applies both to the 'Intensive motherhood'

[1] My German is at an upper-intermediate level, so I am able to follow academic texts. However, a majority of articles dedicated to Polish (family) migration to Germany that I found useful were either published by German authors in English or written by Polish scholars in Polish.

and the 'Feminist mothering' themes. In a way, they are situated as particular alternatives to the 'Mother-Pole'. Additionally, a more detailed overview of the importance of the feminist thought for studying families and mothering is given. *Chapter 3* addresses migration from the international standpoint – supplying definitions, key themes and an empirical example. The focus is largely on the importance of studying female mobility projects, as well as choosing a transnational optic to look at migrant mothering and related family practices. The final literature-dedicated *Chapter 4* narrows the scope to the studies that deal with Polish migration, again highlighting the gender and family aspects, but also discussing the characteristics of the streams to Germany and the United Kingdom, particularly in recent years and with a focus on women and families on the move.

Chapters 5 and *6* detail the methodological aspects of this small-scale qualitative study. First, the arguments for feminist research inquiry and in-depth interviewing are outlined in *Chapter 5*, which also addresses the ethical issues. The subsequent sections of *Chapter 6* then outline the steps in the research process. Those include the strategies for selecting and recruiting participants, as well as details on their socio-demographic background and different aspects of the interview situation. The Chapter further includes a brief discussion of supplementary data collection methods (participant observation), as well as the practical matters concerning fieldnotes and transcriptions. Attention is also given to the issue of the researcher's positionality, which was crucial for this project. The final section of *Chapter 6* can be seen as something of a bridging component. in that it seeks to show how the research design framework was put in practice and modified during the data analysis. In essence, it shows how the 'ideal types' were distinguished through a presentation of the data excerpts from the methodological standpoint.

The third part of the thesis encompasses the findings and the parallel discussions detailing the practices of mothering abroad, shared in the stories that substantiate the core contribution of the *ideal types* of motherhood models applied or developed during the data analysis, linking them to the broader scholarship outlined in *Chapters 2, 3* and *4*. Accordingly, the three chapters reflect the ways in which different women's stories are embedded in certain ideal-type models, starting with the women identifying with the *Mother-Pole* (*Chapter 7*), followed by the combined discussions of the Western patterns (*Intensive Motherhood* and *Feminist mothering – Chapter 8),* and concluding with arguments for the development of an integrative ideal-type under *New Migrant Mothering* strategy *(Chapter 9*).

Finally, *Chapter 10* provides conclusions in the form of a comparative side-by-side discussion of the models. It also enumerates the broader contributions and implications of the study.

PART I Literature Review

Chapter 2: Families, Parenting and Mothering: 'Doing Family' and Studying Parenting Practices

"Each member of the family in his own cell of consciousness, each making his own patchwork quilt of reality - collecting fragments of experience here, pieces of information there. From the tiny impressions gleaned from one another, they created a sense of belonging and tried to make do with the way they found each other"/Toni Morrison, The Bluest Eye/

Defining a family, which clearly remains one of the most important, yet complicated and challenged concepts of social thought, must start with basic generalizations of seeing human families as groups affiliated by consanguinity, affinity, or co-residence, which serve as institutions of reproduction, intergenerational transfer and socialization (Marshall 1994:221-224). However, for the past three decades "family situations in contemporary society are so varied and diverse that it simply makes no sociological sense to speak of a single ideal-type model of 'the family' at all" (Bernardes 1985:209), while "[e]vidently no one 'knows' what a family is: our perspectives vary to such a degree that to claim to know what a family is shows a lack of knowledge (Trost 1990:442, cf. Cheal 1999).

Taking a step back to contextualize "the unknown", the family and society have always intercepted and interacted, particularly as reproduction and production have been interlinked early on in what Engels wrote about women being the domesticated producers of healthy workers as pillars of success for capitalism ([1884], see May 2011:4). As a distinct field, Family Sociology emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, with a particular dominance of the functionalist approaches of Parsons (1956), who viewed the nuclear family as an optimal vehicle for reproduction in the industrial societies. The 'big bang' in the field (Cheal 1991, May 2011) came in the 1970s with feminist critiques which began to challenge the binding of women and private spheres and problematized the very term of 'family' as monolithic, exposing it as a patriarchal institution that benefits men only, as well as challenging the validity of Young and Willmott's (1973) 'symmetrical family' (May 2011:4, Chambers 2012:29-32).

With a focus on postmodern living, family is seen here as socially constructed, expressed in a variety of forms and remaining in a constant state of flux, dynamically inter-negotiated by individuals equipped with agency (Slany 2002, 2013, Allan 1999, McCarthy & Edwards 2011, McKie & Callan 2012, Gattrell 2005). To obtain the full picture, structural dimensions of social class, labour market, national politics or institutional framing (Slany 2002) are here seen as important areas that impact families. The focus, however, must primarily be placed on narratives of family and parenting practices and strategies – all those areas of activities that relate to family, the way families are displayed, operated, imagined and enacted (Smart 2007, 2011, Finch 2007). This broad understanding of family moves beyond the functionalist paradigm, instead adopting ideas drawn from British Family Studies (Morgan 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 1996, 1999; Allan 1999, May 2011, Smart 2011, McKie & Callan 2012, Chambers 2012) and highlighting gender (feminist) perspectives (O'Reilly 2008, 2010a; Kinser 2010a, Slany 2013).

As outlined by McCarthy and Edwards, any singular and universal definition of family becomes void, as family is now viewed through the interrelatedness or inter-connectivity of its members and beyond (2011). Nevertheless, specific topics of interest within Family Studies still pertain to partnering and childbearing, daily living arrangements, decision making, resources and provisions, parenting and care, kinship and community relations, domesticity contra other social life areas such as education, health, work, as well as diversity and inequality, especially in the cross-cultural and global context (Ibid:2011:2-3). The approach to family also considers what Adams listed as three most powerful theory-driving forces since 1970: demographic transition, technology, and globalism (2010:501-503). A technological perspective highlights the devaluation of male physical strength in the labour market, advancement of birth control as a method of governing one's timing and desire for procreation, the increased number of the so called 'high-tech babies' as a result of medically assisted reproduction (Condit 2010, Gerodetti & Mottier 2009, Katz Rothman 1989, Kramer 2010), as well as the consequences that the every-day presence of mobile phone, personal computers and Internet have for intra-family relationships. The demographic transition of the West, with low birth rates and extended longevity is a valuable insight, yet not an irreversible or stable situation. On the last point, Giddens points out that globalization significantly changes everyday life by wholly transforming societies and institutions of social practice (Giddens 1990, 1992, Slany 2002:45). Summing up Giddens' claims concerning the consequences of globalization for

the family, there is little doubt that traditional family values are being replaced or sacrificed for individual goals. The notion of the 'democratic family' points to individualization as the erosion of values on the one hand, and the growth of individual agency on the other, coinciding with social and geographical mobility in the twenty-first century (Giddens 1992, 2007; Beck 1992, 1994, Beck & Beck Gernsheim 2002). Analogically, Crow and Maclean (2004) have argued that increasing globalization and transnational living do not mean the end of communities and they present results which suggest the growing significance of local networks, while Finch and Mason (1993:109) were concerned with increasing physical distance hindering the likeliness of kinship support. Further, Mason (1999:156) believes that residing "near enough to provide help can mean being expected always to be first to help", which is particularly applicable to women – the "natural" family carers. Pyke (2004) incorporated observations on family changes in the US (particularly in regard to children's agency, elderly care and gender roles) and arrived at the conclusion that the more assimilated the migrant, the weaker their familialism norms.

Schneider's definition and subsequent work on kinship practices seen as actions that do not reflect the pre-existing structures of doing (1984:202, 1968; Kasten 2013:66) enabled progress towards the beyond-normative definitions of families. Subsequently, the new directions in sociological thinking have investigated intimacy and personal matters (Jamieson 1998, Smart 2007, May 2011), what feels 'private and unique' and thus difficult to conceptualize. In that sense a "sociological approach is interested in exploring the ways in which even the most private experiences are shaped by the socio-cultural context in which they occur" (May 2011a:168) and must foster understandings of society that are dynamic, something we 'do' (in our respective personal lives), rather than something that objectively exists in a static manner (May ibid:170). Reminiscing about Elias's metaphor of house and bricks for a society that is not separate (and inseparable) from the relationships that constitute it (1991), Chambers underscores the "major shift from classic or traditional approaches to family seen as a rigid 'social institution' determined by 'morality', to "an idea of family and wider personal life as diverse sets of practices" (2012:33).

Family here signifies something that requires the constant 'doing' of its members (Morgan 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 1996, 1999) in regard to "roughly, those practices to do with marriage or partnering and with parenting and generations (Morgan 2011c:) and

"those relationships and activities that are constructed as being to do with family matters" (1996:192). The core idea of 'practices' puts an emphasis on dynamic daily-ness of things evident "upon doing and upon the everyday" (Morgan 2011a:18). They concur with the Bourdieusian sense of practices which are 'fluid, negotiated and cross-cut', present as actual endeavours, accounts and evaluations, underlining the dynamic nature of family-life (McCarthy & Edwards 2011: 88-91). Morgan's key arguments stem from the recognition of disjuncture between ideologies of nuclear family and actual ways that people choose to lead their family lives (1996, 2011a). They encompass said 'practices' that may include (but are not limited to) "people's identifications, understandings, feelings, values, interactions and activities that draw on the ideas […], expectations and responsibilities that stem from these. It covers actual practices on the part of family members, accounts or evaluations of these practices by others, and aggregations or statistical summaries of them" (McCarthy & Edwards 2011:88). Practices are something that people use to understand and structure their lives (Morgan 1996:11) and Smart and Neale (1999:21, cf. Gattrell 2005:37) commend a 'family practices' approach for allowing social actors to choose and modify their 'doings'. It follows that six dimensions of understanding family (as per Morgan's scholarship) are important:

- Being alert to the perspective of both actors and observers of the family (ie. family members and social researchers or social workers) and the mutual relations between them;
- Focus on activity rather than object (non-static, dynamically shaped action);
- Family conveys an idea of the daily life and importance of mundane everyday small activities – unremarkable tasks like bathing children, taking them swimming, preparing food and organizing leisure – all are the telling aspects of "wider systems of meaning about the family life. In other words, the concept of family practices locates parts of everyday family experiences within discourses about family in society" (McCarthy & Edwards 2011:89, Morgan 1996, 2011a, 2011b);
- The"daily-ness" of family evokes its regularity and repetition rather than unusual events that are regularly given full attention;
- Family practices may be mundane but are also open-ended and fluid, not discretely connected to other dimensions, inclusive of gendered practices (e.g. expectations regarding mothering/fathering), ethnic or religious

practices (e.g. ethnic food, leisure related to church), body practices, age practices (e.g. caring for children by parents/grandparents, caring for elderly). This means that different types of practices may be differently executed in different families (or by different family members), as well as be assigned various meanings.

- Family practices constitute a major link between history and biography: they are rooted and created by individuals' life history and experiences.

Interlinked fluidity, flexibility and individuality of family practices have taken centre-stage in family research, paving way for connecting self and society (see also: Allan 1999, Allan & Crow 2001, Morgan 2011a) with other notions. More recently, the idea of intimacy in the family has become prominent with the inclusion of beyond-familial relationships (Jamieson 1998, Smart 2007), resulting in the emergence of the sociology of personal life focused on the relational and socially constructed nature of the ways in which people build personal connections in the families and beyond (May 2011:5-8, Pahl & Spencer 2004).

Said developments relate to wider social theorizing on post-family life, for instance in Giddens' focus on 'pure relationship' (1992:58) which views family-hood and relatedness as built on a 'rolling contract' (May 2011:6). It also takes into account the advancements brought by individualization, risk, disembeddedness and 'the normal chaos of love' at a distance (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995, 2002; Beck 2000). Discussions of individual autonomy in the ethical, religious and political sense (linked to emancipatory movements, gender equality claims, stratification theory) have been flourishing, while individualism is being fostered not only by the social, but also by physical space. Each single cohort since 1920s onwards is believed to have changed priorities in relation to children's socialization, their degree of scepticism towards family-life regulating institutions, as well as their commitment to individualization and secularization (Therborn 2004:22). Families are "tossed upon a sea of change" (Adams 2010:504), being just as the rest of postmodern reality "commodified, uncertain, outmoded, and insecure" (Weiner 1997:111). At the same time, Morgan recalls Richards' study, in which 'Home ownership, like motherhood, had until recently an unspotted record in Australia as a 'good thing'' (1990:94, cf. Morgan 2011a:13), indicating that this 'package' of family defined as

marriage and parenthood, paired with owning a house often persists as desirable or 'natural', a form of control over one's life that guarantees a sense of stability and security.

Being a family means "sharing memories of past events and transitions" (McKie & Callan 2012:158, Morgan 1996) and in this context Finch (2007) introduced the 'displaying family' as the process taking place concurrently to Morgan's 'doing family'. She argues that "display is the process whereby individuals, and groups of individuals, convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain of their actions constitute 'doing family things' and thus confirm that these relationships are 'family' relationships". The focus on social interactions in everyday life should be noted, as means of expressing the family's togetherness are listed as rituals of family meals, photographs, informal gatherings (reunions), celebrations (weddings, funerals) and the like. Being a member of a family and having relationships with family members provides a way for people to narrate continuity in their life stories (Morgan 1996), even if those recollections are not coherent or harmonious. Cheal (1999:66-67) believes that searching for familial intersubjectivity is a form of 'moral individualization' of kinship in late modernity. The so called 'memory work' is what families do to constitute or reconstitute themselves as they engage in togetherness for particular 'rites of passage', assemblies incurred by christenings, weddings, funerals and similar events (Morgan 1996). Cheal expands on the concept by including 'voices off stage' – of people referred to in the family accounts that may not be physically present (2002), while Morgan believes that growing interest in family history proves that 'memory work' facilitates a family-embedded sense of control in the times of discontinuity brought on by migration, among other factors (1996).

Contradictory to the individualization thesis, works by Finch (2007) and Williams (2004) suggest that whenever people consider commitments worthy of sustaining, they will find ways to actively maintain personal, family and family-like relationships. Edgar (2004) argues that Western bias in applying the individualization theory of families makes it too much focused on the negotiated life course to the neglect of family processes and resources that may limit the benefits of options currently available to individuals. Stressing 'family agency', he argues that the personalistic psychologism which dominates family research should be abandoned and a more informed reality-construction approach preferred (2004:14). On that note, it is important to bring in the concept of family strategies (Morgan 1989, 2011c) which, despite being less used in recent scholarship, does not necessarily contradict relying on 'practices'. According to Cheal (1999:68), the

concept of strategy "conveys an idea that in evaluating alternatives open to them people adopt a comprehensive view of their situations, including taking account of the actions of others with whom they interact". Focusing on strategy means looking at people in their 'collective' or 'community', which consequently yields insights into 'family strategies'.

Some detailed insights instrumental for this work pertain to parenting and, to a lesser degree, notions about partnering. Starting from the earlier event of the 'standard' lifecourse trajectory, the motivations for couples 'getting together' in contemporary Europe are increasingly believed to be established on the grounds of 'falling in love', while social factors continue to impact who we meet and culture "constrains expressions of biologically-led desire" (Duck 2007:1, Cheal 1991, Beck Beck Gernsheim 1995:11). Between postmodernity and growing human longevity, Smart urges scholars to look at how enduring intimacy develops through emotionality of attachments, and how they matter for the value assigned to family (2007).

Jamieson states that intimacy and coupledom nowadays belong to the private domain marked by "close association and privileged knowledge, empathy and understanding, love and care" (1998:18). Modernization did break down the traditional patterns of marrying and conducting family life, and the new forms of family are progressively more wide-spread and accepted (Cheal 1999, Allan 1999, Chambers 2012, Szlendak 2010), arguably causing certain erosion of traditionally hierarchical structure of a family (Abbott & Wallace 1990, Oakley 1974). Despite these freedoms, or perhaps partially as a side-effect of pressing endangerment and fragility of postmodern relationships, familialism perseveres (Jamieson 1998:19-20, see also Slany 2013, Giza-Poleszczuk 2002). In addition, the love market is said to be homogenous and dominated by endogamy, since people enter relationships with those socially equivalent, similar in backgrounds and likely to be accepted into (and further facilitate creation of) mutual personal and social networks, simultaneously staggering chances for social mobility through bonding (Allan & Crow 2001, McKie & Callan 2012:137).

Nonetheless, various distinct relationships within families are believed to have their own logic of commitment and reciprocity, with the shape of this relational 'trajectory' being patterned by a variety of actions (Allan & Crow 2001:182), early on demonstrated by Schneider's 'diffuse, enduring solidarity' (1968) that was persistent (also in the later life) throughout parent-child relationships. The latter have taken centre-stage following a paradigmatic shift in mothering/fathering being increasingly replaced by 'parenting'. In

that context, where there is no question that parenting remains "a process embedded and shaped by wider social values, structures and institutions" (Chambers 2012:55), researchers attempted to cover the topic from a variety of perspectives, including the perspectives of both genders. However, it seems that escaping the gendered divide is rarely fruitful, and works tend to separately address mothers/mothering and fathers/fathering in their respective changing roles, transitions to parenthood and challenges.

To give some examples, Gatrell's book subtitled "The sociology of parenthood" discusses families, motherhood, working mothers, and lives of fathers as distinctive areas of both broader scholarship and her own research (2005) in a well-structured manner. A final chapter on children that must become 'ours' in coupledom if there is ever hope for equality (2005:206-216) looks at broader social attitudes to working parents which are to be addressed from the governmental level, while eventually falling back again into the dilemmas and discrimination faced by mothers. Next, Jamieson's work on mothers and fathers as intimates (1998:43-74) assumes motherhood and fatherhood as departure points but proceeds with discussions of parental displays of power and disclosing intimacy, particularly in the context of social class differentiation. It also successfully demonstrates a more 'general' view on parent-child relationships that persist overtime in mutuality. Finally, Lee et al. gather research on parenting culture studies, which they view together with a widely spreading 'parental determinism' framework (2014:3) crucial for the analysis of the transition from Hays' intensive motherhood to 'paranoid parenting' of today, which basically requires fathers to conform to the ideals of the formerly female-only 'intensive' ideology (2014:1-22) described in the following section. This concurs with the application of Ruddick's (1989) framework to 'mothering' men by Doucet (2010:170-180) who links parenthood with contemporary dimensions of emotional, community and 'moral' responsibilities. These are based on maternal roles in nurturing and socialization and applied to everyone regardless of gender, but also bringing up an important issue on the specificities of motherhood that seem to overextend, determine and permeate other areas of family lives.

On the whole, this broad approach to families yields itself to questions about ways in which mothering is conducted in a more every-day sense (ie. practices of care, domestic tasks, spending time together), as well as to what constitutes the core issues of modern (migrant) mothering from a gendered perspective. In the analysis, it is important to remember that kinship ties found among ethnic minorities were used as another argument

against the individualization thesis, since the networks extended beyond borders. Going through the settlement and acculturation processes in a different country were consistently believed to re-shape family relationships (Chambers 2012:51). In connecting self and society (May 2014), it is important to introduce a dialogue between different individual choices (ie. in partnering or parenting), performed in the actual experiences of 'families we live with' (Gillis 2004:989), while keeping an eye on the broader social structures and their relationship to 'families we live by', that is the ideals we hold for our family life, however unrealized these might be (McKie & Callan 2012:83-86, 215). As Morgan argues:

> "in carrying out these everyday practicalities, social actors are reproducing the sets of relationships (structures, collectivities) within which these activities are carried out and from which they derive their meaning. […] There is, therefore, an inevitable circularity between these practices and the sets of other individuals and relationships within which these practices have meaning". (2011b:3)

Because 'rethinking the family' prompts the 'rethinking of motherhood' (Nakano Glenn 1994, Hondagneu & Avila 1997/2005:309), the following sections of this chapter will be dedicated to motherhood and mothering as all-encompassing concepts that call for a specific overview.

Motherhood in Poland: An Overview

Just as family-centric life-orientation of Poles is said to be rooted in traditional axiological values that accentuate patriotism, honour and religiosity next to the crucial importance of family (Slany 2013:8), the dominant mothering discourse similarly refers back to broader values, in the same manner as it links back to the presence of similar figures elsewhere. Indeed, positioning ethnic and national descriptors next to 'mother' (role, model, icon, figure) is not an unknown phenomenon in social realities across the world, as Yuval-Davis pinpoints in the examples of Russia and Israel (1997a:26-27, see also Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012:15), while *marianismo* links what we know about the Polish figure with the cult of Virgin Mary in Latin America (Gutierrez-Rodriguez 2010; Dreby 2006; see also 'Transnational Motherhood' section in *Chapter 3*). Significantly, Oleszkiewicz also observes that across globally remote destinations of Poland, Mexico and Brazil, it is unequivocally less the question of the image of Mother Mary than the omnipotent importance of the roles she plays as "the protector, the consoler, the defender, the fighter for freedom and justice […]" (2003: 2-3). Finding the roots in the image of

Mary Mother of Christ depicted as Mother Earth, the author denotes links between mother, family, motherland and the state in its Polish emanation, as she writes that:

> "[…] she is called *Matka Polka* and *Matka Polska*, indicating that she is Mother Pole and Mother Poland. In her name, and under her protection, innumerable private and public battles for independence from foreign and internal oppression took place" (2003:18)

Consequently, it is not the general formation or structure, but rather the historical trajectory development and the content that makes Mother-Pole particularly crucial for symbolic-real-imaginary triad of orders in the Lacanian sense (2006), guiding women in Poland in framing their understanding of mothering, while also determining their choices – in regard to both following and transgressing the existing scenarios and roles, operating as a Master Motherhood Discourse for Poland (Ostrowska 2004). Walczewska (1999:53) claims that Mother-Pole provides a formula for women's capacity to participate in the Polish national community, and it is through motherhood (and largely through motherhood only) that Polish femininity is legitimized, explaining why the notion functions as a role model, stereotype (Budrowska 2001), but also as a post-romantic phantasm (Janion 1996). Similarly, after analyzing the Polish right-wing political discourse, Graff comes to a conclusion that

> "the boundaries of the sacred and secular, the individual and communal, and familial and political have all been completely blurred; Holy Mother of God, 'regular' Polish Mother, and Poland (state) as a mother become one. Real women are completely disappearing from the picture" (2008a:145-146).[2]

Being such an important component within Polish national identity and cultural capital, it is presumably a well-known and well-understood category, present both in academic discourses and everyday language (Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012:11). According to Ostrowska, however, due to an exceptionally broad semantic scope and diversity within representations, Mother-Pole functions as a particularly 'void' concept, with a stable *signifiant* but a context-dependent *signifie* (2004:215). Futhermore, the notion of Mother-Pole entails "an ideal image of femininity derived from Virgin Mary, feminized idea of patrimony, historical experience of Polish women, and an aggregated set of societal expectations towards them". As the contamination of orders has been progressing since the 13th century, it has led to a situation, in which "the oscillation of the Mother-Pole figure

[2] This and all subsequent translations from Polish are mine.

between myth and stereotype does not permit to unambiguously locate it either in reality or in the imagination" (Ostrowska 2004:222, see also: Janion 2006:272-273, Walczewska 1999:53-56).

Moreover, Hryciuk and Korolczuk note that Mother-Pole persists as a reference point for the researchers, well-described and analysed, but not deconstructed as of yet. Mother-Pole elusively embraces and prescribes all ideals of a 'good mother', remaining a highly selective and exclusionary notion of social practice, essentially prohibitive of alternative models (2012:11-12). In this context, Mother-Pole is being described through a complexity of dimensions, which may encompass general representations (such as 'icon', 'figure'; see: Ostrowska 1998, 2004, Oleszkiewicz 2003) and specific female identities and roles (e.g. Titkow 1992, 2007, 2012), just as much as it covers actual social practices ('parenting strategy', 'mothering practice': Urbańska 2009, Sikorska 2009a, 2012). Furthermore, the elements representative of different orders may intercept and operate together (e.g. Korolczuk 2012 – practice and identity), and only together the components sketch out somewhat coherent guidelines for an 'ideal type' model of Mother-Pole. Accordingly, it is worthwhile to pursue a detailed investigation of the studies focused on various aspects of 'Mother-Pole', which will be presented in the following two sections.

Mother-Pole:
Maternal Entanglements with Nation, Religion and Everyday

Historically, as 'mother' became a central family figure in regard to symbolic discourses, after "maternal voice, smile and love became central symbols in the second half of the 19th century" (Szacka 2003:382, cf. Mościcka-Bogacz 2011:162), Ostrowska argues (1998:419) that the specific representations of the Polish Mother have been largely stable since their inception in reaction to the loss of Poland's independence, as well as during the next two centuries when the constant feature of the otherwise varied past usage of the Mother-Pole's have become universally rooted in the principle of resistance. Ostrowska believes that 'motherland' has in fact functioned as a feminine structure, void of male power for nearly 150 years of history, the period when Poland was erased from the maps.[3] Consequently, it is not men but rather the motherland that calls for female sacrifice

[3] In 1795, after the third and last of the partitions, the Polish state ceased to exist. Independent Poland was reinstated after World War I (1918).

in the discourse – an aspect of the myth that has obscured the oppression within it and allowed its unquestioned functioning and acceptance among Polish women (1998:433) who are continuously being convinced that they are raising their children so that they can fight for 'the greater good' (Mościcka-Bogacz 2011:163, Janion 1996: 78-99).

Zembrzuska (2000) followed the more recent emanations of said ideologies of womanhood from the historical standpoint and concluded that traditional elements of Mother-Pole were purposely used to assist the goals of a socialist state.[4] She writes:

> "Both [models] share the idea of devotion and sacrifice. The Polish Mother ethos appeals to the particular roles women played in supporting national spirit in the [hardest] moments of Polish history as not merely biological reproducers but as transmitters of national values. The socialist propaganda made use of this ethos, transfiguring the devotion to Polish national identity (in which Catholic religion played also enormously significant role) into devotion to socialist state's political goals. Socialist gender ideology attempted to compound in the new model of woman two elements: heroic matriarchs-protectors and workers-producers" (2000:9).

Indeed, the idea of equality was officially promoted by the systemic investment into state-run and free care institutions (nurseries, kindergartens, paid maternity leaves), yet patriarchal relations not only persisted but also imposed on women a *double burden* of work in private and public spheres (Zembrzuska 2000:9-10, see also Mazurkiewicz 2013:11-14). This point has also been raised by Einhorn (1993) and Dunn (2008:157-181) who both claim that socialist ideologies led to participation in the workforce, while yielding no change in gender relations at home, effectively locking in the totality of mothers' responsibilities over children, home and income in subsequent generations. More importantly, the persistence of traditional gender divisions in Central Eastern Europe was also assisted by notions of resistance towards the socialist state, which was always rejected as a foreign regime (Zielińska 2010:69). Paradoxically, the attitude contributed to patriarchy by contrasting home/familyhood with state, thus creating "a niche within the system" in response to "an important aspect of the nostalgia for 'normality'" (Watson 1993:480, cf. Zembrzuska 2000:9). As private spaces of home became prioritized over socialist "public" state, the women's belonging to one sphere only was sealed (Dunn 2008:167-168). It is worth underlining that the pre-1989 period was not one-dimensionally

[4] The socialist state and the communist heritage are used as reference to social surroundings and the political climate during the 1944-1989 period of Polish history, when the-then Polish People's Republic was regarded as a satellite state of the Soviet Union.

negative – while it strengthened a stricter division of gender roles at home (Dunn 2008, Titkow 2008, Slany 2013), it also brought about improvement of the macro-indicators, as women participated in the labour market,while taking advantage of a relatively accessible and state-subsidized childcare solutions (e.g. Krzyżanowska &Wiśnicka 2010, Sikorska 2010a).

Today, the "who are Polish women?" question becomes increasingly justified and particularly important. At the same time answering this query gets more and more complicated – as Titkow noted in the introduction to her book on the identities of Polish women (2007:9). Synchronously, there are multiple frameworks for studying Polish women and/or mothers, which by and large refer to the Mother-Pole, yet propose a range of (qualitative and quantitative) approaches, as well as interdisciplinary lens within social sciences and beyond (see also Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012: 7-24, Slany 2013: 7-27). A selection of recent studies will be presented, moving from general frameworks to more specific data on Polish family and mothering practices.

Western scholarship made significant advancements in looking at gender and nation, with Yuval-Davis arguing that"[w]omen are often constructed as the cultural symbols of the collectivity, of its boundaries, as carriers of the collectivity's 'honor' and as its intergenerational reproducers of culture" (Yuval-Davis 1997c:67, 1994:186), acknowledging also that such literal and symbolic reproduction carries a collective 'burden of representation' (Yuval-Davis ibid:45). Highlighting the reception of the works of Yuval-Davis (e.g. 1997c) Anthias et al. (1992) and Janion (1996, 2006), Graff examined contemporary aspects of sex and gender within Polish nationalism, discussing the interdependency of the two notions with respect to understanding the orders of nature and culture (2004, 2007, 2008a, 2008b). She states not only that fantasies about the nation existing in community rituals, practices and a cultural text are infused with ideas of femininity but, similarly to Walczewska (1999), underlines also the place assigned to female citizens as that of passive followers or *'bearers of culture'* – the transmitters of the key elements of national identity (Graff 2008a:143). Zielińska similarly observed that "nationalistic discourses, as particularly evident in the Polish case, determine conditions for female belonging to the nation and delineate roles that should be ascribed to them" (2010:68). She further suggested that women are mainly seen as mothers and protectors of national identities, with a mission to preserve traditional morality and fulfil their sacred duty of raising healthy children for the nation, compatible with the spirit of patriotic and

ethnic values (Zielinska 2010: 68; see also: Siemieńska 2003:229, Titkow 2007:71, Graff 2008b:141, Lutz 2011:133, Giza-Poleszczuk 2005:242-243).

Graff also draws on works of McClintock and Boehmer in explaining the opposition in the nationalist narrative between masculine versus feminine becoming metonymic (exemplary parts of a nation) and metaphoric (symbolic of 'a whole nation'), respectively. Therefore, women are excluded from direct action, yet their collective bodies symbolically serve as national boundary (Graff, 2008c:139, McClintock 1996:261). Graff reminds that "nation is often depicted allegorically as a woman and, frequently, it is a woman in distress or a mother who lost her sons" (2008a:142). Customarily, female sexuality has been used during military conflicts, and since female bodies symbolized the state territory, women were expected to sacrifice their lives in the name of "purity", rather than undignifiedly give themselves to the enemies (Ostrowska 1998, Morawska 1984, Graff 2008a, 2008b, 2008c). This somewhat mythical depiction of the 'female body of the nation' is responsible for the historical and cultural transmission, while "the bodies of real women carry on the national substance in the biological sense as mothers who later convey Polish culture onto the next generations" (Graff 2008a:140). In consequence, female sacrifice and suffering are subject to idealization (Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2010, 2012). This particular national condition resulting from the period of Polish state fighting for re-instatement (19th century) found its expression in the Polish romantic literature, tradition and literary portrayals of imperative female sacrifice where, in fact, Mother-Pole "always appeared as a tragic figure, who suffered because exceedingly great duties forced her into a life full of self-denial" (Hirsh 1992:258, cf. Lutz 2011:133).

The latter notions are evident among the characteristics of Mother-Pole noted by Budrowska (2000:190) – they include limitless obedience and selflessness, acceptance of one's suffering and resignation of one's aspirations. For Graff, the crucial aspects of mothering lie in the "bearing" of culture, for even if it could be considered a source of pride derived from the assumed participation in the imagined community and important responsibility over children's socialization, in reality it occurs under full and strict control of men (2008a, 2008b, 2008c). As Graff looked at Polish right-wing politicians with their famous spectacle of anti-abortion vows proclaimed in 2006 at the grand Catholic event in

Czestochowa,[5] as well as the growing popularity of conservatism, she concluded those to be highly important recent enforcements and a confirmation of stability within the '*Polishness-Marian devotion- motherhood*' association (2008b). The sequence exemplifies how celebrating Mother Mary as the Queen of Poland has led to the concatenation of three identity components, universalizing ethnic (Polish), religious (Catholic) and personal (mothering) experiences into one. Eventually, it has allowed for an abbreviated claim, in which a simple fact of being a Polish female signifies an obligatory motherhood.

According to the author, it is now a view assimilated to the belief system of the majority of Polish political elites (Graff 2008a:146). Moreover, it was reproduced in a habitual and day-to-day image of a woman which, in the personal documents analysed by Szpakowska, equals that of a mother. Szpakowska also noted that the two subjects of a mother and a woman are being used as interchangeable synonyms (2003:222-234). Graff sees this discourse as being shared by real women living in Poland today, for whom its impact might arise as "paralyzing and repressive, yet sometimes also beneficial for strengthening the female identity and the bonds between women" (2008a:147). This paradox is viewed slightly differently by Ostrowska who states that while this myth enables Polish women to occupy special "high moral positions" in the social hierarchy, the very same idealization has led to "a deprivation of subjectivity" and essentializing of female maternal obligations which reinforce the traditional patriarchal structures (1998:433) in the everyday lives of contemporary Polish women. Szpakowska concurs by saying that pro-family attitudes and choices are promoted via peculiar over-valuing of the role of a mother when no alternative vision of performing one's femininity exists (2003). Mościcka-Bogacz argues that although the Mother-Pole model grants women a certain degree of agency by including them in the national matters, it should still be treated with ambivalence. As the author explains, "regardless of the ascribed symbolic prestige, it takes away women's choice as a socio-cultural mechanism that links woman and motherhood in an ever biding manner" (2011:163). This, in consequence, leads to frictions among women, hindering female solidarity as "happiness of mothers is attained at the expense of the happiness of women and vice-versa" (Szpakowska 2003:222-234), while rejecting

[5] A city known for being Poland's most important place of religious worship, particularly in regard to the Marian cult.

motherhood becomes synonymous for non-femininity and social immaturity (Mościcka-Bogacz 2011:165, Slany 2002: 114).

Even though the equation of womanhood with motherhood was also observed by Dunn, she further elaborated on the role of the idealized protector who is responsible for feeding her children. She also notes the presence of breastfeeding Mother of Jesus in the Catholic iconography and her dominance over the Virgin-depictions favoured elsewhere. As it stands, Mother of God is a sacralised vision of ideology where women are to feed the babies and children (literally), at the same time figuratively nourishing the entire nation (Dunn 2008:157-158). Eventually, a woman is being referred to as 'gastronomic-mother' (*matka gastronomiczna*) by Walczewska (1995). Oleszkiewicz, again with the use of the religious backbone of the model, makes a similar point on how any practices that could pose a threat to patriarchy are swiftly removed from "Mother Earth" when she becomes Mary-Mother of Poland:

> "the uncontrollable aspects of wisdom, sexuality, dominion over death, and transformation are viewed as incompatible with this figure. Mary's officially emphasized qualities are submission, humility, purity, old suffering, and renunciation (2003:4)

Although sexuality was used in the national narratives, it differed from religious prominence which made Mother-Pole always naturally "un-erotic", particularly since "earthly love was alien to her, and thus she almost resembled a saint" (Lutz 2011:133). Subsequently, Kościańska (2012) outlined the literature pertaining to the statement that "*Matka Boska* [Mother of God] is the best of the Polish mothers" and argued that concatenation of the Catholic figure and actual women is still largely present in the narratives of women today.[6] A discourse-centred study was conducted by Mościcka-Bogacz who analysed back issues of a Catholic (and politically conservative, if not right-wing) *Nasz Dziennik* newspaper for the period of 2000-2009. Unsurprisingly, the articles highly criticize childlessness and feminism, but also set extremely high standards for mothers. One remarkable example of this attitude includes statements where mothers who go back to work before the child turns three "contribute to their children's emotional disability". In those circles, the State's role is to be a protector of motherly (rather than

[6] A telling methodological example of the consequences is Kasten's (2013) story of embarking on finding literature on 'motherhood' (using it as a tag for academic searches at several top Polish university libraries) and noting that her searches of the sources return almost exclusively theological volumes on different incarnations of Mother Mary.

professional) roles of its female citizens, further claiming that Mary Mother of Christ should be a woman's best advisor on all aspects of life (2011:166-169).

While Ostrowska believed that the current positive political climate of "no threat" for Poland will foster changes of Mother-Pole being overridden by western models of femininity and integrated into European, as well as alternative/feminist ideas of womanhood (1998:434), it appears that the political discourse continuously brings about novel issues functioning as direct dangers for the Polish identity and further victimizations of Mother-Pole, including the gender debate accompanying Poland's EU accession (Graff 2008b).

More recently, a plethora of conspiracy theories around the presidential plane crash[7] were found to be vividly present for Polish migrants to Ireland, who considered it to have been an 'attack' (Muszel 2013).[8] Similarly, Oleszkiewicz has claimed that the maternal figure is neither becoming outdated nor abandoned, but rather re-invigorated with the new functions demanded by the changing setting (2003:26). The evolution has been empirically proven by Titkow, a precursor of research devoted to Mother-Pole, who in particular uses large-scale longitudinal survey data to find the indicators of new developments within attitudes toward motherhood, family practices and reproductive choices among Polish women. Titkow has recently argued that the inner-logic of Mother-Pole has changed between 1998 and 2002, both in regard to the content of the model (2007) and in respect to its new analytical potential for looking at gender as an indicator of social change (2013).

Importantly, Titkow claims that while 'managerial matriarchy' has been evidently a source of a certain prestige and respect before 1989, it lost this value in recent years. Since 1998, Mother-Pole has become an "overburdened, self-sacrificing for the loved ones manager of the family life, convinced of her irreplaceable competences" (2007:144).

[7] Said accident happened as a governmental plane carrying President Lech Kaczyński and a delegation consisting of almost 100 people representing various political parties, clergy, NGOs as well as relatives of Polish officers and civilian victims killed in the the 1940 Katyń massacre crashed in Smoleńsk in April 2010. While the investigation attributed the crash to pilot error and poor weather conditions, the conspiracy theories presented by far-right extremists revolve around Russian involvement in what they called 'an assassination' of a hard-line conservative leader.

[8] Interestingly, the process of reinforcing heterosexual family norms and female reproductive roles in times of unexpected crises had been also noted as ongoing in the context of the post 9/11 America (Volpp 2002).

While the late 1990s research suggested that women in the 'Mother-Pole' category[9] have incorporated individualization and other modern elements in their identity-formations, those processes have staggered and even begun to reverse by the time the 1998 survey took place. Indeed, the initial insertion of 'managerial matriarchy' into mothering debates (Titkow & Domański 1995:15) has been rather positive and indicated that women were in charge as managers of private life. They took on the roles of the protectors of the safe haven of home, as well as skilled negotiators responsible for the 'organization' of basic material goods, a task they fulfilled often with a sense of pride and satisfaction, thus emphasizing that Mother-Pole is resourceful, obliged to find a remedy for all troubles (Drat-Ruszczak 2010:205-206, Hryciuk 2012: 283-284, Dunn 2004).

According to Titkow, a contemporary Mother-Pole is concentrated on her home, the place where she cannot be replaced, can show her dedication, be a prime example of appropriate home-making and motherhood, and where she conducts her work (just like at a "job position" with specific requirements) and sets up all the rules (2007:159). These and similar findings led Marody and Giza-Poleszczuk (2000) to call the modern Polish mother "a vilified victim", brave in her multi-shift work and to whom her husband ('a helpless child') is indebted. In that sense, while Mother-Pole might have an egalitarian vision of her family and socialization of the children, she is not engaged in any sort of group solidarity. Therefore, any of her success in terms of gender progress in personal life does not translate to public life and remains a purely individual experience (Titkow 2007:146-147).

Survey research consistently confirms what feminist researchers (e.g. Charkiewicz & Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz 2009) have been saying about a strong gender division of labour, with women across social classes contributing over 20 hours of unpaid housework weekly, regardless of the declared support for equality. A more detailed description of specific chores showed that cooking is the responsibility of 75% of women versus only 7% of men (only 18% share this task), doing laundry is another exemplary female task (with the proportion of 84% to 4%), and helping children with homework is also dominated by women (20% as opposed to only 3%). One more significant issue is a high disproportion in the answers of spouses: husbands often marked tasks as "shared", while their wives clearly noted it was their sole responsibility. The discrepancy reached even 15-20% of all

[9] Titkow's research delineates four (1998) or five (2002) types of identities among Polish women jointly presented on a temporal axis in her 2007 monograph. However, the other categories are only loosely related to mothering, thus are not relevant for this analysis.

responses and was especially large when it came to mundane tasks such as taking out the trash, washing dishes, calling for services (e.g. plumbing), and day-to-day grocery shopping. These empirical data focused on pragmatic aspects are consistent with what Drat-Ruszczak describes as ‘‘managerial matriarchy’’, a phrase which

> “conveys a mixture of obligation to overcome troubles and the duty to accept them and to suffer without complaining. In Poland, women aren’t socially perceived as weak or unable to take any responsibility for their actions. On the contrary, it is believed that they are strong enough to manage, to deal with difficult situations, and to withstand them in humble and silent ways” (2010:205-6)

This “silence” of suffering women is also noteworthy in Budrowska’s account (her book published in 2000 remains a canonical volume on motherhood in Poland) of seeing motherhood as an experience that women go through as passive objects rather than subjects (2000:377). Pre-existing standards of ‘good mothering’ are imposed on them as a sequence of pregnancy-childbirth-care, with the latter focused on providing safety and protection, as well as fostering ‘proper’ development of their children. Simultaneously, women become fully responsible yet completely absent themselves (Budrowska 2000, Maciarz 2004, Lesińska-Sawicka 2008, Kasten 2013).

Linking the discussion of Mother-Pole back to the state and gender, Titkow has argued that “[s]ince 1989 (and until the present day), the leaders of Christian-nationalist parties make it appear as if locking away Polish women in the world of Children-Kitchen-Church *[Kinder, Küche, Kirche]* was their most important political, strategic and personal issue” (2007:70). An extreme example of reducing women to their doctrinal ‘sex roles’ was the reproductive rights debate which resulted in an absolute ban on abortion that, according to Titkow, viewed women as ‘incapacitated incubators’. Similarly Janion (2006) and Zielińska (2010) have argued that the gender- and nation-binding model was promoted by the Polish church as a normative idea of female sacrifice through the daily burden of family life that women were supposed to carry in silence and outside the public eye. This notion was picked up by foreign researchers who noted that it “clearly influences the symbolic Polish gender identities to this day” (Lutz 2011:133).

As it stands, what we now observe is that politically, never before have Polish women been pushed out of the public space so strongly, with the ‘Mother-Pole’ used to legitimize discrimination, moving away from the earlier prestigious compensations inherent in the managerial matriarch position (Titkow 2007:71), and towards a re-traditionalized and unidirectional pattern of pressure directed at women. The economic

transformation period excluded women from the public sphere in general and from politics in particular (Watson 1993, Fuszara 2002, 2007, Zielinska 2010:69), and the negative attitudes towards women's emancipation resulted mainly from the strengthened position of the Catholic Church. Paradoxically, as Polish women were shown the new opportunities in the individualistic, democratic and free-market society, the catholic and neoliberal capitalist doctrines worked together to prevent them from taking advantage of the changes and said opportunities (Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012:15).

An illustration of such a transition from the socialist to capitalist economy can be seen in a study of female workers in the newly privatized provincial baby-food factory, where Dunn described politicization of feeding and maternalism in the workplace as a form of subjectification in the context of post-1989 economic transition, as well as the new workers' relations. Dunn cites one of her respondents praising her manager for being "a good mother to her team" (2008:154) and showcases the way in which mothers perceived their employment through the lenses of feeding the children as a form of almost familial care. Their careers were narrated as extensions of home-making obligations, later on a requisite under a neoliberal counter-feminist framework (Einhorn 1993). Dunn's respondents clearly continued seeing home as their primary environment, a prism for other areas of their life, linking employment with motherhood which, while not incompatible for Budrowska, (2000:36), is increasingly criticized by scholars. Some of them, like Maciarz (2004:7-8), believe that the mothers' focus should not be on career or emancipation since both are erosive and devaluing their maternal mission. Polish women's presence on the labour market is in fact vastly affected by notions of gender and reproduction which, in brief,[10] consider female employment and income secondary to male-breadwinning. Those may also be observed in the large gender pay gap and the discriminatory practices structurally, as well as in the hostility towards mothers in the workplace on the more individual level (e.g. Kotowska 2007, Dunn 2004, Coyle 2007).

On the broader demographic issue, Beisert, who analysed declarations of university students and discovered that what separated Polish youth from their European peers are

[10] Due to the extent of issues within labour market and migration, those had been covered in more depth in a separate paper entitled "*Escaping workplace gender discrimination through mobility? Labour market experiences of Polish female migrants in UK and Germany*" presented at Work in a Globalising World: Gender, Mobility, Markets, 5th Annual Seminar of the BGSHS (Bielefeld, 8-10.04.2013) and accepted for *Interdisciplines* journal (vol.1/2015). The paper includes a richer theoretical background and presents empirical evidence on the matter.

their procreation plans: “the majority of the respondents (87%) want to have children, with the “2+2” model being the most popular (73%)” (2006:26). She further noted that not having children was widely perceived as a failure or bad fortune, concluding that:

> “young adults revealed a specifically Polish familial tendency which manifests itself in the devotion to tradition of considering family to be the primary life goal, praising family-associated values (love, health) […] as well as a high value assigned to parenting, verbalized as shared and common desire to have children, and disapproval of childlessness” (2006:27).

In essence, societal understanding of marriage as a precursor to having a child is persistent (Titkow 2007, Giza-Poleszczuk, 2005), and remains both a personal desire and a professional hurdle for women, while it is less important, or even beneficial, to the career advancement trajectory for men (Titkow 2007:237, Titkow et al. 2003, 2004, Kotowska 2007, Budrowska 2000, Slany 2002, Krzyżanowska & Wiśnicka 2009). The more recent statistics confirm the above-described pattern – while there is a value shift in the declarative aspect (men and women largely state that they wish to have gender-equal partnerships or agree that couples should share childcare following a divorce), the macro-indicators suggest the persistence of the ‘traditional’ roles. Some examples include a parental leave, where fathers constitute a mere 2% among leave-takers (Kostrzewski, Miączyński 2014), out of the 1.5 million single-parent households only 150 thousand have male household-heads (Kubisa 2011), and Poland’s scores in the Global Gender Gap comprehensive studies actually worsened over the recent years (Pustułka 2015, fortcoming). Similarly, a recent article on gender and welfare state in Poland by Płomień has reiterated an implicit presence of the familialism model, with data supporting the residual nature of care and employment policies, as well as a diminishing support for working mothers. Płomień further underlines that the changes made in the work-family balance area seem to “miss the point” (2009:147). At the same time, this “negative” framing is not universal, and some of the changes currently happening in Poland are described below in the sections dedicated to New and Intensive motherhood in Poland and Polish Feminists and Motherhood, respectively.

In conclusion, the particular blurriness of Mother-Pole facilitates an acknowledgement of the embeddedness of the maternal discourse in religious framings and national symbolism, while also allowing for the practical dimensions of the everyday in respect to gender orders, family relations, and labour market in the model. Concurrently, Polish popular religiosity and apocryphal writings have been noted by Oleszkiewicz

(2003:17) as conducive to reality shared by *sacrum* and *profanum*, where Mother of God functions as both the holy creator and an everyday assistant policing her subjects' choices, such as those pertaining to care and employment. In addition, the Mother-Pole national narrative seems to be the model selectable and preferred for many women,[11] which makes it extremely difficult for women to question or challenge the juxtaposition of nationhood-womanhood-motherhood (Graff 2008a, 2008b), also in the context of migration (Muszel 2013, Mazurkiewicz 2013:11-14).

Neoliberalism, New and Intensive Motherhood of the West

Across the societies dominated by patriarchal ideology reinforced by neoliberalism and absolute child-centeredness of modern families, Intensive motherhood is paramount, a fundamental and mainstream model of 'good mothering' (Green 2010a:573, Hays 1996). With its relatively recent inception in the United States (just before the Second World War, see Hays 1996:49-50) and effectively spreading since the 1980s, Intensive motherhood is unsurprisingly connected with regulating female presence on the labour market on the one hand and, on the other, with fast development and popularization alongside an overflow of media presence of maternal advice. One can also note its strong relation to marketing and advertising of products indispensable for 'appropriate' mothering (Hays 1996, Green 2010a). Neoliberalism, which had only become prominent and paradigmatic in the 1980s, yet achieved a status of 'a grand narrative' across political options (Phoenix 2004), today relates less to the classic liberal notion of a self-regulating market and more to a complex and broad variety of its "intertwined manifestations", namely an ideology, a mode of governance, and a policy package (Steger & Roy 2010:10-12). In this thesis, the use of neoliberalism is valid for the explanations of how the neoliberal emphasis on individual responsibility, self-management and handling risk applies to parenting and families – those aspects of one's life where an ideology of underlining success through planning and control might be difficult to realize (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995). It also relates to the so called "family values" narrated through governance and policy that are now enforcing neoliberal ideology of a particular type of a heterosexual (patriarchal) family with children, which is not only seen as a guarantee for economic progress, but also entangled with a

[11] Importantly so, to be also argued in the analysis, the new or „emerging" (Intensive) models of motherhood are neither particularly distant from nor incompatible with 'Mother-Pole'. Furthermore, they are observably absent from beyond urban middle- and upper-class social milieus.

practically impactful illusion that market rules will somehow permeate families and 'solve' the problems stemming from gender inequality and division of care (Steger & Roy 2010:14, see also Harvey 2005:23, 84, 202). Discussing the impact of neoliberal ideology on motherhood, Leite states that "neoliberal macroeconomics promotes the reduction of the traditional family (through removal of the extended family from its core); the increase of individualistic values (and the rejection of collective thinking); and the gendered division of labour (i.e. productive work as men's responsibility and reproductive as a woman's only affair)" (2013:5-6, see also Arriagada 1997). These issues were further proven to operate as such in the below-discussed studies on intensive parenting (e.g. Hays 1996, Lee et al. 2014, Douglas & Michaels 2004, Doucet 2010), which demonstrated the neoliberal consequences in the limited systemic and individual capacity for modifying pre-assigned gendered duties (e.g. limitations for the new/engaged fatherhood, women's labour market hardships – e.g. Harvey 2005:170) and the ever increasing children's centrality in contemporary families, which can be seen as by-products of the neoliberal second-wave's "socially conscious market globalism"(Steger & Roy, ibid:50-51).

Importantly, Hays's concept of Intensive Motherhood is said to be overused and under-theorized (Perrier 2012:656), in which it somewhat mirrors the earlier discussed Mother-Pole model. At the same time it provides a model which captivates a breadth of multi-dimensional aspects within contemporary Western motherhood. Drawing on Kaplan's work (1992), Gustafson sees it as a Master Motherhood Discourse embedded in the binary positioning of *good* vs. *bad* mothers (2005:24-25, see also May 2008). Such an idea inspired discourse analysis (e.g. Kaplan 1992 on media representations of women, Oleksy 2004 on Polish women specifically), created *normalizing narratives* (Phoenix & Woollett 1991), and was reflected in the form of '*master motherhood narrative'* (Cosslett 1994, Romero & Stewart 1999, Chase & Rogers 2001).

Due to the omnipresence of Intensive motherhood, Douglas and Michaels (2004) outlined it as the '*new momism'*, insisting that nobody can actually live up to the standards set through the romanticization of a maternal role as an ideal and all-important title. Motherhood is made to appear as obligatory since women who do not have children "are seen as strange, as unnatural" (Abbott & Wallace 1990:88), while also, in order "to be a remotely decent mother, a woman has to devote her entire physical, psychological, emotional, and intellectual being, 24/7, to her children" (Douglas & Michaels 2004:4).

Following Hays's arguments (1996), researchers usually pinpoint various pillars of Intensive motherhood ideology:

- Child-centeredness of families and a strong conviction that children need and require constant and ongoing nurturing by their biological mothers, who are also the ones primarily (and often solely by excluding the fathers) responsible for meeting these needs. The intimate and close relationship between mother and child is a rudimentary bond within families, while also acknowledging children as subjects/equal partners of negotiations, e.g. when conflicts occur;
- Experts must be deferred to for guidance, instructions and knowledge, scientific/research orientation to mothering tasks requires careful selection of such experts, thus making motherhood and care highly professionalized;
- Mothers are expected to spend excessive amounts of resources on children that encompass monetary investments and developing the children's educational capital, just as much as involve the mother's entire time and energy, including spending 'quality time' and treating play as an important component in the shaping of 'togetherness'. Yet, by observing her children, the mother should learn to stimulate their potential and uncover talents early on; as 'experts' in mothering, women perform duties of counsellors, health care providers, chauffeurs, dieticians, and teachers;
- Motherhood must be regarded as much more important than any paid work or, as a matter of fact, any other role in life. Mother is never to lose her temper and must derive joy and complete life satisfaction from her maternal obligations.

In essence, under the constraints of neoliberalism and patriarchy, mothers have been burdened with all of the child-rearing responsibility, yet have no power over themselves (Green 2010a:573, O'Reilly 2008:10, 2004, Douglas & Michaels 2004, Bell 2004).

In this context, mothers are always to blame (regardless of being present or absent) for their children's experiences, concerns and challenges (Taylor & Umansky 1998, cf. Gustafson 2005:6), as Abbott and Wallace argue that "[n]ot only is motherhood a social construction, it is also a historically specific concept, in terms of being seen as a woman's chief vocation and primary identity […] It is regarded as something that women are

naturally good at and derive great emotional satisfaction from […] When something goes wrong, the mother is blamed; she is seen as inadequate or negligent" (1990:89). To reiterate, Hays believes that the constantly reinforced contemporary societal "circumstances, power relations and interests that have made women primarily responsible for mothering" have led to such claims as "that women's mothering abilities are somehow natural, essential or inevitable" (Hays 1996: 156). Here lies the inherent contradiction of 'powerless responsibility' (Rich 1976/2004) in which "[t]he mother has full responsibility, but no power from which to mother" (O'Reilly 2008:10), resonating the instance of abdication of maternal authority and inauthentic mothering (Ruddick 1989:111) – a dangerous and oppressive force, signifying a major life task for which there is no reward.

What is more, it requires women to give up their own selfhood, power, and agency in a two-fold manner. Firstly, in their personal lives mothers are no longer believed apt to decide on disciplining strategies, instead being pushed by external expertise towards 'affectionate persuasion' as means of engraining good manners and habits' (Hays 1996:31). Secondly, pushed out from the public space, they lose ground in politics and forgo the hope of impacting social change (O'Reilly 2008:10). In addition, May argued that 'mother-blaming' extends to fathering, so that women are oftentimes scrutinized for men's inadequacies in fulfilling paternal roles (2003). In essence, "a 'good' mother ensures that her children receive 'good' fathering" (Chambers 2012:58).

Since the shift towards new childhood marked by "'sacralisation' of the economically 'worthless' but morally and emotionally 'priceless' child" (Hays 1996: 64, see also: Giza-Poleszczuk 2005, Slany 1989, 2002, Tarkowska 1996, Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a), power is now relinquished, so that it is now the child's role "[…] to train the parent" (1996: 45). Despite that, an intensive mother is still held (and holds herself) accountable for her children's daily wellbeing, as well as for shaping the kinds of grown-ups that her children will end up becoming in the future (Hays 1996: 108). Indeed, putting children's needs first has been articulated by mothers in recent research (e.g. Smart & Neale 1999, Reynolds 2005, Sikorska 2009a, Korolczuk 2012). Nonetheless, deferring all responsibility over the next generation to mothers was taking place simultaneously with a growing neglect of the maternal knowledge and a disregard towards advice from non-experts (ie. within earlier kinship authority). The subsequent replacement and complete reliance on perceived professionals and prolific child-rearing handbooks (Hays ibid: 65-70) is today evident in exemplary hypes around the 'attachment parenting', 'eco

parenting', 'staying at home' movements and the like (Douglas & Michaels 2004: 299-330, Faircloth 2014, Badinter 2012). The professionalization of motherhood occurs in parallel with the modern notions of 'moral' motherhood and 'policing' of mothers (Ruddick 1989:111, O'Reilly 2004) who are not conforming to the ideology of a mother completely 'devoted to the care of others and self-sacrificing' (1996: 108).

Evidently, in addition to being a costly, laborious, emotionally trying and care-wise excessive practice, Intensive motherhood imposes a rule of constant maternal presence and 24/7 availability (Green 2010a, O'Reilly 2008), pinnacled by the co-residentiality requirement as one form of 'policing' and control articulated by Gustafson in a statement that "[f]ew mothers are more stigmatized than those living apart from their children" (2005:1). The author argues that "[t]he umbilical link between woman and foetus becomes a metaphor for mother-child bonding beyond the womb" (Gustafson 2005:3), while the visibility of female reproductive capacities embodied by pregnancy and birthing is used for reinforcing gender orders in many regards. Hitherto, Gustafson's 'unbecoming mother' concept supplies a framing of a 'bad mother' or a 'non-mother' as an illegitimate category of those who transgress the normativity and appropriateness of motherhood (Gustafson 2005:1). Bell concurs by saying that even women who either do not conform to the ideology, or those who openly seek alternatives, are still judged in regard to how much their chosen practices relate to or depart from the Intensive motherhood (2004:46). At the same time, the fact that there is no 'unbecoming father' supports the presupposed "powerful, persistent, and naturalized way of thinking about woman's primary responsibility to care for her biological offspring" (Gustafson 2005:3). Letherby also notes a societal inkling which lies along the lines of the integrated vision of womanhood/femininity and motherhood/reproductive capacity, and relates to women being continuously encouraged to measure their own value through their mothering and children. Simultaneously, however, women are being denied validation and respect by the society which assigns low value to mothers (1994), for instance on the labour market (Guerrina 2002, Nakano Glen 1994). Despite increased level of fathering, male participation in domestic chores' is still not up to par (Chambers 2012:56, Miller 2011, Sevón 2012). A closer look at patterns of spending time with children confirms that mothers engage mostly in 'concurrent dual activities', attempting to save time by performing chores while also taking care of children; men, on the other hand, are most likely to participate in play activities (Craig 2007). Guerrina (2002), Hobson (2002), Craig

(2007), and Budig et al. (2007) underscore research results concerning persistent nature of gendered division of domestic labour, with a 'partnership penalty' affecting women upon their entrance into a shared household relationship, and a 'motherhood penalty' leaving them economically in a much worse condition than men and childless women across the life-cycle.

In addition, the larger societal ignorance does not acknowledge the unjustified universalism of mothering as the only real way of self-fulfilment for every woman, and overlooks any adverse pregnancy and motherhood effects, both in respect to the diminished economic prospects and career prognosis, as well as the effects of raising children on woman's health and well-being (Sevón, 2005:463-464, Letherby 1994). This is reinforced by the fact that governmental policies continue to see nuclear families as self-sufficient, which frames the inability to reconcile or balance one's work and family as a 'personal problem' (Chambers 2012). Furthermore, those who cannot meet the pre-set standards are instantly labelled 'bad mothers' and are as such either excluded or seen as 'fallen' and in a need for 'societal regulation and correction' (O'Reilly 2008:10). Although Hays stated that working class, poor, professional, and affluent mothers all believe that child-rearing should be child-centred and emotionally involved, they significantly vary in their interpretations and practices (Hays, 1996:115). In fact, western motherhood is largely based on the universal assumptions:

> "Under the patriarchal institution and ideology of motherhood, the definition of *mother* is limited to heterosexual women who have biological children, while the concept of good motherhood is further restricted to a select group of women who are white, heterosexual, middle-class, able-bodied, married, thirty-something, in a nuclear family with usually one or two children, and, ideally, full-time mothers" (O'Reilly 2010a:7)

As such, Intensive motherhood is exclusionary (O'Reilly 2004:5-8, Nakano Glenn 1994:3, Skeggs 1997, 2004, Reay 1996, Douglas & Michaels 2004). Perrier's examination of dispositions of class and affect as determining mother's identities and practices has reiterated that parenting discourses in Britain "legitimate and normalize middle-class parenting practices, and by association pathologize working-class ones". Thus, the research provided evidence that childcare choices, parental employment and involvement in children's education set by the middle-classes become generalized standards of 'good parenting' (2012:657). This issue was also raised by Jensen (2010) in her analysis of emotional capitalism and the increasingly evident shift "from wealth to warmth" in the

taxonomy of social class in the UK, as well as in regard to the social stigmatization of young and teen mothers, which intertwined with their class status (Allen & Osgood 2009).

The Intensive Motherhood model does not take into account whether the children's fathers are absent, employed or equally participating in the domestic life, and thus, while Intensive motherhood tends to universalize all women across ethnic, racial, religious and class lines, it is only attainable by a certain group of women, leaving the rest predetermined to be 'bad mothers' (Green 2010b:573). In sum, Gustafson elaborates on a salient feature of the good/bad mother dichotomy, which she sees as a benchmark for determining satisfactory level of performance that alienates women from complex realities of poverty, single parenthood, and other types of "mothering from diverse social locations" (2005:25). This case should also encompass "the global women" from migratory backgrounds (Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003; Urbańska 2009), for they (together with the local working -class women) constitute the labour force that allows affluent and middle-class mothers to benefit from their maternal status without performing care tasks, and becoming *'mother-managers'* instead (Nakano Glenn 1994:7). It is worth pointing out that the situation results in a phenomenon which Hochschild calls an "emotional surplus value" of imported maternal love and "exploitation of care" in the global context of varied levels of development (2000:133).

Contributing to the contradictions, Intensive motherhood is inherently silent about those performances of the parenting duties, and increasingly views non-compliant mothering as "risky" and "substandard". The corresponding approach of relying on expertise discourse can be seen as a driving force behind the picture-perfect motherhood-narratives (Miller 2007, 2005; Beck-Gernsheim 1996). Similarly, Sevón (2005, 2007) who researched timing of motherhood among Scandinavian women argued that: "[m]otherhood is nowadays often depicted as a contradictory or ambivalent experience". The immanent contradiction stems from a certain inevitability of motherhood within the female life trajectory, which can be linked to personal fulfilment derived from having children. Simultaneously, it cannot be analysed without looking at the embedding of motherhood within social, cultural, and ideological images, models, and theories or, more generally, in the narratives that have an impact on the experiences of every mother and, equally, of every non-mother (2005, see also: Chodorow & Contratto 1992, Letherby 1994; Miller 2005, 2007).

Western neoliberal motherhood exaggerates female responsibility for children, in doing so rejecting women's selfhood in femininity and voiding alternative non-maternal subjectivities. While this might be seen as contradictory to individualization processes of postmodernity (Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a:100), the mother-child bond is seen as irreplaceable by many prominent social thinkers like Giddens (1992), as well as Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002:181, 1995:73). They argue that it remains a primarily important and unbreakable connection which limits the unbound realization of life plans, restricts everyday life and, in most instances, disallows exiting from such a relationship.

It also appears that the rules of Intensive motherhood mirror the competitive nature of the neoliberal markets, as researchers underlined the detrimental effects of Intensive motherhood. For instance, Douglas and Michaels called it 'female Olympic games', in which women are engaging in powerful rivalries over being the best of all mothers (2004, see also: Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a). Such positioning inescapably distracts women from challenging patriarchy, provokes instead different types of the '*mommy wars'* (originally evolving around stay-at-home mothers opposing the working ones: Walby 1990, O'Reilly 2010a, Douglas & Michaels 2004:203-235), and highlights the cultural contradictions that position women "between the demands of work life and the demands of family life, between the historically constructed images of warm, nurturing mothers on the one side and cold, competitive career women on the other" (Hays, 1996:16).

Although Miller (2005, 2007) has only recently looked at British women's expectations and experiences of motherhood in the broad context of the first time motherhood, she concludes her review by saying that the majority of previous explorations were based on the assumptions of female 'natural' or 'instinctive' predispositions to provide care (Miller 2007:338, Hays 1996, Oakley 1984, Rich 1976). The author urges researchers to keep in mind that while it is impossible to ignore shared social beliefs and preconceptions, as researchers they need to be "examining the ways ideas about becoming a mother differ from experiences, and how ideas are (re)shaped across the course of transition to motherhood"(Miller 2007:338). Building upon the notions of Rich's distinction between discourses and inter-relations between private and public motherhood, Miller explores a perspective of showing the events and circumstances surrounding becoming a mother, particularly in regard to a discourse that can limit or restrict the experiences, while simultaneously emphasizing the agency and the individual maternal subjectivity that operate within and beyond the above mentioned discourses (2007:338-

342). Nevertheless, in the conclusions to her monograph, Miller reverts to stating that availability of appropriate 'story lines' for new mothers are limited, difficult experiences are hidden from view, and authoritarian Western expertise prevails (2005:147-160). What is even more notable, as Miller describes her respondents' "return to normal", she conceives it as attaining a significant enough expertise on mothering (2005:112-137), indirectly alluding to the persistence of the dominant discourse, and stating that late modernity's presumed individualism, freedom from expectations and abandonment of rules "do not hold good in relation to mothering and motherhood" (2005:136).

In continuing the topic of the intensive and excessive practices, it is notable to mention that Cosslett (1994:4) differentiated between the two separate 'official' discourses of motherhood that visibly penetrate personal perceptions and experiences as medical and natural childbirth discourses. Both of these are centred around 'optimistic stories' and reflections about childbirth and mothering, enforcing a stereotype or rather ideal model of a 'good mother', which guides women towards the desirable performance of their motherly role. The third 'unofficial unpopular discourse'' is identified as the banter of 'old wives' recounting negative or even horror stories of women who did not comply with the regulated role and were deemed 'bad mothers' (Cosslett 1994, Hays 1996). While stories of naturality and expertise may appear contradictory, they both fit in well with the 'optimistic' assumptions of Intensive motherhood and hint at reasons behind its social and intergenerational reproduction. At the same time, the 'good motherhood' constructions are not always formal, and therefore they can coexist as parallel options, next to the dominant maternal dominant discourses, just as 'expert motherhood discourse' can be observed as parallel to the dominant 'equality discourse' in the Swedish context (Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson 2001, Miller 2007:341). On the whole, although the discourses are dynamic, can be opposed and/or re-shaped, they remain in the centre to enforce compliance: the tendency to view them as true, correct or appropriate prevails (Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson 2001: 409). The language of the expertise seems to be at the centre for Cosslett (1994:6) who calls it a 'totalizing effect', caused by the notions like 'truth' and 'science'.

Miller shares the above view, adding that it may be particularly valid for first-time mothers, as their expectations could not have been derived from actual events but must be "influenced by notions of 'nature', 'instinct' and 'experts knowing best'" (2007:339; see also: Oakley 1984). Thus, it should not be surprising to find women to have unrealistic expectations of their new roles (Hays 1996; Rich 1976, Wolf 2001). Prompted for specific

answers on how the subjectivity of motherhood and execution/performance of individual agency take place for those who find themselves in this unfamiliar territory of motherhood, Miller reinforces earlier arguments stating that "[c]ontemporary constructions of the 'good mother' continue to be shaped by universalistic and essentialist assumptions found in the popular discourses that shape women's lives […]. This is despite decades of feminist research that has demonstrated diversity in women's experiences of childbirth, mothering, and associated caring responsibilities' (2007:340-341; see also: Chase and Rogers 2001; Hochschild 2003; Miller 2005; Reynolds 2005; Rothman 1989, 1994; Ruddick 1989).

Finally, according to Green "the pervasiveness of Intensive motherhood is also seen in the popular culture, especially with its reverence for celebrity moms. […] Images of ideal mothers and their miracle babies are omnipresent in advertising and the media" (2010a:573). Due to this connectivity with the mainstream pop-culture, the Intensive motherhood travelled to popular non-fiction literature concerned with 'New Momism', with some examples providing a call to arms on the topic of illusionary gender equality in parenting (Asher 2011), warnings against the traps of maternal self-devotion when the empty-nest phase begins (Mellor 2004), tackling myths of romanticized transitions to motherhood (Figes 2008), and many others. This trend has recently travelled to Poland with a manifesto about home-revolution and over-explanations that men seem to require about the simplest facts of baby-care offered in a bestselling satire by Woźniczko-Czeczott (2012).

New and Intensive Motherhood in Contemporary Poland

It was hinted above that scholars forecasted that the Western models of motherhood would follow democratization, in time replacing the Mother-Pole's dominance in discourse and on a practical level (e.g. Ostrowska 1998:434, Slany 2002, Titkow 2012). However, Intensive motherhood is framed as a 'modern' model of motherhood, appearing alongside womanhood, which is arguably 'liberated' and includes working women. In turn, it stands in stark conflict with the symbolism assigned to Mother-Pole in the political debates of the early 1990s (Graff 2007, 2008b, Mościcka-Bogacz 2011:163). In parallel, the transformation of the marital-family setting, namely the demographic transition and moving on to industrial society, has shaped and established the

mother-child relations in the new type of nuclear family, guided by neoliberal discourse[12] of maternal fall-back to domesticity (Matysiak & Steinmetz 2009, Slany 2002).

Family values continuously take a strong position in the studies across decades, and Slany notes that all post-war studies on Polish youth and young people have concluded that "a successful family life" tops the hierarchy of ultimately important values. Accordingly, starting a family is seen as something 'natural' and necessary, an emanation and proof of one's physical and psychological maturity (Slany 2002:200-201).

Focusing on these arguments, Titkow presents statistics on the roles preferred by Polish women in 1979 and 2003, noting a remarkable decrease – from 53.3% down to 27.6% – in the number of those wanting to see themselves as "a woman caring for her home, a wife and mother" (2007:134). She also recalls that the percentage of people who indicated 'having and rearing children' as one of the three most important issues in life has grown from 46% in 1979 (and 1989) to 70% in 1998 (2007:181). In terms of gender differences, women twice as often as men speak of a child as the most important value (2007:183), contributing to Titkow's conclusion that 'a child belongs to the female world of values' (2007:203). Childbirth is the breaking point, requiring a mother to subject the rhythm of her life to the needs of the child, to be physically present at home and to prioritize familial interests over her own (2007:237; see also Budrowska 2000). Szpakowska's (2003) analysis of letters sent to popular women's magazines in thirty years highlighted this change in a summative manner, stating that a family-centric ideology (of the former political climate) is being replaced by a child-centric one, alluding to a

[12] Importantly, neoliberalism emerged in Poland rapidly as a "shock therapy" after 1989 and quickly led to multiple categorizations of the Polish state as social democratic, liberal capitalist, post-communist conservative corporatist, as well as reforming, approaching conservative corporatist, and following liberal strategies (Płomień 2009:137). At the same time, labels accounting for the gender-sensitive approach included noting the dual-earner career model on the one hand, and refamilialization or retraditionalization, on the other (Płomień ibid). In this confusion, Shield's 2007 article "From socialist Solidarity to neo-populist neoliberalisation? The paradoxes of Poland's post-communist transition" provides a good historic overview and arguments for why the 'return to Europe' through EU accession can be seen as a second wave of a neoliberal rise of capitalist values. Because neoliberalism was much welcome and promoted as the economic core of the democratization (post-1989) and Europeanization (2000s) processes, it only recently warranted any critical assessments which underline that it contradicts, and thus disregards, the Solidarity Movement's heritage, ignores negative social consequences of uncontrolled marketization (e.g. unemployment, poverty, and indirectly – mass-migration), eradicates the pre-existing (developed during the communist era) welfare infrastructure (e.g. closing of state kindergartens, taking away benefits or legal instruments for single mothers or the disabled), stagnates any progress towards gender equality and reduces presence of social justice movements and activism (see also Slany et al. 2015 – forthcoming).

particular shift towards the influences of the Intensive motherhood ideology, with the child being viewed as a paramount good and motherhood remaining the primary mission of women.

The above is also evident in the predominance of gendered care ethics (Gilligan 1982) in the socialization of Polish children – Titkow notes that in all surveys where mothers are asked about the values they wish to imprint in their children, being 'a caring person' was the most desired personality trait for girls (daughters), at the same time coming second to last as a feature wanted in boys (Titkow 2007:178-179). It demonstrates that across generations, care is understood as a female obligation, but also a task that gives life a meaning (2007:240-241). Once again, this stereotype is connected with the broader notions of female role during the times of war, in crisis and poverty, with what Tarkowska calls 'the luxury of shame', as it is women (unlike men) that can turn to begging for help from institutions, kin or even strangers in order to safe-guard their children's well-being (Tarkowska 2005, Titkow 2007:245).

In the Polish context, despite numerous references to Hays' work (1995), scholars mainly use the term 'new mother' rather than 'intensive mother', though their features are fully compliant (e.g. Urbańska 2012, Sikorska 2009a, 2009b). The most problematic aspect lies in the fact that the discussions on the 'new parenthood' or 'contemporary parenthood in Poland' reproduce the divide between the 'macro' level of demography, sociology and institutions, and the practical dimensions of (somewhat 'new') female experiences – the two remain empirically disconnected (see e.g. edited volumes by Sikorska 2009a and Slany 2013).

Thus far, the Polish expression of the said 'new mother' seems to have been described in most detail by Sikorska (2009a) who analysed the press discourse and conducted a number of follow-up couple-interviews. She testified to the traits of the 'new motherhood' being as follows: deconstruction of 'naturalness' and questioning maternal instincts, allowing uncertainty and imperfection, acknowledging difficulty within mothering tasks and lessening of mother-blaming, and a larger array of motherhood (and femininity) models to choose from (ibid:168-188). Urbańska further investigated growing medicalization and the ever increasing role of expertise (2009:63). Interestingly, expert knowledge in Poland has to include the mainstream media discourse. The various communications fired at mothers range from specialized magazines, TV programs and internet forums, to the messages in which an 'expert' role is assumed by young celebrities

(e.g. talking about how a mother's duty is to stay 'sexy'), politicians (e.g. questioning a need for pain medication during delivery), and Catholic church priests who equate in vitro with the consumerism culture (Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012:7, see also: Zdrojewska-Żywiecka 2012, Urbańska 2009, 2012).

Similar notions were reported in respect to the childhood in post-modernity by Maciejewska-Mroczek, who also underlined the growing parental responsibility and social approval of professionalization of care (institutionalization), as well as the commodification of childhood resulting in aspects of non-monetary investments into familial quality-time and other material forms of capital building (2012:63-67). This approach can be derived from the post-transition economy which facilitated the process of turning children into objects of possession, and the potential pretence for fulfilling consumerist desires that were denied to the communist-era generations of mothers because of the scarcity of goods (Kasprzak 2004, Szpakowska 2003). Such 'fetishizing' of children (examined by e.g. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995, 2002) was early on addressed by Polish scholars who observed parents focusing on their children's futures and at the expense of their own aspirations (Tarkowska 1996), naming the child the key investment that plays a crucial role in the parents' life as "a tool for completing their unfulfilled dreams and plans" (Bojar 1991:63, Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a:116).

Indeed, looking back at the transition from familial alliances to child-centeredness, Szpakowska compared personal documents from the 1960s with those of the 1990s, and revealed how children were treated not as partners or family members but as the 'objects of care' that "appear incidentally as the elements of their parents' struggles, not as their own persons […] In most of life stories children are merely those needing to be fed or picked up from the nursery". Only recently, next to the so called '*child-centrism'*, a tendency to treat motherhood instrumentally emerges (Szpakowska 2003) and, since the mid-1990s, children's upbringing has been turning into a constant process of human capital investment. According to the researchers, it can be seen in the trend of "signing children up for all sorts of courses and extra-curricular activities, as well as the tremendous effort put into obtaining a place in the best nursery, kindergarten, and then in the leading schools" (Kasprzak 2004). This is supported by Urbańska's insight into how raising a child to be a 'moral' and 'good person' was viewed as a priority in women's magazines in 1975, while in the 21st century it has become a costly quest and a high-tech project of producing a 'super-baby', and then a 'successful' person (2012:69).

In addition, a ‘new mother’ has oftentimes been described through highly specific examples, such as a growing recognition of postpartum depression and the ‘sick mother’ replacing the ‘bad mother’ (Sikorska 2009b:13-32, Urbańska 2012), social/maternal acceptance (or actually lack thereof) for public breastfeeding (Kubisa 2009:138-145), and everyday inner struggles of new mothers who become isolated from the ‘grown-up’ lifestyles (Krzyżanowska & Wiśnicka 2009:109-137). The latter study is particularly valid for at least two reasons: its depiction of Intensive motherhood in Poland, and outlining the points for critique. Having examined Polish mothers of under 3-year-olds (through interviews, content analysis and representative CATI survey), Krzyżanowska and Wiśnicka concluded that motherhood not only shuffles maternal needs out of the scope and requires immense energy, but also affects self-perceptions of mothers as boring and lonely. They also become increasingly isolated from their partners, immediate family (siblings, parents, in-laws), as well as acquaintances, thus reducing instances of leaving the house (2009:111-130).

The researchers seem to overlook the friction between macro and micro, as they delineate the infrastructure-driven barriers to childcare (limited number of available places, the incompatibility of their opening hours with most employment schedules, the financial burden of the often inordinate childcare costs), and pair them with an emotional dimension declared by the parents, who believe that using institutional care makes them bad parents due to the seeming exposure of children to higher risk of getting sick in nurseries. In consequence, they displayed strong psychological resistance against leaving their child with ‘a stranger’ (ibid:134-135). This exemplification of parental overarching responsibility and the relationship of extreme emotional propinquity between mother and child was also noted by Olcoń-Kubicka, who wrote that intimacy is particularly reinforced when a child comes over to be hugged or is sick and requires special care (2009a:120).

Similarly, answering a question of what motherhood can be compared to, Olcoń-Kubicka’s respondents called it an exciting adventure, but also a great challenge. Despite seeing it through a task-based approach that requires intensive work and sacrifice, mothers still prefer caring alone for their children in an individual and autonomous manner, taking full responsibility for the result (ibid:120-121). This practice was often seen by them as a countermeasure to the emotional distance (or coldness) of their respective mothers and families of origin (ibid:123). Finally, a recent small-scale study of Polish women reflecting on the issues of body, sexuality, reproduction and mothering conducted by Korolczuk

(2012:215-233) supports the observations made by Szpakowska (2003) about the generational shift in the understanding of motherhood as 'natural and obvious' versus 'ambiguous' by two groups of mothers and daughters, respectively. Korolczuk has enumerated the key elements in her respondents' narratives, providing a novel, more critical view on the topic of mothering, which, in her view, includes elements of the marginalization of pregnancy experiences, normalization/naturalization of motherhood, obviousness of remaining home for a significant period after childbirth, being a 'good' mother, as well as specific gender orders, which resulted in the aspirations towards self-sufficiency and the general distrust for men (2012:229-230).

Simultaneously, both Sikorska (2009a:179) and Olcoń-Kubicka (2009a) underline that 'new' mothers seek to participate in communities, which is manifested as the leading theme of the online forums analysis to which the latter study is devoted. The author suggests that both the communitarian and informative components are present in the virtual discussions. The maternal online discourse is characterized by "strong reflexivity and narrative construction of maternal identities through discussions with other women" (2009b:102, 2009a:49-50), facilitating democratization of expert knowledge and privatization of public sphere through insertion of personal contents. Olcoń-Kubicka believes contemporary mothering to be located between the traditional structures and 'new' patterns, rendered a 'social' phenomenon courtesy of online spaces (2009a:149, 2009b:34-61). A less optimistic picture follows from the specific research examples of local *'mommy wars'* (see Kinser 2010a, Douglas & Michaels 2004) in the context of the debates on breastfeeding versus bottle feeding that appear on Polish forums (Zdrojewska-Żywiecka 2012), and on childlessness (Młodawska 2012). The former concluded that the current Polish online discourse is antagonistically positioning mothers against mothers (2012:139; see also Hays 1996, Douglas & Michaels 2004, Badinter 2012), while Młodawska states that those situated outside the mainstream and socially accepted choices can experience exclusion and stigmatization due to the Polish parenting norms remaining highly traditional, viewing single women as the anti-thesis to 'Mother-Pole', with no other femininity options available (2012:120).

This slightly contradicts the notions of choices put forward by Sikorska, who states that 'Mother-Pole' seems to persist as a strong stereotype which young mothers struggle with, but who also argues that there is definitely an observable 'practical' change to Polish families, listing practices of fathers spending time with children at playgrounds, mothers-

to-be displaying their pregnant bellies, fathers 'birthing' with their wives, and women who are pregnant or have small children consulting with online communities rather than doctors (Sikorska 2009a:7-8). This is perhaps where one can observe that 'new' family studies, which have only recently begun focusing on the personal and private, do not go beyond the normative middle-class urban families. For instance, in her book on new power dynamics within Polish families, Sikorska (2009a) examined primarily the fashionable parenting of highly-educated professionals constituting high-income Warsaw elites, and generalized it as a sign that a new model of Western motherhood has been quickly adopted by the young generations of Polish women. Olcoń-Kubicka (2009a:113), on the other hand, openly states that her research is on 'early adopters' – technologically-savvy women present on a certain type of maternal forums, and associated with the middle-class user-base. Their importance notwithstanding, the studies might be limited to their respective respondents, neither attainable by nor applicable to Polish women in general.

Conclusively, from the research on the 'new' mothering it transpires that "[m]otherhood breaks one's trajectory; it is not a stage but a rupture in resume, a certain type of hibernation" (Krzyżanowska & Wiśnicka 2009:120), mirroring all-encompassing experiences of Intensive mothers elsewhere (e.g. Hays 1996, Miller 2007, Douglas & Michaels 2004). It might still stand to reason that rather than constituting the entirely 'new' model of intensive parenting, the practices are contrasted and compared to those issues that are constitutional to Mother-Pole. As a result, the lines remain empirically and theoretically blurry between the 'new' mother and the 'new' Mother-Pole', who is also a 'Super-woman' trying to reconcile work and family, thus fulfilling her declaration of wanting to be perfect (Titkow 2007:134-135). Finally, it is also significant that Hryciuk has somewhat linked discussions on motherhood models with social class (2012:284), arguing that 'Mother-Poles' who lean towards managerial matriarchy in their practices are actually fulfilling the roles of a social buffer, mitigating the effects of a rapid social change, but also taking on the roles of 'destitution managers' (*menedżerki ubóstwa* – Tarkowska 2005) in the impoverished regions marked by social exclusion. Meanwhile, other women (who presumably can afford it) realize their maternal roles by subscribing to the new and media-dominating 'Intensive motherhood' ideology. The latter becomes normative upon insertion of the neoliberal reforms and with the growing inequalities within Polish society (Hays 1996, Urbańska 2012, Budrowska 2000).

Feminism, Families and the Motherhood Question

Historical Account

Some researchers argued that the feminist scholarship on motherhood has, particularly since the 1970s, provided an outlet for inclusion of diversity within strategies, practices and circumstances under which women *mother* (Kinser 2010b:395-398, Bell 2004:48-49, see also Nakano Glenn et al., 1994; O'Reilly 2008, 2010a). Following Umansky's work (1996) Bell, for instance, has claimed that feminist debates have "subjected the practice of mothering, and the institution of motherhood, to a complex, nuanced, and multi-focused analysis" (2004:47). While reproduction was regularly found at the core of feminist thinking, it remains to be a problematic and polarizing issue *within* the movement (Renzetti & Curran 2005, Tong 1995, O'Reilly 2010a), as well as *outside* it as a 'contested terrain' (Nakano Glenn 1994:2). Miller highlights the fact that the "feminist scholarship has for many years drawn attention to the unrealistic assumptions embedded in gendered discourses that pattern women's lives. This is nowhere near as apparent as in relation to reproduction, mothering, and experiences of motherhood."(2007:338). The author also points out that feminist academics are called upon to comment on what is being said and done not only about women in general, but also about mothers in particular (Wall 2001: 606, Miller 2007). Paradoxically, a large portion of feminist endeavours have resulted in the confusion and misperceptions of feminism being against families and, by association, against motherhood (see e.g. Hill Collins 2005, Snitow 1995, Green 2010b) -- a stance which might be traced back to the historical developments and observed through the prism of the current socio-political climate.

Taking a step back, in 1949 Levi-Strauss noted that the exchange and trading of women between clans, families and tribes constituted a foundation for modern civilization. This does not only show the importance of creating oppositional power relationships of men (subjects and owners) and women (objects and currency) for groups and societies, but also pinpoints the start of the underprivileged position of females in that setting, with daughters being treated as assets at the full disposal of their fathers' business deals (Gajewska 2008:176-177, Millet 1970). The most common trait of families throughout the ages was that they were (and largely still are) patriarchal, which Therborn (2004:13) articulated as "the rule of the father and the rule of the husband, in that order", and White and Klein recognize as the cause for femininity being positioned as "an alternative to the

patriarchal, bellicose, and competitive masculine world view" (2008:183). It is important in what Abbott and Wallace (2000:73-93) claim about family lives not being only personal but also exposed to what Leach (1967) has called 'the cereal-packet family' norm and image, consisting of a breadwinning strong husband, children, and a smiling wife caring for them all (see Gajewska 2008: 169-213). Marking the milestones, Friedan (1963) pinpointed 'the problem that has no name', just as the others noted the discrepancy between a family as an institution and a family that one actually belongs to and lives with (see also: Stanley & Wise 1983, Rich 1976). Further, Oakley forefronted issues of domestic work, brought attention to the gender-biased socialization and examined gendered areas of spousal conflict (1974, 1979, 1992). It was noted that the 'idealized' notions of motherhood developed as the middle-class ideology of domesticity and womanhood after the Industrial Revolution (Abbott & Wallace 1990:89, Badinter 1998, Rich 1976).

Various debates within the movement influenced the difficult relationship between different feminisms and mothering, particularly seen on the axis of radicalism versus liberalism of the 1960s and 1970s, with the former often being deemed 'anti-motherhood' (Green 2010b:396). Psychoanalysis inspired Chodorow's (1976) recapitulations of Freudian theory in the context of social reproduction of mothering of a certain kind, marked by the distinct intensity and a peculiar exclusivity, a type of Intensive motherhood which corresponds with the European bourgeois notions, revived in the post-war North America (see also Nicholson 2006:16-17).

Crucially, in 1976 Rich introduced the differentiation between personal experiences of mothering and the social institution of motherhood, finally pinpointing that the relationships and bonds that women form, and the actual pains and pleasures they derive from interacting with their children individually and in private, are something completely different from a motherhood constructed as institutional, ideological and the iconic pillar of the society (1976/2004). According to Rich, just as the heterosexual institution of marriage does not equal love and intimacy, birthing and raising children is not the same as institutionalized motherhood, as both these institutionalizations create rules and regulations that restrict access and choices (2004:84). Still valid today, Rich's observations investigate a friction between "the potential relationship of any woman to her powers of reproduction and to children" and "the institution – which aims at ensuring that said potential – and all women – shall remain under male control" (in spite of having

strong female presence and primarily female performers). In that sense, the term 'motherhood' signifies a patriarchal, male-defined and controlled institution oppressive to women (Rich 1976:13; Tong 1995:80-81, Gatrell 2005:45-47). Conversely, 'mothering' has since been largely used to describe experiences of individual women, which are female-defined, female-centred and hold a possibility of bringing about empowerment (O'Reilly 2008:3).

Despite a certain utopianism, radical feminists did bring up important points about exploitation of human bodies within reproduction and beyond (ie. medicalization of labour, issues of access to contraception, abortion, sterilization, rape, pornography, battering and violence), which they view as highly oppressive actions that deprive women of the power over their bodies and assume masculinized (i.e. medicalized) control over femininity altogether (Tong 1995:71-72, Miller 2005:153, Chase & Rogers 2001:1). This was highlighted in Firestone's belief that only by separating women and their biologically assumed role of a mother could the injustice be overcome, which would require a countercultural movement (1970, Humm 1993: 120-122, Tong 1995:74-75, Green 2010b, Gatrell 2005:47-48). While her ideas about the disappearance of kinship proved false (Gajewska 2008:215-216), she facilitated discussions around the "barbaric", patriarchal myth pertaining to the "joy of giving birth" (1970:198-199), and some of her predictions can be seen in the technological progress of the contemporary society. They are echoed in the 'morality' questions surrounding in-vitro, surrogacy, and sperm donations (Katz Rothman 1989, Gerodetti & Mottier 2009). Conversely, other feminists looked at this potential drive for taking over reproduction as a sign of mothering being a potential root for the female powers of being in charge of the mysterious process of birthing, as well as the ever more popular capacity of women who can become parents while dismissing male presence altogether (O'Brien 1981, Katz Rothman 1989, Tong 1995: 78-80). This is concurrent with a number of the feminist personal accounts of motherhood and mothering experiences steadily appearing since the 1980s (Green 2010b:396), thus facilitating a critique of the earlier tendency of universalizing women who were all believed to want to be like men, disregarding that the choice to be a wife or a mother can be separated from presumed victimization and 'false consciousness'.

Elshtain (1986) stated that being a mother goes beyond performing a role, and as such should neither be thrown into one pile with occupational statuses nor downgraded to

a status of a "less meaningful identity" (cf. Tong 1995:32-34).[13] Though Elshtain's position might be idealistic, her diagnosis remains relevant today:

> "Mothering is not a 'role' on par with being a file clerk, a scientist or a member of the Air Force. Mothering is a complicated, rich, ambivalent, vexing, joyous activity which is biological, natural, social, symbolic, and emotional. It carries profoundly resonant emotional and sexual imperatives. A tendency to downplay the differences that pertain between, say, mothering and holding a job, not only drains our private relations of much of their significance, but also over-simplifies what can or should be done to alter things for women, who are frequently urged to change roles in order to solve their problems" (1986:243).

Approaching the turn of the century, McKinnon (1989) argued that there is still something about motherhood that had been pre-assigned to women and never critically analysed throughout the struggles and endeavours of the women's movement to date. She goes on saying that labour markets of modern economy were established under the assumption that paid work will not be taken on by those who have to take care of children, therefore providing an implicit justification for men being always the preferred candidates for public sphere employment within the seemingly neutral social system (Gajewska 2008:217). At the same time, Ruddick's "Maternal Thinking" (1989) urges an experience-driven approach to maternal practices stimulated by the demands of preservation, growth and social acceptance, which indicate "work of preservative love, nurturing and training" (1989:17), finally allowing for a break-away from the institutional and biological frameworks of care.

From this point onward, as maternal activism had been growing since the 1990s, one of its goals aimed at political and policy advancements leading to the separation of pregnancy and labor from child's upbringing and care (Green 2010b:397, Gajewska 2008:217). At present, maternal movements (e.g. *Mamapalooza*, *MotherOutlaw*s), political organizations (such as *MomsRising*) and publishers (e.g. *Demeter Press*, *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering*, *Studies in the Maternal*) operate under the umbrella of the International Mothers Network consortium, and promote alternative ideas seen by researchers as directly facilitative in mitigating the effects of Intensive motherhood (O'Reilly 2010a, Kinser 2010a, 2010b, Green 2010a:574). The contemporary

[13] Similar claims were also put forward in response to the feminist critique of marriage, as Davis (1991) warranted an argument that women are fully capable of negotiating their marital lives through beneficial arrangements.

feminist approach to family goes back to the problematic two-fold subordination of women (discussed in the initial paragraphs of this section):

- Inferior familial positions of wives and mothers (opposite to fathers and husbands);
- Different socialization processes for boys and girls, which in turn perpetuate male domination and female inferiority (Abbot & Wallace 1990:75, see also O'Reilly 2008, 2010a, Green 2010b).

On the practical level, Thorne (1982) has proposed four issues that make feminist approaches challenging for the traditional sociology of the family:

- Contesting mainstream ideology of the nuclear co-residential family with a legitimized gendered division of labour presumably based on biology;
- Re-claiming family as a subject of feminist analysis, free of the categories of the 'male-stream' society;
- Argument that family members experience family life differently: motherhood as embodiment of power, domestic violence and conflict as signs of inequitable distribution of responsibilities and resources;
- Questioning the type of 'private' sphere that essentially denies women a presence in the outside world.

In consequence, contemporary feminist studies of motherhood and parenting in many ways put the issues of gender and power in the family under a close scrutiny (Nakano Glenn 1994, Kinser 2010a, Green 2004, O'Reilly 2004, 2008, 2010a, McCarthy & Edwards 2011, McKie & Callan 2012), yet the relationship between feminism and mothering should be seen as dynamic, with advances and set-backs occurring simultaneously and continuously (Kinser 2010b:394, 2010a:1-26, Nakano Glen 1994). Different interests are reflected in the de-centralized dissections of different feminisms addressing three primary issues of body/reproduction, activism and, most importantly, mothering within family lives, particularly in the acknowledgment of intersectional power and agency (understood as "the ability and resources to act in accordance with their own personal and maternal needs, desires, and convictions"(Kinser 2010b). Those are evident in the struggles of non-white non-middle-class families and the effort to move race/ethnicity from the margins to the centre of the maternal scholarship (O'Reilly 2010a, Kinser 2010b: 396-97, Crenshaw 1991, Hill Collins 1994, Baca Zinn et al. 2005). Finally, Budig calls for the examination of the inner conflicts within feminism and family studies.

She believes that feminism needs to be rewarded for the efforts in the field of domestic violence legislation, gains in the area of non-normative families' rights, and the relative win in the sphere of reproduction. Nonetheless, the questions that remain to be answered pertain to the societal value placed on mothering, with contentious concerns about who pays for the childless and whether someone should be rewarded for raising the next generations (2004).

Finally, following the last three decades of the multidisciplinary mothering research, the area of 'motherhood studies' was defined and acknowledged by O'Reilly (2006) as its own and distinct field, grounded in the legacy of the maternal theory of classic scholarship (e.g. Ruddick, Rich, Hill Collins, Chodorow), and fully emerging autonomously in the last decade of *agency*-driven enquiries (see also O'Reilly 2010:1-3).

Feminist Mothering

In her opening arguments, O'Reilly precisely identifies where the ever-present problem with feminist mothering lies by saying that "while […] authors certainly challenge patriarchal motherhood, they do not use the word *feminist* in this critique, nor do they call their new mother-positive mode of mothering a feminist practice. Given this, can these new models of mothering be called feminist mothering?" (2008:2). What she sees as a central reason behind this state of affairs is the reluctance towards definitional efforts and theorizing, as well as the lack of progress since Rich's "Of woman born" published in 1976. In the sociological works of feminist scholarship, she argues, there is no coherent and complete theory of feminist mothering to date (2008:2).

Drawing on Rich's distinction, O'Reilly argues for the differentiation between the institutional patriarchal (static) model of universalizing narrative and the courageous potentiality of actual feminist (gynocentric) practice, which negates the former and encourages counter-narratives. In that sense, the latter can be a site of a social change as women become 'outlaws' from motherhood as institution (Rich 1976, O'Reilly 2008), and provide a space in which motherhood and feminism can meet, making "motherhood doable for feminism and feminism possible for motherhood" (O'Reilly 2008:4). Consequently, a theory of feminist mothering "begins with the recognition that mothers *and children* benefit when the mother lives her life, and practices mothering, from a position of agency, authority, authenticity and autonomy" (O'Reilly 2008:11). Yet, it also needs to deal with the flaws stemming from the feminist preoccupation with reproductive freedoms. Research

on enabling women to have children on their own terms eventually becomes counterproductive for as long as it contains little to no discussion on how to actually be a feminist parent (Liss & Erchull 2012).

Though definitions vary, they are largely general in nature, for instance with Nakano Glen proposing to see mothering as a relationship in which one of the sides is involved in taking care of the other, and includes mother-work/care-work intellectual, physical and emotional aspects (1994:3). According to a provisional definition given by O'Reilly, feminist mothering signifies "maternal practices that resist and refuse patriarchal motherhood to create a mode of mothering that is empowering to women, […marking] a movement from motherhood to mothering, and makes possible a mothering against motherhood" (2008:4-5). Green, on the other hand, calls it "a political act that takes place in the everyday lives of mothers and children" (2010b:400), covering the very essence of personal being political (2010b:401). In the latter understanding, motherwork and feminism are operating together on a practical level, since feminist mothers believe that the empowerment of mothers and children alike shall bring on a profound social change, both in the de-essentializing of motherhood conceptually, and the disruption of patriarchal structures (2010b:401).

Under feminist mothering, maternal autonomy is to be reclaimed, as women may derive their feelings of selves outside and beyond motherhood, creating a departure from post-modern child-centeredness, and overturning the stigma of career-oriented motherhood. According to O'Reilly, "[e]mpowered mothers do not regard childcare as the sole responsibility of the biological mother nor do they regard 24/7 mothering as necessary for children" (2008:7). Intensive motherhood is therefore not practised by those mothers that reject the notions of selflessness, sacrifice and martyrdom. Besides, feminist mothering denies the script of a 'good mother' and allows diversity in the ways that women mother. Similarly, instinctive altruism, patience and love are questioned, and so is the happiness that is to be universally derived from the maternal devotion under the Intensive motherhood scheme. The focus on equality in approaching life and identity from a place of agency is highlighted, both inside and outside motherhood. While the practices vary, feminist mothers embrace family diversity and forms of mothering that go against the societal normativity – they strive for equality in partnerships in general and in regard to childrearing obligations in particular, whereas the role of both kinship and non-familial

networks of caregiving in the co-parenting strategies may be reinforced in their mothering (Green 2010b:400-401, O'Reilly 2008, 2010a, Kinser 2010a).

Socialization of children is of vital importance for feminist mothers who emphasize their goals of "thwarting sexist child rearing practices, and fostering critical awareness in children", who are to be critical towards societal privileging of male over female in education and beyond (Green 2010b:401). As such, feminist mothers "challenge traditional practices of gender socialization and perform antisexist childrearing practices" (O'Reilly 2008:11), favour childrearing which is anti-discriminatory (anti-sexist, anti-racist, inclusive) and demonstrate an ideally gender-blind attitude of resistance towards the normative (Gordon 1990:149, O'Reilly 2008:5-6). Green provides daily-life practical examples in preferences for gender-positive books and gender-neutral toys, while discussions about social reality and popular culture are to foster mutual trust, understanding and a critique of the sexist language and images within families (2010b:402, 2004).

For a feminist mothering to take place, the mothering style should be engaged and confident, both at work and at home, while female maternal networks should be strengthened and used as a source of empowerment (McBride 2008: 45-60), while 'mommy wars' and 'mother-blaming' should be contested (Green 2010b:402). Thusly, the feminist mothers' activism is related to their networks of support developed with fellow co-mothers – the *othermothers,* while they allow diversity of the ways in which women mother, a critique of "the mythical standards of motherhood and the social neglect of the real isolation many mothers experience" (Green 2004:163, 2010b, O'Reilly 2008:6). Issues of childcare are often addressed, both in regard to broader societal assumptions about the indispensability of the biological presence of mothers, and on the practical level – of the availability, high-quality and affordability of childcare that becomes a part of the national policy agendas. Similar endeavours concern other structural causes relevant for families, such as paid maternity and paternity leaves, quality prenatal care and de-medicalization of childbirth, gender equality in the workplace (e.g. flexible work hours, universal child health care), and well-being of schoolchildren, as well as a wider social development, environmental justice and educational equality (Kinser 2010a, 2010b).

Research-wise, Green (2004:125-136) interviewed a small group of feminist mothers and outlined the overt and subversive strategies of resistance that bring about liberating experiences of motherhood in the ways of either openly challenging the norms

or, alternatively, with mothers fitting into societal norms at the first glance, but quietly raising their children to understand and transgress patriarchal constructs. Under the alternative pattern (mothers having more traditional gender roles than non-mothers found in general samples), Liss and Erchull examined how the anticipated mothers and those actual ones who self-labelled themselves as feminists experienced life transitions to parenting (2012:1-11). Their investigations yielded an observation that despite favouring egalitarian division of childcare, feminist mothers still perform more care-related chores than the estimate made prior to the actual transition to motherhood (2012:6). Interestingly, while 45% of the anticipated mothers envisioned non-compliance with giving children their fathers' surnames, 75% of the actual feminist mothers followed the traditional route, which can be seen as reinforcing the "patriarchal system where women's genealogical identity is erased, and the assumption is that men are the only members of the family who can legitimately carry on family lineage and tradition (2012:3, Nugent 2010).

The authors conclude that there is a shift in the feminist views of mothers towards culturalism (or cultural feminism), while the internalized ideology of Intensive motherhood still proves too powerful for some women to resist (2012:10-11). Similar findings were presented by Sevón in the narrative of 'turbulent transformation' to the gendered parenting struggle for equality, where Intensive motherhood was somewhat contested but also evident in the bulk of everyday care (2012:77-80).

Polish Feminists and Motherhood

Reviewing a pool of personal documents produced throughout the 1990s, Szpakowska noticed that "feminism" is a forbidden word and even magazines with a rather feminist orientation receive letters discrediting the movement (2003:252-256). Soon thereafter Zielińska wrote that "[t]he words feminist and feminism still have negative connotations in the Polish context" (2010:73), and by 2013 Hryciuk and Korolczuk reaffirmed a certain deficiency in the Polish Family Sociology which adopts gender or feminist lenses. While the recent anthology edited by Slany (2013) provides a potential

breakthrough for the family studies moving forward with the gender perspective, 'motherhood' remains one of the most overlooked issues in the gendered research.[14]

In fact, over the last century, marked by the communist dependency of post-war Poland, few thinkers imported Western feminist debates into the Polish discourses, with one example being a famous author and literary critic Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński, who called for a national social policy of "demobilization of uteri" in the pre-war period. His work was later largely recalled to illustrate a persistence of a solely instrumental approach that Polish authorities adopted towards the issues of reproductive rights, as well as women in general (Gajewska 2008:227). While this is quite a dated example, it seems to point out the present focus of Polish feminism, which appears (justifiably) preoccupied with the pressing erosion of reproductive rights and prevention of unwanted pregnancies, hindering its ability to tackle issues concerning women who want and have children (Kubisa 2012:292).

Arguably, mirroring what Snitow wrote in 1995 about the "demonic texts" of feminists who see nothing positive about motherhood and therefore cannot initiate a broader discussion (Bell 2004:47), Kubisa suggests that feminism movement members are viewed as unconcerned with mothers, and mothering as a topic needs to be introduced in the debates (ibid:291). With no social action from either side, empirical social (and feminist) analyses of mothering remain scarce. Studies of families often treat motherhood as unproblematic, with research in the field inevitably reinforcing framings of no female agency and patriarchal constructions of gender orders (Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012:13). Emergent analyses primarily look at social discourses (particularly in the media studies context) and produce valuable problematizations of mothering through the framings of citizenship, nationhood and democracy (for overviews see Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012:12, Zielińska 2010:70-73).

[14] Interestingly, it appears that 'new' fatherhood in regard to the masculinity crisis is addressed more often in gender scholarship, with works of Fuszara (2008), Suwada (2013) and Wójcik (2013) serving as good examples. More importantly, what should be noted for later discussions is that Kubicki has delineated two models of Polish fatherhood as catholic and laic, which shows a certain mirroring of 'Mother-Pole' and 'new/intensive motherhood' presented here, particularly in regard to the nature of fathers' participation and moral figures (2009:77-103, readily visible in a comparative table – p.101). Conversely, other researchers have argued that changes of masculinity in Poland are only skin-deep and introduce a superficial 'cosmetic' change to patriarchy (Szlendak 2009:62-76, Titkow et al. 2004), while Budrowska believes that the old pattern is outdated but a new one has not yet emerged (2008:125).

At the same time, the ongoing rolling mobilizations by feminist organizations attempt to overcome the normative assumptions of womanhood, and put forward notions of gender equality; however, those are still quite few and hard to come by, as illustrated by Kubisa's (2012:289-308) text dedicated to one of the most recognizable "MaMa" ("Mum") foundation for maternal activism. While the work done by the foundation manages to escape the dominant psychologism-driven aspects and concentrates on social issues (2012:289), their focus remains on practicalities, such as the "Stairs and Strollers" campaign, mother-toddler clubs, mothers' time bank, and the like. Similar aspects of grassroots activism were noted by Stefaniak and Zierkiewicz (2012), while the anthology entitled "*What it means to be a mother in Poland?*" co-edited by Pietruszka-Dróżdż and Gałysz-Wróbel (2009) provides a (non-academic) collection of biographic narratives, which present experiences of the maternal that do not fit in with the dominant Polish model. Together they provide what can be argued to be a feminist perspective of inclusiveness towards diversity, with the accounts of disabled mothers and mothers of children with disabilities, migrant mothers in Poland (Ukrainian and Chechnyan cases), as well as those of lone or lesbian mothers.

Adopting a feminist perspective, Kubisa argues (2012:294) that the traditional divisions within Polish feminism along the lines of liberal and radical branches (Fuszara 2002) are becoming replaced by new notions, as activists situate themselves closer to the leftist feminism of Walby or Hochschild. Raising the topics of care, reproductive and household work, it is hard to see this activism as nationally-bound, as it primarily addresses the issues of urban middle-class women, and clearly calls for broadening the scope within the diversity of maternal experiences. Since even a leading activist Chutnik wrote in her personal manifesto *"Matki feministyczne*" [Feminist mothers, 2006] that "a wanted child is still an agent of patriarchy as its needs cannot co-exist with the life of a feminist activist", the persistent incompatibility of motherhood and feminism in Poland remains evident.

Kasten (2013:73-74) asks whether the type of feminism that had emerged in Poland has not in fact stunted the progress in definitions of mothering, which she derives from the absence of lone mothering either as a feminist cause or as a topic in the general social discourse. Hryciuk supports that view in her examination of the entanglement of motherhood and politics in the maternal movements in Latin American countries and in Poland which, arguably, share some aspects of the Mother Mary's cult (2012:267-288).

Regrettably, Hryciuk has found that ‘motherhood’ is obscured from view, and women purposefully avoid references to Mother-Pole and Mother of God, seeing their fight as requiring ‘natural’ subjects of law and deserving citizens (2012:283). On the positive side, researchers increasingly note that the changing norms of female identities in Poland are dynamic and non-linear in nature (Korolczuk 2012:230, 2010; Urbańska 2010, 2012, Titkow 2007, 2012, Slany 2013).

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Overall, the debates outlined in Chapter 2 indicate an unbreakable link between female lives and reproduction, as well as illustrate that women’s place in society is still primarily seen in relation to the families they create as wives and mothers. Particularly the Polish setting embeds women’s identities in the national discourses of ideologically-charged femininity and responsibility. While western framings may offer alternatives with more flexible approaches of doing family and feminist critiques of motherhood, the dominance of Intensive Motherhood ensures complexities within the patriarchal ideals of female roles. This background sets the scene for the next Chapter, in which the questions about women are posed through the lens of migration and mobility, especially in the context of the transnational framework, as a response to social change, somewhat similar to the perspective offered by the ‘doing family’ lens.

Chapter 3: Mobility, Transnationalism, Family Migration, and Migrant Motherhood

"[She] had seen them many times at international airports, with their mountains of cheap luggage, their faces merging worry with bewilderment with exhaustion, their children slumped […] They were immigrants, immigrating […] She'd seen them departing. And she'd seen them arriving […] Now she was one of them. Now this was her, curbside at the airport. This was her, not understanding what anyone was saying, the language incomprehensible. This was her: an immigrant, immigrating"
/Chris Pavone, Expats, 2012:15-16/

In recent years, conceptualizing migration and human spatial mobility has earned visible recognition as a significant project within social theorizing, gaining momentum as an interdisciplinary research field (Castles &Miller 2003, Faist 2004, Massey et al. 2005, Portes &DeWind 2007, Solimano 2010). A basic definition reads that migration encompasses "a (more or less) permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries" (Marshall 1994: 415-16), and constitutes a notably pervasive phenomenon present universally across space and time, contemporarily linked globally to trends and rhythms of local (national) economies, the state of global economy, disproportions in welfare, social benefits, and political or economic freedoms granted (Castles & Miller 2003, Praszałowicz 2002). Several aspects of the migration process help narrow down the contextualized usage of the term in regard to mobility causes (political, economic, social, familial, cultural etc.; see e.g. Koryś & Okólski 2004, Praszałowicz 2008, Romaniszyn 2003:14-32), while recent works on the subject of migration provide overviews and critical analyses of numerous earlier theoretical frameworks (Faist 2004), often resulting in a certain black-boxing of the term. Overall, topics and theories can be categorized according to their scale – from societies, nations, economies, cultures, and the global world on the macro-scale (macro-theories), through social groups, households and family units, regions, neighbourhoods and networks on the meso-level (middle range theories), to actors/persons found in the individualistic micro-level theories (Faist 2004:31). The transnationalist approach described later in this Chapter supplies a framework that can potentially overcome the 'black-boxing' and deserves to be elaborated further.

Nevertheless, it is important to list some recent key works and trends in the discipline which include debates on globalization effects, global governance and development issues for mobility (Castles & Miller 2003, Sassen 2001, 2007), linking migration and citizenship (Faist 2004, Hammar et al. 1997) or nation-state and its economy (Castles & Miller 2003, Massey et al. 2005, Chiswick 2000; especially in the context of the current economic crisis e.g. Solimano 2010), looking at long-term consequences of the ethnic minorities' presence and the general debates into ethnicity as a category (Castles & Miller 2003, Portes and DeWind 2007, Brettel & Hollifield eds 2000, Thomas & Znaniecki 1976), analysing patterns of global South-to-North streams (Faist 2004, Solimano 2010), and wondering about global geographies of migration (Massey et al. 2005, Bosswick & Husband 2005). Finally, the two key topics largely relevant here are feminization of migration and female experiences of mobility (Castles & Miller 2003, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003), as well as the above-mentioned rise of transnationalism as both a transgressive and integrative framework (e.g. Levitt & Jaworsky 2007). They will be discussed in the following sections.

Migrating Women - a Minority that became a Majority

Contrary to the somewhat popular belief that female mobility is a new occurrence, women have in fact always been present but simply overlooked or, in other words, "socially present but sociologically invisible" (Morokvasic 1983:13-24). Since Castles and Miller (1993/2003) forecast the feminization of migration as one of the most influential and significant trends for the migratory processes in the 21st century, scholarly interest in the topic has flourished and captured the gendered nature of migration (e.g. Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000, 2003, Ehrenreich & Hochschild2003, Zlotnik 2003, Morokvasic et al. 2003, Morokvasic 1991, 1993, 2004, 2007; Mahler & Pessar 2001, Parreñas 2010, Bjerén 1997, Ryan & Webster 2008).

In order to contextualize Morokvasic's peculiar 'discovery' of female absence, one can review Zlotnik's quantitative study (2003:1-2) which suggested that women were historically misrepresented due to their treatment as an 'addition' to their male partners, the primary subjects of enquiry, either under the presumed 'male-streams' of normative 'working man' migrant or as genderless subject of the macro-level processes (e.g. on the labour market). Analogically, female immigrants were the 'objects' to male 'subjects', consequently seen as followers and dependants equipped with stereotypical identities of

inadaptable and unproductive wives and mothers (Morokvasic 1983: 16-18, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003, Mahler & Pessar 2001). Once women were noted as employees, they fell victim to another methodological individualism (Morokvasic 1983), as they were now being universalized as female workers and denied their private lives. The economic activity of women was not seen as different in its nature, firstly because women often move back and forth to reconcile work and family obligations and, secondly, the high irregularity and low wages obfuscated female presence on the labour markets, as they until now continue to occupy non-controlled 'grey zones' – niches of domestic work, elderly- and child-care (Bradley 2008, Abott & Wallace 1990, Renzetti & Curran 2005, Zmroczek & Mahony 1990). By the end of the 1970s, a dichotomy has been established between the dependent non-working women reuniting with their male relatives versus the independent female employees abroad (Harzig 2003). It was not until the late 1990s that this split was challenged, and the inevitable conclusion of including women in the general findings on South-North mobility was that "migration can be seen as a process that is fundamentally influenced by the gender differentiation of social, cultural and economic life, which therefore must be considered a 'gendered' process" (Bjerén 1997:223-226). As a new feminist paradigm appeared, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003:4-11) characterized the different stages within the development of the scholarship in this area:

- 'Women AND migration': culinary 'add and stir' tactic that implied that female experiences were simply thrown in among the dominant male narrations during the 1970s and 1980s; seen as a compensatory trend improving research that had solely men-generated data sets by acquiring women-only counter-findings. While it can be seen as jump-starting the discussion, it was later criticized for its reductionist design – merely a numbers game rather that an analytical framework;
- Gender AND migration: fallout from Sassen's article on women-workers employed in industrial plants in the developing countries (1984), which marks a feminist advance in looking at migration through gender lenses; direct explanations were sought in regard to how gender differentiates the migratory experience of men and women, and whether it contributes to the fight for equality;
- Gender as a constitutive element of migration: both a stage and an emerging field currently witnessed; interested in documenting interconnectedness of

> gender and mobility, looking at the relatedness of the two issues, as well as determining the scope of the gender interference with various social practices, identities and institutions. In essence, the research design is to incorporate various elements (e.g. labour market, ethnic business enclaves, citizenship or sexuality) in order to demonstrate the gender entanglement within everyday actions[15].

Shedding light on the contemporary paradigm shifts within the disciplines, Parreñas recently claimed (2009, 2010:91-100) that although gender issues are marginalized within migration research, there is a dominant trend directing examinations towards this problematic. This particularly 'amorphous' approach (Parreñas 2009:2) is devoted to delineating how gender is socially constructed via migration processes. In regard to the applicability of feminist theory and practice to migration studies (2009, 2010:91-100), Parreñas contends that

> "[…] what is not emphasized enough in our interrogation of the constitution of gender in migration is the fact that gender is above all a relation of inequality between men and women. By making this claim, what I want to point out is the fact that the study of gender is not necessarily a feminist practice in itself if it does not underscore the fact that gender is a relation of inequality. Gender does not merely point to differences of masculinity and femininity, but it likely indicates relations of inequality in society" (2009:2).

Consequently, she believes that a major downfall of contemporary research is not that it ignores the gender variable, but that it fails to perform a gender analysis (2009,

[15] Reflecting the progress in the discipline, this thesis focuses on the works representative of the most recent approach, where gender and families are foregrounded. This indicates a post-2000 scope of the literature review, although there are two issues to consider when looking back on what has transpired from the earlier decades of works on similar topics (prior to a 'discovery' of women and families' specific migratory experiences). Firstly, the overwhelming majority of the most cited works has taken on an economic lens, and discussed migrant families in as much as their standing could be linked back to the macro-social consequences (e.g. on the labour market – see e.g. Mincer 1977, Sandell 1977, Morrison & Lichter 1988). A general 'conclusion' that can be extrapolated from earlier works views women and children as problematic, unfit for 'labour migration', or portrayed those already abroad as culturally inept, resisting integration, costly for welfare and causing social unrest. Smart wrote that especially "[c]hildren from minority ethnic backgrounds have tended to be understood as living problematic lives" (Smart 2011:104) with regard to presumed confusion, influence of religion/culture leading to alienation, lack of social capital, preponderance for criminal activity and poor educational outcomes (see also Goulbourne et al. 2010). Secondly, there are some works with gender- and/or family-centred approaches – e.g. Vega 1990 on Latino migrant families, Ballard 1982 on South Asian kinship, which nevertheless remained context-specific in terms of culture and ethnicity. Similarly, a classic work by Thomas and Znaniecki (1976) dedicated to family life of Poles in the United States should also be mentioned for an ethnographic 'thick description' of the consequences of mobility for family life, though it largely depicts (as many of the above) the historic moment, only to a degree relatable to the arguments of this thesis.

2010). Hondagneu-Sotelo recommends that feminist migration studies move away from 'female only' studies, as they might have a 'ghettoizing' effect, and result in a belief that gender/sex is a defining aspect only for the experiences of women. Parreñas disagrees with that statement, as she maintains the view that feminist migration studies should primarily focus on women, going back to Derrida-like explanation that female experiences are by implicit binaries 'always already' constructed in opposition to the male standard concepts of gender and sexuality. She sees it as particularly suitable for obtaining a feminist understanding of the intersections of race, class, nation, sexuality, and gender in migratory contexts, prospectively yielding a new understanding of inequalities, while also believing that female social relations within mobility may occur with other women rather than men (2009:5, see also Lutz et al. 2011). On a similar subject, Szczepanikova insists that migrations are highly sensitive to the gender variable, both in their causes and results, as they essentially change the relations between the sexes (2006: 5-6). She points to overlaps of self-constituting categories of difference which mean that:

> „[..] it is important not only to explore how gender permeates migration practices, institutions and identities, but also to understand why migration processes are gendered in particular ways and what difference it makes for migrants and receiving societies (....)I believe that it is useful to acknowledge that migration is not only a process that is 'passively' shaped by gender ideologies and practices in countries of departure and countries of destination or, more specifically, by gendered demands for labour or changes in family reunification laws, to mention a few examples. It is also a process which can be analyzed as an 'active' and in many aspects even radical force that influences how migrants perceive themselves as gendered beings and what impacts migration has on gender relations and ideologies in societies of origin and arrival" (2006: 1-2).

Indeed, for decades the discourse around women was marked by ethnocentrism, with migrants placed on the 'tradition-modernization' migratory continuum, universally expected to follow the (perhaps "bumpy") road inevitably leading towards emancipation or, alternatively, becoming the problematic clientele of social welfare (Morokvasic 1983, 1984, 1993, 2004, Złotnik 2003). Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003, 1994:101) believed that becoming a breadwinner is ultimately placing women on the egalitarian stand within a marital dyad, and Kay (1988; see also: Szczepanikova 2006: 3-4) offered an example of Chilean migrants to Great Britain to illustrate that migration can be a major active force that alleviates the traditional relations. She also noticed the variability relevant to gender and class, singled out as much more powerful indicators for success or failure than one's ethnicity. Presently, one's status and social standing in both pre-migratory and post-

migratory contexts are seen as highly affected by the intersectional matrix of class and gender (Skeggs 1997).

Accordingly, Plüss recently argued that "gaining access to resources in different places, and thus experiencing multi-place social integration, can increase cultural hybridity – the mixing and matching of cultural elements with roots in different regions and places in migrants' transnational social positioning" (2013:7). It is also an area interdependent on the key topics in the body of transnational family studies, which today include "broader structural inequalities, including those relating to gender, class and processes of racialization, which govern family migration practices" (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). Nonetheless, opposite findings concern the gender progress becoming stunted (e.g. Parreñas stated that despite female migration 'the ideology of women's domesticity remains intact in the Philippines' 2005a: 168) or reinforced to the point of making the hierarchies more prominent than in the homeland, often to supposedly shelter women from the 'immorality' that the culture and social environment of the receiving country represent (Szczepanikova 2006, 2012; Espiritu 1992). Similarly, some migrants may re-traditionalize upon their move abroad, regardless of the global (northern/western) directionality of their mobility (Szczepanikova 2012; Reid & Comas-Diaz 1990; Morokvasic 2007:71, Muszel 2013). Moreover, facing a foreign culture may provoke some individuals to develop a counter-reaction, often through contrasting the values and preferring those imagined to be left behind in the home-country. While nostalgia for home is common (see e.g. Rabikowska 2010b), it often becomes paired up with a religious turn (Szczepanikova 2012), thus making implications of migrations unclear for gender relations at home and subject to a case-by-case analysis (Pessar 1995: 48-62).

Contemporary thematizations revolving around *gendered and gendering migration* may be recapitulated into three main study-sections of the transformational societies, institutional welfare critiques and individual biographic focus (Szczepanikova 2006, Parennas 2010, Smagacz-Poziemska 2008). The first area looks at structural conditions of the increasingly feminized global economies, female exploitation and global care chains (Bakker 2003, Sassen 1984, 1998, 2003), as well as at the specific mobility-relevant effects of societal transformations, such as the geopolitical transitions in 1989 and over the next few years, marking the end to the communist regimes in Central Eastern Europe (Morokvasic 2004). Additionally, in regard to labour, the targeted recruitment of foreigners for home and care sectors has been addressed, and the earlier economic

explanations offered by the theories of market dualism and labour market segmentation (Doeringer & Piore 1971, Piore 1979, Reich et al. 1973, Kaczmarczyk 2007, Górny &Kaczmarczyk 2003) were supplemented by care economies' studies (Anderson 2000, Święćkowska 2007, Charkiewicz & Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz 2009). The analyses of female migrant labour resulted in a thorough feminist critique, which sees 'global women' as inadvertently assisting Western women in avoiding gender matters at home by hiring cheap foreign domestic help (Lutz 2011, Lutz & Palenga 2010, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003, Bradley 2008:226, Szczepanikova 2006, Kofman et al. 2000:136-146). In other words, migration has helped to sustain the "hegemony of the white male breadwinner model", as female migrants "filled a gap in the labour market that indigenous women might otherwise have been expected to fill" (Tacoli 1999, cf Kofman et al. 2000: 144).

The second area of the feminist inquiry attempts to break down the welfare regimes' responses and negotiations around gendered citizenship and social participation (e.g. maternal leave policies, access to institutionalized childcare: Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Kofman et al. 2000; Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003). Thirdly, scholars are encouraged to take a closer look at individual biographies, decisions and strategies embedded in the female migrant's family environment and personal trajectory (Pessar 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). Further, this final perspective also offers a possibility for seeing women as equipped with agency and having control over their mobility trajectories (Coyle 2007, Morokvasic et al 2003, Smagacz-Poziemska 2008, Slany & Małek 2005), noting that people are not variables, but active agents that help to shape political, social and economic outcomes (Botterill 2011:52).

Increasingly so, studies move beyond the above outlines and cover broader or cross-sectional topics, as in Chant's suggestion that the political dimension which governs gender orders at home should be taken into account when patterns of female and male migration are compared. This is due to the level of the female autonomy and societal views on reproduction and domestic labour, as well as the labour market opportunities impacting ideas of mobility (1992: 197-198).

Bradley believes (2008:225) that feminist sociologists are increasingly prone to noticing multiple diffusions between problems of class and gender, signalling a goal of representing diverse social dynamics and intersections of powers (Vasquez 2010, Crenshaw 1991, Hill Collins 1994, Baca Zinn et al. 2005), and supplying a broader

theoretical (intersectional) account as a backbone for a practice of gendered migration studies (Pessar 1999: 587, Szczepanikova 2006:3), as:

> "[i]ndeed, one can never speak (only) to 'a migrant woman' or a 'migrant man', s/he is always positioned in the matrix of class, ethnic and age relations that may shift in their relevance for her/his life depending on the particular context. Examination of these categories together with gender should help us to explore […] crucial question: What implications the gendered and gendering character of migration has for migrants' lives […]?" (Szczepanikova, ibid:6):

As such, the prescriptions for the feminist migration study outlined by Parreñas comprise conducting a complex study of inequalities across the scopes of social realms and focusing on their explanations under the 'intersectional' umbrella of various types of *'othering'* applied to individuals by various societal contexts. Furthermore, one must look at how global inequalities are buttressed by the organization of production and reproduction, as well as subjecting certain groups of women to the impossibility of reconciliations between private and public spheres in their lives, thus unfolding intersectionality (2009:10-11, 2010).

Transnationalism

Supplying a robust theoretical approach and an analytical framework, transnationalism has initially emerged from the everyday research practice as a response to the increasingly popular forms of the migratory movements that fostered non-permanence and multi-local spatialities, identities and practices in the global mobility era. These concerned those non-state and subnational actors that were first identified unfit for the usual analytical framework of national identifications (Keohane & Nye 1971, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007:130). While conceptual lines are sometimes blurry, transnationalism constitutes an important component for the mobility reflections around global interconnectedness (see e.g. Castells 2008, Beck 2000, Bauman 1998, Roudometof 2005).

In their review of the breadth of the thematic scholarship within migration studies, Levitt and Jaworsky (2007: 130-134) deem transnationalism an alternative theoretical perspective that since the 1990s has been capturing those migrants who "continued to be active in their homelands at the same time that they became part of the countries that received them" (2007:130). Originally, a transnational optic was applied to the "recent immigrant cohorts, although the concept has been expanded to include other groups of people, as well as a whole array of activities across borders" (Roudometof 2005:113).

The aspects of said active participation include familial, social, economic, religious, political, and cultural processes that are pervasive in the lives of mobile individuals outside the borders of their current residence (Basch et al 1994, Faist 2000, 2004, Glick Schiller et al. 1995, Grasmuck & Pessar 1991, Guarnizo 1997, Levitt 2001, Mahler 1998, Portes et al. 1999, Smith & Guarnizo 1998, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007). It is undeniable that transnationalism initially aimed at grasping the mass-mobility in the United States, as those arriving from Central America entered the "labor force and the social fabric of advanced industrial societies in North America and Western Europe" (Roudometof 2005, Basch et al. 1994; Smith & Guarnizo 1998; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Portes et al. 1999), whereby they disrupted the conventional racial demarcations in the prevailing racialized discourse of immigrants (Roudometof 2005:115). The concept came into existence at that specific moment in human history when the successful nation-state building "contributed to the creation of large numbers of people 'out of place' – that is, crossing over the national boundaries erected in the last two centuries" (Roudometof 2000: 367, cf. 2005:119), while the 'transnational turn' secured a methodological lens suitable for examining globally evident intensification of the new beyond-borders processes and relations (Olwig 2003:789; Vertovec 2009: 3).

Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) enumerate the most prominent definitions put forward by scholars over the two decades of the transnational research. Among these, Basch and colleagues carefully referred to transnationalism as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (1994:6), grasping the basic sense of the multi-local maintenance of relationships. Continuously, "more recent scholarship understands transnational migration as taking place within fluid social spaces that are constantly reworked through migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society" (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007:131, see also: Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004, Pries 2005, Smith 2005), essentially making it more about the quality of the social reality of the migrants than the numerous geographical spaces that they frequent. The modern approach goes beyond the exclusivity of the two players – countries of origin and destination, and underscores the multiplicity of sites around the world where migrants can be active because of their familiarity feelings and connectedness to home, additionally contributing to an array of debates on the relatedness between transnational, cosmopolitan, and 'global-glocal' debates (Roudometof 2005).

Interestingly, both migrants and non-migrants are believed to be affected by the existence of transnational spaces, because of the experiences of travelling and the multiplication of social remittances in their broad sense of not only money but also ideas, norms, practices and most importantly – identities (Levitt 2001), while urbanization facilitates a creation of spaces where occupants of the blurry categories of migrant, local resident, transient and immobile persons can meet and might be living in the enough proximity to be inclined to embrace social and cultural change.

The classifications of 'social spaces' that create (and are also being created through) transnational migration emerge (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007:132); for instance Roudometof (2005:127) builds up on Beck's (2000) definition of transnational social spaces that cannot be restricted but can be transformed from being areas of labour into spaces of the "transnational sexuality, popular music, journalism, as well as spaces fostering the construction of a multitude of identities (ranging from those based on gender to those based on race, religion, or ethnicity)" (2005:119-122). Consequently, Levitt & Glick Schiller (2004) employ a term 'social fields,' as "sets of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed". In addition, Morawska (2003) proposes "conceptualizing migration as structuration to capture the continuing dynamic between structure and agency that extends into transnational domains". Thus, the author uses Giddens' (1984:2) idea of "social practices ordered across space and time", placing migrants beyond both micro and macro simplifications. Alternative takes recall migration circuits (Kearney 1995), transnational livelihoods (Olwig 2002, White 2011a, 2013), and a particularly crucial claim about transnational life including "those practices and relationships that link migrants and their children with the home country, where such practices have significant meaning and are regularly observed" (Smith 2005, cf. Levitt & Jaworsky 2007:132).

Importantly, Roudometof identifies three distinct layers of transnational activities, each marked by degrees of structuration regarding the permanence of the transnational practices performed by actors (2005), which include spaces (fluid, interaction and practice-led transnational social spaces with worldwide actors' presence), fields (stable, structured and permanent transnational relations of power within transnational social fields; they may bypass mobility as a prerequisite for participation since local agents are often involved), and communities (beyond-national and constructed by new immigrants or highly-skilled

highly mobile foreign labour). Faist (2000) prefers the variables of spatial and temporal stability as a determinant for a specific type of belonging to one of the following transnational topographies:

- Dispersion and assimilation (weak simultaneous embeddedness in sending and receiving countries, short-lived transnational ties);
- Transnational exchange and reciprocity (strong simultaneous embeddedness, rather short-lived social ties);
- Transnational networks (weakly embedded, long-lived);
- Transnational communities (strongly embedded in at least two countries, enduring).

Furthermore, Glick Schiller (2011) differentiates between the observable actual 'ways of being' and the 'ways of belonging' which indicate those practices that enact an identity demonstrating a conscious connection to a particular group, bestowing a crucial role of transnationality within the debates of national loyalties and negotiations of identities (see e.g. Baldassar 2007). Although 'belonging' still remains somewhat of a 'black-box' in sociological research (Temple 2011b:51), undeniable changes brought on by mass migration, globalization and postmodernity have resulted in a more elaborate matrix of 'belonging'. Conventionally, national and ethnic identities were conceptualized as sources of belonging and a "where are you from?" question usually provided an uncomplicated and stable nature, making ethnic and national identifications rather powerful, quite dichotomous, and ultimately – well understood (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, Jasińska-Kania & Marody 2002:282-288).

At present, the national and ethnic identities are arguably becoming (to a degree) replaceable by different, more specific or more general identifications (such as pan-European, global, transnational, cosmopolitan or Western – substituting the former ethnic descriptors; see e.g. Castells 2004, Temple 1997, 2011a, 2011b, Cinpoes 2008). Concurrently, Glick Schiller et al. stated that transmigrants refer to diverse and fluid identities of their own making, and while some may evidently identify themselves more with one society, they generally maintain different identities and remain linked to more than one nation at the same time (1992:11). Vertovec situates the former discussion (2004b: 971, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007:132) as the first of the three 'modes of transformation' in separate domains, namely:

- Perceptual/socio-cultural (migrants' orientational 'bi-focality');

- Conceptual/political (affecting the meaning of the 'identities-orders-borders' analytical triad);
- Institutional/economic (pertaining to financial transfers and remittances, public-private relationships and development; see e.g. Yeoh & Chang 2001, Sassen 1984, 2007).

Linked to the concept-focused debates, transnational scholarship inspires methodological considerations, such as Smith & Guarnizo's (1998) distinction between examinations of transnationalism from above (globalization, capital, mass-media, nation-states, politics) and that from below (local, grassroots, community). A resolution for combining the two levels while avoiding reductionism might be seen in Mahler & Hansing's (2005) offer of "transnationalism of the middle", as it enters a dialogue with what Roudometof proposed for the transnational experience needing to "be conceived as involving several layers ranging from the construction of transnational social spaces to the formation of transnational communities" (2005:114).

Similarly, Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) urge scholars to move beyond methodological nationalism, or the assumption that the nation-state is either a 'natural' or a 'logical' category behind the organization of contemporary social life. While Portes (1999, 2003) suggests restricting focus to the subjects that depict transnational activities in the recognized sectors of politics, economy and society, and Guarnizo (1997) recommends transnational actions to only cover those instances that are integrally a part of one's habitual life: regular, patterned and predictable in nature. Conversely, researching the sense of belonging among migrants somewhat contradicts this framing. For one thing, it is suspect to view identities as such and, secondly, adopting this 'narrow' definition would mean impeding the recognition of the Central European female mobility as transnational (Morokvasic 2004, 2007). Therefore, there is a growing support for expanding transnationalism to include those that engage in transnationalism only occasionally, even if solely by means of responding to political crises in their primary localities (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007:132). On a similar note, Morawska claims that contemporary transnationalism entails great diversity with regard to content and form:

> "depending on the specific constellation of factors, it can involve single or multiple cross-border activities […] regular or prompted by specific situations [...], carried by individuals, immigrant families or ethnic groups through informal or institutional channels; and it can be confined to private lives of people on both sides of the border or involve the public sphere" (2007: 153)

In sum, the transnationalism perspective challenges the earlier approach to migration as a unidirectional movement 'from-to' with the final and set place of arrival, which Tarrius (1992) called a straight movement between two points (see Portes 2003, Pries 2005, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007). The very use of the term may help to overcome the earlier divide between migrants (labour/working class) and cosmopolites (highly-skilled elites; see e.g. Bryceson & Vuorela 2002:11).

In turn, the new perspective suggests that maintaining strong networks of dependencies with the country of origin may constitute valuable social (as well as human and economic) capital. Therefore, research should go beyond the ethnic lens of 'methodological nationalism' (see Glick Schiller et al. 1992, 2006, Glick Schiller 2009, Garapich 2009b) and embark on a study that favours Beck's 'methodological cosmopolitanism' (Beck and Sznaider 2006, Beck 2006), for which multi-sited (cf. Levit & Jaworsky 2007:142-143: Burawoy 2003, Fitzgerald 2006) or cosmopolitan (Appadurai 1996) ethnographies are proposed as means to transgress an inclination to create one-dimensional studies on immigrants versus emigrants, covering instead all sites of transnational migrants' activities.

Transnationalism and Families

Moving forward, transnationalism is said to transform social life, especially with regard to kinship and family structures (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, Olwig 2002, Levitt & Waters 2002, Bryceson & Vuorela 2002, Parreñas 2005a, Goulbourne et al. 2010, Pries 2003). Having inspired research on family networks in transnational spaces and their perpetuation of gender relations of power, transnationalism alluded to the fact that migrants often put family first. Research across (ethnic/geographically dispersed) communities has shown that being a member of a particular household, family or kin can disturb, fortify, or completely reverse migratory currents (Bjerén 1997:219-246). Levitt and Jaworsky (2007:138) point out that only recently the focus has moved away from living arrangements and housing within kin, remittances, finance and budgeting, and shifted towards the generalized ideas of "reproduction in the everyday of transnational families", with investigations of the role of experiences of mothers, fathers, children, and the elderly in multi-generational transnational families.

Consequently, transnationality has become a norm for managing family ties across space and time as "[m]igrants from different cultures value the maintenance of the social identities of the original culture differently". Moreover, social reproduction is a powerful

vehicle for providing a sort of glue that "prevents those in a kin group [abroad from cutting] loose from the source of identity back home" (Bjerén 1997:232). Significantly, there is a dearth of research focused on transnational families in an intra-European context (Ryan & Sales 2013:92). It overlooks the fact that those migrants in the less distant locales have a broader scope for a range of transnational practices. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that kin remains a basic enabler in an individual migrant's trajectory, the most immediate structure of social ties that can be used in case of an emergency (e.g. when a sudden return home is necessary), as a source of labour reserves (intra-kin recruitment), or as a temporary holder and manager of social, economic, or even political capital back home (Baldassar 2007, 2008, Nesteruk & Marks 2009, Bryceson & Vuorela 2003). The foregoing is also the case in the European context as Bailey and Boyle (2004:232, cf. Ryan & Sales 2013:100) have indicated that ''the family is increasingly being recognised as pivotal to migration patterns within Europe''.

A transnational family has been broadly defined as marked by "sustained ties of family members and kinship networks across the borders of multiple nation states" (McCarthy & Edwards 2011:187, see also: Bryceson & Vuorela 2002:3-14, Goulbourne et al. 2010: 3-15, Svašek 2008), meaning that some family members live apart across national borders for some time, but those spatial differences do not impede the fact that the family welfare of a 'collective' remains a primary reference for one's sense of belonging (2002:2). An important distinction lies between the 'narrow' view of a transnational family (separated nuclear family, parenting on remote) and the 'broad' understanding of the same, which pertains to the multi-sited engagement for the sake of '*familyhood*' and *'collective*' (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002:3). The latter understanding includes the extended family and (transnational) migrant families, which are those new families started abroad, reunited or migrated together (a conjugal couple with children living together in a destination country) who continue to maintain contact and relations with the extended kin in their sending country. This expands the view of the earlier scholarship where transnational families (in a narrow sense) were often equated with female workers who left their children behind (see e.g. Parreñas 2005a, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003, Pratt 2012, Szczygielska 2013, Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997).

Following Bryceson and Vuorela's outline of certain key themes guiding enquiries into transnational families (2002:3-14), it has to be noted that studies seek to cover different types of family connections across borders, which include types of relationships

(e.g. care obligations – Finch & Mason 1993, Yeates 2004, Baldassar et al. 2007, Krzyżowski 2013, Goulbourne et al, 2010:81-98) and communication, particularly that assisted through new technologies and mobile devices (e.g. Madianou & Miller 2011, Madianou 2012, Parreñas 2005a, 2005b, 2008, Vertovec 2004a). Family rituals were also examined as means of ensuring continuation of the family (Reynolds 2008, Olwig 2002), and included 'frontiering' (practices of creating familial spaces and network ties across borders) and 'relativizing' (guidelines on how relational ties are created and maintained for specific members), as defined by Bryceson & Vuorela (2002:11-14). The maintenance of ties was also pointed out in the management of family resources across nation-states in regard to social and financial remittances, signifying both the monetary transfers and similar forms of assistance, cross-border ethnic family entrepreneurship, sending and receiving consumption goods or caring practices (see e.g. Moskal 2010, Levitt 2010, Hussain 2005).

Transnational families were also noted as recipients or subjects of state policies – both in regard to the diaspora engagement and/or migrant organizations, as residents in the receiving society, particularly when it concerned the educational and/or welfare system, as well as with reference to citizenship (Ong 2002, Snel et al. 2006, Lacroix 2011, 2012, Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky 2006). Finally, in terms of intra-family dynamics, transnationalism is used to spot (1) reconfigurations within ethnic (self-)labelling of families and cross-cultural negotiations (e.g. in mixed couples, children raised bilingually abroad, etc.); (2) multiple ways of forming, attaining and negotiating a sense of belonging among adults and children (e.g. Ni Laore et al 2011, Ensor & Goździak 2010, Svašek 2008, Mas Giralt & Bailey 2010, Vuorela 2002a); (3) the notions of familial co-residentiality (e.g. Parreñas 2005a, Pustułka 2012); and (4) the organization of gendered reproduction and consumption in mobility (Bjerén 1997, Goulbourne et al. 2010).

Together these various notions were also pinpointed in the studies on migrant families and social capital, as an equally-important dimension joining families, ethnicities and communities (Goulbourne et al. 2010:16-35). Novelty and usability of the social capital approach is particularly evident in looking at non-Anglo-Saxon families with a different organization of broader kinship, highlighting the distinct ways in which capital 'linking', 'bonding' and 'bridging' happens across transnational networks and spaces (Goulbourne et al. 2010: 16-35). Focusing on cultural capital, Erel (2009, 2012a, 2012b) cautions that "it is particularly important to be aware of the social constructedness of

cultural capital when researching migration, since geographic and social trajectories of migrants can engender a mismatch of their cultural resources and the institutionalized and informal processes of recognition (2012b:464). Recalling the classic social capital conceptualizations, Ryan et al. (2008:675) recall that Putnam specifically stated that social capital is "negatively correlated with migration" (2007:156), while Colman argued that mobility can potentially be a destructive force for said capital. Concomitantly, children's schooling is one of the most powerful institutional and organizational concerns for migrant mothers worldwide (e.g. Erel 2010, Pratt 2012, Parreñas 2005a, Vasquez 2010), closely linked to the fact that "varying levels of available cultural and social capital differentially enable parents to influence their children's educational desires" (Howard et al. 1996:146).

Unsurprisingly, there were questions raised about the durability of transnationalism across generations (e.ge.g. Pries 2004, Morokvasic 2006, Reynolds 2008, Goulbourne et al. 2010), with the general consensus that:

> "Clearly, transnational activities will not be central to the lives of most of the second or third generation, and they will not participate with the same frequency and intensity as their parents. But the same children who never go back to their ancestral homes are frequently raised in households where people, values, goods, and claims from somewhere else are present on a daily basis" (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007:133-134)

Noteworthy, Morokvasic recalls (2006:8) that for a long time it was largely believed that keeping in touch and orientation towards the country of origin had negative effects on the life possibilities and achievements of migrants, jeopardizing their potential upward social mobility under the dominant 'immigration-settlement-integration' scheme. It implied that identities of the arriving migrants will be shortly revoked and replaced once ties with their countries of origin are severed. A British study by Shaw (2004) warrants a concern that within locality, second and third generation of migrants may appear highly assimilated to the local values, while she also cautions against oversimplifications and universalisms – similarity in form (of practices) should not overshadow ethnic distinctions. Borjas (1985, 2006), Erdman (1998) and Reynolds (2008) illustrated that the generations of children and/or grandchildren were prone to reviving their heritage-derived identity, extensive travelling to and learning about their ancestry. Snel at al. (2006) found that transnational involvement does not in general impede immigrant integration. Raising children in a transnational setting makes them prone to maintaining similar connections in future nuclear families of their own, despite this pattern of the maintenance of ties not being the case for all phases of the individual's life (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002:15). Pries

(2004) discovered that personal needs and desires throughout the life cycle determined the degree of transnationality, claiming that even those who showed little to no interest in their heritage may revisit and revive their ties upon marriage and childrearing, sometimes because of the belief in finding the right spouse, and even more frequently, to pass certain values onto their offspring, profoundly validating research into transnational mothering practices discussed in the following sections.

One final remark to make is that the growing interest of transnational family scholars should be paired with the already noticed perspective of the family studies, which continues to highlight the importance of extended kin in the globalized world (Mason 1999, Heath et al. 2011, Krzyżowski 2013). Vertovec believes it crucial to look at the daily lives of transnationals and use actor-centred approaches. Those see people as their own agents, not only able to initiate and process change, but also equipped with a capacity to assign meanings to their practices (2004b:973)**.**

Global Mothers on the Move

Transnational Mothers

Bjerén's claim that "there is a definite relationship between the reproductive process and mobility" (1997:227) fostered debates on how gender differentiation in migration patterns is linked to the different roles, responsibilities and power that women and men have in relation to parenting, as migrants are, after all, members of households and families. While historically speaking, mothering from a distance is not a new phenomenon, as in past maidservants used to live with their employers, which effectively excluded the possibility of a reconciled job and home/care arrangement, Lutz notes that a growing number of migrants "are mothers who have a strong sense of loyalty towards loved ones left behind" (2011:111-112). Similar contemporary interpretations look at the interplay of gendered power relations, which lie beyond family concerns, as women leave their home enclaves to partake in either paid labour or associations related to ethnic or religious communities abroad. On that note, Salaff and Greve point out that gendered effects of transnational migration mean that a much greater responsibility is assigned to women who 'undertake the meshing of work and family systems' (2004:160). Summing up the research results to date, Levitt and Jaworsky describe this situation in the following terms:

> "women receive multiple, conflicting messages from the public and the private spheres of both the homeland and the receiving context, which they must somehow reconcile […] Moreover, state policies around welfare, child care, maternity benefits, or voter registration, which affect men and women and their ability to exercise multiple memberships differently, also reflect the gendered nature of migration" (2007:138).

There is a perceptible agreement surrounding two major issues discovered through research on 'mothering from a distance', namely that leading a family life in the transnational context is an emotionally trying time (for mothers and children alike) and that care-giving from afar challenges the Western norms of mothering (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997, Parreñas 2005a, 2010, Nicholson 2006, Vasquez 2010, Pratt 2012, Segura 1994).

Indeed, mother-child separation has become one of the key topics in transnationalist research, with a breadth of scholarship dedicated to the gendered constructions surrounding maternal absence (see Gustafson 2005). Studies have assessed female struggles with the self-perceptions of inadequacy in regard to mothering (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997, Dreby 2006, Nicholson 2006, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003), the consequences of separation from the children's perspective (Pratt 2012, Parreñas 2005a), as well as the practical dimensions of 'on-remote' parenting (Madianou & Miller 2011, Madianou 2012).

All in all, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (2005:309) argue that "on the cusp of the millennium, transnational mothers and their families are blazing new terrain, spanning national borders and improvising strategies for mothering", resonating with Nicholson's argument (2006:14-15) that transnational motherhood is crafted through alternative definitions and an array of acceptable behaviours, as well as a feeling of being 'in between' two worlds – 'here and there', between two localities. The private sphere of being a mother becomes instantly problematic in the isolated situation of living abroad, and this 'motherhood' recalled by the spatially-separated migrant women frequently proves contradictory to both the Latina and the Intensive motherhood social constructions (Nicholson 2006, Hondagnau-Sotelo & Avila 2005).

Consequently, the transnational phase of family lives (regardless of its duration) requires women from various backgrounds to rethink, rephrase and reconfigure the components of the 'good mother' ideal type (Nicholson 2006, Hondagnau-Sotelo & Avila 2005, Dreby 2006). Notably, South American mothers expressed a clear preference for their children to remain under the care of their kin members back home, ideally raised by

the mother's biological mother (2005:314), often leaving the caring kin with very clear instructions defining the desired upbringing practices, with a demand for confirmation from the "appointed" care-provider that a specific set of values will be transferred onto the child (Nicholson 2006, see also Parreñas 2005a). In general, this type of approach demonstrates that the transnational motherhood is a particular and peculiar form of 'shared motherhood' (Nicholson 2006:14), where maternal physical absence may not signify an emotional absence (2005:313). Indeed, transnational mothers indicate that their primary goal is not to change much (or ideally anything) in the children's lives, managing and maintaining everyday habits, activities and emotional relations, so as they can remain as stable as possible (Nicholson 2006, Madianou & Miller 2011). At the same time, studies by Thorne and colleagues (2003) and by Pratt (2012) draw attention to the emotional implications for mothers who worry about a possible non-fulfilment of the basic needs of their children, who might be not well-nourished or dressed for the weather, imagine that something bad might happen when the parents are not nearby to help or save them, and finally – they fear that the children may feel abandoned or unloved.

While Nicholson (2006) suggests that the transnational motherhood is marked by gruesome long travels, extended periods of mother-children separation, as well as a degradation and relegation to the lowest levels of the social and economic ladder, it also positions women as primary agents responsible for the well-being and financial thriving of their offspring. Interestingly, this focus on maternal provisions was also noted by Hill Collins as paramount for the non-mainstream constructions of motherhood in Black culture (2005), and will later come to view in the discussion of the Mother-Pole. It might be also related to what Dreby argued about the gender relations and parenting among Mexican mothers and fathers in New Jersey (2006). Her ethnographic research has indicated that the first and foremost "women's maternal roles are sacralized, whereas fathers' roles are tied to financial provision" (2006:32-33). While it might be geographically astonishing, it is the logic of Catholicism that offers parallels between Poland and Latin American countries, as illustrated in Dreby's recollection of *marianismo*:

> "Mexican mothers' caregiving role is especially celebrated and linked to the self-sacrificing characteristics of the Virgin of Guadalupe—likened to the Virgin Mary—who is worshiped devoutly throughout Mexico by individuals of remarkably diverse sociocultural backgrounds. Latin American scholars describe this culturally specific version of maternity as marianismo. According to this ideal, women should be self-negating and martyrs for their children because they are spiritually and morally superior to men […] In contrast, Mexican fathers' role in the family is linked to honor rather than morality" (2006:35).

Similarly, drawing on the works of Chodorow (1976), Nicholson calls for creation of the cross-cultural models of mothering in the globalized world and directly targets the co-residentiality requirement by saying that whenever migration with children might pose tangible difficulties and bring about certain dangers (as it is the case for the undocumented flows), migration of mothers without children becomes the only viable choice (2006:16-17). As it stands, however, the dominant paradigm of children and migration portrays them as the vulnerable and left-behind victims of global mobility (Parreñas 2005a:30-56) additionally reinforcing the Western nuclear families' underlying assumption that children "have a natural need for stability and security which can be provided by the domestic and familial context […] [associating] ideal modern childhoods with residential fixity" (Ni Laoire 2010:156). Nicholson urges scholars to challenge said occurrences that lead to framings of 'bad motherhood', as her respondents are not only providers but also outline future paths for children that would otherwise be unlikely or even impossible (Nicholson 2006). These constructions should be seen as strongly gendered, evident in what Dreby discovered about perceived generalized views on maternal migration as tied primarily to propinquity:

> "If financial support is not essential to mothers, emotional intimacy is. Transnational mothers expect that they, and other mothers in their situation, will call home regularly and suffer greatly without their children […] Mothers who do not suffer without their children are accused of abandoning them […] Consequently, mothers often expressed guilt over leaving children, whereas fathers rarely did" (2006:52).

This concurs with several other studies where women interviewed about their separation were largely embarrassed and anxious to justify their particular situation (Nicholson 2006, Pratt 2012), underlying that the sacrifice is made with a better future envisaged for the children.

Migrant Motherhood

A life-course predetermines the possibilities for both being mobile (migration) and becoming a mother, which are both often tied to specific spaces (Bjerén 1997:231). This section will discuss the issues faced by migrant mothers who are arguably likely to display transnational practices.

The use of Yuval-Davis' (1997) notions on the nationhood and womanhood concatenation proves particularly fruitful when one looks at the migratory scholarship context (for explicit and more general examples see e.g. Erel 2012, Szczepanikova 2012,

Slany 2008, Vasquez 2010, Dreby 2006). In looking at mothers, two distinct standpoints conceptualized mothers as either '*active teachers'* of culture (Vasquez 2010:33) or, alternatively, as '*passive bearers'* thereof (Graff 2008a:141, Yuval-Davis 1997). The former approach clearly stems from a feminist standpoint, strongly linked to ascribing maternal agency over the cross-generational cultural transmission, responsible for what the global context deems the "production of community identity in foreign lands" (Chambers 2012: 128, see also: Yuval-Davis 1997, Temple 2011a:107, Erel 2012b). The transnational gendered lens helps avoid earlier pitfalls of the traditional macro-sociological models within migration studies, (e.g. Lee's push and pull theory) owing to their reductionist look that disregards subjectivity and agency, which are particularly vital for the analyses of the entanglements within the female migratory projects (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997).

Surprisingly, little research covers the decision-making of transnational mothers who decide to reunite their families and become 'migrant mothers' – the topic seems to be obscured by the breadth of research on family migrations and reunifications. Some evidence can be found in studies on female employment and scattered in the accounts of shuttle migrants who can no longer bear separation (Lutz 2011, Morokvasic et al. 2003). Pessar and Mahler's (2003:827) examination of women's trajectories as migrants showed them as the decisive force generally more prone to constructing individual and family strategies oriented towards long-term and/or permanent settlement of their family abroad (see also: Pratt 2012, Parreñas 2005a, 2005b, Nicholson 2006).

According to Ryan, the idea of living the everyday, typical, somewhat dull and standard life is often related to the women joining their male migrant partner (2007, 2009), because their arrival means that men have to change their formerly transitional type of somewhat bachelor-style living, move into a single-family housing, and seek residence closer to schools, surgeries and local institutions. Together as parents, migrants would also become more aware of the existing policies and possibilities, while at the same time trying to improve their level of local language competencies (see also Lutz 2008, Baxter & Wallace 2009, Morokvasic et al. 2003), as gaining skills and utilizing their capital becomes streamlined within the 'children's future' concerns.

Consequently, one can find studies dedicated to immediate challenges faced by the newly arrived mothers and mothers-to-be. Examining such a group of women in Australia, Barclay and Kent (1998) confirm the instantaneous impact of the Intensive motherhood ideology, saying that high indications of discomfort caused by social and cultural factors

are reported by the majority of migrant mothers. Following childbirth, women from non-English-speaking countries were said to recover in stress, often alone and without any kind of help at home, further lacking sources of motherhood-related knowledge. Researchers believe that there was nothing surprising about the fact that mothers from non-Western societies did not feel at ease and had severe difficulties in adapting to (not to mention identifying with) the Anglo-Saxon romantic image of marketed motherhood, where only smiling children and elegant mothers were depicted (De Souza 2004). The issue of foreigners birthing children is always a sensitive policy issue as it undoubtedly affects the demographic situation of both sending and receiving societies. It might be further problematized in regard to the measures that need to be undertaken by the state to ensure that the new generation has a desired level of attachment to their country of birth, sometimes very different of their parents' homeland (ibid.).

Earlier research suggests that migrants may view the foreign educational system as sub-standard or not optimal, often due to the lack of understanding of the framework of comparison with the country of origin (Reynolds 2008, Ryan et al 2007, 2008, D'Angelo & Ryan 2011, Segura 1994). A study by Roer-Strier and Strier (2006) concluded with a statement that "parental social cognition, childrearing ideologies, expectations, norms, rules and beliefs tend to preserve meaningful elements of their original cultures" (2006:104-105, cf. D'Angelo & Ryan 2011:239). These can result in the mismatch between parental expectations and the school reality, possibly allowing for unresolved tensions, misunderstandings and conflicts (see also: Ryan et al. 2013, D'Angelo & Ryan 2011, White 2011a:160-162).

Globally, migrant mothers often express ambivalence concerning their experiences, overturning the modernization-development framework by referring to divergence of values, as it transpired in Nicholson's study where South American women positively assessed benefits of the English-language education and a better health care in the United States, but had mixed feelings about the parenting strategies of the local women and acknowledged that young people growing up there are prone to detrimental effects from neighbourhood peer groups (Nicholson 2006:14-15, Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 2005). Furthermore, school systems (even within the EU) vary significantly (Haim et al. 2010), and the practical elements of educational practices may be problematic for parents: the structure and content of the curriculum, the type and intensity of the communication

channels between school and parents, dress code or values, such as obeying authority, having respect for the elderly, and the like (D'Angelo & Ryan 2011:240).

It should not to be forgotten that childcare remains a burning issue for a lot of migrant women (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997, Ryan 2007, 2011, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003), because relocating abroad largely entails a motherhood devoid of the kinship members' support (Kay 1988). Ryan remarks that in the absence of affordable state-run childcare, migrant women may draw upon shifting combinations of local and transnational networks, and testifies to the fact that even in early post-war Europe, migrant women from Ireland called on their mothers for help and advice on their new-born (2007:308). This corresponds with the interest in the physical presence and the impact of elderly migration in Mazzucato's (2008) work on Ghanaian mothers in the Netherlands. She found that intergenerational relationships comprising more than the usually assumed two cohorts were significantly affected by the individual's decision to leave, as the expectations of caring for one's elderly kin members was not being met. More broadly, Menjivar (2002) indicates a pattern of migration as a response to several intra-family needs surrounding social reproduction. This includes primarily the care of young children that allows both parents to rejoin the labour force, teaching the mother tongue, passing on the tradition and values of the country of origin. Importantly, in general migrant mothers often lacked opportunities (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997, Pratt 2012, Parreñas 2005), or, sometimes, their needs were considered secondary to their male counterparts within the respective generation of the families of origin, as in the case of the Chicana mothers described by Vasquez (2010) and Segura (1994). Consequently, many migrant women are consciously supportive of their daughters' educational aspirations. Furthermore, they are usually very much engaged in school activism, advocating for their children and attempting to counter institutionally discriminating practices (Vasquez 2010). Mothers are also 'cultural capital brokers' described by Erel (2012a, 2012b) as "a crucial link for maintaining, enhancing or destabilizing the intergenerational reproduction, accumulation and transmission of cultural capital" within family strategies (Erel 2012a:466).

On the general level, migrant motherhood is discursively viewed as a romanticized endeavour rather than effortful work (Vasquez 2010:25, Pratt 2012), and one implication is that it might become significantly difficult in the context of the migration to the West, where women have reported observing a 'social devaluation of motherhood' (Kay 1988, Szczepanikova 2006:4). Interestingly, Burck's study on the migrant parents' linguistic

choices has revealed a gendered practice where migrant mothers, unlike foreign-born fathers, predominantly spoke their mother-tongue to children. This again illustrates the importance of looking at mothers, while also showcasing a gendered dimension of what is considered 'natural' or normative, both in parenting and speaking 'mother tongue' (Burck 2011:371-372). It must also be underlined that it is still primarily mothers who are transmitting the 'ethnic' culture. While instilling racial (ethnic) pride is common among minority parents worldwide (Vasquez 2010:34, Cohen & Eisen 2000), vitally they also transmit the culture of gender (Chodorow 1976).

Adopting a perspective of feminist mothering, Vasquez sees her respondents as negotiators between the views of the dominant majority culture and minority empowerment, providing a positive affirmation and mediating any racializing institutions in hopes to protect the children's interests (2010:23-39). This supports some earlier findings on transnational mothering, for which Nicholson noted that women created a particular eclectic type of motherhood, which is very different from the normative concept of (intensive) motherhood, as it is understood and internalized through the ideas and practices of the mainstream white middle-class America (2006). Exemplifying the latter, Vasquez argues that Chicana mothers are instrumental in transmitting and altering culture, rejecting the elements of gender inequality (ie. machismo, patriarchy), but enforcing the values of family, roots or heritage, and Catholic religion, in the practices often narrated through the intergenerational preservation of Mexican cuisine and folklore dancing (2010:33-34). This also carries implications for the broader kinship structures, as grandparents are brought in to instill the values, and their migration is articulated as a way to reduce the perceived negative influences of a foreign social environment and local style of socialization (Menjivar 2002).

Like Nicholson, who argues for new models of transnational and global motherhood (2006), De Souza insists on methodologies that lend themselves to 'giving voice' to the *othered* migrant mothers (2004), underscoring an undeniable need for multicultural contributions to build up knowledge of migrant motherhood in the transnational and/or global environment, especially with regard to how it reflects the expectations placed on women who mother in the spaces culturally unfamiliar to them.

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To sum up, Chapter 3 provided an overview of the key themes in the broad global female migration scholarship, which covers the topics of maternal separation and positioning of mobile women in the broader kinship structures. Quite evidently, a dearth of research illuminates the experiences of women who mother post-migration in more detail, with the topic also overlooked in the intra-European context of sociological inquiry. While feminist frameworks managed to highlight various problematizations of gender in migration, transnational frameworks do not always see reproduction and parenting as key elements of migrant trajectories. The following Chapter will investigate the aforementioned issues in the case of Polish international mobility of the recent years.

Chapter 4: Polish Migrant Mothers and Families since the EU Accession

"The reference points inside my head are beginning to do a flickering dance. I suppose this is the most palpable meaning of displacement. I have been dislocated from my own centre of the world, and that world has been shifted away from my centre"
/Eva Hoffman, Lost in Translation, 1998: 132/

In this Chapter, the focus is placed on the Polish context of the contemporary transnational mobility of the decade following Poland's accession to the European Union on May 1st 2004,[16] with a particular attention to migrant women, families and mothers, while also acknowledging the context of Poland as a sending country on the one hand, and on the other – Germany and United Kingdom as receiving societies. As a departure, it takes on a shift from the continuous efforts to count contemporary migrants within the labour market paradigm of economic migration (e.g. Kaczmarczyk & Łukowski 2005, Fihel & Piętka 2007, Frelak 2012), to their recent long-overdue pairing with more qualitatively-driven inquiries into how the actual lives of the said migrants are led (e.g. Garapich ed. 2011; Krzyżowski & Urbańska 2010; White 2011a; Dzięglewski ed. 2012; Burrell 2003, 2009, 2011). Before moving on to the latter, it is important to pinpoint several issues within the recent history and provide snapshots of the selected data that shape the ways in which Polish migrants are 'doing family' abroad.

Research pertaining to economic factors as key determinants of the international mobility of the Polish population highlights different levels of the state's economic development found in Poland as a country of the CEE block and the main migratory destinations located in the old EU. As the latter represent well-established, neo-liberal market economies and welfare states (Górny & Kaczmarczyk 2003, Koryś & Okólski 2004, Portes & French 2005, Duszczyk & Wiśniewski 2007, Okólski 2007, Favel 2008) the Polish economic migration is in line with the earlier theories of the unidirectionality of

[16] Importantly, there is a slight difference in the country-specific labour policies that appeared immediately after May 1st 2004, as the UK's job market was open immediately for citizens of the A8 countries, while Germany imposed a transitional period and kept employment of Poles regulated – for the rationale see for instance Frelak et al. 2011. Conversely, EC Mobility in Europe Report (2012) states that opening of the German borders to A8 nationals in 2011 has "not led to any obvious distortions of the labour market, most workers entering relatively prosperous parts of Germany with good labour market conditions. Overall, they have tended to smooth out labour market imbalances, reducing labour supply in places where jobs are scarce and increasing it in places where there are labour shortages.

migratory streams, from less- to more-developed territories (Piore 1979, Wallerstein 1984, 1991). Within the overall global balance of the international migration currents, Poland remains a country of a significant net emigration, a phenomenon paired with a rather unimpressive position as a country with the lowest immigrants-to-residents ratio in Europe and over 2 million citizens residing abroad (Kaczmarczyk 2007:5, Slany & Ślusarczyk 2013:3-4). According to Okólski, Poland, like other Central Eastern European countries, has been positioned as a source of cheap workforce for the EEC since the 1970s, and from 1989 onwards, the post-communist transition witnessed flows of adjustment/compensatory migration to Western Europe (2007:1-3), simultaneously reflecting the historical circumstances behind each wave (Kaczmarczyk 2007, Okólski 2007).

Furthermore, circular (shuttle or incomplete) migrations developed as a common social practice, pioneering a mindset of 'mobility as a way of life' (Morokvasic (1983, 1984, 2004; Okólski 2001, 2007; Jaźwińska & Okólski, eds. 2001). Summing up the pre-accession democratic period, Okólski sees it as:

> "revitalising old and establishing new networks, and acquiring experience in international migration by large population of Poland. With immigration volume still rather negligible, emigration (both documented and undocumented) involved around 1.1-1.3 million persons […] approx. one million people practised non-tourist circular movements" (1999:6).

For example, the female shuttle movement was grounded in the rotation-based contracts for nurses arriving in Germany on 3-month visas, who kept both their regular Polish job to guarantee social security and health insurance, while supplementing their personal income with foreign currency. It serves as the prime example of careful mobility strategizing (Morokvasic 2006:53-54). Supporting this line of argument, Polish researchers argued that migrations executed after the 1989 transition should be viewed through the lenses of a systemic change (macro-level), yet as caused largely by a family strategy (mezzo-level) of the household's responsiveness to the economic crisis and growing unemployment (Małek 2010: 257, Jaźwińska & Okólski 2001, Romaniszyn 2003, Slany 1997, 2008). Simultaneously, the migration culture became well-established: surveys throughout the 1990s suggested increasingly high numbers of citizens considering a move abroad to seek (often clandestine) employment (Sakson 2010:7-8; 1995:75-86). The said culture is believed to be developing continuously till the present day (White 2011a; Garapich 2011), in what Botterill referred to as the young generations of Poles being 'socialized to migrate' (2011:51). Paradoxically, during the years preceding EU accession,

the political and media discourse in Poland was mostly focused on internal economic problems of over-ruralisation and lagging industry condition, fostering fears of preserving national identity (Graff 2008b), with the prospects of mobility being largely overlooked and underestimated (Dustmann et al. 2003, Fihel & Piętka 2007: 9-10).

With the borders open, the old tradition of Polish migration revived, along with the hidden migratory potential, "a skill, inherited from earlier periods, of extracting unexpected […sometimes illegal] benefits from migration in defiance of the relevant rules and regulations, and certain deeply-rooted structural characteristics of Polish society" (Okólski 1999:9). Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 intensified mobility projects (Grabowska-Lusińska 2012:46, Trevena 2011:71, Slany 2008, Rabikowska 2010a:286, Slany & Ślusarczyk 2013, Iglicka 2008; Burrell 2008a, 2009, 2011b, Garapich 2011), but this is not to say that it has revolutionized the core of the phenomenon (Grabowska-Lusińska 2012:51, Dzięglewski 2012, Irek 2012:25-29). With the progressing democratization, gathering extensive and exhaustive data on migration started to pose more of a challenge, as many flows ceased to be registered in the borderless entities (Kaczmarczyk 2007:5).

Nevertheless, the directionality of the (especially post-2004) outflows has changed: Poles constitute the largest group of EU nationals living outside their state (Eurostat 2006) and 95.6% of Poles migrate to other EU member states. Immigrants from Poland predominantly head for the UK (35.6%) and Germany (25.3%), as per the National Census 2011 data (Slany & Ślusarczyk 2013:7) – by 2010, the two countries absorbed 455,000 and 560,000 migrant Poles, respectively (Fihel et al. 2012). Multiple efforts have been made to develop categorizations of Polish migrants across European destinations, many of them based on the predictions of potential return to Poland, ascribing different degrees of (progressively lower) likelihood of the same (Iglicka 2008, Górny & Osipowicz 2006, Frelak & Regulska 2008, Fihel & Grabowska-Lusińska 2010, White 2011b, 2011c).

A matrix of migration patterns, based on the ethnic and social class affinities outlined by Eade and colleagues (2007:33-35), provides one example of a widely-used typology. Among the metaphorically-labelled migrant categories of *Storks* (circular/seasonal workers), *Hamsters* (collecting savings in the destination country only until the investments and capital are enough for a successful return), *Searchers* (those without a specific plan), and *Stayers* (coherently acting upon their choice to settle abroad), the last two categories, covering combined 64% of the sample, can be viewed as potential

identifications of (some) family migrants whose trajectories are marked by the ideas of adaptability, orientation towards the future (e.g. ambitions for upward social mobility), and transnational way of life and/or nomadism. The latter brings in Bauman's cosmopolitan elites' perspective (2004, see also Wagner 2011), which is included in Duvall and Vogel's typology of migrants, alongside three other categories of orientation towards the following: return, settlement, and bi-national transnationals (those who lived abroad but provided a long-term support for the left-behind kin; 2006 cf. Grabowska-Lusińska 2012:50). A goal-oriented typology of migration strategy was developed by Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski (2009). It seemingly links earlier scholarship with the current endeavours by equally noting the continuation of the circular incomplete migration (see also Irek 2012) and those subscribing to the '*intentional unpredictibility'*. The authors also discussed two kinds of entire-family-migration patterns: long-term transnationalism and settlement of highly-skilled global professionals (Grabowska-Lusińska 2012:50-51), further enriched by Engbersen et al., who covered the degrees of *attachment* to the host and sending societies, respectively, in the post-accession context (2011, cf. Grabowska-Lusińska 2012:53).

Simultaneously, researchers find it hard to escape the dominant romanticism-induced story of migration as an unwelcome necessity, marked by a heroic patriotism, a nationalistic inclination and sufferings of exile (Garapich 2011:6, 2009a, 2009b), despite their attempts to do so (Irek 2012:25). One prominent example of its effect on research is provided in Iglicka's chapter on the British migration provocatively titled "*Is England really a paradise?*", in which she submits to the dominant debate of migration being a negative phenomenon, regardless of her evidence on Polish migrants doing relatively well in Britain, both in terms of employment, and by forming some social ties (2008:99-133). This issue is similarly addressed in other works on the subject (and often expanded to include a range of labour, social, political and demographic problems presumably or actually resulting in Poland from increased emigration) (e.g. Dyczewski 1993; Korczyńska 2003).

Reminiscing about Iglicka's distinction between national and international agendas for mobility post-1989, Garapich draws parallels in the methodological and epistemological split present between the stability and community arguments on the one hand, and the ideas of mobility, movement and flows on the other. Following in the footsteps of Anderson and Appadurai, Garapich argues that migration research on Poles

fits into a broader scheme of re-shaping and evoking imagined communities constructed across space and time as symbolically and culturally charged, with a mythical container of a 'nation' that is to be restored and guarded in the better days (2011, see also 2009b, 2012, Irek 2012).

Consequently, even contemporary research frames Polish migrants as affected by 'non-belonging', metaphorically contradicting movement (migration) with settlement (belonging) (Garapich 2011:5-7, 2010; Burrell 2009, 2010; Irek 2010, 2013). Reflecting on Polish migrants coming to the United States at the turn of the 20th century, Morawska has also suggested that Poles maintain a sense of belonging limited to a localized 'countryside' of their place of origin, with the ethnic identity emerging only later, through integration with American society and "evolved within the immigrant communities, as their members mixed and blended the home- and the host-country customs and traditions into distinct, ethnic patterns- that Polish peasant immigrants internalized the idea of and attachment to Poland as their encompassing symbolic homeland." (2011:1033). Similarly, the "brain-drain, collapse of family ties, dangers from western vice and hedonistic lifestyles, mixed with implicit racism are a pretty common feature in the public discourse on Polish migration, from the media to statements of politicians and Church officials" (Garapich 2005:6, see also: White 2011a:35, Slany & Ślusarczyk 2013:20-22). This aggravates the intra-ethnic class-conflict of the former migratory elites and the incoming migrant masses, resulting in the particular form of '*othering'* among the Poles in the United Kingdom (Garapich 2005, 2007, 2013; Dunin-Wąsowicz 2013, Temple 2011a, 2011b, 1994), conducive to certain framings of the female mobility discussed in the following section.

Furthermore, despite the relatively easy access to 'Polishness' in the form of ethnic entrepreneurship, presence of Polish culture and media, as well as events, organizations, and institutions (Burrell 2009, 2012, Praszałowicz et al. 2013, Lacroix 2011, 2012), there is an evident lack of diaspora policies extended by the state of origin in response to the growing number of Poles abroad (Fiń 2013, Garapich 2013, Kucharczyk ed. 2013). In addition, the negative framings of migration are paired with the narratives of improper behaviour of Poles as seen in what Garapich called a *Polish conman* – an ethnicized, symbolic figure of Polish mutual distrust (2012:39, see also Irek 2012:24-25).

Gender and Migration Studies in the Polish Case

Although Morokvasic claimed (2004:9) that of all the nationalities came in contact with during her research over the previous two decades, Polish women were the most

mobile group identified, Okólski noted the gender-balance within the streams during the 1980s and 1990s (1999:18), and the researchers generally suggested that female mobility is on the rise, particularly in the cases of Germany and Italy (2006:6, see also: Małek 2010, Lutz 2013). Praszałowicz (2008:53) assessed the imperfect statistics and concluded that quantitatively women presently dominate the currents from Poland to the 'new' destinations (Belgium, Italy), and found evidence for even proportions of mobility to the 'traditional destinations' (US, Germany) and – most recently – to the United Kingdom. This trend was confirmed by the National Census 2011 data, which showed that women accounted for 52% of the mobility (Slany & Ślusarczyk 2013:7-8).

It is important to note that until the early 2000s Polish women in migration largely appeared as (temporary) workers abroad with a liminal presence as reunited wives/followers (Smagacz-Poziemska 2008:42-43, White 2011b:11-15, 2011a). A commendable exception for the then underresearched British context was Sword's research on the histories and trajectories of Polish-British migrants which concluded that the majority of Poles coming to the United Kingdom before the 1980s were young females who used their pre-existing family networks to make the move possible. They usually made their decisions on the basis of multi-dimensional considerations rather that simple economic calculation, and establishing their lives abroad (1996:147). Even so, it was primarily the nature of the earlier migration patterns involving women with formerly precarious positions in Poland who had little (legal, economic, social) capacity to relocate their families abroad (Praszałowicz 2008, Slany 2006, 2008, Coyle 2007) which in consequence created an interesting yet perhaps slightly limiting body of empirical work. It includes respondents whose experiences were somewhat constrained by the aforementioned approach that depicted their struggles on the labour market and the difficulties connected with deskilling and working in a range of domestic services, for the most part illegally (see e.g. Slany & Małek 2005, Kordasiewicz 2010, Lutz 2011, Szczygielska 2013, Kałwa 2006, Grzymała-Kazłowska 2005).

The socio-economic explanations can be traced to the fact that women, particularly those from the areas with large state-owned industry that collapsed in the early years of democracy and free market economy, were also said to be the 'lost causes' of the 1989 transformation (Burrell 2008:65-66, Coyle 2007, Kaczmarczyk 2007:5-6, Dunn 2004). This argumentation was reinforced by the general Polish economic indicators in the decade leading to the EU accession when the female labour market activity decreased from 52.2%

in 1994 to 47.9% in 2003, with a 20% unemployment rate among women at the time of the accession (2004). Those affected were primarily young women, college graduates (perceived as 'risky' employees due to their presumed procreative plans or small children), as well as women aged 50 and above who were absent from the analyses and the discourse (Kotowska 2007:46, Paszkowski 2006). Under these conditions, women were somewhat predestined to being 'on the move' (Morokvasic 2004, 2007), and were only eventually seen as playing the roles of social innovators, using spatial mobility as an adaptation strategy under the new post-communist regime and beyond. Although some of these occurrences were ephemeral, Morokvasic underlines that:

> "Migration has always been a risk-averting strategy for individuals and households. In post-communist societies many people react to the transition economy by hitting the road, trying to avoid being left on the fringes of their societies that are undergoing rapid but unpredictable transformation" (2006:49).

It was particularly for the Polish-German case that minimizing risks and optimizing opportunities for both production and reproduction was ensured by keeping and maintaining ties on both sides of the East-West European divide (Morokvasic 2004:9; Lutz 2011, Lutz & Palenga 2010). Consequently, it might be argued that the foreseeable and unexpected influences of social change in the 1990s and beyond were optimized via the *transnationalization* of risks: women (actively) grabbed opportunities and defied obstacles both in the home country and the country (or countries) they visited as migrants, creating transnational social spaces (Morokvasic 2004; Morawska 2007). At the same time, Lutz notes that in contrast to the extensive global scholarship of the last fifteen years, "barely any analysis of transnational family networks between […] Germany and Poland has taken place so far" (Lutz 2011:112), and this can be attributed to several reasons. Morokvasic, for one, believes women who travel abroad rely on their networks of friends and contacts reworked via shared experiences of, firstly, those who have previously operated transnationally and thus verified intermediaries (e.g. travel agencies, recruiters), and, secondly, referring to their neighbours, professionals or other women in similar situation to provide replacement-care in their absence (2004:10). Similar importance of female networks was also shown by Kałwa among Polish live-in domestic workers in the Ruhr region (2006), while Lutz (2003) alternatively suggested that the most striking feature of Polish women in Germany is not the fact that they were illegals, but the fact that they were extremely self-sufficient and completely deprived of any kind of institutional tools. As they remain politically inactive, their work in isolation and invisibility is perceived as

socially useful and economically not-threatening, confined to the co-ethnic group (see also Lutz & Palenga 2010, Praszałowicz 2008:59).

Perhaps, in a somewhat related manner, some Polish scholars continuously favoured a perspective of treating women as vulnerable, looking at migration as traumatic and voided of agency (Praszałowicz 2008:17, Slany 2008:321-343, Smagacz-Poziemska 2008:44). This divide is somewhat supplemented by the 'third-way', where Polish women are sometimes referred to as 'quasi-migrants' or 'transnational commuters', being far away from the idea of settlement and seeing their half-time lives abroad as a peculiar 'work commute', evident in their descriptions of 'travels' rather than 'migrations' (Coyle 2007:42). Relevantly, scholarship on how internationally mobile people, and particularly women, express their life-orientations in the migratory processes, has a strong tradition in Poland (Slany 1997). One recent conceptualization of the types of orientations comes from Kordasiewicz's analysis of Poles in Italy, and delineates main aspects of three affinities: towards their country of origin, focus on the destination country, as well as certain 'in-between-ness' of those who had no visions of either stay or return (2010:48-49). The latter case can be seen as an indication of the 'transnational turn' of the recent years (Garapich 2011), emerging also in female mobility studies. As for now, a majority of women interviewed across projects focused their energy on maintaining close relationships with their country of origin, those left behind, and, to a lesser degree, belonging to an intra-ethnic group and preserving their national identity (Slany & Małek 2005, Małek 2010, Coyle 2007, Lutz 2008, 2011).

In terms of the migration rationales, Slany and Małek (2005) have delineated four categories of the Polish female migrants to Italy and the USA: those leaving as a consequence of the 'new trauma' of the destabilization of economy in Poland (largest group, as above), the 'individualists/seekers/romantics' who were fulfilling their life-goals through mobility, 'escapists' for whom migration neither enhanced their life-status nor became an investment; and 'family' migrants under the auspices of reunification, the category later on expanded by Małek to delineate 'pro-family' migrants - women who went abroad 'for somebody else' (2010). Outlining three main reasons for migration among unmarried women from the Podlasie region (north-eastern Poland), Cieślińska mapped out the family-related grounds for mobility, two kinds of economic causes (unemployment risk/low salaries and earning money for university studies), as well as a class of autotelic causes inclusive of adventure, challenge, and self-actualization

(2008:267-277). Concurrently to the autotelic and romantic categories mentioned above, Kindler and Napierała state that contemporary women often narrate their journeys as stories of gaining independence and becoming a part of the modern cosmopolitan Europe (2010:25). This somewhat resonates with the earlier studies, where young women were seen as migrating for "the new life" (Praszałowicz 2008:59, Grzymała-Kazłowska 2005, Cieslińska 2008).

Thus, comparatively speaking, while Polish women of the earlier decades were said to primarily migrate for economic reasons, the new female mobility enriched by the gender studies' perspective now allows for inclusion of other migratory goals – be that political, social, cultural or cognitive – and expressive of individual perspectives and experience (Kindler & Napierała 2010:25). As a result, new framings emerged and Coyle, for example, insisted that migration from Poland was a form of resistance against the women's general rights erosion in Poland (Coyle 2007:39, see also: Fuszara 2002, 2007; Titkow 2007), further concluding that Polish governments display a certain degree of resistance towards the gender equality and mainstreaming policies derived from EU-membership. She points out that, in response to the recurring crises, the Polish state disengages women and portrays *'modern'* (progressive/equal) relations between the sexes as problematic:

> "The idea that women should not be taking up the available jobs has taken a strong hold in conservative Poland. Successive governments have adopted neoconservative and pro-family social policies that attempt to reconstruct anew a traditional gender regime in which men are sole family earners and women their dependants. Many childcare and reproductive health services have been withdrawn, access to contraception can be restricted and legal abortion is rarely attainable even within the very narrow scope that the law permits" (Coyle 2007:41).

This is reflected in a generally negative discourse surrounding female migration, and working female migrants often only frame the tradition of labour involvement as a demonstration of care for their families. In contrast to men, they encounter more problems in transforming the economic capital from abroad into social capital at home, as social esteem is gendered, and for women it is often associated with transgressing moral codes (Potot 2010:255, Morokvasic 2004:9-20). Celebrating success is also different: men can participate in business networks of the country, while women cannot simply enter the masculinized groups and spaces (Kotowska 2007). Note worthily, any competences that women gain abroad (linguistic or otherwise) pertain to the temporariness of the transnational life, familial responsibility is especially burdensome for mothers who are said to coordinate their productive and reproductive activities transnationally within the

"extended border-free maternity" role and to manage households on remote (Morokvasic 2003:112; Lutz 2003). In that sense, the feminization of migration as a means towards intra-household changes in the division of labour should not be confused with emancipation (see Szczepanikova 2012). As it is Polish women that take on financial responsibility for the family income as providers, they are none the less caught in the gendered care and family demands, which continue to see their increased labour market participation as detrimental to household management (Kindler & Napierała: 2010:21-22, see e.g. Szczygielska 2013).

While the gender perspective is largely applied in the studies of female immigrants' lives in Poland (see Slany 2008: 12-27, Kindler & Napierała 2010, Kordasiewicz 2010), a focus on Polish women, families and children abroad is still rare (see e.g. Muszel 2013). It is primarily offered by projects originating from the United Kingdom (see e.g. White 2011a, Ryan et al. 2008, 2013, Ryan & Sales 2013, Heath et al 2011), as discussed in the following section. In Poland, Urbańska, one of the first researchers to translate and theorize transnational parenting analyses in the Polish context, used media discourses (rather than fieldwork data) surrounding parental migration and the over-hyped issue of the so called *Euro-orphans (eurosieroty*) to expose social reactions and moral panics. The media and discursive depictions of the contemporary Polish migration in general, and the portrayals of women believed to transgress the socially constructed notion of a 'mother' by mobility in particular, lead to migration being stereotypically seen as something dangerous, wrong, and family-threatening (2009). Crucial in following Gustafson's (2004) feminist arguments on the shared idea of mothering being based on assigning a person to a specific territory demarcated as the space of home (residence), Urbańska outlined how Polish policy, political, and even scientific experts seem to perceive the physical presence of a mother at home as a pre-condition for, or an actual guarantee of, good motherhood, therefore deeming those who go abroad and leave children behind as unfit to perform duties of motherhood to a socially acceptable standard (2009: 65-66). Moral panics and the reaction of institutions in Poland show the incompatibility of largely common practices of transnational families and the normative ideal type of mother-child dyad co-residency/ residential care (Urbańska 2009:67), as well as a persistent split between maternal and paternal roles in the family seen as emotional versus instrumental (Lesińska-Sawicka 2008:55, see also White 2011a:92, 2010).

Muszel (2013:30-35, 290-292) suggested that de-traditionalization of the gender roles among Polish migrant women in Ireland was unlikely and sought explanations in Titkow's lack of faith in female identities that contest patriarchy to emerge in Poland (2007, see also Titkow et al. 2003, 2004). Morokvasic (2007:84) claims that the 'socialist-good-mother-superwoman' ideal of female self-sacrifice, with one's life meaning derived from home-making and childcare (combined with being a valuable employee), is shared across the communist countries. Kindler and Napierała hold an opposite view in the editorial to their volume on female migrations, arguing that "Polish women often 'escape' abroad because they cannot reconcile their professional career with the patriarchal division of labour in their respective household. Migration gives them a chance for increased independence, or [can be] an asset in fighting for gender equality" (2010:22).

Finally, talking about pro-family migrants in her research on Poles in Italy, Małek (2010:260-261) employs a systemic family-model developed by Giza-Poleszczuk (2005) arguing that the 'peripheral' work of migrants who see themselves as a lost generation is seen as a contribution to the upward social mobility of their children on the basis of the capital generated by maternal migration. She further outlines the role of a migrant mother as full of inner-contradictions, especially for women who must leave behind their very young children (2010:263-269) and says that migrant mothers calculate costs and gains with a thorough review of non-monetary issues, narrating emotional costs of the worsening relations with children, separation and distance, being absent to witness the children's important life events (Małek 2010:269). Employing Merton's approach to role-construction, Małek highlights the importance of the structural and societal pressures of a 'domesticated mother' figure which mothers use to negatively judge separation from their children in the relational-type reflexivity (one's self seen through others) (2010:265, Titkow 2007:108). This stand was confirmed by White (2011a:92-95), where 85.3% of the survey respondents were against women leaving young children behind and migrating, and interviewees were dismissive of the idea that women could migrate first.

Importantly, the trend of women-blaming is still perpetuated, as evident in a recent book by Szczygielska (2013) who embarked on researching the multiple consequences of female labour migrations for the family's functioning. The researcher's definition of family, normative and functional, positioned migrating women's behaviour as inappropriate, and in her analysis of the fulfilment of the family's functions (namely: caring, socialization, emotional, procreative) in the context of migrant mothers,

Szczygielska chose to include the children's perspective by asking school pupils to write an assignment on "if/when my mum goes abroad", regrettably not always making a distinction between children whose mothers did migrate and those who had a settled family, with clear arrangements in place, further claiming that all students expressed sadness (2013:176). While Szczygielska's interview-partners were on average engaged in short-term (2-3 months in duration) migrations to the neighbouring countries in recent years, she compares her findings to those of Parreñas (2005a) who discussed long-term and long-distance journeys embedded in global inequalities, and reinforced by the lack of available technology-led communication at certain times or at a given location. The researcher calls the children of migrated mothers 'abandoned' and 'lonely' (2013:245), largely as a result of a restrictive definition of motherhood, namely that "a mother-role is to fulfil the family and child-rearing functions" (2013:244). Szyszka (2011) shares such a normative and universalizing manner of conceptualizing a family, which puts all children in the position of victims of labour migration (regardless of whether one or both parents stay abroad). She further mentions the urgency of helping such children and expresses a highly critical view of all migrating parents, echoing some earlier notions put forward by pedagogical research (e.g. Walczak 2009, Kawecki et al. 2012). Despite significant critiques of the *euro-orphanhood* and similar 'moral panics' of women-blaming extended by the gender perspective and empirical findings (Slany & Ślusarczyk 2013:20, Urbańska 2009, 2011, White 2011a:91-92), Slany and Ślusarczyk conclude that the contemporary discourse on Polish female migrants continues to portray them in a universally negative manner (2013:22). Research that allows for diversity of practices and non-judgementally asks for specifically female first-person accounts is thus far missing.

Polish Migration to Germany

In a recent state of the art review of the scholarship on Poles in Germany, Nowosielski praises certain aspects of the said mobility as being well-described, while also noting certain limitations of the studies, namely fragmentation, narrow scope, and a lack of recent analysis (2012:25). More specifically, research dealing with the contemporary (particularly post-1989) Polish female and/or family migration to Germany is extremely scarce, uncommonly comparative, overridden by the economic issues and failing to adopt either a transnational or a gender perspective (Lutz 2011:112, Nowosielski 2012:26-27), with the exception of the studies already addressed in the debate on the female (predominantly labour) mobility above. With the unavailability of studies dedicated to the

topic of families *per se*, the present review provides a backdrop on this migration current, shedding some light on the questions of identity/belonging and the organizational landscape, which might be relevant for the Polish migrant mothers parenting in this destination.

In a way, the main concern for migration scholars examining this destination is the lack of agreement as to whom a definition of a 'Polish migrant in Germany' should cover, as the historical processes and bilateral relations within mobility have created a highly heterogeneous group, in which people may find themselves being seen differently in terms of their legal status (citizenship/residency) and in terms of their self-identifications and sense of belonging (Nowosielski 2012:4-6, Kurcz 1997, Praszałowicz 2006, 2010). As noted by Lesiuk and Trzcielińska-Polus, the conceptual categories in use are multiple and concern national origin, territoriality, ethnic and cultural aspects, as well as the individually declared or subjective nationality (2000:142). These are further intertwined with the complexities of defining 'Polonia' in a universalizing manner that encompasses all Polish nationals abroad (see e.g. Paluch 1976, Garapich 2009b:39-41) and leaves the definition blurry. Paraszałowicz argues (2010: 152-155) that, historically, the Polish diaspora in Germany was divided, as some migrants (particularly the elites) valued the preservation of Polishness and created an extensive range of Polish organizations abroad. Conversely, a large group of Poles did not attempt to create 'invented ethnicity' (Conzen et al. 1992, cf. Praszałowicz 2010:153), or what one might today call a transnationalization of practices, rather than a quick integration and assimilation with the host society.

While Germany refused to open its labour market for migrants from the A8 new accession members until May 2011, professionals, entrepreneurs, service sector employees and some of the (more or less legally) self-employed continued to operate under and beyond binational agreements (see ie Lutz & Palenga 2010, Elrick & Lewandowska 2009, Cieślińska 2011 – on women in the care sector; Nowicka 2013, EC Report 2012:38, Miera – on business owners; Nowosielski 2012:11, Segeš-Frelak 2012), consequently making the year of Poland's EU accession a good marker for the shape of the current migration flows. Nevertheless, Poles constitute the largest group among the new arrivals to Germany (Nowosielski 2012:6), with 2011 witnessing an increase of the registered migrants by 21,000, the Polish diaspora constituting 7% of all foreigners residing in Germany (Federal Statistics Office, cf. Segeš-Frelak 2012:23). Segeš-Frelak importantly concludes that the migrants' stock data comparing the UK and Germany determine the total number of Poles

living in the two destinations as 560,000 and 455,000, respectively (2012:17-18). Two Länder that are interesting for this thesis as receiving regions are Hessen and North-Rhein Westphalia, with the latter usually noted for hosting almost 30% of all Poles in Germany. Table 1 below presents Nowosielski's aggregated census and local data analysis, which takes into account the above discussed definitional strategies, and delineates people with the Polish 'migratory background' (*Migrationshintergrund)* and migrants from Poland.

Table 1: Migration to two selected German lands

	Persons with Polish 'migratory background' in 2010 (in thousands)	Migrants – Polish citizens in 2011 (in thousands)
Hessen	116	53
North-Rheine Westphalia	476	133
Source: Nowosielski 2012:14 (selected data)		

Overall, while historically and statistically prevalent in relation to cross-border mobility, Germany has recently lost its appeal, with 72% of Polish migrants choosing it as a destination in years immediately prior to EU accession, and only 31.8% making the same choice in 2006 (RCSS Report 2007). Nevertheless, the streams remain vital, both statistically and culturally (see e.g. Segeš-Frelak 2012; Nowosielski 2012:11), as they have been throughout the recent decades, when waves of displaced persons (*Aussiedler*) and political (Solidarity movement) migrants arrived in the 1980s, followed by the labour (primarily shuttle) migrants of the 1990s (Nowosielski 2012: 10-11),[17] resulting in the development of certain aspects of the cross-border and migrant infrastructure. In the broader literature, the economic perspective prevailed (e.g. Łada & Segeš-Frelak 2011; Menz 2001; Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz 2007, Bade et al. 2004) and, additionally, studies were inclined to see migration as problematic in respect to the Polish state's politics (e.g. Dyczewski 1993), pathologies of deskilling, loosening familial and community ties, with certain mental health issues resulting from the circumstances (Korczyńska 2003) and the related dangers of marginalization.

[17] While this thesis only provides glimpses of the Polish-German mobility history, a good overview can be found in the cited state of the art article by Nowosielski (2012), Praszałowicz's book concerning Berlin (2010), as well as in the edited collection by Wolff-Powęska and Schulz (2000).

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More recently, Waniek's study focused on biographic narratives and led her to argue that "some serious disorders in the interaction and communication occur in the immigration process which may lead to a loss of confidence in the realm of the world taken for granted" (2007:95). She further points out losses of valuable relationships, impossibility of return and the unavoidable clash between expectations and reality, which she deems a 'trap' situation of disappointment and alienation for her respondents that "enhances the immigrants' passivity, resignation, as well as reluctance to establish new social contacts" (2007:96). Moreover, Waniek connects those with extreme stress, pressure and feelings of meaninglessness, illustrating an approach in which migration to Germany equals little more than vulnerability and failure.

In a broader context, despite the high influx numbers and the growing proportion of settled migrants, Poles are not perceived as a 'visible' minority, and this is partially explained by the presence of the 'ethnic pecking-order' among foreign groups, where Poles have a privileged position as intra-European white migrants not too dissimilar from the locals and, in addition, often quite ready to embrace negative stereotypes, as in the case of their attitudes towards the Turks (Praszałowicz 2010:49-51, see also Waniek 2007; in Great Britain such a behaviour was mentioned by Eade et al. 2006:18 and D'Angelo & Ryan 2011:254). Secondly, perhaps as a result of the extensive shuttle and seasonal mobility of the earlier decades (Herbert 2001, Okólski 2007, Jaźwińska & Okólski 2001, Okólski 2001, Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz 2007, 2008), the framing of this group of mobility participants was inherently assumed to concern transient or temporary 'commuters' who live in two-homes rather than settle abroad (Praszałowicz 2010:32), not to mention bringing families along.

The geographic proximity of the neighbouring states and the existing infrastructure are said to encourage the operations that occur in the spaces of informality (Irek 2013), and also the perception of Poles as being locally globalized connectors or liaisons (Huntington 2007:188, cf. Slany 2008:17-18). Therefore, this group essentially escapes the narratives of success and normal or better life abroad, particularly in the family contexts. As such, studies focused on the Polish migrant organizations in Germany highlighted the success of the relatively strong co-national networks (Cieślińska 2011) and the adequate ethnic interests' representation (rather than removing the 'ethnic lens' or examining creation of the transnational or bilateral partnerships; e.g. Nowosielski 2009:14-15, Irek 2013). The research compared Poles to other migrant groups in terms of the generally limited social

participation (e.g. Halm et al. 2012, Fiń et al. 2013), depicting them as outliers among the other minorities due to the generally higher educational attainment (Segeš-Frelak 2012:28). Perhaps concurrently, the existing Polish-German and German educational institutions from different levels emerge as some of the most important spaces of negotiating and shaping the shared pathways to good mutual relations, particularly through the positive experiences of parents and children with the system (2012:8-9, see also Fiń et al. 2013).

Furthermore, a crucial role of religion in the lives of Polish migrants to Germany was highlighted by Praszałowicz, especially in the context of the Polish Catholic Mission – a nationally-oriented clergy organization which provides social support, language/heritage education and spiritual guidance (2010:110-114), while the Polish Social Council was noted for the German-financed family support (Mazurek 2013, see also Cieślińska 2011). In sum, the national migration narrative around 'exile' (Garapich 2011:6-9; 2010) is particularly popular among Polish associations, which often describe their work as a 'call to arms in the fight against *germanization*' (Praszałowicz 2010:8, Nowosielski 2009:1). On the opposite side, particularly in the cosmopolitan capital of Berlin and larger urban centres, Poles foster a migrant counterculture, while the contestations of the national heroic narrative gain increased popularity (Praszałowicz 2010:153-154). These two stances are also observable in the qualitative studies presently adopting Schütze's biographic methods, as Waniek believes that the difficult historical past of Polish-German relations cannot be resolved, and the negative stereotype of a Pole in Germany continues to affect the daily lives of the post-1989 immigrants (2007:99, 118-142, 301-303).

Conversely, Blumberg-Stankiewicz (2010:211-224) uses Rosenthal's biographic method in the discussion of second generation Polish migrants in Berlin and foregrounds a transnational identity approach. Similar to the earlier suggestions by Morawska (2003) who conceptualized a 'difficult Polishness' of Poles in Germany based on the pre-existing condition of assumed civilizational inferiority, yet a spiritual advantage between East and West, Blumberg-Stankiewicz talks about navigating the difficult Polish-German history through transnationality, in both public expressions and private self-positioning. Taking a case-by-case approach to the autobiographic expressions of ethnic orientations, the author presents an individual Polish-German trajectory of a child migrant who now shapes her adult identity by transgressing the national labels (2010). Similarly, Main took on the contemporary cuisine choices and food practices of Polish women in Berlin, contending

that there is a certain variety resulting from one's social class as well as from being in an interethnic relationship. She further noted having children as contributing to transnationalization of the 'feeding the family' practices that for some women oscillate between heritage and multiculturalism (2013). This was evidently oppositional in Waniek's outline of the trajectories of suffering marked by the difficulties of accepting strangeness and cultural alienation abroad, as well as re-moulding and re-strengthening Polish culture's impactful, if not definitional, meaning for one's reworked identity (2007:99).

Polish Migrant Families in the United Kingdom

Quite recently Burrell has noted that "[t]here has been a considerable public and academic interest in this migration, signalling that the influx of Polish people into the country has been one of the key migration 'stories' of the decade" (Burrell 2011:9, see also Burrell 2010). Although the phenomenon of Polish migration to the United Kingdom is not new (for overviews and examples, see Fihel & Piętka 2007:6-10, Górny & Osipowicz 2006, LFS 2003, Sword 1996), the research dedicated to this post-2004 flow has flourished, both on the quantitative side of the initially favoured paradigm focused on the labour market presence of Polish employees (see e.g. Kaczmarczyk & Łukowski 2005; Fihel & Piętka 2007, Pemberton 2008), and the increasingly evident theorizing centred on qualitative issues, such as transnationalism in the Polish case, ideas about settlement and return, gender relations, family practices, education, social participation, ethnicity and belonging, which have all been presented in the journal special issues, edited volume collections, monographs and others (Garapich ed. 2011; Kucharczyk ed. 2013; Burrell ed. 2009, 2008b, Rabikowska 2010a, Dzięglewski ed. 2012, Stenning & Słowik 2011, White 2011a).

Given this abundance, this review will focus on the background information on the framings of Polish mobility to the United Kingdom in general and discuss scholarship relevant for the family debates. As such, within the key themes of the current studies on the CEE nationals' inflows to the UK delineated by Burrell (2010) which concentrates on returning, working, staying and living, it predominantly addresses the final two topics, while at the same time noting that the dominance of the pattern in which a primary male migrant is joined by his family (in opposition to the German case) has thus far resulted in a somewhat lesser interest in the gender (and sexuality) aspects in the studies conducted for this destination (Siara 2011:111).

A variety of research designed to determine the permanency of the increased inflows of Poles into the UK in the decade following Poland's EU accession in 2004 led to general agreement about the temporariness as a dominant framing. It refers to people who spend a substantial amount of time abroad, but refuse to call themselves migrants (Garapich 2010:50). They make decisions 'for now' rather than 'for good' (White 2011b: 1, 14-15), and operate under the assumption that they will just go abroad and see what happens (Ignatowicz 2011:44-45). Such a lack of plans about one's migratory trajectory was subsequently termed 'intentional unpredictability' by Eade and colleagues (2006:11, 2007: 34), 'deliberate indeterminacy' by Moriarty et al (2010), and 'weightlessness' by Favell (2008a:103, cf. Bell 2013:102) who focused on highly-skilled elites. Thus, unsurprisingly, Polish migration to the United Kingdom has been increasingly conceptualized through a transnational perspective (see e.g. Garapich ed. 2011), which is said to leverage the so called 'sedentary bias'. The individual agents are seen as capable of deconstructing and challenging the hegemonic notions of the nation-state container vs. multiple attachments, the past vs. the present, or here and there, by creating transnational social fields. (Staniewicz 2011:260, Botterill 2011:49, Garapich 2011:8, Irek 2012, Dzięglewski 2012).

This directionality to capture individuality, flexibility and the unplanned nature of the flows does not necessarily exclude the finding that the growing numbers of Poles (and Polish families) decide to settle down in the UK. Accordingly, the development of strategies for indefinite stays is observable among migrants who reunite with their families following a period of separation (see e.g. D'Angelo & Ryan 2011:237, Lopez-Rodriguez 2010, Ryan et al. 2013, Ryan & Sales 2013, White 2011a, 2013, Burrell 2009, 2010). Further developments surrounding the transnational studies about Poles in Britain offer novel uses of the mobility concept to replace settlement/migration: with the affordable mass air-travelling and availability of advanced communication technologies, Poles in the UK are said to be in control of their movement, while the 'figurative distance' between the two locales has visibly decreased (Burrell 2011a, Ignatowicz 2011:42-45, Botterill 2011). While the ideas of 'belonging' become blurred, the capacity of Polish migrants to shape and negotiate their understanding of kinship obligations, that are emotional in nature and largely pertain to travelling back home for important family events, has been assured (Ignatowicz 2011:39-41).

Furthermore, as argued by White (2011b:14-18), the nature of mobility at present might have also enabled the rise of the translocalism: people may move between specifically localized spaces of small towns in Poland and small towns in Britain (rather than, for instance, between the capitals on the Warsaw-London route). Importantly, people also seem to enjoy a certain ease of access to 'Polishness' that is associated with the local goods and services and, arguably, it might result in the attachments to local places that dismiss the idea of the 'European' identifications, while also requiring less dedication to preserving one's identity. Others, like Zinovijus, examined how Orientalism and Europeanism are understood by Central Eastern Europeans and concluded that the relative compatibility of the two is obtained through the notions of mobility and flexibility (2012:69), while some have highlighted the contestations of 'Polishness' through people's open declarations of unsubscribing from the ideals of Polonia (Garapich 2008:39) or focusing on their professional belonging to the global class of professionals rather than co-nationals (Dunin-Wąsowicz 2013). Moreover, Burrell suggested that the importance of EU citizenship may foster altogether new ideas around belonging (2009).

Taking a step back, the demographic profile of migrants in this flow is said to be especially young (63% aged under 30 years according to the EC Report 2012:8, see also Iglicka 2008) and highly educated, with college graduates comprising up to 30% of the streams directed towards Great Britain and Ireland (Kaczmarczyk & Tyrowicz 2007:11). Iglicka's disaggregated survey data puts the proportion of university graduates among migrating women at 43% (2008:5). Great Britain is clearly experiencing a Polish 'baby-boom', with the number of Polish children born in the UK steadily increasing (e.g. Janta 2013). While the pre-EU-accession numbers were at just 1,400 births per year, the subsequent annual statistics rose dramatically to 6,600 children in 2006, and then spiked further to 13,333 and 16,101 births in 2007 and 2008, respectively (Trevena 2009:17-18). In 2010, 19,762 births were registered, constituting 2.7% of all children born in the UK that year (Praszałowicz et al. 2013). Again, in 2012, a total of 20,495 children were born to Polish mothers, guaranteeing their first place among other migrant groups (Slany & Ślusarczyk 2013:20). Importantly, since 2007 the proportion of the children who also have Polish fathers stably stands at around 75% (Janta 2013:6). The fertility rates of Polish women in the United Kingdom are now almost twice as high as those measured for women who stayed in their home country, with TFR=2.5 among Poles in the UK, compared to TFR=1.3 in Poland (ONS 2014).

Unsurprisingly, having children means that migrant parents are somewhat forced to move beyond their (co-ethnic) networks and confront the foreign system in their country of residence, either still as expecting children during pregnancy or at childbirth when they need to deal with the local health service, or (later on or directly) – as parents of school-aged children (see e.g. Ryan & Sales 2013, D'Angelo & Ryan 2011). On the latter issue, information from the 2008 DCSF School Census[18] demonstrated that at least 26,840 students of primary and middle schools declared Polish as their first language, signifying 0.4% share in the entire student population and 3.3.% of all children whose first language was not English (DCSF 2008, Praszałowicz et al. 2013, Ryan et al. 2008). Some more recent data (2012) spotlighted this trend with a total of 53,915 students declaring Polish as their mother-tongue, and the doubled rate of 0.8% for the entire student body (DCSF 2013). For London, it was further measured that almost 25% of children also attend Polish Saturday schools, which are believed to be the main and fastest-growing spaces of the Polish migrant organization landscape in the UK (Lasocka 2011, Praszałowicz et al. 2013:26-27, Lacroix 2011:14-16).

Although many researchers have argued that Polish family migration is largely chaotic and unplanned (Slany & Ślusarczyk 2010), Ryan and Sales have recently concluded that their research subjects discussed careful planning of mobility, additionally noting that "the education of children emerged as a significant determinant of the family migration decisions, with the children's age crucial for the choice about whether to move" (2013:93). Indeed, Polish parents were convinced that children need stability and that their one-time up-rooting from their communities in Poland was difficult enough. In consequence, they would allow only a 'no other choice' situation to make them consider moving back home (Ryan 2007: 9-16).

Importantly, Ryan's publications early on approached Polish migration as more complex than a purely economic project, focusing on the decision power related to the family unit and the intra-relations of the kin, not least the role of the children's future. It was concluded that there was "evidence of the growing diversity in the Polish migratory strategies following the EU accession as the proportion of women migrants increases" (2007:9-10). Family reunion was noted as one of the prominent reasons behind migration,

[18] DCSF (Department for Children, Schools and Families) collects school survey data on the local and national level. Since 2008 Polish is being tracked among the languages used by pupils.

a scheme implemented to improve both the standard and quality of life by relocating the entire family to the UK. The decision means higher costs of living, quite possibly lower standards of living and reduced savings, but promises a potential enjoyment of the reunited family, and is therefore emotionally rewarding but economically irrational. It concurs with White's exploration of the fact that the emotional aspects of migration (both for sending communities and for Poles living abroad) overpower the economic considerations (2011a:124-133; 226-229). This transition from the transnational shuttle migration of some members of the family (either husband or wife and the accompanying children) usually can be pinpointed by looking at the country of the primary institutional involvement (health care, schooling) and at financial matters, essentially through the investments and redirection or cessation of remittances (Ryan et al. 2008:7-9, 2013), as Parutis states in her article on construction of a home by Polish and Lithuanian migrants in the UK:

> "remittances and other forms of transnational contacts often stop when migrants bring their families to the immigration country because then they stop orienting themselves towards the country of origin and start constructing a new home in the country of residence. Similarly, if single migrants come to the UK and meet their partners here, their determination to return home becomes weaker and they start planning their new home abroad" (2006:14).

This is consistent with the observations by Iglicka (2008:123) whose respondents point out that the only family members that matter are the ones who migrated together, and propinquity to those away begins to diminish.

White's monograph (2011a) on Polish families in the UK after EU accession is of particular importance. By employing the livelihood strategy approach, it contributes a multi-faceted perspective and depicts, among other topics, how integration into British society takes place among her Polish respondents. The author calls it an experience 'of starts and stops' (ibid:140) and illustrates a range of individually-reflected and household-reworked strategies. Overall, the respondents' journeys can be seen as trajectories filled with the daily routine, as well as a set of more scheduled and celebrated practices, such as ways of spending quality family leisure time in Britain, establishing and maintaining personal networks, the importance of language competence in English as a stepping stone for women (ibid: 149-150). The practicalities were similarly illuminated in other (family-centred and other) studies, which tackled gender roles and housework divisions (Muszel 2013, Ryan & Sales 2013), rituals found in relation to food and celebrations (Rabikowska 2010b), creating one's space of home (Parutis 2006), gossip and leisure activities (Galasińska 2010).

Furthermore, White pinpoints transnational practices as means to understand the sense of Polish belonging in Great Britain , which is often constructed by noticing ethnic differences in parenting practices of the everyday, such as Polish babies being generally overdressed (ibid: 170-172). The important meaning of home and family guaranteed by having a warm meal on the table every night together (ibid:172-182), which were acknowledged to reflect Poland-embedded meanings outlined by Dunn (2004), as well as Rabikowska and Burrell (2009) and Parutis (2006) in the migration context. Interestingly, the social meanings of 'home' and 'family' are intertwined as Parutis' research findings illustrate that the duration of residence in the destination country "does not have a decisive influence upon one's feeling at home. Other factors such social status, family or living conditions matter more than years spent abroad" (ibid:19). Family separation was deemed an abnormal and unbearable situation, usually by both partners.

This brings us to the important point about the narratives shared by Polish family migrants, often referring to the purpose of leaving (migrating) in order to have a 'normal life' (White 2011a:62-66, Galasińska & Kozłowska 2009, Botterill 2011:58-60, Ryan 2010, Rabikowska 2010a). The latter inherently creates a stark opposition between the 'abnormality' of the place of origin and the possibilities of existence offered by settlement in the West. Although this idea of *normalcy* may not seem in tune with the alternative ideas of nomadism, fluidity or multiple identities in that it signifies a search for *normativity*, this is deceptive to a degree: on the one hand it might indeed indicate a tradition/conservatism-orientation (see e.g. Muszel 2013) which women might not themselves comprehend as potentially backfiring (Lopez Rodriguez 2010) but, on the other hand, Polish migrants often use this term in a more neutral sense to draw attention to how difficult their lives were before moving abroad, while also contesting the very definitions of normativity (Galasińska 2010). A closer examination of this idea has been performed by Galasinska and Kozłowska (2009:87-106) who link the longing for normalcy with the legacy of communism in the post-transition young democratic societies (see also Kennedy 2001, Dunn 2004, Rabikowska 2010a:289-291), and a simple association being made with the kind of 'having it easy - living a normal life' ideal associated with welfare Western Europe.

Alongside the above paradigm, a recent focus on children and education brought about the re-discovery of class and social capital (see e.g. Trevena 2011, Ryan et al. 2008, 2013, Ryan & Sales 2013, D'Angelo & Ryan 2011, Moskal 2010, Nowicka 2006), with

the observation that even the educated Polish migrants lacked the ability to place themselves on the social class spectrum (Trevena 2011:89). Importantly, although Polish migration scholars generally discuss the role of education in the post-EU accession mobility projects, those concerns have been particularly raised in regard to brain-waste, brain-drain and deskilling (e.g. Kaczmarczyk 2005, Szczygielska 2013) rather than the inner-working of migrant capital and its non-transferability, as discussed in the context of migrant mothers by Erel (2010), or its impact on the children's schooling denoted by Goulbourne et al. 2010:73-81. Exceptionally, drawing on Bourdieu's work, Ryan et al. apply notions of capital to their study of recent Polish migrants in London, stating that the migrants' ability to mobilize social capital and successfully engage in bridging may depend upon the cultural capital (language, skills and educational qualifications) at their disposal and, furthermore, "people from the same ethnic group may have differential access to these forms of bridging capital" (Ryan 2008:676-677). They illustrate this phenomenon with examples of differentiation between low-skilled labour migrants and professionally mobile Polish women, concluding that while engaging in the children's schooling facilitated development of networks and social capital for low-skilled Polish women formerly bound primarily to their co-ethnic milieus, the already aligned social capital of professionals resulted in an instantaneous formation of cross-ethnic and class-orientated networks through schools, with the 'Polish' networks absent (Ryan et al. ibid: 682-683).

Subsequently, scholars addressed the issue of the maternal capital that is not easily translated but can be transnationalized (Lopez Rodriguez 2010), particularly by the children who "often become cultural or language brokers, interpreting the host society for their parents" (D'Angelo & Ryan 2011:241). As earlier described by Erel for Turkish women in the West (2009, 2012a), making the transition of acquiring a certain status is not easy, in part because the newly arrived migrants unaccustomed to the 'neoliberal rat-race', cannot decode the meanings of the achievements attached to some social strata (Rabikowska 2010a:291). As such, discussing her findings from a study on Polish London-based mothers, Lopez Rodriguez suggested that women are somewhat blind to recognizing how their traditionalist parenting approach was incongruous with the British society and culture that they wanted to partake in (2010).

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The above Chapter concludes the Literature Review by narrowing the scope to the specific context of Polish migrants. Again, while there migration studies provide a vast backdrop of theoretical and empirical data on the mobility of the Poles, only recently women and families are increasingly included as agents/ subjects of the analyzes. Crucially, on a theoretical level, the Polish transnational family inquiry and the British family studies have been recently brought together by Heath et al. (2011), who argue for a different usage and linking concepts originating from both subfields (namely: family practice, frontiering/relativizing, doing and displaying family, ways of being/ways of belonging), coincidentally urging for more dialogue and focus on the matter, which will be offered in the empirical part of this thesis.

PART II: Methodology

This small-scale qualitative study takes on a feminist approach (Letherby 2003, Warren 1988, Stanley & Wise 1983, 1990, 1993; Stanley 1990, 1995, 1997; Reinharz 1992, De Laine 2000, Olesen 2009, Lykke 2010) to narrative accounts (Wenrgraf 2001; Chamberlayne et al. 2000, 2004; Schütze 2004). A combination of narrative and semi-structured interviews has been employed, with the analysis based on 31 accounts collected across Germany and the United Kingdom. In addition, it draws on the supplementary material from the additional six stories collected during the "Ambivalent Returns" project in Poland,[19] as well as the researcher's field diary consisting of post-interview notes, write-ups of participant observations, and auto-ethnographic material. The list of the interview-partners accompanied by details about their socio-economic and family backgrounds is given in *Table 2* in the Appendix.

The study is descriptive and exploratory in a sense that it provides a rich description and maps the topography of the under-researched social phenomenon of migrant motherhood, while it also includes an explanatory component in showing, from the participants' standpoint, the relationships between events and the meanings that they produce (see e.g. Marshall & Rossman 1999:33-36, Babbie 2003:110-113, Silverman 2009, Creswell 1998, Olesen 2009). Denzin and Lincoln recount (2009:24) a metaphor of *bricolage* and *bricoler* from Weinstein and Weinstein (1991:161) for outlining the qualitative researcher's role and tasks, respectively. This appears particularly fitting for describing how a study is a construction reminiscent of an interlinked set of pieces that represents a specific and complex reality.

Moreover, the project is grounded in Stanley's claim (1995:185-186) that when we 'become academics' as women and feminists, we position ourselves both as insiders and outsiders – a context which Letherby calls (2003:131) being 'perpetual strangers', yet 'strangers within'. As such, we are marked by an involvement with our research topic that

[19] This small summer project was titled "*Ambivalent Returns? Polish mothers tackling inter-generational family obligations during their temporary returns from the UK*", and comprised a web-survey, interviews and participant observation. For the individual interviews, I used the original questions developed for my PhD research, supplemented with an in-depth discussion of practices during visits to Poland. The research grant was awarded by the Jagiellonian University – Polish Scientific Institute in London under the 2013 annual small research funding scheme.

is not necessarily making us incapable of being analytical and critical when dealing with findings, just as much as it can be argued that the respondents are reflexive and evaluative of their stories (ibid., see also Gergen & Gergen 2003:595), a feature salient also in the stories of migrant mothers (Nicholson 2006:14-15). Following in Skeggs' footsteps, I aimed to engage in non-exploitative relationships with the selected interview-partners and saw the project as "politically motivated to provide space for the articulations and experiences of the marginalized" (1997:23). Importantly, this is not to say that an absolute equal-power relationship between the researcher and the participants is possible, but rather that the kinds of tensions between giving voice and knowledge production are acknowledged, and that, ultimately, it is the researcher's situated knowledge and interpretation that guides the interpretations and findings (Stanley 1990, 1995; Letherby 2003:75-79, Olesen 2009:347)

The two-fold structure details the methodological aspects of this qualitative study in *Chapters 5* and *6*. First, the background to the feminist research inquiry and the in-depth interviewing are outlined in *Chapter 5*. Attention is also given to the ethical issues and the researcher's positionality, which was crucial for this project. The steps of the research process are outlined in the subsequent sections of *Chapter 6*, where the participants' recruitment and selection strategies are described, and the proceedings of the interview situation are covered. Supplementary data collection methods of the participant observation, the practical matters of fieldnotes and transcriptions, as well as the data analysis strategies are discussed. In a way, the final section of *Chapter 6* can be seen as something of a bridging component for that it seeks to show how the research design framework was put in practice and modified during the data analysis, showcasing how it led to the 'ideal types' being distinguished. As such, it already presents the data, yet it does so from the methodological standpoint.

Chapter 5: Research Design

Overall, the study follows Maxwell's (1965:5, cf. Wengraf 2001:58) Interactive Model of Research Design Modified for Semi-Structured Depth Interviewing (SSID) Method (Wengraf 2001:59, see *Figure 3* in the Annex), adapting it to suit the *purposes* of understanding the motherhood of Polish migrant women within the *conceptual* context of the feminist inquiry, theories of mobility, as well as family practices and motherhood. The background to the research design will be presented in the following sections.

Feminist Inquiry – An Overview

Arguably, the feminist critique of the power relationship and a patriarchal order of conducting research from the ivory tower is listed among the main developments in the field of social research methods of the past century (e.g. Reinharz 1992, Letherby 2003, Olesen 2009, Lykke 2010). According to Letherby, researching women involves questioning the former academically authorized and historically-reinforced view presented by men that has ultimately framed a woman as 'other', resulting in the female experience perceived not only as less important, but also embedded in the ideal standards (or 'official identity' definitions) of womanhood that the respondents would feel anxious to be unable to meet (2003:20-24, 41-43). It is not a novelty to study women but it is quite new to focus on presenting the women's experience as *they* see or understand it, rather than to simply confirm the dominant ideologies (Harding 1987:8, Temple 1994, 1999, Letherby 2003:74). For that reason, feminist research puts the subjective perspective of women at the center in order to identify patriarchy as central to understanding their experience (Marshall & Rossman 1999:6-7). In doing so, it favours the approaches within modern social sciences which advocate a compensatory (re)discovery of the female heritage and experiences caused by a lack of attention that (male) scientists have granted to the domesticity as a female sphere (Warren 1988:17), concurrently challenging the 'male normative' of both the 'subject' and the 'academic' (ibid:10-11).

Kemp and Squires suggest that the distinctive features of feminist scholarship pertain to the focus on change, the undermining of "traditional academic boundaries between the personal and the political" (1997:4), and feminist research practice which is distinguishable from other approaches in terms of the questions that feminist researchers ask. According to Chase (2009:22), the questions cover the following dimensions: What

do women's biographies contribute to an understanding of the particularities of female experiences? How are the stories related to or modified by the interactive, social, cultural and historical conditions? How are female voices silenced, diverse and potentially contradictory? What are the conditions whereunder women can construct counter-narratives? How should researchers address those issues in their scholarly works? In order to examine these aspects, the necessary features of a feminist project include a high degree of reflexivity on the matter of the researcher's subjectivity and location within the knowledge production processes, as well as the methodology that is respectful of the respondents (Letherby ibid:5) and fosters a trust-based, in-field relatedness. Similarly, Letherby (ibid:72-73) reviews the scholarship illustrative of (or discussing) feminist approaches and sees feminist research as inclusive of:

- Persistent and reflexive attention to the foundational role of gender for constructions of the social world and the research setting;
- A non-universalistic approach to the differences between individual women and the differently positioned collective femininities;
- Challenging the 'objectivity' and the 'uncontaminated' (hygienic, always orderly) data collection;
- Seeing both personal and private spheres as research-worthy;
- Valuing reflexivity and emotions as the insight sources invaluable for the research practice.

In following the above directives, feminist scholarship as a methodological tradition generally favours qualitative studies with approaches that relinquish (at least partially) control to the participants and values face-to-face, in-depth interviewing techniques (Kelly et al. 1992:149-151, Letherby 2003, Reinharz 1992), which are discussed below.

Before moving forward, it is important to note Olesen's focus on the need to include a variety of the national contexts that determine different scopes of feminist issues, and to problematize gendered experiences accordingly, as well as define their organizing material and historical social structures (2009:342-343). Using the focus on the experiences of women, the previous 'silencing' can be mitigated, and the female worlds can be observed from a new vantage point that cautions against seeing women as a homogeneous group (Maynard 1994:14, cf Letherby 2003:42). It also draws on what Hill Collins claimed about the importance of the differences among women on the basis of

race, social class, religion, sexual orientation and ethnicity (1994:83). Within the specific context of migration research, an insider's reflexivity can assist in challenging the hegemonic discourses (Morokvasic et al. 2003:19) and, in particular, mitigate the impact of the assumptions that a majority culture has about a given ethnic minority (Borkert & DeTona 2006).

Thus, there is a need for inter-disciplinary feminist inspirations from both the sociological side – a methodological commitment to a structural analysis of the tensions around the productive and reproductive female roles (motherhood), and the anthropology-generated dedication to the non-Western (migrant) "women's worlds" (Warren 1988:10-11). From this follows what Olesen urges for the feminist research: to be innovative and conducive to joining several perspectives and creating new syntheses, which in turn become the starting points for further research, praxis and political programs.

Importantly, while the family and motherhood are only peripherally present in Olesen's state-of-the-art outline of the main themes and approaches in feminist research (2009:346-347), she commends feminist studies of globalization which depict the non-linearity of 'progress', and mentions works on domestic workers as subjects of the critiques of the care and migration regimes (ibid:348-352). On that note, Reinharz recounts the long absence and peripheral location of maternal research voices in sociological and anthropological scholarship (2010:64-67, see also Chase & Rogers 2001: xvi), which is also the case in the Polish context. Consequently, the study builds on the tradition of examining motherhood through a feminist lens (Chodorow & Contratto 1992, Oakley 1992, Rich 1976, O'Reilly 2008, 2010a, Ruddick 1989), doing so by focusing on the maternal voices discovered in the narratives detailing the lived experiences of motherhood (Sevón 2005:466) and the mothering practices.

Qualitative Interviewing, Narratives and Biographies

In-depth interviewing and collecting life-stories has been extensively used as a method of researching women's experiences of family life and motherhood (e.g. Reinharz 1992, 2010, Ribbens & Edwards 1998, Chase & Rogers 2001, Letherby 1994, Miller 1998, 2000, 2005, Katz Rothman 1989, Sevón 2005, 2007, 2012, Hays 1996, Smart 1999, Jamieson 1998). It is also favoured by migration scholarship – both in regard to female migrations and Polish mobility studies (e.g. Slany & Małek 2005, Małek 2010, Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997, Bell 2013, Dreby 2006, Nicholson 2008, Ignatowicz

2011, White 2011a, Breckner 2007*;* Praszałowicz et al. 2013, Kucharczyk et al. 2013). The present study fits into this body of literature by drawing on narrative approaches to in-depth interviewing, while it also relies on the pragmatic choices of methods within the *bricolage* or *patchwork-making* (Nelson et al (1992:2, cf Denzin & Lincoln 2009:25) that the research work entails.

Within broader discussions of approaches in qualitative research, feminist inquiry and narrative analysis both fit under the category of projects focused on individual lived experience (Marshall & Rossman 1999:3, cf. Gall et al. 1996) and follow the assumption that *all* research is interpretive and "guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (Denzin & Lincoln 1994:13, 2009:28). The study complies with what Silverman notes as the key characteristics of a qualitative approach: the effort to understand culture and highlight the categories that participants use, as well as to ensure a large degree of openness in the questions asked, focusing on the small-scale level (2009:39, 151-153). The research questions stem from the generic interpretive concern evident in the empirical question of 'what migrant motherhood means to the participants', and a theoretical consideration of how those meanings, understandings and interpretations shared by Polish mothers abroad translate into the shape of their social worlds. The research entails studying experiences and focusing on the world as it is seen by the respondents in their everyday lives and recalled in their (biographic) narratives (Chamberlayne et al. 2000).

In linking biography to society, the project is sensitive to the individual (micro-level) accounts which are shaped by and are actively shaping the broader cultural symbols, social boundaries, norms and so on (Alford Ibid:44-45, 85). In other words, this inquiry pertains to "the personal" and "the social" and is interested in "exploring the ways in which even the most 'private' of experiences are shaped by the sociocultural context in which they occur" (May 2011:168). Narrative studies are interested in how people speak about their lives; how they evaluate the experiences they are recalling, and how they connect their own biographies to the broader social contexts (Plummer 2001: 186).This study also seeks to connect self to society (May 2011, Morgan 2011a,2011b) in the stories of Polish migrant mothers – personal histories neither exist in a vacuum nor are separated from the outer world: they are entangled and collide with grander cultural and social narratives of, for example, nationhood, femininity, or performance of social roles (Miller, 2000; Somers 1994, Sevón 2005, 2007, 2012).

As Clandinin argues (2007:xiv-xv), the wide umbrella of narrative research encompasses the consciousness of a narrative and narrations within various contexts that we study, as well as with the methods that we employ. Consequently, Stanley underlines, 'narrative research' has yielded a wide set of procedural notions and ideas rather than a well-established united and specific research technique (2008). Narratives can be seen as forms of retrospective reflection – constructing a meaning and an understanding of the past events that people perform when they shape and (temporally) systemize their (often fragmented) experiences, so that they make sense, while they are also not only expressing what has happened, but equally contain emotions, thoughts and interpretations that accompanied or are now evoked by the unique stories being recollected (see e.g. Chase 2009:24-25). Drawing on Brah's works (1991, 1992), Letherby notes that being both individual (in the biographies) and collective (gathered across histories), the experiences are important symbolically and narratively, and should be seen as practices of making sense of the struggles over material resources and over meanings (knowledge), which make it possible for us to see how groups are "positioned in social structural terms" (2003:57-58).

Under the above-mentioned qualitative genre of the 'individual lived experience', the in-depth interviewing strategy focuses on individuals to capture the meanings as they are expressed by the participants (Marshall & Rossman 1999:61, Creswell 1998:18). An interview is in this study seen as "a conversation with a purpose", which is much more artful than a simple 'turn-taking' dialogue (Kahn & Cannell 195:149, cf. Marshall & Rossman 1999:108, see also Wengraf 2001:45-46). It is informal, yet employs a general interview guide, which provides a degree of systematization that is necessary when dealing with a considerable number of participants. Interviewing relies here on the assumption that telling one's story is a task of 'meaning-making', because "[i]n order to give the details of their experience a beginning, middle and end, people must reflect on their experience" (Seidman 2013:7, see also Van Maanen 1990). The processes of 'making-sense' are tied with Bertaux's observation that "given a chance to talk freely, people appear to know a lot about what is going on" (1981:39, cf. Seidman 2013:8), and a feminist understanding that the interviewees themselves use to "theorize" their lives by observing, categorizing, evaluating and drawing conclusions from the experiences they share during interviews (Stanley 1991:208, Stanley & Wise 1990:24, Letherby 2003:69-70). The approach therefore follows Seidman's conviction that there is no better way of understanding social

abstractions (in his case – education, here – migration and mothering) than learning about the individual experiences of those who "live" and simultaneously (re)create those abstractions personally and collectively (Seidman 2013:9).

Therefore, a narrative interview seeks to explore the biographic elements contingent upon individual accounts and, as such, it constitutes a sub-type of a qualitative interview that benefits from amalgamating interdisciplinary analytical perspectives (Chase 2009:16). In feminist methods, 'narrative' approaches (regardless of the specific terminologies/traditions) are seen as appropriate in that telling stories provides a "means of evaluating the present, re-evaluating the past and anticipating the future" (Letherby 2003:89). "Narratives are socially located interactive performances" (Chase 2009:26; see also Wengraf 2001:16-19, 40-50) which happen in a given time, for a given purpose, and for a defined audience, and thus, the stories are co-produced in the interactions and are not constant (see also Breckner 2007:117). Narrative interviewing foregrounds social constructivist and interpretative arguments in seeing the life of the participants "from within" (Alford 1998:42) and providing a "thick description" (Ibid: 42) of family practices, while also finding "meanings" that might be "beyond" or "beneath" the consciousness of the actors (Ibid:43). This has been also raised in the sociology of personal life, as May notes that "[i]f we look at a personal life in the aggregate, we can see patterns and structures emerging: people in a particular society or a section of society tend to do things similarly" (2011:169).

Alongside Geiger (1986), Wolf (2001), and Miller (2000), Letherby similarly suggests that there is a kind of connection that life stories are capable of generating for women who, regardless of their differences, are said to share the central aspects of the "familial embeddedness". This particular embeddedness kinship belonging determines their perceptions and a tendency to make sense of events by linking them to the family transitions. She argues that life histories are "[i]n a very real sense […] an account of 'group lives', where the narrator weaves her story with those of her 'significant others': her children, parents, partner […]. So, individual life histories often give us insights to the lives of many" (2003:90). According to Sevón, using an in-depth interviewing technique from the feminist standpoint in researching mothers offers a chance to reveal and explore the ambivalence and the pressures related to the specifically female experiences, in a manner that shows interest in the singular cases, but also untangles the impacting dimensions of the broader socio-cultural narratives on the individual biographies

(2005:466). It is assumed that women create various narrative strategies that are limited by their discursive environment, but are not fully determined by the hegemonic discourses, which may in turn be observed through a narrative lens so as to see the conflicting and dynamic nature of the said hegemonic discourses that are self-assuming of stability (Chase 2009:29).

Consequently, a story as a narrative unit is operationalized in form of a reflective report or a realization of what has happened, regardless of whether it is recalled in a correct or a changed/modified order. Stanley (2008:4) enumerates several main features of narratives which are:

- characterized by (some sort of) a plot, story development/progression, or at least a finale/conclusion (a coda);
- created for an audience (here – the researcher);
- morally motivated (representing a specific view of the respondent who seeks understanding/empathy);
- operating on the basis of metaphorical and/or analogical connections to the world shared with the audience.

Stanley sees the researcher's activity in the construction of a narrative frame/ framework through an in-depth analysis of the stories, which are interconnected in the lives and the extempore recollections of the respondents, and paired with the interpretative tasks performed by the researcher in order to identify the underlying connections on the spectrum of the events in the social world (2008:3). A narrative as a unit of analysis enables the location of a smaller (shorter) story within the broader time and space context of larger (and longer) stories through considering certain closer or distant interdependencies and the shared focal points between the stories. As a result, the researcher creates meta-narrations, a multidimensional overview of the more complete and complex narrative fragments, necessary for eventually building the entire individual history (biography), which by now is the product of the researcher's analysis.

The narratives collected during the fieldwork consist of both (shorter) thematic stories and a (longer) life-story that presents a biographic sequence covering a substantial part of the respondent's life (Chase 2009:17). They are concentrated on the "turning points" or "hub-events" that were framed as moments of 'epiphany' on a 'biographical axis' (Denzin 1989, Apitzsch & Inowlocki 2000). As for the latter, one's migration story has been often studied from a biographic perspective, and such an approach is used in this

project. Following Breckner (2007:117) and Rosenthal (2004:49), three temporal levels of the narrative biographic account are taken into consideration, namely dealing with the 'lived through past' events that had taken place, the 'narrative presence' which primarily encompasses the evaluations of the past "in the now", and, finally, the 'future on the horizon' that entails a possible flexibility of the narrative depending on what may happen in the future. Those levels occur simultaneously, but they clearly order and organize the memories shared during the biographic part of the interview and are seen as such.

Finally, although employing qualitative (and particularly feminist) methods often implies an inductive approach (where the direction of a relationship moves from the empirical data to a theoretical inquiry; Bryman 2001:266, Letherby 2003:67), the commonly stated fixed division between inductive and deductive approaches is misleading. As Hammersley argues (1992:48), in both the quantitative and the qualitative forms of social research the causal association persistently moves from theory to data and from data to theory. Similarly, Stanley and Wise suggest that one does not come to research 'empty-handed' in terms of former knowledge and experiences (1990:22). The feminist theoretical perspective is always already based on the presumption of gender as a constitutive element that drives social life, paramount for feminist research (Kelly et al. 1994:156, cf. Letherby 2003:67, see also Nakano Glen 1994:4, O'Reilly 2010a:14, Green 2010a, 2010b, Abbott & Wallace 1990).

Ethical Issues

The Ethical Approval application for this study was submitted and subsequently granted by Bangor University's CBSSL Ethics Committee in 2011, following a thorough review of the research procedures to be implemented (Iphofen 2010, BSA 2002:2, Wengraf 2001:184-186, De Laine 2000). The interviewees were all adults in the normally healthy mental state, able to freely give their informed consent for participation (see a sample form in *Annex 4)* They were additionally assured that they could withdraw their agreement or ask for the audio recording devices to be switched off at any point in the interview (BSA ibid:3, Christians 2009:216). An invitation to participate in the study was accompanied by a copy of the "Information for Participants" (*Annex 3*) that briefly explained the purpose of the study and supplied contact information for the researcher. Both documents (in Polish) were presented and discussed at the beginning of each interview.

The research complies with the general ethical codes that prescribe avoiding any undue intrusion, obtaining informed consent, allowing for consent withdrawal/renegotiation, protecting the subjects' interest, as well as ensuring maintenance of confidentiality and avoidance of identity-disclosure (Peace 1993, cf. De Laine 2000:111; Silverman 2009:308-310). The confidentiality condition could only be lifted in the event of a story that revealed harm being done to the respondent or others, which did not occur. The data collected has been treated as sensitive information, kept securely stored[20] and processed to assure that those involved are not identifiable.

The ethical approach acknowledges the specific nature of working in the field that requires a heightened awareness of the power issues put forward by the 'alternative', 'postpragmatic' and social 'feminist communitarian ethical model'. Drawing on the feminist care ethics discussed by Gilligan, Noddings and Benhabib, the study is seen as embedded in the community and, as such, calls for 'situational honesty' (De Laine 2000:3-6), co-management, relationships of trust and personal interactions (Denzin 1997:274-287, 1970: 335, 1994:242-258, Christians 2009:224-229). The ethic of caring involves sharing emotional experiences (mutuality) and empathy, as well as concern for reciprocity (De Laine ibid:28, Denzin 1997:275, Reinharz 2010), managed on the continuum of closeness/distance and viewed as a 'juggling act' (Reinharz 1992, De Laine ibid:54). In examining women and migrants (minority), the ethics of 'multiple and multicultural voices' (Christians 2009:230) fosters inter-subjectivity based on empathy, mutual care and understanding, all stemming from emotions rather than a social consensus (Denzin 1977:277, cf. Christians 2009:229). It reflects what Katz Rothman has written about the 'ethic of involvement' replacing the 'ethic of objectivity' (1996:50) in feminist approaches (see also: Olesen 2003:369-371, Ribbens & Edwards 1998, Letherby 2003).

As Ali and Kelly argue, ethical practice throughout the fieldwork comes down to the 'professional' integrity of an individual researcher (2009: 118) and her understanding of being "a moral researcher" that is involved, self-aware, self-reflexive, and both politically and personally responsible for the interactions within the inquiry and their consequences (Denzin 1997:277, De Laine 2000:28, Christians 2009:232-235). This had

[20] As empirical basis for the activities pertinent to the dissemination of findings (conference papers, publications), the data are still in use. Prospectively, the materials will be uploaded into a recognized repository for archiving. Ideally, due to quality assurance standards, the data is to be kept in the Polish outlet.

several practical implications for the data collection. First of all, the use of a narrative method of interviewing may endanger the emotional well-being that results from telling one's life story and discussing personal matters, as well as from recollecting memories that might be associated with suffering and pain (Svašek & Domecka 2012). Certain topics – such as childbirth, miscarriage, losing a family member, a sense of guilt over leaving one's children/elderly parents behind – require a particular trust and comfort (Oakley 1992, De Andrade 2000). The caring relationship facilitated sharing difficult stories, and the researcher remained attentive to the emotional state of the interviewee, being aware that it may fluctuate throughout the interview process (Svašek & Domecka 2012:5), and with no assumption that an interview should be emotion-free. The researcher managed any stressful moments to the best of her ability by alternating questions, changing the topics or even abandoning certain side-plots altogether. Probing, which encourages an informant to share more information, was always negotiated carefully so as not to prompt the respondents to reveal more than they intend to, particularly in the case of 'sensitive topics' (De Laine 1997:175, 2000:79-80).

In accordance with what Burrell argued for the specific Polish context, there is a justification for giving the interviewees a choice about where the conversations take place, as one's home environment may operate as a "soothing balm" to alleviate the pain caused by the relocation or as "reminders" of any dangerous or unpleasant experiences that a migrant is trying to forget (Burrell, 2008a:66, see also: Waniek 2007:53-55, Burrell & Rabikowska 2009). In this project, it appears to have served as the former – all but two respondents chose to be interviewed at home, and it can be argued they saw it as a "safe space" or even a "female domain" that facilitated talking about family matters. While the researcher was prepared for the difficulties[21] and even made a contact list of people and services that could be of use should a need arise, those precautions were not necessary – talking about difficult experiences did not cause any significant distress in the interview-partners. Conversely, it appears that for many respondents sharing their story was a positive experience and, on occasion, it triggered reflections on re-evaluation of certain practices and choices, or a sort of a 'therapeutic experience' concurrent with the feminist framework (Letherby 2003:111,202, Chase 2009:42, Cotterrill 1992).

[21] As my Master's research was on the closely related topic with women in Belfast, I was able to anticipate some of the difficult elements of the stories.

Secondly, an ethical difficulty was also present on the researcher's side, and stemmed from handling ambiguity and an urge to reveal one's own political standpoint in what Letherby argues could be seen as a feminist reaction in response to the prejudice or racism expressed by the respondents (2003:112, see also Ergun & Erdemir 2010:24). Millen (1997, cf. Olesen 2003:360), DeVault (1999:184) and Letherby (2003). All these researchers experienced the difficulty of interviewing women from a feminist standpoint when the respondents openly contested equality and/or feminism. It is not necessarily contradictory to a feminist research to acknowledge what Goffman argued regarding the importance of impression management of a "personal front", whereas actions that may cause obstacles for completing the research goals must be avoided (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995:83) and treated as an "interaction ritual" rather than a form of deception (Goffman 1972, cf.Bell 2013:25). Indeed, Letherby suggests that women should rather be encouraged to speak for themselves, and she believes that the 'uncomfortable' stories can provide a way for gaining insight into the roots of a stereotypical (oppressive or exploitative) view. This needs to be done to challenge the view in question with a thorough critique of the social order in the future (Ibid:85,128, see also Phoenix 1994, Warren 1988:48). Highlighting slightly different reasons, Bell noted that in the context of researching Polish migrants in Belfast, 'remaining silent' was desirable as part of the research contract, but also as part of a cultural narrative that predisposes Poles to relay some negative stories about their co-nationals and foreigners, on which they presume to share the same assessment with the researcher (2013:80, 179, see also Garapich 2010:13-19, 2008a: 747-748, Praszałowicz 2010, Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001; Irek 2011, Ryan 2008: 678).

'Observing the Observer' – Positionalities in the Field

Feminist methodologies have generated a breadth of scholarly accounts of multiple roles. The perspectives that the researcher partakes in (consciously or unconsciously) shape the research process – from outlining the research hypotheses, to data collection, to analysis and interpretation (Lincoln 1997:42, cf. Olesen 2009:359, DeVault 1999, 1996; Oakley 1992; Reinharz 1992, Naples 1996, De Andrade 2000;), also highlighting how

gender, race and ethnicity intersect in the field (e.g. Hill Collins 1994, Bekou-Betts 1994; Reinharz 2010,[22] Lutz et al. 1995, Crenshaw 1991).

Seeing the 'conditions of fieldwork' as inherently marked by paradoxes, ambiguities and dilemmas allows researchers to recognize the impossibility of the 'impersonality' assumption and a field-requirement to engage in a face-to-face personal and close contact, which, in turn, creates a matrix of overlapping roles and relationships that may create potential dilemmas (de Laine 2000:1-2, Gergen & Gergen 2003:595, Reinharz 1992). As field researchers, we must be constantly reflexive towards the "multiple selves, our own experiences and subjective interpretations" (Sherif 2001:445) that come into play when our (insider/outsider) statuses are continuously negotiated in a dynamic manner. The researcher's positionality, closely related to their situated knowledge, may be defined as a complex matrix of the researcher's identifications in relation to race, gender, social class, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, etc. Those aspects must always be viewed as relational, socially constructed and dynamic in a "constantly moving context that constitutes our reality and the place from which values are interpreted and constructed" (Geiger 1990:171, see also Naples 1996, Sherif 2001).

A dynamically subjective co-participation implies that the researcher not only positions herself in a certain manner (in turn receiving from the research participants behaviours that are responsive to her actions, e.g. Chavez 2008, Wengraf 2001:45-46), but is also perceived in a certain manner by the interview-partners through the 'locating practices' they perform (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995:80, Letherby 2003: 95, Warren 1988:19, Reinharz 2010). One example refers to the societal beliefs imposing gendered roles that often cannot be escaped by female researchers, who might be denied a "serious" standing as a scientist on the one hand, though, on the other, they can also possess an exclusive access into the intricate dynamics between the sexes and the workings of the specifically female areas and domains (Warren 1988, Reinharz 2010, Hammersley & Atkinson 1995). A relevant argument is that a group belonging (factual or perceived) elicits a certain behaviour: "[w]here outsiders have the advantage of detachment from the field, an insider must learn to manage the influence of being the researcher and the researched" (Chavez 2008:478, Sherif 2001:437).

[22] The title of this section stems from the 2010 Reinharz's volume on the topic.

Drawing on Reinharz's work (2010) on observing ourselves in field research, this study underlines self-reflexivity in the field, and sees intersectional and situated knowledge as closely resulting from one's standing in the social world, "implicated in the construction of knowledge through the stance that he or she assumes in relation to the observed" (Bryman 2001:470, see also Naples 1996). Consequently, this section provides insights into the methodological aspects of the (predominantly) 'insider position' within the study, focusing on the researcher's positionality of a Polish migrant mother – largely seeing this combination of insider identities as an advantage. This section brings together the literature and the examples that deal with the ethnic (migrant) insiderness and the issues related to the gender dynamics in the field.

Hill Collins (1998, cf. Letherby 2003:123-126) argued that a number of research selves constructed during a research process emerge, and in this case the researcher was positioned as "a sympathetic ear" (or "a kindred spirit") as well as "an expert" at different moments, in different contexts and across the interviews. Several interviewees emphasized that they could see the need for an academic study that addresses the challenges in their daily lives, often in regard to initiating a dialogue with the diaspora/migrant organizations that cater to families,[23] while others commented that they found it quite therapeutic, nice or important to share their stories "with someone who wants to listen and understands". Importantly, Reinharz notes that there is a particular invisibility to being a mother as one of the 'personal selves' in the field (2010:64-67) and attributes this lack of literature, on both the related pitfalls and benefits, as reflective of "the fact that few mothers have tried it, and perhaps the fact that those who have tried it, employed people to care for their children" (ibid:81).

[23] Some efforts have been already made to facilitate those connections, particularly in the realm of reports, policy recommendations and publications from the „Polish schooling in the UK" Project (2013) where I contributed findings „from the other side" – narratives of parents who decided against a supplementary schooling and their motivations. I have also briefly raised the gender and family-related issues in discussing findings from the "Nothing About Us Without US" study on the social and political participation of migrants in the following article: Pustułka P. (2013a) *Pomijani multiuczestnicy? Polacy w inicjatywach nieformalnych w Wielkiej Brytanii [Disregarded multi-participants*? Polish migrants and informal social participation initiatives in Great Britain], w: J Kucharczyk (red.) Nic o nas bez nas. Partycypacja obywatelska Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii, Warszawa: Instytut Spraw Publicznych, pp. 105-132. Finally, I have discussed and shared my findings with practitioners from the London-based Polish Psychologists Association, who find the models useful (particularly in regard to their impact on the educational strategies and bilingualism) in their work (as stated by PPA's Anna Jurek - personal communication).

However, Warren argued that women ethnographers have found that motherhood is a potentially powerful source of mutual identification between women respondents and researchers (2001:211-212), and this was clearly the case in this study, evident in reflecting back on how much easier it has become to not only recruit, but also build a rapport with the participants on the grounds of a shared experience of 'being a mother', even when I did not share any further details[24] on my status. Letherby largely discusses postionalities related to both motherhood and non-motherhood in her methodological volume on feminist research, and demonstrates that a 'shared' experience of either kind definitely yields different findings, which in consequence may significantly impact the analysis and the interpretative capacities (2003). Similarly, Wilkins (1993), Katz Rothman (1989) and Miller (2005) stated that they would have found it much more difficult (if not impossible) to conduct any research on motherhood without having actually experienced it. Bartlett argued that "writing maternity" happens differently when one becomes a mother (2000), and Katz Rothman (1986:50-52, cf. Warren 1988:46-47) admitted that researching mothers with bad maternal outcomes in the context of becoming a mother was what made it possible for her to understand the specifics of maternal love, as well as to showcase how emotions challenge the course of research.[25]

Quite strikingly, during my pregnancy, an interesting aspect of an 'embodied' positionality came into play as an external/researcher-derived factor that slightly modified the process of data collection across the stages. As my own position changed from a non-mother, to a mother-to-be, and finally to that of a mother, certain differences between the interviews conducted during those three phases can be observed in regard to the data collection. While I consistently used the same research design, there is a particular thematic richness to the description of pregnancy, childbirth and early motherhood (transitions) in the accounts collected during my own pregnancy. A possible explanation could be drawn along the lines of the 'power of knowledge' evidently being on the side of the respondents at those meetings, as the interview-partners wished to 'educate', 'prepare' or 'inform' me about 'what is to come'. While those conversations were at times difficult

[24] Importantly, a shared maternal experience is much more powerful than just "being a migrant", which I discovered with my fellow co-researchers during the ongoing TRANSFAM (2013-2016) project in Norway. Although I was 'only' "a visiting researcher", revealing that I was a mother significantly facilitated the recruitment of families willing to participate in the study in Oslo.

[25] In view of her personal circumstances of a recent delivery of her healthy baby, Katz-Rothman decided to hire a Research Assistant to cope with interviewing women with bad amniocentesis outcomes.

to handle, they yielded extremely useful, detailed and personal accounts of the transitions to motherhood and comments on the comparative frameworks of care provisions in the sending and destination countries.[26] Conversely, often stemming from my meetings at mother-toddler playgroups and internet fora, the interviews I have conducted after having my son had a much more developed component of the 'mothering' experiences of the every-day and an observable 'thickness' of the situated examples of dealings with institutions, fellow-migrants, kinship members and the like in the context of being a Polish migrant mother. In a more general sense, my experiences mirrored Oboler's report of a qualitative difference within the fieldwork status perception and the rapport improvement upon her becoming pregnant (1986:45, cf. Warren 1988:15-16, see also Letherby 2003:109). It might be further argued that being of an age when becoming a mother was viewed as 'natural' by Polish society standards, I was perceived through the lens of the (female) role that the respondents considered commonly approved of as "socially appropriate" (Warren 1988) or "normal" (Reinharz 2010:67). As such, motherhood should be seen as important in all three dimensions of the consequences discussed by Chavez (2008) in the context of the migration research, as it facilitated access, created a positionality of a "shared" experience and aided data collection, presentation and representation. These factors must of course be seen as having unique consequences – a person of a different status would most certainly have different experiences, if not for any other reason than that a (perceived degree of) insider/outsider position determines an access and a focus on different kinds of information (Styles 1979:148, see also De Laine 2000:107-108). As it stands, my personal situation has also conditioned me to agree with Reinharz's claim: "From my own experience, I conclude that to understand how a community functions, the researcher can actually benefit from being a mother" (2010:81).

With regard to a shared ethnic background, it is a rather trivial remark that conducting research in a Polish community, as a Polish researcher, can be very different from approaching the topic as a foreigner. Still, very little attention has been thus far given

[26] The material collected on the topic of transition to motherhood and the care frameworks constitutes an empirical basis that is extensive enough to necessitate a separate analysis and discussion. Accordingly, it was decided that it might take away from the main focus of this thesis on family practices rather than reproductive/health choices. Certain aspects will be included in the edited collection in form of a state-of-the-art book of the „Research4Birth" COST Action Working Group 3 dedicated to migrant women and reproduction. Together with Aleksandra Męcinska and Barbara Janta, I am co-authoring a chapter entitled *„Pregnancy Care Choices, Childbirth Experiences and Empowered Maternity of Polish Migrant Women in the United Kingdom*" to be published by Routledge in 2015.

to this question of a reflexive practice on the matter of ethnic insiderness in context of the Polish migration research, with the recent exceptions found in the works of Carling et al. (2014), Kempny (2012), or Temple and Koterba (2009). In the broader scholarship, Borkert and DeTona underlined the importance of reflexivity in conducting European migration research from the perspective of a "transnational academic migrant" (2006), arguing that the dimensions of foreignness and otherness can determine encounters in terms of perceived proximity. They contextualize migrant-migrant researchers as actors situated in a specific position, being "dwellers of somewhere else", "outsiders" and "foreigners of their social surroundings" (2006), referring also to Stanley's contention:

> "In sharing the same position of outsiderness, the migrants and the researchers become insiders as foreigners. As such, both the researcher and participant are "inside the marked off, different and, although within, not within in the same way that the real insiders are […and] this difference is not merely experienced, it is lived, it becomes the stuff of which 'a life' is thus composed, and it is central to identity and feeling, and thinking" (1997:6).

At the same time, Chavez reminds (2008:475) that there is still no definition or a descriptive configuration of factors that somehow manage to guarantee an insider status; yet the literature to-date mostly focuses on cross-cultural comparisons of proximity and distance framed around an ethnic belonging,[27] its socially constructed nature, as well as potential expectations of co-nationality that might not be in line with the researcher's self (see e.g. De Andrade 2000:269, Sherif 2001:440-445, Ganga & Scott 2006). Reflecting on her study of Cape Verdeans, De Andrade draws attention to the fact that the participants assessed her group membership and believed that she shared their knowledge and experience (2000:275). Clearly, due to other dimensions it might not be the case, and often had to be mitigated in the field, as oftentimes the interview-partners stated that I must "know how it is" (see also Bell 2013:78 for similar impressions, and Wengraf 2001:45-46 on sharing the referents), and therefore it was unnecessary to reiterate. While I initially worried about asking for a clarification (because of the negative effect of what Letherby (2003) sees as unnatural naïvity counteractive to trust, the narratives that followed often featured stark differences related to social class discrepancies or some minor issues of the

[27] I am aware of the conceptualizations of insiderness based on profound biographic experiences – e.g. wars or trauma, while a recent overview and discussion on the insider/outsider dichotomy in psychology research has been provided by Breen (2007). These debates, however, are out of scope for this work.

children's age, as I was initially quite uninformed about the education system in either Germany or the UK.

Furthermore, the status of an (ethnic) insider easily becomes blurred or questionable, like it was during several interviews when the fact was revealed that my life-partner is not Polish (or that we are unmarried – as in the case described by Sherif in 2001). Those negative consequences were usually successfully mitigated through a re-establishing of 'similarity' which De Andrade calls an "emergent expertise" (2000:280), as my interview-partners and I engaged in the process of evaluating (or re-establishing) my 'Polishness' through 'locating practices' of the everyday and discussing my home town in Poland or sharing details on the 'best Polish stores' in the area. Conversely, collection of data in Polish did not require any interpreters' assistance and, arguably, contributed to a relative ease of handling the difficult topics. It also helped the researcher to understand the contextual matters, such as how Polish education, health system or labour market discrimination operate. In addressing Chavez's notions of expediency of rapport building in a migrant-insider research setting (2008), the issue of shared ideas about everyday practices should be highlighted. On many occasions, a quick reflection on a topic that simply affected '*us*' – a perceived community of Polish people in the UK/Germany which the researcher was believed to belong to – was enough to build a well-functioning interview exchange channel. Prices of airfares to Poland, trouble with understanding local dialects, or the diminishing value of the foreign currency versus Polish zloty – apparently non-committal and non-sensitive – in fact facilitated bonding. Surprisingly, both the relations of the mutual intra-ethnic distrust that were mentioned above, and the potential issues that could result from being perceived as a 'representative' of a host society institution (university) did not come to play in my interviews, which I attribute to the more powerful component of the gendered positionality and sharing maternal experiences.

Consequently, I argue that even in the context of what might be seen as a case of 'hyperinsiderness' (in the 'similarities' of gender/motherhood, ethnicity, language, being a migrant, and often also a social class and age proximity between myself and my interview-partners), the identities in the field are always "suspended in the betwixt and between positions in the transformative process" (Ergun & Erdermir 2010:16) and demand a constant critically reflexive practice that evaluates their impact. Ultimately, the novel career of a 'moral' and reflexive qualitative fieldworker as an interpretive inquirer entails the possibility of experiencing a moral transformation of one's 'self', which results from

being “open to the expectations and experiences of others and not immune”. This means that that the “[p]roblems of identity and relationships […] are not to be solved so much as lived with passion” and drawn upon (De Laine 2000, 19-20, see also Warren 1988, Phoenix 1994, Olesen 2009, Olesen 2009, Mies 1983) throughout the various steps of the *Research Process* discussed next.

Chapter 6: Research Process

Participants Selection and Fieldwork Schedule

A feminist approach concedes that one can never aim at presenting 'the truth' or an 'objective neutral knowledge' but begins rather from the point of understanding the fractured and complex nature of experiences rooted in the social and material worlds (Stanley & Wise 1990:21-22, Letherby 2003:57,71) which means that the 'truth' is not the same for everyone (Temple 2004, 2008a, Temple & Koterba 2009). Consequently, the foundational principle in the selection of participants was to encourage gathering a range of different understandings of the persons interviewed, including those who share 'alternative stories' (Richardson 1990, cf. Silverman 2009:199). Also, the process was designed to aim at neither controlling nor predicting people's experiences (see e.g. Van Maanen 1990:22, Silverman 2009:182, Reinharz 2010), wishing instead to develop theories as to how women's lives and experiences might be collectively understood (Hill Collins 2005, Letherby 2003:53-54). Therefore, the non-random/non-probability sampling used for this study is embedded in Honigman's discussion of a deliberate selection of participants who serve as representatives with distinctive qualities, based on the researcher's "prior knowledge of the universe" and her interests (1982:80-85, cf. Wengraf 2001:98-99, see also: Silverman 2009:171-179, Bryman 1988:90, Denzin & Lincoln 2009).

A sole foregrounded criterion of being a Polish mother abroad was employed with an underlying assumption that purposive selection of a small group of interviewees facilitates in-depth data analysis and enables generation of a holistic view within a single case and, eventually, across the group (Mason 1996:121). Such recruitment aimed at "maximum variation" at both the sites and the channels of extending interview invitations (Seidman 2013:55-56, Glaser & Strauss 1967: 56-57), were intended to ensure that a wide range of experiences to which people can connect would be represented. It was also designed to counteract a danger accentuated by the easiness of identification with the participants' views or opinions in an insider-type research, as one must ensure that the selection of accounts does not result in the lack of problematization of certain issues during the interpretation process (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995:110-111).

The fieldwork began on schedule in May 2011, with the initial interviews done in the United Kingdom. It continued in Germany in two phases from late June until early August 2011, and from December 2011 until May 2012 (a maternity break in between and afterwards). The core data collection was resumed for the United Kingdom from September 2012 and concluded in December that year. Some supplementary interviews were added after a subsequent data collection period in the summer of 2013. The participant recruitment strategies were diversified and alternated (Babbie 2003:205) as the research progressed. They included direct approaches within the diaspora spaces – for instance at educational institutions (examples including two Polish Saturday Schools and churches celebrating Polish masses/Polish Catholic Mission parishes abroad). To ensure a catchment of migrants with fewer ties to the migrant communities, the search of participants continued through visits to (non-Polish) mother-toddler groups, mother-friendly cafes and similar places. These efforts were supplemented by indirect strategies of online recruitment (e.g. on Polish parents' forums) and by placing adverts in places frequented by Poles abroad (e.g. Polish stores, a Polish hairstylist's, a medical practice with Polish personnel). Furthermore, personal networks of the researcher were utilized,[28] and a degree of snowballing was used in asking the interview-partners for assistance in identifying other willing migrant mothers.

As a young mother myself, I believe I had privileged access to mother-toddler groups (both the general ones and those specifically dedicated to Polish women), which concurs with Warren's suggestion that "motherhood plays a part in the gendered field through which entrée is negotiated […]" (2001:211). It further corroborates the finding that, in the case of a recent mobility, the boundaries of ethnic enclaves might be rather closed for those unable to communicate in the migrants' language, and for those considered 'others' in general (Trevena 2011, Temple 2004, 2008a, 2008b, 2011a, 2011b Chavez 2008). In fact, in several towns where the fieldwork was conducted I encountered exclusively Polish groups organized for mothers and toddlers and run by Polish women in a largely informal manner, which would be extremely hard to access for a non-Pole (and a

[28] While seeking respondents, I solicited help from an extended kin member/family friend who lives in Germany and she expressed a wish to be my respondent. Perhaps because this interview-partner comes from my mother's generation, the interview went very smoothly in a sense that in fact I had almost no prior knowledge about her migration and motherhood history. Similar and more personal cases are known from the literature (e.g. Stanley has interviewed her mother, 1993), and a useful guidance on how to manage this type of relationships is offered by Letherby (2003:126-127).

non-mother). This is of crucial importance for researching mothers who have young children abroad, as they constitute a rather isolated group with a limited visibility (e.g. Barclay & Kent 1998). Further, contributing to another research project[29] allowed me to liaise with parents of school-aged children.

Research invitations were extended to Polish women living with their partners and child/children in Germany or in the United Kingdom. Unlike many scholars interested in on-remote transnational mothering, I chose to focus on migrants who had either arrived with their family or reunited their family at least a year prior to the interview. The focus was on women in intra-ethnic Polish-Polish relationships and those belonging to the relatively recent migration streams, not covering the pre-1990s migrants in the UK or the pre-1980s arrivals in Germany. The research, however, included also women with Polish-born husbands who migrated as children, as well as two respondents married to foreigners. This decision is in line with what Bamberg and Andrews discuss as considering counter narratives (2004) and Weiß calls "negative cases" (1994:29-34) – those being "out of scope" and included as an exercise for checking the validity of the conclusions drawn. A similar purpose was behind the inclusion of the interviews from the '*Ambivalent returns'* project which relied, to a great extent, on the same interview scheme. Accordingly, it may be seen as a further data collection step that methodologists acknowledge as occurring in qualitative research design after the initial data analysis is performed and the interpretations sketched out (e.g. Bryman 2001:267-268, Reinharz 1992, 2010).

Geographically, the participants were concentrated in four regions – the German lands of Hessen and North-Rhein Westphalia, and North Wales (NW) and the North-West of England representing the UK. The areas of residence were villages, small towns and suburbia, rather than larger cities and metropolises. The open-ended recruitment focused on diversity and flexibility (Letherby 2003:103-107), so only a rough estimate of an envisioned number of participants was established in advance. Adding new participants facilitated an exploration of dimensions that only became apparent after the initial

[29] *Polish Schooling in the UK: Tradition and Modernity* (2012) project was led by Professor Dorota Praszałowicz and financed by the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, was completed in 2012 by the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in cooperation with Jagiellonian University. My fieldwork engagement involved expert interviews, parent and group interviews in Polish schools in North Wales and North West England. In addition, I was also responsible for a pilot project researching the phenomenon of the Polish supplementary education in Berlin, Germany. Aside from co-authoring the Research Report (Praszałowicz et al. 2013), I have written two chapters for an upcoming book on the subject.

interviews. The finalization of the data-collection activities relied on two criteria of sufficiency: the range of socio-demographic (e.g. age, class, religiosity, place of residence) representation among the respondents, and the apparent saturation of information (see Seidman 2013:58-59). This was achieved more quickly in Germany (around the 10th interview) than in the United Kingdom. The variables mentioned above were taken into account whenever possible to ensure consideration of an unrestricted number and variety of voices.

Several challenges arising within the recruitment process can be ascribed to the demographic composition of the female migration to the two destination countries, particularly with regard to the generational/cohort differences combined with the time spent abroad: Polish women in the UK, who were generally younger and arrived post-2004, were likely to be approachable as stay-at-home mothers of younger children, while those in Germany often had established careers and older children partaking in institutionalized care and schooling, which made it harder for them to commit to a time-consuming interview. Concurrently with the subject literature, migrant networks in the areas of the study were also significantly more developed in the British context, with ethnic businesses and migrant organizations rejuvenated and flourishing in the years following EU accession (e.g. Kucharczyk et al. 2013, Praszałowicz et al. 2013, Lacroix 2011, Bell 2012). Such establishments were much harder to identify in Germany, where a relatively small proportion of settled immigrants participate in Polish community activities (Fiń et al. 2013, Nowosielski 2012, Praszałowicz 2006, 2010). Ultimately, it was the personal networks and the relationships developed in the field, as well as the institutional back-up from the perceived community leaders in Polish schools[30] that proved most beneficial. The section below presents the broad composition of the participants' socio-demographic characteristics.

Participants' Characteristics

This brief outline of the socio-demographic characteristics of the group as a whole (by no means statistically representative of the general population) is meant to serve as a general descriptive background. As already mentioned, a break-down of the specifics for each interview-partner is provided in *Table 2* in the Appendix.

[30] With whom I liaised during the *„Polish Schooling in the UK"* Project (2012).

Overall, the respondents ranged from 23 to 64 years of age, with the average of 37.9-years-old and as many as 20 respondents being in their 30s at the time of the interview. All women were in heterosexual relationships, most were married, and all but two remained in ethnically homogenous (Polish-Polish) partnerships. Out of the 37 interview-partners, 16 had a university degree, a further 12 had some kind of technical training and an A-level diploma, with the remaining nine were in possession of a vocational qualification. All but two were in paid employment (six worked part-time), and their occupational status varied from low-level (sometimes marked by deskilling/brainwaste) to quite prestigious positions. A majority belonged to various segments of the middle-class and only seven represented working class families.

The women had arrived in their destination countries between 1980 and 2010, with ten interviewees migrating prior to Poland's EU accession. The average length of their residency abroad was just below nine years at the time of the interview, ranging from one interview-partner who moved just over a year earlier to one who had been an immigrant for 31 years. Among the interview-partners, 14 women started their families abroad (first-time motherhood), 11 interviewees had endured a period of mother/child separation after migrating, and a majority had also lived at some point in a different country from that their child's/children's father in a migratory "long-distance" relationship of sorts.

The women come from various parts of Poland and, as acknowledged in the previous section, all respondents selected for the Germany-based part of the study lived in two Länder of Hessen and North-Rheine Westphalia. In the UK, the interview partners were mainly concentrated in North Wales and North West England. The focus was on women living outside the capital cities, and, consequently, eight interview-partners inhabited small and often remote villages, 19 resided in small and medium-sized towns (e.g. Chester, Bochum, Hattingen), while the remaining ten lived in the suburbs of larger cities (e.g. Manchester, Liverpool, Cologne, Dusseldorf).

The interview-partners were mothers to 74 children, which signifies a fertility average of TFR=2, and practically means that most women have two children (22), while families with one, three and four children, respectively, were also represented. The majority of women (30) became mothers in their 20s, and the average year of the first-time motherhood was 25.3. The respondents had children of various ages, including babies and toddlers under four (19 children), school pupils and students (40) and adults (13).

Among the children, 39 were born in the destination countries to 26 women, and 13 women had experiences of pregnancy and childbirth both in Poland and abroad.

Interview Proceedings

All interviews were scheduled in accordance with the respondents' preferences, and all but three meetings took place in the respondents' homes. The meetings started with the researcher describing the project (see also *Annex 3)* and explaining the meaning of informed consent, followed by the form's signing (*Annex 4).* At that point the researcher also expressed gratitude to the interview-partner for taking time to participate in the research, and underscored the importance of their story being told (see also Waniek 2007:54, Bell 2013:67). With the preliminaries completed, audio recording would start. All women who expressed interest in participating in the research said they only had time for one meeting, and preferred a longer sit down to holding several conversations over a period of time, finding my request to set aside several hours for the meetings excessive or unrealistic.[31] As mentioned in the *Participants' Recruitment* section above, the mothers I had spoken to not only had children of various ages who required a range of care activities, but also mostly had a paid job. The combination of these factors clearly contributed to the research design, as the prescription of having multiple (and uninterrupted) interviews favoured by many biographic or phenomenological approaches (e.g. Wengraf 2001, Schütze 2004, Apitzsch & Inowlocki 2000, Chamberlayne et al. 2000, 2004) was not feasible, and pragmatic considerations had to prevail.

For the most part, it was usually possible to hold a meeting that included only the researcher and the respondent, at least at the beginning of the meeting. However, it was also the case that children were present intermittently during the meetings, and in five cases the husbands had joined in at some point, usually for a brief period.[32] Two mothers

[31] Bell notes similar problem encountered when researching Poles in Belfast, particularly in the case of entrepreneurs (2013:66).

[32] My impression was that husbands perhaps were curious about the interview situation in general but appeared to quickly find it uninteresting to listen to stories about everyday matters. In two cases husbands attempted to 'take over' the interview whilst shifting topics to 'public sphere' (e.g. going on about Polish politics, financial crisis affecting Britain or voicing opinions on the local health system, education or people from other nationalities. After a while, I had to attempt to bring the topic back to the everyday experiences of parenting, for example by soliciting a story linked to their narrative on health by asking for a description of the last visit at the GP practice with children. At this time the mothers would take over and often caused the fathers to 'lose interest' and leave.

agreed to dedicate half of their day to the interview on the condition that I bring my child with me so it became "a sort of a playdate".[33] While having both small and the school-aged children around might have been difficult to manage during the interviews (e.g. when I needed to shift the perhaps more personal/difficult questions around), it ultimately allowed me to observe intra-family relationships (personal life) and, more importantly, the routine family practices of the daily lives described in the following data analysis (e.g. chores, help with schoolwork, overall engagement in the children's lives, language practices and many other aspects).

Non-hierarchical field relationships were fostered by a participatory model of research (Reinharz 1983, Letherby 2003), which allowed for a lot of content and structure to remain under the participants' control during the interviews. For that purpose also, the researcher often followed up on the themes where the interviewed women seemed to be most eager to share their experiences. While focusing on active listening, the researcher was also prepared to provide clarifications and encouragement, as well as to share her own experiences whenever directly asked. In consequence, it was possible to shorten the distance between the researcher and her interview-partners, contributing to the respondents feeling comfortable enough to share difficult or taboo experiences (e.g. stories of miscarriages, financial hardship, illegal employment).

The opening sequence took form of a Single Question Aimed at Inducing Narrative (SQUIN, Wengraf 2001:111), designed to solicit a longer narrative on the woman's migration story, followed by a request for an account of everything that had happened since the migration topic was for the first time raised in the respondent's family life. The role of the researcher was here generally limited to active listening with occasional non-verbal cues, unless the respondents needed some support with the task (Wengraf ibid:128-131). Although initially the migration history was supposed to be solicited by the SQUIN (and the motherhood Interview Questions –IQs– were seen as yielding short descriptions), the accents placed on the two main themes not only varied, but were often substantially entangled – narratives that detailed having children as a reason to migrate or experiences of migration during pregnancy might serve as good examples. It has to be acknowledged that the ratio of answers covered by the longer biography opposite the semi-structured

[33] Importantly, on both occasions we were able to have almost two hours for one-on-one interviews when the children took a nap.

questioning varied from interview to interview, subject both to the external dynamics of the meeting (e.g. children's presence) and the respondents' personal preference for a conversation-style interactive communication.

The stories usually flowed well and progressed from migration decision-making to moving abroad, and on to the description of life in either Germany or the United Kingdom. The construction of these short biographic stories largely reflected the Labov-Waletsky simplified narrative model presented by Wengraf (ibid.:116), inclusive of a central evidence sequence of a temporal migratory narration and its climax with the decision to move, as well as the evaluation of one's family migration. Soon thereafter, there was an evident coda in the form of: "*And now we live here/ And so here we are*" or similar, suggesting the end of the biographic narrative.

Because of the close thematic proximity with the final points of the narrative, it was quite a smooth transition to begin semi-structured questioning about the interview-partner's current everyday life: "*What does your family's life abroad look like now?*" or "*Can you describe your typical day/week/weekend from your family life here now*?" This type of stimuli aims at avoiding "sociological" questioning (Czarniawska 1997, cf. Chase 2009:25). It follows instead what Weiß (1994) discussed as being interested in "the specific" rather than "the general" as means to escape the "typical" or "universal" stories about lives of some other or imagined families.

The probing had two goals, the first of which pertained to the further explication of migrant family practices that were not covered in the narrative. Those included questions on the family's/children's role in the migratory decisions, the meanings associated with being a Polish mother abroad, differences in practices of child-rearing in Poland/abroad and perceived distinct practices characteristic of Polish women's mothering, such as those regarding language politics and home, educational strategies, a division of labour, coupledom, important values within socialization and intergenerational transmission, experiences of working abroad, experiences with institutions of the destination country, social participation in the diaspora and beyond, and social networks. The second aim of the stimulus questions tackled a difficulty with exploring motherhood through the elaborate narrative biographic schemes, which might be due to the narrative confusion that people experience when faced with multiple meanings that motherhood has as an institution, experience, everyday practice. Consequently, questions were asked about the respondent's reactions to getting pregnant, her experiences of pregnancy (pregnancies) and childbirth(s),

and any comparisons between different countries. The later interviews in particular were guided by the need to 'refer back' to the country of origin and the general questions about the respondent's 'attitudes to return' were modified to ask instead for a specific description of the last visit in Poland and the feelings that the recollections elicit. This allowed for better capture of intergenerational care obligations on the one hand, and the meanings that the 'home' journeys had for mothers, and what they envisioned them to mean for their children, which prompted a broader discussion on a sense of belonging.

All topics were explored as embedded in each participant's individual experiences of entangled or enmeshed practices of mothering and mobility, often generating specific examples of practical matters or situations. As feminist research strives to redress power imbalances, I tried to grant control to my respondents and assure them that their stories matter (Reinharz 2010:206-207, see also Chavez 2008) throughout the interview. Consequently, not all interviews yield answers on all questions to a similar depth, as the interview-partners occasionally chose to place the focus on different issues.

After signalling that the questions were coming to an end, I asked the interview-partners if they had anything else to add or, perhaps, if I failed to ask some questions they were expecting. While this rarely yielded further topics, I usually asked "*What does being a migrant mum here in Germany/the United Kingdom mean for you*?" in the hope of guiding my interview-partners to share a combined reflection on migration and motherhood, essentially linking the initial biographic story with the later semi-structured in-depth interviewing. In many cases this was the moment when 'making sense' of the entangled experience was the most evident, and reflexive self-evaluations of the interview-partners were particularly prominent. When the respondent finished the final account, I used to move on to the final section collecting personal data (e.g. dates of birth, marriage, children's births, place of origin in Poland) and dates of events (e.g. year of migration), if those were not known or unclear from the interview. This step formally concluded the interview and the tape recorder was then switched off.

Provided that the respondent was not too busy, we usually had an unrecorded follow-up conversation. Especially in the early interviews I reiterated how helpful they had been and asked if they could think of anyone else they knew that could become a part of the research. Indeed, this was often useful for finding further respondents as well as learning about the local events frequented by Polish mothers from the area. Generally, during those discussions the women often inquired about my own experiences and

sometimes commented on how they felt about the interview, usually stating that they found the topics enjoyable. After each interview I wrote down the reflections on the interview situation and the general impressions. I subsequently used the fieldnotes for illustrating the context of a given interview (e.g. Bryman 2001:204-306, Silverman 2009:218-222) and found them indispensable for organizing the aspects of positionality.

Aside from the interviews, I used overt participant observation. There were eight structured observations which took place in the public settings of parent-toddler playgroups, supplementary schools, and events. Participant observation was used as a supplementary data collection strategy under the premise of a "commitment to adopt the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day-to-day experiences", which made it possible to observe the use of the interview-derived definitions in a casual and social setting, as well as to explore these situations where the perspectives presented across two techniques varied (Denzin 1970:185, see also: Becker & Greer 1969, Kalnins 1986:326, cf Marshall & Rossman 1999:137). I also wrote an auto-ethnographic field journal, which is not discussed in this thesis *per se* but which, together with the fieldnotes, has served as an inspiration for the personal story in *Chapter 1* and has facilitated the consideration of dynamics of multiple identities and positionality in the field presented in *Chapter 5*.

Analysis, Key Concepts and Representation

Although employing qualitative (and particularly feminist) methods often implies an inductive approach there is a dynamic interplay between theorizing and (collecting) experiences, which needs to be connected analytically through an 'interpretive and synthesizing process' (Maynard 1994:24, cf. Letherby 2003: 62). As such, the analysis was a dialectic process which Bargar and Duncan called an "extensive recycling of concepts and perspectives" (1982:2, cf. Marshall & Rossman 1999:24).

Regarding analytical strategies, it should be mentioned that all interviews were conducted and transcribed in Polish – only the fragments necessary for the sequential analysis and the later use in the thesis were translated into English. The interviews were normally transcribed soon after being conducted,[34] signifying that the data analysis process

[34] At the later stages, some transcriptions were contracted to a qualified trusted transcriber who was bound by a formal confidentiality agreement regarding the personal data protection.

was begun as soon as the first interview was completed. In fact, the research process and the simultaneous data analysis resembled a complex puzzle (e.g. Mason 1996) and entailed moving back and forth between the theoretical and empirical "tracks of analysis" as reflections and evidence became increasingly connected to the theoretical interpretations (Alford 1998:28-29).

For the initial analysis, the "immersion" or "crystalization" strategies that have no prefigured categories or templates and "rely heavily on the researcher's intuitive and interpretive capacities" were adopted as certain segments of the texts were marked to generate and highlight the categories of meaning (Crabtree & Miller 1992:17-20, Marshall & Rossman: 1999:150-152). In other words, open coding procedures were used as an elementary data analysis process for breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising, and categorising text units of the interviews (Inowlocki 2000). The data analysis entailed narrowing the selected empirical evidence through a careful winnowing process, acknowledging that the researcher exercises a degree of judgement over the selection of data in crafting the vignettes and the profiles of the respondents (Wolcott 1994, Seidman 2013:120-123). Significantly, each narrative somewhat narrows the scope by limiting what might be possible and understood in a specific social context (Chase 2009:41, 1995, Gubrium & Holstein 2002:23).

The profiles were constructed by means of a segmented interview summary, compliant with the list of elements proposed for the biographic method (Wengraf 2001, Cresswell 1998, Breckner 2007, Weiß et al. 2009, Chamberlayne 2000). They consisted of: a brief outline of the interviewee's persona, a clear statement on the relationship between the researcher and the respondent (ie. determination of the applicable recruitment channel, a description of the events (narrative units) in the respondent's own language, and, finally, an interpretation of the case and its links to the broader categories within the study. A subsequent step required the researcher to refer back to the disciplinary literature formerly gathered. In addition, the feminist directive of a four-time reading of each transcript given by Taylor et al. (1995:29-31, cf. Chase 2009:35) was determined to be particularly useful in that it ensures that separate attention is given to aspects of the general narrative, the interaction (power relations in the field), the use of a personal narration ("I"-subject), and the "counterpoint" (and/or contradictive) story-elements. It also helps to find the narrative links and recognize complexity within every story, as well as to see the narrative identities of the respondents as 'permanently in flux' (Stein 1997, cf. Chase, ibid:36).

As salient categories emerged, the analysis focused on the general statements about the patterns and the relationships between them. The density of certain linkages was explored further to facilitate decisions on a certain type of order in relating the voices of others (Chase 2009:26). This is concurrent with a comparative analysis of the cases, which pays a close attention to each case (each respondent's story/case/biography). Yet, it also seeks similarities and differences within the identified themes through a comparison between different cases in a thematic/cross-sectional manner. While the analysis of each narrative begins from its treatment as a standalone full story, the analytical procedures allow for linking the narratives through their inner-similarities and differences (Chase 2009:25, 34, Creswell 1998:50-52). I employed Chase's (1995:23-25, cf. 2009:35) use of the term "narrative strategy" to show how each of the interviewed women contrasted her own history of achievement with broader (or simply other) discourses and stories about inequalities, tracing the ways in which women dealt with the disjuncture between them. Similarly, I compared the ways in which each migrant mother talked about her personal experiences and everyday family practices with how she referred them back to the broader discourses of motherhood and migration (e.g. Mother-Pole, migration as exile, a transnational multi-sited engagement), as well as how she situated herself against those notions and other-mothers.

Attempting to synthesise "countless concrete interrelationships" into an 'idea' is difficult to accomplish with a degree of consistency without 'ideal-type' concepts (Weber 1949:96, cf. Aronovitch 2012:357). Ideal-type models were used to help link the evidence to theory. They provide guidance on how to arrive at hypotheses that express various understandings of reality (Weber 1949:90). Further, an 'ideal type' is understood here as a heuristic device and a method of investigation, which has no normative component and is "neither an average type nor a simple description of the most commonly found features of real-world phenomena" (Marshall 1994:292-293). As such, the ideal-types were formed "not as an average of" what they channel, but as a careful selection and ordering of the elements that are then useful in "determining, in each individual case, the extent to which this ideal construct approximates to or diverges from reality" (Weber 1949:90, cf. Aronovitch 2012:357-358). This was done through a further thematic segmentation of the transcripts examined through a plurality of values (contradictory as they might at times be) as Weber's logic of the ideal-types requires (ibid:367).

According to Aronovitch (2012:361), an ideal-type is always a "work in progress" and marked by its provisional nature, which the author further explains as follows:

> "an ideal-type says in effect: here is how agents of this or that kind interpret their experience, ascribe meaning to various selected elements of it, orient themselves and act; or rather here is how all this is so in a way that best explains what these agents were actually thinking, seeking, and so on." (ibid:363)

Thus, 'ideal types' derive from the subjective understanding of the researcher (Alford 1998:14) who rationally selects the elements that fit together, so that constructing 'ideal types' implicitly entails learning about the world. In terms of Patton's distinction between "indigenous" (derived directly from the interviewees' language) and "analyst-constructed" typologies (1990: 306, 390-400), this study employs the latter in drawing on the broader mothering scholarship and developing the researcher's own "analyst-constructed" type or category.

Since a discussion of motherhood involves concatenations of numerous contexts from public/institutional to private/personal/experience-driven/practical dimensions, it was necessary to view the perspectives from both sides of the spectrum. For that purpose, *Master Motherhood Discourses* were seen as practically apt for capturing the early discoveries on 'general' understandings. Although a discourse rarely captures lived experiences, it is crucial in determining the way in which we think and, particularly, enforcing the things we do in our daily practices (Ranson 1999, Kaplan 1992, Biggs & Powell 2001:97). Morgan argued that while discourses and practices are not identical, they are closely related for the former are informing theoretical accounts, ideological definitions and popular understandings (2011b:2-3).

Kaplan's concept of a *Master Motherhood Discourse*, developed primarily in the context of representations and cultural texts, is embedded in the analysis of how they depict all mothers by reference to the normative white, middle-class female subjects that are the presumed 'good mothers', the model that all other-mothers identify with and aim to imitate (1992:8). The proximity between this model and western 'Intensive motherhood' (Hays 1996, Faircloth 2013, 2014) is undeniable. Crucially, Kinser refers to Kaplan's concept in her work on mothering as relational consciousness, seeing feminist mothering as a way in which the Intensive master discourse is to be resisted (2004:123), while Ostrowska draws on Kaplan in seeing the 'Mother-Pole' as the Master Motherhood Discourse of Poland (1998:418). Secondly, in the formulation of the ideal-type models, the analysis links the aforementioned discourses with Ruddick's understanding of practices as

"collective human activities distinguished by the aims that identify them and by consequent demands made on practitioners committed to those aims (1989:13-14), and agrees with Chandler that *mother* should be considered a verb – something one does, a practice (2007:273, cf. O'Reilly 2010a:5). Furthermore, "mothering is not a singular practice, and mother is not best understood as a monolithic identity" (ibid:273) because one can find multiple variations and a significant diversity within said practices, even among similar mothers (O'Reilly 2010a:5). As such, the analysis arrives at ideal types that can transcend the aforementioned dimensions often portrayed as oppositional (micro/macro, experience/institution). It sees them all as inherent and unavoidable for the purpose of studying migrant motherhood, empirically outlined in the following sections.

From the above pattern of constructing the categories it follows that the process of data analysis transforms the researcher into a co-author of the life stories of others through interpreting and theorizing on the narratives collected, ineluctably "[creating] the people we write about just as they create themselves through engagement in the practices of telling their stories" (Denzin, 1989: 82, Denzin & Lincoln 2009). This raises a central issue for narrative interview-based inquiries: the dilemma of how to (re)present the voices that the researcher listens to and how/to what degree one treats the respondent as the narrator (Chase 2009:16, Olesen 2003:365-368, Lincoln 1997, Phoenix 1994, Letherby 2003). Inevitably, one is able to represent some women more than others (e.g. Woollett 1996, cf. Letherby 2003:134, Chase 2009:26), and it is the researcher's framework of selecting and organizing the transcripts that are chosen to, in Skeggs's words, "operate as theoretical dramatic indicators to exemplify the structural relations as they were lived at the level of everydayness" (1996:86-87, see also Cotterill 1992, Letherby 2003:117). Such a "conscious partiality" (Mies 1983, cf. de Laine 2000:110) has to be acknowledged in the following presentation of findings.

At the same time, steps were taken to increase the validity of the assertion that one 'speaks for others' (Letherby ibid:134-135) by making sure that the view of "the privileged" or "the majority" does not overshadow those that may constitute a minority – be it class-based, for instance. This might be somewhat lifted by a clear statement on the researchers' situatedness (ibid:39-40), as all analytical processes are always embedded within the observer's biography and a historical location (Warren 1988:48). It was further attempted through a process of feeding back to the respondents the findings yielded by three interviews to ensure that they are willing to have their stories presented in a shape

conceived through the researcher's interpretations (e.g. Letherby 2003:83, Denzin 1989). Together with feedback gathered during the conference presentations of both the preliminary findings and the later developed ideal-type models,[35] they were used to confirm the 'analytical tracks' taken. Simultaneously, the choice to present some relatively long quotations from the interview transcripts is the researcher's attempt to reserve a space for alternative interpretations that readers may raise (Laslett 1999, Riessman 2002, cf. Chase 2009:37).

Delineating Mothering Models

From the early stages of the data analysis it was clear that motherhood constitutes a pivotal and life-altering event in the biographic trajectories of all my respondents, and that their migration was seen by the majority as a similarly radical change. This is consistent with findings discussed by other researchers examining migration and/or motherhood in both the international and Polish contexts (ie. Miller 2005, 2007; Vasquez 2010, Nicholson 2006; Budrowska 2000; Urbańska 2009; Krzyżanowska & Wiśnicka 2009, Waniek 2007, Bell 2012, 2013, Breckner 2007). However, the actual 'unpacking' of the meanings and the entanglements of the two areas of one's life-practices and identities proved to require much more intricate analytical work. As a point of departure, in *Table 3* below I am showcasing the responses to the question about the meaning of being a migrant mother today.

[35] I am particularly grateful here for feedback garnered from the side of several Polish and Poland-based researchers on the matter of how they (as mothers) shared their reflections on situating themselves within the proposed 'ideal type' models. In that regard, I wish to express my special thanks to the organizers and the attendees of the *„Children Migrants & Third Culture Kids*" (June 2013) and the E*uroEmigrants* (September 2013) conferences.

Table 3: Delineating the Models

-What does it mean to be a migrant mother from Poland?		
"We have a different cultural baggage, that's all. This is how I see it". /Basia, UK/ "I don't know if there is such a thing as Polish mothers… You mean that maybe we are more protective or something, I don't know… I think it is very individual – there are pathologies and elites in every nationality, every ethnicity, so for me it is about talking to my sons every day, showing them that I love them and having their trust – is it really such a Polish thing? I see other mothers here that try to do this, too" /Karolina, UK/ "I feel like my motherhood is not very Polish – I only want this one child I have, I think that's uncommon. I treat my daughter as her own person, don't want to determine that she's Polish or German – I am supposed to help her become herself" /Ola, DE/	"It is so hard and so scary! It is all on you to make sense of being a good mother in the face of their practices here, to stand your ground, to fight for your child" /Patrycja, DE,/ "We, Polish mothers sacrifice much more for our children – so that's probably the main difference I see […] We work harder compared to other migrants or the locals, we have jobs and take care of the house – we don't hire any cleaners because we are fully capable of running the house […] I would find it really weird to buy ready-made food, we don't do it – that's another difference. Oh, and we go to church, so we have a guidance, our children are taught about God and rules, and morality – they are not like the children here" /Lidia, DE/	"It is a process of adaptation and constant re-adjusting – mostly for me. As a grown-up I have to ensure that my foreign-born children who feel at home here –and that's a good thing and how it is supposed to be, but I need to know that they have a connection to my heritage, that they know their parents' language." /Hanna, UK/ "It is a balancing act – you are Polish but live in Germany, so you must obey their practices – for example, know the differences in the laws regarding parental do's and don'ts or learn to speak German, but I guess you also want to make sure that your kid can communicate with your family at home, so you get the Polish television. You made me think that it's actually a lot of extra work to be a foreign mum" /Mariola, DE/
IM: Intensive Motherhood	MP: Mother-Pole	NMM: New Migrant Mothering

In a broader scheme of the questions asked about motherhood, the analysis of the data on this specific theme has yielded the first clearly observable inspiration for navigating a core research question for this work. It is argued that these responses provide a visible differentiation among my interview-partners who have executed various models

of mothering practices abroad. Consequently, many narratives could be easily seen as illustrative of the literature-derived ideal-type models: *Intensive Motherhood* (IM),[36] *Feminist Mothering* (FM) and *Mother-Pole* (MP), yet a slight majority of the narratives began to emerge as a coherent but a distinct and novel category. A discovery that many of the interview-partners should be situated on the **outside** of the pre-existing models led to a development of a novel conceptualization of the ***New Migrant Mothering*** (NMM) ideal type.

There were multiple thematic axes delineated and examined in the narratives in a similarly comparative manner. The first subset contained family life, roles and values, more specifically: the preferred family type(s), personal relationships, definitional elements (eg. Polish/foreign) for understanding motherhood and the guidelines inspiring practical maternal practices, a cross-generational sense of belonging, framings of fatherhood, notions around the ideal of sacrifice, and the ideas about the sources of parenting knowledge and expertise. Another area focused on the intersection of the family and mobility with the analysis of migration ideologies and attitudes to return, as well as the opinions on the distance parenting. Under the umbrella of the broader society and institutions, the dimensions of gender orders, a distinction between a public motherhood and a private mothering, notions of care provisions, labour market data, religiosity, as well as the educational strategies across national contexts were examined. *Table 4*, which is supplied as a foldable insert in Appendix 2, illustrates how both the literature-driven and analysis-derived traits are present in the narratives for each of the ideal-type models. The Table also serves as an overview for the analytical *Chapters 7,8,* and *9* dedicated to an in-depth exploration.

In conclusion, it is important to note that each ideal-type of motherhood/mothering has different traits but every one of them is affected by its respective maternal master discourse and determines a set of practices which the women engage in. While the former are always viewed as *'*good*'* or an appropriate fulfilment of the role (or: what is accepted to mean *being a good mother),* the 'ideal-type' models presented in this thesis also attempt to critically engage with and assess the discourses. As such, the ideal-types may rely on

[36] For the sake of brevity, the abbreviations (**MP, NMM, IM** and **FM**) will be used whenever quotations from the interviews are supplied and analysed, indicating the "core" strategy the interview-partner was assigned to.

and exemplify the (pre-existing) discourses, as well as be embedded in the narratives about practices, yet they encompass composite constructs.

It is the nature of an 'ideal type' that the components of the differing models sometimes appeared inconsequently in the interview-partner's life-stories. As women made statements that could be classified in several ways, the rationale for an overall assignment could be argued as indicative only. While one model invariably seemed remarkably dominant, it must also be underlined that the dividing lines between the models are not clear-cut. In the Appendix, one can find visualization in *Figure 1*, which attempts, together with *Table 4*, to illustrate that some aspects are consistent across two or more models. Once again, *Table 4* is available as a foldable insert that may be useful for navigating the ideal-type models: while they are described one by one throughout the analysis, this Table allows for seeing different aspects through the cross-cutting comparative lens.

Last but not least, the analysis relies on the 'motherhood' rather than the 'migration' component. The rationale is data-driven in a sense that a transition to motherhood has had a much stronger biographic significance than the pathways of mobility. Concurrently to what Oakley wrote about motherhood as "a turning point, a transition, a life crisis: a first baby turns a woman into a mother, and the mothers' lives are incurably affected by their motherhood; in one way or another the child will be a theme for ever" (1981:24), the perspective of being mother is generally present in recalling of other key biographic experiences. From the other side, migration studies offer a different explanation that has similar consequences as Key's (1998) study on the key difference of Chilean migrant narrative abroad pertained to strong politicization of belonging and group story/history among men, opposite to private biographies of women, who focused on their roles as wives and mothers in their respective families.

Ultimately, the intersection of the two events provides a novel perspective which adds dimensions to the pre-existing models that were usually examined in the contexts of the local populations. Zooming in on migration 'tests' the applicability and empirical 'content' of the ideal-types in a context when tackling the notions of 'good motherhood' is particularly apparent. All types of 'alterations' or 'creative performances of mothering' (Green 2010b) might equally be facilitated or hindered by mobility, but it seems undisputable that migratory context provides an interesting new area for studying motherhood.

PART III

Polish Women Mothering Abroad: Findings and Discussions

The following three chapters are dedicated to in-depth coverage of the empirical findings. They are organized in the manner that best illustrates the different sets of mothering practices discovered in the analysis, while weaving in the themes outlined in the Literature Review pertinent to both the tensions and commonalities present between western and Polish heritage, as well as feminist and novel framings of motherhood, mothering and family life.

Chapter 7: Not Saying Goodbye to *Mother-Pole* Just Yet: Polish Motherhood Icon Abroad

"So you make a sacrifice!' he threw special emphasis on the last word. Well, so do I. What could be better? We compete in generosity--what an example of family happiness!"
/Leo Tolstoy, "Family Happiness", 1889/

As described in *Chapter 2*, recent Polish scholarship on motherhood challenges some notions concerning the persistence of the *Mother-Pole* model of a self-sacrificing managerial matriarch, contesting the model in the face of the 'new' (Intensive) motherhood's arrival (Sikorska 2009a, 2012; Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a, 2009b, Ostrowska 1998). Others are less convinced and add a question mark to the proclamation of its demise (Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012), or even assert the continuity of this model as a dominant preference and suggest its expansion into the new forms and functions (Graff 2007, 2008c, Oleszkiewicz 2003, Titkow 2012). In the context of migration, the gendered perspective allows for a variety of consequences that mobility may bring (Pessar 1995), and includes the possibility that the mobility process can lead to the discovery of one's national pride, with traditional beliefs and gender norms fortified (Szczepanikova 2012, Parreñas 2005b, Espiritu 1992). It appears that certain Polish women who currently parent abroad and were interviewed for this study do not break away from the heritage-embedded maternal role and the icon of the *Mother Pol*e. Like other Central Eastern European migrant women (Morokvasic 1992, 2007), Polish respondents narrate their lives in terms of the necessity to be a patriot and a superwoman, sharing reflections reminiscent of the familiar mission, sacrifice and a constant struggle. In recounting their migration stories, at every stage - from reasons to migrate, to practices abroad, to attitudes towards return - migrant *Mother-*

Poles of the 21st century continue to operate between the guidance of Virgin Mary (seen as the ideological, national and religious Master Discourse of Motherhood: Mościcka-Bogacz 2011, Ostrowska 1998, Kaplan 1992) and the requirements of being a resourceful and capable 'managerial matriarch' (Titkow 2007, Slany & Małek 2005, Małek 2010a).

The following data presentation and discussions focus on two aspects: (1) tracing the complex and somewhat elusive notions of *sacrifice*, both in migration and motherhood narratives seen as related to *nationhood*; (2) descriptions of *Mother-Pole* as an ideal type that guides a set of specific *practices of parenting* carried out abroad. The discussion to follow will concern the possible long-term consequences of said practices and *intergenerational (non)belonging*,[37] as well as the possible *persistence* of the *Mother-Pole* model abroad.

Mother-Pole on a Mission: Sacrifice, Survival and Clash with the West

> "We had to come here for our children, because of the situation in Poland, we had nothing, could not give them the lives that they deserved […] I do not like it here, but we came, so that they can have a better future, not for us to enjoy life" […], /Agata, UK, MP/[38]

This introductory quotation sets the tone for how *Mother-Poles* understand mobility – pinpointing the overwhelming hardship endured in Poland economically and socially, while framing migration as an unwanted necessity, in accordance with Garapich's *exile narrative* (2011:6). Furthermore, it highlights the children's centrality in the women's decisions to migrate – an outlook suggesting that the parents' life satisfaction is hardly salvageable. Several respondents stated that their lives had ended upon migration, expressing their longing for home and the hostility towards their recipient society. Those understandings are seen here as resulting from the incompatibility between the potential for happiness abroad and the ideals of Polish patriotism and nationhood that bind together

[37] A selection of findings related to the notions of belonging discussed here across the Chapters 7, 8 and 9 have been published in the following article: Pustułka P. (2014) Child-centred narratives of Polish mothers cross-generational identity constructions abroad, *Migration Studies*, vol. 3/2014, pp. 151-170.

[38] Again, I am using abbreviations for the three models of mothering when supplying interview quotations: **MP** for Mother-Pole, **IM** for Intensive motherhood, **NMM** for New Migrant Mother, and **FM** for Feminist mothering. Analogically, **UK** and **DE** are used to indicate United Kingdom and Germany as respective destination countries of my interview-partners.

the constructions of Polish femininity and migration in what Janion called *postromantic phantasm* (1996). Indeed, Zosia, a mother of four, said:

> "How can I be happy here if it is not my country? I'm an outsider here and always will be. What does it matter if we have everything here – a house, a car, help from the state, if I know that it is not Poland that is doing this, doing well enough to support us – it is heart wrenching […] It is not right that we must go abroad, [that's] nothing to be proud of" /Zosia, UK, MP/

Significantly, a common narrative among *Mother-Poles* is reminiscent of the migrants' stories of *forced exile,* marked by utmost sacrifice, loss and a mythical future of reunification and prosperity, which not only have been in operation for several centuries, but also perpetuate a particular 'grand narrative' of Polish migration (e.g. Garapich 2008, 2009, 2011:6-7; Irek 2012; Burrell 2009).

An increasingly complex picture emerges from the migration literature on the role of national borders in the globalized world (Bauman 2000, Botterill 2011:48-50), which may signify the ease and affordability of travelling between the countries of the European Union for some migrants, while restricting movement for others, depending greatly on their levels of agency (Ignatowicz 2011, White 2011a, 2010). While the trajectories of *Mother-Poles* do speak of multiple journeys, they lack the element of flexibility which is often marked for many 'global' actors.[39] As they remain very much attached to their national identification bound by the ethnic dimension of their Polish nationality with their practices of parenting, their migration somewhat escapes the dominant framings. Because Polish 'nationhood' is largely concatenated with 'womanhood' in constructions of the iconic religious figure of the Virgin Mary (*Chapter 2),* and religiosity plays a vital role in shaping the narratives of mothering to the extent of validating one's parenting abroad:

> "Being part of the church – helping around, there is a big group of us – Polish women, only some with children, but it has been a big support […] Our children hung out in a good environment and Polish priest can be good influence for them – he was young and could connect with them, he often helped me deal with problems when they were teenagers" /Ewa, DE, MP/

As some earlier research suggests, churches were particularly important for migrant women (Małek 2010) as spaces of cultural affinity and practical support (Grzymała-Moszczyńska et al. 2011:227-230). Unsurprisingly, when looking at the overview of socio-

[39] This understanding of mobility seen as non-problematic and relatively easy will re-emerge as a feature of Intensive mothers in Chapter 8.

demographic data (see *Appendix 1*), one quickly notices that religious attachment to Roman-Catholicism in its traditional Polish form goes together with the *Mother-Pole* type of parenting. An account from Lidia demonstrates a narrative propinquity of sacrifice, managerial matriarchy and religion – concepts with roots in many discourses that are easily brought together as complementary explanatory aspects:

> "We Polish mothers sacrifice much more for our children – so that's probably the main difference I see [between us and local mothers…] We work harder – compared to other migrants or the Germans […] We have jobs and take care of the house – we don't hire any cleaners because we are fully capable of running the house […] I would find it really weird to buy ready-made food, we don't do it – that's another difference. Oh and we go to church, so we have guidance, our children are taught about God and rules, and morality – they are **not like the children here**" /Lidia, DE, MP/

Perhaps it is this maternal determination that shields the children's 'Polishness' against all sorts of adverse foreign circumstances. Consequently, where features associated with *Mother-Pole* are exemplified through the all-encompassing and value-charged reference to the Virgin Mary – the best of all mothers (Kościańska 2012, Mościcka-Bogacz 2011, Kasten 2013) – they constantly call for self-actualizations. It is particularly relevant that the *Mother-Pole* model encapsulates a collective rather than a single-unit ideal of family, with its members functional within it and not individually. On the one hand, this makes women predestined to realizing the ideals of a cross-border familyhood (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002). On the other, however, it perpetuates the mind-set in which individual Polish women are responsible for making sure that their Polish kin left behind are taken care of, and that their children (in spite of living abroad) are ready to patriotically sacrifice themselves for the (figurative collective) Polish nation (Yuval-Davis 1997c:45, 1997a, 1997b, Graff 2008a, 2008b, Zielińska 2010, Lutz et al. 1995). Indeed, a finding that supports those alternative explanations is a major linguistic difference in the stories of *Mother-Pole*s, as they mostly express "doing things for my children, for my family" and use a collective pronoun "we", while mothers in other groups narrate their stories with an individual form of "I" much more frequently. While this issue is only an observation at this stage, it might suggest that *collectivism* and *familyhood* ground the stories of Mother-Poles' sacrifice.

The above aspects further play on the dualism of the breadwinning public-space male individual, and a somewhat passive female confined to a private realm of home. A woman is here always seen in relation to how she frames her selfhood in the exclusivity of relationships she shares with her husband and children (e.g. Dreby 2006). In that sense, it

can be argued that *Mother-Pole*s abroad experience a form of 'silencing' (Drat-Ruszczak 2010), often reinforced by their isolation and consequences of a limited knowledge of the language, but also due to the fact that an idea of collective self-sacrifice displaces the notion of *agency* and Western individualization. This often comes to view through the comparisons that Polish mothers (generally, not the *Mother-Pole*s exclusively) draw between themselves and their foreign counterparts:

> "Compared to the English women, Poles are much better prepared for motherhood, obligated to provide best possible care for their children […] My child is 8 years old and never in a million years would I let her ride a bike to a friend alone, even on the same street […] Local kids -5 or 6 year olds – they stay at playgrounds alone for hours" /Ania, UK, NMM/

Quite interestingly, these types of everyday observation that help Polish women make sense of ethnic differences in parenting have been picked up in a similar form across the projects, as White noted a shared conviction of respondents' that Polish children can be easily distinguished from other nationalities because they wear socks (2011a:170). Interview-partners in my study almost universally offered the same points on Polish children's overdressing, usually framing it as a sign of protective motherhood. This observation was mentioned together with what *appropriate* practices of family-cooking and children's nutrition should look like, suitably concurring with Dunn's (2004) and Walczewska's (1999) works in Poland. Broadly speaking, making sense of an ethnic difference is unavoidable and often functions as a defence or a compensatory mechanism: women who appear to have felt lost or inadequate in a foreign setting, subsequently tend to present themselves as better mothers and even mothering experts (see D'Angelo & Ryan 2011: 248-249 for similar notions on Polish 'good mothering').

Regrettably, some of the self-proclamation statements border on racial and ethnic stereotyping:

> "Being a Pole, I definitely took a better care, I wanted to make sure that everything was alright with her, so you know – going to a doctor, then pediatrician and immunizations, and just taking care of a child well, and preparing for it – for birth and for later. […] I am really scared when I see the Turkish women – 8 or 9 children, and then more – how can they be prepared? How can they give enough time to each child? They cannot!" /Gabriela, DE, IM/

More so than mothers in other groups, the *Mother-Poles* are reminiscent of the respondents' narratives recounted by D'Angelo and Ryan (2011:244-254) in their struggle with being 'a minority', understanding or accommodating diversity. They are in a constant

(mental or actual) conflict with the local values, which they might even deem dangerous and delinquent, as per a quotation from Helena's story below:

> "I don't want them [children] to mix up with the locals, they're bad influence, they should be with children **like them** – not some Muslims who do not belong here [sic!-PP]/.[40] […] /Helena, UK, MP/

An ethnocentric view is often perpetuated – even though mothers and their children experience combined ethnic and gender discrimination due to their Central East-European origin,[41] they are also privileged in the context of their European and white origin (Praszałowicz 2010:49-51, Waniek 2007, Eade et al. 2006:18). While this '*us versus them'* narrative is quite common, a further distinction is evident since *Mother-Poles* perform *othering* on the meta-level that gives them superiority over anyone who does not meet their criteria of treating motherhood as a sacred mission:

> "I don't understand all that supposed progress –working women, sexy mums, and Polish women here, they do that too, buy into this, really! Would Blessed Virgin want to be a full-time corporate vixen? **I do not think so**!" /Zosia, UK, MP/

This ironic exclamation signifies that, for many women abroad, an understanding that universally ties all Polish women to their '*national ethnic container'* (Garapich 2009, 2011, Irek 2010) prescribes the only proper model of mothering within the heritage they internalized as *Mother Pole*. Zosia was immensely surprised not only by the differences between the 'correct' (traditional, humble and devoted) mothering and the 'incorrect' Western ideals that she sees as harmful to women. In addition, she was also particularly perplexed by the fact that some Polish women she knew had chosen to abandon their heritage and adopt foreign practices. As such, Zosia is a peculiar female gate-keeper, set on protecting herself, her children and other women from the perceived negative influences of Western culture, the task that was earlier mostly performed by migrant men (Espiritu 1992, Siara 2011).

Zosia and other '*Mother Pole*s' distanced themselves from *other* foreign mothers, but also dismissed their fellow-immigrant co-nationals when their ideas about 'good

[40] Initialled [PP] comments are usually used for clarification purposes should a (Polish) reference or interview context be unclear. Otherwise, they may be used to draw attention to a particularly crucial formulation or word choice, as in this case.

[41] More in-depth examination of the intersectional gender and ethnic discrimination was attempted in the conference paper *'Introducing intersectionality from afar? Theorizing lives of Polish female migrants on the crossroads of class, ethnicity and gender'* presented at the BERG Intersectionality and the Spaces of Belonging Conference at Bangor University in June 2012, which will be revised for a future publication.

mothering' differed. Martyna, for instance, said that she can only 'be herself as a mother', when she temporarily returns to Poland, going on to proclaim that the English school is much worse than the Polish one, and that it not only "corrupts" her children, but also some Polish mothers she knows in the area. This sort of conviction facilitated a build-up of various conflicts, escalating to take forms of *mommy wars* (Douglas & Michaels 2004, Zdrojewska-Żywiecka 2012, Młodawska 2012) which, in a strange manner, manage to travel beyond borders and, in consequence, position *Mother-Pole*s against differently-mothering women (as discussed in more detail below). Importantly, the referencing of the national elements often means that motherhood was understood as an institution, rather than a personal experience, thus focusing only on the one (institutional) side of the feminist differentiation of these two aspects within the maternal lives (Rich 1976, O'Reilly 2008). Furthermore, it is also telling for the later explicitly made point about the heterogeneity among Polish migrants, which is impossible to ignore (see e.g. Garapich 2011, Staniewicz 2011).

When it comes to gender orders, narrative accounts of having children largely reflect the idea of somewhat questionable self-sacrifice that transgressed the categorical boundaries of the ideal-types mothering models:

> „I don't work at the moment, so everything is on me – children, cooking, cleaning, everything in the house. Part of being a good mother and wife is to acknowledge where you are needed, to make sure that things at home run smoothly, so that your husband and children can do well outside of the home – at work or school" /Ania, UK, NMM/

Paradoxically, Ania does have a part-time job as a Nursery Assistant and is further very active in her local community, volunteering in several Polish groups, making her case ever more illuminating on how women see their engagements outside of home as secondary to both those of their husbands, and their own duties within families (private sphere). While the respondents generally benefited from increased gender equality following migration (which will be addressed in *Chapter 8*), this quotation is reminiscent of the scholarly work which suggests that mobility may equally act in a counter-productive manner, contributing to a reversion towards traditional and patriarchal gender orders. A similar observation was also exemplified in Muszel's analysis of her interviews with Polish migrants in Ireland (2013) who favoured a traditional gender division of labour and fell back to being *socialist superwomen* (Morokvasic 2007). More specifically, while eight out of ten *Mother-Poles* interviewed for this study were in full employment, they still thrived on a family ideal based on a sole male bread-winner and a male head of the

household – a patriarch, to be exact (see e.g. Maciarz 2004, Beisert 2006, Kotowska 2007). The respondents were also quite conflicted between the current and former contents of the gender/career dynamics in the *Mother-Pole* model (Titkow 2007, 2012). Dismissive of what scholarship on modern families critically speaks to (May 2011:4, Chambers 2012:29-32), they coveted being 'stay-at-home' carers within a *symmetrical family*, but had to work to supplement the family income which, paradoxically, may also have given them some sense of accomplishment in the past. Their framing of work is still often driven by how it is necessary for the sake of their children, with one respondent saying that no *'normal'* mother would ever voluntarily work when she could be a home-maker. It follows that the increased diversity within contemporary family forms (Slany 2002, 2013, Allan 1999, McCarthy & Edwards 2011, McKie & Callan 2012, Chambers 2012) received a negative assessment from migrant *Mother-Pole*s, as a hetero-normative married couple with children was openly seen as the only appropriate model:

> "I see girls coming to my [hair]salon, tattooed and piercings everywhere – how are they ever going to find the husband? I sometimes ask them and they say they don't want to get married, don't want children… One has even admitted that she had a *girlfriend*... I don't understand this. There is nothing more beautiful than having a proper [!] family, being with your husband and your children. Maybe someday they will understand this" /Kasia, DE, MP/

In general, the *Mother-Poles* are ultimately perpetuating gendered ideologies in their life-stories, like Agata, a Polish psychologist-turned-social-worker in Britain:

> "We have a lot of compassion, I think, that was how we were raised in Poland, maybe it's because of the church, or, I don't know, I think it's different here- women and men are ingrained with same values, same ways of doing things. Maybe when you are a care-giver, this certain female thing of appearing fragile but being strong helps patients to better handle their predicament. Several clients of our services prefer women and often ask for Polish social workers or carers, praising our cooking, our efficiency, our smiles..."/Agata, UK, MP/

By linking the three notions from different spheres, namely cooking (for the most part a domestic task), efficiency (closely linked to business language) and smiling (personal trait), Agata's statement illustrates how multidimensional, and somewhat confused, are the perceptions of care as work, with the lines between the professional setting and personal engagement being blurred for many. In fact, the *Mother-Poles* discuss their identities by grounding their self-assurance of femininity within nurturing and domesticity. While the notions of care provision will be discussed in their practical sense in the next section, Agata's logic had a strong impact on gender socialization practices, noticeable also in other cases when children of the two sexes were walking illustrations of

the perceived gender norms, namely with all girls stereotypically dressed in pink and playing with dolls. Continuously, Helena (a nanny) was appalled that her employer sometimes puts her son in pink onesies, and Lidia reproduced Gilligan's care ethics logic (1982, Titkow 2007) by stating that her gentle daughter can follow in her footsteps and be a nurse, while her son has 'the brains' to become a doctor. These types of understandings also seem to permeate family ideologies and the notions about belonging discussed next.

Practices of Child-raising and Translocalism

The family practices that *Mother-Poles* execute in their lives abroad highlight their leaning towards *managerial matriarchy* (Titkow 2007, 2012, 2013). First and foremost, the women are very vocal about making the 'right' decisions, as well as taking full responsibility for their family's wellbeing and teaching ideologies of patriotism to their children. At the same time, their stories continue to oscillate around what is viewed as 'correct' under the 'natural order' and Catholic principles, outlined in stark opposition to the values represented by the host society. Arguably, this hinders the potential for integration, as German or British states are supposedly taking on the same role that was ascribed to the Polish state in communist times (Zembrzuska 2000, Dunn 2004). Eliza, for instance, mentions retreating into her family-life in response to the unfamiliarity she experiences in Britain, while Patrycja expresses the need to counter the hostility she perceives in the German state towards its citizens, trying to make her home a safe-space where *"normal values"* take precedence.

Emotional self-sacrifice is paired with business-like family management practices, as expressed by Kasia who works full-time at a hair-stylist's salon, but still feels primarily responsible for the household-related matters:

> "I became very organized and resourceful since becoming a mum, I always have everything planned and prepared for a week in advance – for example, over the weekend I cook food for 4 dinners ahead – freeze portions […]. I hunt for bargains on eBay and allegro [Polish auction website] – it saves money and time as I don't have to go around shopping. My children have clothes for a couple sizes ahead, I have a storage full of toys that they will be getting at intervals or on special occasions […] My husband does not know much about it, he benefits from it, of course, but he would probably not be able to say what clothes' sizes his children wear or which grade they are in. […]" /Kasia, DE, MP/

The daily lives of *Mother-Poles* are still largely centred on the family domain – be it in a household itself or in public spaces, while the fathers' daily lives are primarily oriented towards the labour market. Even when a woman notices the imbalance, like Agata

below, the notion of 'normalcy' or 'natural order' of male/female worlds is not easily escapable, particularly as one sees it in connection with yet another 'normal life' discourse (White 2011a:62-66, Galasińska & Kozłowska 2009, Botterill 2011:58-60, Ryan 2010) that is said to dominate migration stories of contemporary Poles. Similarly, Agata said:

> "I have to fight for every hour away from home. While for my husband it is natural to not only work but also have his own leisure time outside – like meeting up in a pub with his friends or doing sports, for me it is never a given. I love my children and like being at home, caring for my family, but sometimes I just feel trapped. I wish things were different but they aren't" /Agata, UK, MP/

The continuing division and duality within gender orders, reinforced by the Catholic beliefs about female and male 'natural' dispositions, has practical implications for men and women alike. It limits the array of choices and the roles that are expected of representatives of the two genders, mirroring what has been discovered by a range of research dedicated to Polish women (Budrowska 2000, Maciarz 2004, Lesińska-Sawicka 2008, Kasten 2013, Titkow 1994, 2007). While women clearly suffer from a "dual-shift" or a "double-burden" phenomenon (Dunn 2004, Titkow et al. 2003, 2004, also in the migratory contexts – Mazurkiewicz 2013, Muszel 2013), being responsible for the family income and running the family life, men may somewhat suffer from being excluded from the latter.[42] Upon migration, mothers continue as managers of the households – they are the ones responsible for almost all children-related tasks of custodial care (feeding, hygiene), choosing and buying consumption goods (clothes, food, books, school supplies), and dealing with various institutions – educational (schools, nurseries) and governmental (council, e.g. when filing paperwork for Child Benefit/*Elterngeld* or obtaining a passport or other documents). As it transpires, they also steadfastly send remittances to Poland and

[42] While fatherhood is not a topic of this dissertation, the reader may rightfully wonder about the fathers' absence. Specifically, the quotations in this section can shed some light on the argument made about their simple lack of involvement. Despite the new models of fatherhood introduced by some Polish scholars (e.g. Szlendak 2010, Sikorska 2009a), migrant fathers seem to have largely delegated parenting duties to their wives, consequently having very little to say on the subject. Some contrasting statements will appear in the section on Feminist mothering, though they are not prominent enough to change the general argument. Anecdotally, I have twice encountered stay-at-home fathers at Polish playgroups (once in Germany, once in the UK) and actively tried to recruit them for special interviews in my research, thinking that they may illustrate a phenomenon of migrant fatherhood. Unfortunately, on both occasions I received contact details for their wives and a statement that they really do not know much about parenting. Coincidentally, similar difficulties in accessing men and fathers for other research projects concerning family were noted by McKie and O'Brien (1983), Letherby (2003:100-101, 1993) and Cotterill (1992).

visit the country as often as possible, although they live primarily working-class and lower-middle-class lives.

Convinced of their mission as Polish mothers and patriots, oftentimes abandoned by their partners in their efforts, the *Mother-Pole*s appear to be the *bearers* of the Polish culture (see also: Graff 2008a, 2008b, Janion 1996, Yuval-Davis 1994:186, Titkow & Duch-Krzysztoszek 2004). On a practical level, this means that they do not approve of delegating child-care obligations:

> "I see no shame in staying home with your child. I don't understand women who prefer to go to back to work, who leave their children with strangers. It is man's job to earn enough to make it possible for your family to be together. /Patrycja, DE, MP/

Many respondents were highly critical of the British or German care facilities that accept children aged six months or younger. Particularly Helena and Ewa, who are both already grandmothers, have trajectories that support intergenerational transfer of the *Mother-Pole* model that prefers kinship members as carers, as they have both been tending to their grandchildren abroad for years. It seems that the communist directive of the females' participation in the labour market, paired with a quite well-developed infrastructure of widely accessible nurseries and kindergartens, did not do much to change the negative perceptions. The *Mother Poles* share a negative outlook on the institutionalized care, similarly to Krzyżanowska and Wiśnicka's respondents living in Poland (2009). Furthermore, for many mothers migration was seen as something that economically facilitated a chance to compensate for not being able to avoid sending children to nurseries and kindergartens back in the country of origin. The nationally-framed caring continues as children grow older, as noted by Beata, a mother of a teenage girl:

> "My husband thinks that, as she got older, we can just let her be and take care of herself. I think it is just an opposite, especially since we moved abroad […] I have to keep up-to-date with her school assignments – she is not very studious, so it's up to me to find ways to get her interested in things, think about future – like taking the GSCE in Polish – my husband completely did not get why it is important […] All the dates have to be in my calendar – her doctor's visits – orthodontist, vaccines; making sure she is dressed correctly for school, and she does try things, you know, but also parties, friends' birthdays and her social life – it is all on me" /Beata, UK, MP/

Analogically, since the Catholic *Mother-Pole* was often located in opposition to the communist government and atheist ideology, a preference for staying at home for the first three years of child's life is no longer surprising:

> "Kindergartens are horrible – children crying, being sick all the time – what's the point? I am not against early education, when they are 5 or 6 it is fine, but before that the home environment with a one-on-one care of a mother is what I always wanted for my child and could not provide, because state-policy was all about production and work. Now I am making up for it with my grandchildren, I am very happy that their parents are on the same page […] Given the opportunity, I would always quit my job to stay home with kids" /Helena, UK, MP/

Religious practices constitute a subset of the *Mother-Pole*'s parenting efforts, as all respondents in this group celebrated key holidays in the religiously traditional and spiritual manner, and many of them were involved in various activities in Polish parishes abroad. The impact of religion extends substantially into the daily-life of both mothers and children, as the fact that children were receiving all holy sacraments 'in the Polish way' was univocally underscored. Beata elaborates:

> "The first thing I did when we got here was to check if there was a Polish Sunday mass anywhere. It was a good way to meet other people, and, I also knew that Wiktoria (daughter who was then 5-years-old -PP) needed to continue her catechesis in order to go have her First Communion at a normal time [at the age of 8-PP]" /Beata, UK, MP/

The above quotation illustrates the extensiveness of the religious engagement required of even the youngest Polish church members, who are usually expected to start formal religious education in preschool. Asked about handling doubts she has about parenting and peoples she solicits advice from, Patrycja said:

> "I suppose it is harder being here in Germany, away and alone, my German is not good enough to call someone, but for me praying helps – I feel very lucky to have help in Blessed Virgin – she is a model for all of us Poles" /Patrycja, DE, MP/

What is important is that the relationship between women and religion takes the form of ideological guidance, while also operating on the level of an every-day family practice in Morgan's sense (1996) – coherently narrated personally and displayed (Finch 2007) in the living rooms of the *Mother-Poles* that feature Polish flags, reproductions of religious paintings and framed souvenir certificates of the holy sacraments.[43]

Clearly, it is in these every-day practices that *Mother-Pole* emerges not only as a *managerial matriarch*, but also as an iconic female that protects Polish national heritage and pride:

> "Who else will take care of your children's Polish upbringing? Germans surely don't care – why would they? I want the children to continue to speak Polish, I cannot imagine

[43] Observations of this type originate from the interview notes detailing surroundings, taken immediately after interviews.

> that I suddenly speak another language with them, so I take action and make sure that they learn – Polish schools, Polish TV, Polish church […] That way they can understand what a great history their home-country has" /Lidia, DE, MP/

All in all, *Mother-Pole*s choose to orientate themselves and their children towards the country of origin, subjecting educational choices to a judgement of their perceived value in Poland rather than abroad, as highlighted in the story of the earlier mentioned Beata, a 38-year-old chef, who arrived in the UK in 2004. The respondent goes to extremes in demonstrating how she *does motherhood* to ensure that her 13-year-old daughter is Polish and will never be British, as she just lives abroad "temporarily" (despite being here since preschool). The mother can be seen strongly engaged in imprinting in her child little regard for local values and actively managing her daughter's social life by limiting it to Polish peers legitimately met only through the Polish school and the Polish parish. Regrettably, the daughter has problems in her English school, which Beata rationalized in our conversation by saying that her daughter was 'too good for them' and 'misunderstood'. She added that a diploma from a foreign school will be useless since her main education will be in Poland. While the researcher is unable to know how those visions are received by the teenager in question, maternal narratives call for a reassessment of whether ethnic ghettoization is one of the underestimated features among some of the Polish migrants in the West.

The Polish Schools abroad may advertise themselves as facilitating integration with the receiving society (Lasocka 2011), but this was not the understanding of the purpose of such establishments among the *Mother-Pole*s. Keen proponents of Polish supplementary education as a means for maintaining cultural belonging, national culture and heritage, the *Mother-Pole*s were vocal about "bad parents who cannot be bothered" to preserve their children's national identity and so skip the Polish school. Agata, who commutes for over an hour to bring her children to the closest supplementary school, equated participating in Polish schooling with patriotism, while at one point referring to those who do not value their Polish heritage (as in: speak English at home, allow children to *become English*, do not engage with the diaspora) as 'traitors'. The latter suggests a logic of femininity under military conflict, as if Poles were under some sort of enemy attack (Ostrowska 1998, Praszałowicz 2010). In fact, even after years spent abroad, the *Mother-Pole*s may often simply not understand local/foreign educational practices, as proven by Eliza's recollection of a dialogue she had with her son:

> "Recently I had a discussion with my son about boarding schools in Britain – how they are very expensive and prestigious – things like that. And we were wondering, so, even if I had all this money, I would have never sent him to a boarding school. I mean, why even have children if you send them away to live somewhere else by the time they're 6 years old… I see no reason for having a child if you then do a thing like this. My son said that perhaps when you have a lot of money, then children bother you and I told him that, well, I guess it is supposed to be for their own good. At the end I can absolutely not imagine sending my children away." /Eliza, UK, MP/

A judgmental evaluation of the unfamiliar, this quotation should be interpreted as an attempt to explain conflicting cross-national practices with uniquely national reasoning. It also reflects the fact that the superiority claims inherent to the *Mother-Poles* reinforce the paradox described by Lopez-Rodriguez (2010) in terms of women not being aware of the systemic contradictions and their cultural capital shortcomings. While some *Mother-Pole*s spoke about their children's fluency in English and attending British schools as beneficial for their future (although largely seeing said future in Poland!), their primary goal remains to prepare the children for their ultimate return to Poland. Matylda's two sons, aged 10 and 8, have already been attending a Polish Saturday School in their town of residence for 5 and 3 years, respectively, yet she does not feel that this is enough to ensure a smooth educational transition. As right as she might be, the intensity of extra schoolwork she imposes on her children needs to be noted:

> "We spend weekends and holidays on translating the exercises they do in their English school into Polish and we go over Polish textbooks assigned to their current age or division chapter by chapter […] I want my children to have Catholic friends, I just need these children [friends] to be Polish. […] Because Christmas, it should be about God and not the commercialization [*komercha* – a pejorative term describing consumerist focus was used-PP] you see here [...] We will be going back to Poland soon" /Matylda, UK, MP/

Regrettably, between Matylda's low-skilled work in a warehouse, her husband's recent unemployment, and significant debts still to be paid back in Poland, this optimistic prospect of a fast-approaching return to the homeland does not seem particularly likely.

Conversely, multiple visits to Poland were very common for *Mother-Pole*s,[44] and every return to their receiving destination usually meant sadness and regret. The story of Eliza, a successful UK-based business owner, shows migration as ambivalent at best,

[44] Additional material on the temporary returns of Polish mothers was collected thanks to the research grant awarded by the Jagiellonian University - Polish Scientific Institute in London in 2013 for the small summer project titled "*Ambivalent Returns? Polish mothers tackling inter-generational family obligations during their temporary returns from the UK*".

further restricting parental desires with maternal obligations, and testifying to the child-centeredness of contemporary Polish families standing strong in the migration context (Tarkowska 1996, Bojar 1991:63, Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a:116. Kasprzak 2004, Szpakowska 2003, Maciejewska-Mroczek 2012). While Eliza's occupational status has not changed much with migration, her personal network has evaporated, she lost touch with her family and friends left behind, and became very lonely in her everyday life in Wales. Truly wanting to return, Eliza's decision is conditional on upon her sons, saying that a mother's job is to follow her children. Importantly, despite not being able to free themselves from the *Mother-Pole* icon engrained in their patterns of mothering, women in my group are still capable of voicing a critique of Polish state and its politics towards mothers and families:

> „Polish state wants happy young families but does nothing to support them. They blame women for all the problems, the things you can read about migrant women are awful – media says they don't care about their children, that they should not be mothers at the first place. No one asks why they went abroad in the first place, nobody looks at how much debt the family was in, how they could not afford schoolbooks for children – it's always mother's fault, they say" /Eliza, UK, MP/

Detrimentally, however, mothers in fact did express a conviction that having to migrate was a failure on their part because, as good mothers-providers, they should have been able to spare their children the experience and avoid migration. For the most part, they see their visits home as 'ambivalent returns' (Constable 1999, Doyle & Timonen 2010), a means to 'repair' their mistakes and compensate for their absence, both to their children, and the kin left behind. Since 2007 and 2008, respectively, Kasia and Weronika have lived with their children in small towns in Germany and the United Kingdom, yet they both underscored that they feel like they **must** go back to Poland every 2-3 months, and every summer they try to spend 'a few months' back in their hometowns.

Similarly to Ignatowicz's respondents (2011), all mothers in the study were very emotional about their journeys. Women performed compensatory gendered caring duties (such as organizing doctor's visits, renovating houses, buying groceries and furnishings) towards their loved-ones left behind (Baldassar 2007, 2008, Finch & Mason 1993), as well as attended family celebrations and events, such as weddings, christenings and informal gatherings. In doing so, they remarkably confirm Reynolds' (2008, 2010) work on Caribbean transnational kinship, and by focusing their stories on 'togetherness' of family members in a shared space and time ["*byliśmy wszyscy razem"*], they evoke Morgan's hypothesis about memory-work; those special events being a particular form of family practice reflection (1996), here operating in a beyond-border context. Distinctively, the

*Mother-Pole*s underlined an additional dimension to every return to Poland – a chance for extensive shopping for some items that they later brought back to Germany and the United Kingdom, respectively, chasing 'bargains' and securing entire new wardrobes for all family members, school supplies for children, and, in Eliza's words – "heaps of food".

> When abroad, *Mother-Poles* operate in the context of immense practical and lone responsibility for all child-related tasks, be they institutional (dealings with the school, attending doctor's visits) or private (like everyday practices of assisting with homework, assigning chores, as well as buying necessary goods such as clothing or school aids). As such, the practices carried out during temporary returns to Poland coincided with similar behaviours of *Mother-Pole*s abroad, in what Beata and Zosia said about shopping only in Polish stores, using the services of a Polish hairstylist, car mechanic and midwife, as well as socializing with Polish people only, refraining from contacts with the locals. The exemplary stories emphasized buying the exact same appliances (ie. having two items of the same make and model for vacuum cleaner, washing machine and toaster) for their apartments back in Poland and their houses in the UK/Germany, reading imported Polish press (rather than immigrant newspapers or local magazines), or extensive shopping (for clothes, stationery, groceries, cleaning supplies, etc.) during trips to Poland. More generally, the notion of similar surroundings between certain localities of villages and small towns were addressed and agreed with White's outlook on translocalism (2011a, 2011b), in how Judyta described her current life in a Welsh village as mirroring her rural upbringing in the Polish lake district. The clear markers she mentioned as common elements were water and nature, gossip, and the importance of making appearance in church, as well as people's resistance to change and modernization.

This particular 'copy-pasting' of everyday practice from one locality to another transgresses dimensions of everyday lives and geographical spaces, but is equally reflected in the unidirectionally national orientations of the family as a whole through locating larger investments in Poland, voting in Polish elections, and attempting to continue Polish education through the Internet, as well as in form of a supplementary education.[45] Conversely, the *Mother-Pole* migrants do not engage in civil participation, with the exception of membership in exclusively Polish organizations (especially the Polish church). This evident lack of successful integration (or simply: lack of any desire for integrative practices) must be seen as a challenge to any attempt to apply a transnational framework unequivocally to all. To explicitly make this point: if transnationality is to entail practices pertinent to more than one locality (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002, Vertovec

[45] A more focused analysis of the educational choices for distinct categories of Polish mothers abroad can be found in my forthcoming article: Pustułka P. (2013b) *"There is nothing wrong with six schooldays per week!" – educational strategies of Polish migrant mothers parenting in Great Britain"* in: J. Kulpińska, M.Luźniak-Piecka, D.Praszałowicz, (red.) EuroEmigranci. Młoda polska emigracja w UE jako przedmiot badań psychologicznych, socjologicznych i kulturowych, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności.

2009), then is residing abroad enough to signify transnationalism if the migrants virtually lack any kind of engagement with their destination locale? It might be argued that the actions of the *Mother-Poles* are more trans-local than transnational, marked by insularity and ethnicization (White 2011b:14-18). Hinting at a comparative aspect, those characteristics are in stark contrast with the cosmopolitan openness and aptitude for integration (Werbner 1999, Grabowska-Lusińska 2012, Wagner 2012) prominently featured in stories of the West-oriented mothers in *Chapter 8*. Leading translocal lives with a clear preference for creating Polish ethnic enclaves has to be specified as entailing practices of *Polishness* eclipsed by the notion of 'double-removal' from the local/foreign context and migrant community, whenever the actions of the fellow Poles are deemed incompatible with one's high standards, guided by visions of patriotism and struggle (Praszałowicz 2010, Praszałowicz et al. 2013, Małek 2010).

Observably, as local as they may be, conflicts have already arisen in Polish schools when *Mother-Pole*s have clashed with other migrant mothers from Poland over aspects of the curriculum's content. Polish parents disagreed on the matters of teaching children about Britain/Germany in the context of WWII, and some pondered upon a selective intake of pupils in suggesting that Polish school should not be accessible for children of mixed inter-ethnic (and particularly inter-racial) couples (Praszałowicz et al. 2013).[46] Returning to the topic of visits in the country of origin, reservations were often expressed when women talked about their temporary returns as Martyna, for example, said that her neighbour from Poland goes on holidays with her children to Spain or Greece which, in her interpretation, meant that she "was not very Polish" and did not care about her children. The above tensions show that judgements are made about other women, and, importantly, not about men or parents in general. Essentially, those and similar examples might be read as calling foreigners and some of their co-nationals *bad mothers*, making their own parenting appear appropriate and exclusionary. Clearly, such attitudes facilitate *intra-ethnic mommy wars* as potential ground for conflicts similar to the already conceptualized tensions between "old" and "new" migrant waves to the UK (e.g. Temple 2011, Garapich 2009, 2013). This time, however, it antagonizes Polish migrant women, circumscribing the potential for gender and ethnic solidarity.

[46] Issues surrounding Polish supplementary education were originally included in my interview guide, but were very much expanded on as I was Research Assistant on the '*Polish Schooling in Britain: tradition and modernity*' project (2013)

Similarly, dissimilarities among mothers resurfaced in multiple examples of practices drawn along the lines of what was traditionally national/Polish about femininity, parenthood, family and migration: passivity and inferiority (in the marital dyad, and equally in the workforce), resistance to *otherness* through Polish values and family practices that permeate daily lives (cuisine, attending Polish Holy Mass, supplementary Polish education for children, language spoken at home) and annual routines (summer vacations, Christmas celebrations). They all signify '*ways of being'* and '*ways of belonging*' (Glick Schiller 2003, Baldassar et al. 2007) oriented clearly towards a vision of the sending society, however very specific.

Strikingly, many mothers do not anticipate that their children (and/or grandchildren) who live and go to school abroad (were sometimes born there and hold non-Polish passports), may not identify as Polish. This matter brings about an interesting discussion about the kinds of the next generation's identifications that mothers forecast for their children. Having an attitude that entails '*fighting* for the Polishness of one's child' (as in Patrycja's earlier quotation and in Beata's story), *Mother-Pole*s are situated within specific national discourses. Thus, one cannot expect that they envision other than Polish belonging for their children, not to mention – for themselves. A *Mother-Pole* abroad in the twenty-first century is still the historically familiar figure of a fighter, but the paradox is that the respondents were unable to clarify the meaning of their child-protecting actions. Patrycja, struggling to give examples of said 'fight', revealed that she had yelled at a German paediatrician who she felt discriminated against her on the grounds of nationality, and assured me that her daughter (who was 3-years-old at the time) would get properly married in a Catholic church ceremony. It therefore stands to reason that the narratives of the moral and practical discourses are inter-related and often bound together.

Since the return is desirable but unattainable for the *Mother-Poles*, the outlook on their and their children's future seems to be focused on particular intergenerational *'non-belonging'*. For women themselves, the constructions of belonging are embedded in yearning for the lost imaginary paradise of their Polish patrimony where, as the years go by, they may also find themselves at odds. With the passage of time, the Poland they once left and nostalgically idealized, is not the Poland they would actually visit (see Temple 2001). For children, as research suggests (Griffiths et al., 2005, cf. Ryan et al. 2008:676), having parents who network exclusively with groups of co-ethnics may be socially disadvantageous, since immersion in mono-ethnic community can result in ghettoization.

Growing up with parents constantly missing Poland and having been warned against feeling at home in their destination country, children may not find themselves belonging to either place (see e.g. Reynolds 2008).

What is more, even the women who openly contested *Mother-Pole* as a potentially guiding model, refer to it at least once in when being interviewed, proving Ostrowska's belief that it continues to be the Master Motherhood Discourse in Poland (1998). Those evaluations from differently-mothering Polish women are quite interesting:

> "I cannot stand this Polish martyrology, this heroism that is expected of women as we are supposedly under siege all the time, with foreigners, Russians, Germans, everyone trying to poison our children and we, mothers need to protect them. I heard women at playgroup using this rhetoric many times and I never understood how they can possibly think that. It must be something in their minds from when they were indoctrinated by church as children, right?" /Justyna, DE, IM/

What one can see here is a confirmation of the confusion that *Mother-Pole* instils in those who attempt to reflect on it, endorsing it as a myth that can be classified neither as imagined and abandoned, nor as operationalized (Ostrowska 2004:222, Janion 2006:272-273, Walczewska 1999:53-56). At the same time, the model is believed to guide Polish women everywhere and forever:

> "They [PL mothers] do not go out of their little ghetto – Poles everywhere, Polish parish as the only pillar of goodness in this filthy British world of moral decay. How can they understand that they are not the best if they don't interact with any other mothers? […] I cannot socialize with these women, the *Mother-Pole*s that hate everyone around them because they do not know them and are simply scared" /Bogusia, UK, IM/

A notable element in Bogusia's assessment is that she criticizes Polish mothers for being dismissive of the local ways of doing, but simultaneously states that she does not want to be near them. As such, in denying *Mother-Poles* the right to their own motherhood definition, *Intensive Mothers* are similarly exclusionary, intersectionally adding elements of intra-ethnic differences (particularly those of social class/status) to the earlier conceptualized dimensions of exclusion in Hays's model (see also: O'Reilly 2004:5-8, Nakano Glenn 1994:3, Skeggs 1997, 2004, Reay 1996, Douglas & Michaels 2004).

Last but not least, it must be once again underlined that parenting in *Mother Poles'* families is extremely gendered in that it leans on the traditional gendered understandings of the male and female roles in the patriarchal family. First and foremost, parenting is restricted to motherhood, with fathers absent both in the broader narrative, and in family practices. Quite evidently there is no '*Father-Pole'*, guiding men on parenting, and any

national masculinity discourses are far removed from the safe haven and the everyday. Similarly, no cultural narratives provide metaphoric references to male bodies or responsibility for the healthy next generations of fighters. As in the Mexican context, Polish men emerge in the narratives primarily in the roles of providers (Dreby 2006, Nicholson 2006, Lesińska-Sawicka 2008:55) and, in a specifically Polish manner, a husband appears as a 'helpless child' (Marody & Giza-Poleszczuk 2000), yet another family member whose life the woman has to manage. *Mother-Poles* find solace in domesticity and in being carers (particularly at home), and while they might resent the requirement to work, they see this 'double burden' as *'natural',* insufficient or irrelevant for requisitioning male involvement in family life. In Poland, researchers explain the lack of any attempts to develop a modern fatherhood model through the arguably recent democratization (Budrowska 2008), and the fact that the *Mother-Pole* stereotype has gone in the direction of '*traditionalization*' (Titkow 2007). Most importantly, Kubicki's Catholic model of fatherhood (which is positioned as dominant and opposite to the new/modern/laic model) does not allow for a participatory turn (2009). The last argument pairs the fatherly figure well with the *Mother-Poles*, while it can also be argued that a combination of other factors is in play in the migratory context. Alongside the religious beliefs, a backlash towards the receiving society (seen as foreign) can take the form of conservative, heroically nationalistic, gender-traditional views.

In conclusion, the family and mothering practices which, among others, include children's supplementary education, non-delegation of care, temporary returns, intra-ethnic networks based on patriotic references, consumption and services almost exclusively embedded in Polish spaces, as well as the maternal selflessness, resourcefulness, particular superiority and silent pride derived therefrom, all testify to the fact that *Mother-Pole* constitutes a vital model for explaining the lives of certain Polish migrant mothers. At the same time, it is difficult to fully determine why the *Mother-Pole* model persists among Polish migrant mothers in the twenty-first century. One possible explanation offered by migration literature pertains to the pre-conditioning of immigrant women to revert to traditional norms and values in the face of the (potentially threatening) unfamiliar culture abroad (Szczepanikova 2012, Muszel 2013). Inherently seeing themselves as *protectors* (Oleszkiewicz 2003, Zembrzuska 2000), real-life *Mother-Pole*s are on a mission to practically ensure that their children are sheltered from foreign influences. Perhaps due to the very fact of being abroad, they feel the need to reinforce their national identity and *do*

family in a way that underscores national belonging and testifies to the fact that leaving Poland does not mean becoming a *bad mother*. Arguably, by placing themselves in the oppositional superiority to foreign practices, they escape the need to deal with the difference. However, another valid explanation pertains to a somewhat 'reversed' sequence of events in which women with a particular upbringing and worldview that favoured the 'Mother-Pole' decide to migrate. Such respondents would likely partake in the superiority-seeking *mommy wars* back in Poland and oppose influences of the 'new' or 'celebrity' motherhood they perceive as flooding Poland from the West, and which will be discussed in the following Chapter. As it stands, the experiences of the *Mother-Poles* remain translocal, with mobility simply making the nationally-oriented aspects of their practices more apparent.

Chapter 8: Mothers gone West? Polish Migrants Choosing 'Intensive' Motherhood and 'Feminist' Mothering

This Chapter discusses and contextualizes experiences of women whose narratives are reminiscent of the Western notions of *Intensive Motherhood* and *Feminist Mothering*, respectively. It addresses some of the themes outlined in the broader scholarship (e.g. Hays 1996; Faircloth 2013, 2014, Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a, Sikorska 2009a, 2009b, 2012, O'Reilly 2008, 2010a, Green 2010b, Douglas & Michaels 2004) on both extensity of '*Intensive'* or '*paranoid parenthood'* and its elements that were critiqued through the feminist lens in *Chapter 2*. By showcasing specific areas and practices, it begins with presenting similarities and dissimilarities between *Intensive mothers* and *Mother-Poles*, and proceeds to highlight the contrasting features of the two. It also describes the family practices of the former group and situates them in the broader contexts of *cosmopolitanism* and *belonging*. The next section covers notable exemplifications of Polish migrants leaning towards *Feminist mothering*. While women in this group did not constitute a category grouped on their own, certain aspects of their narratives suggest a novel and discussion-worthy turn among Polish women abroad.

Blurred yet visible lines: Distinguishing Intensive Mothers from Mother-Poles through ideologies and practices

"Somehow a pint-sized velvet revolution was waged right under our very noses, and the grown-ups quietly handed over the reins. We have made concession after concession, until it appears that well-educated, otherwise intelligent adults have abdicated their rightful place in the world, and the littlest inmates have taken over the asylum" /C. Mellor, The Three-Martini Playdate: A practical guide to happy parenting, 2004:12/

What might be quite surprising, yet crucially important, is the fact that, for the most part, *Intensive motherhood* and the *Mother-Pole* models appear complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Both the communist control over the latter model (Zembrzuska 2000), and the neoliberal ideology behind the former (Hays 1996, Rich 1976) stem from similarly patriarchal origins, with a shared inferior positioning of women and the dominant feminine identity being that of a mother. Fostered by the neoliberal discourse, *Intensive motherhood* has consequently centred maternal obligations around personal, self-sacrificing and

intensive caring on the every-day and long-term basis. Both models are child-centred (e.g. Szpakowska 2003, Green 2010a, O'Reilly 2008) and *gendered* in a manner where parenting and home-life are exclusively female domains. Like the *Mother-Pole* model, the *Intensive Motherhood* is largely orientated towards children's futures, congruently with the *Mother-Pole* ideology. Conversely, the differing practices pertaining to 'appropriate' or preferred sources of maternal knowledge and guidance about said futures in turn influence the actual contents of the desires regarding children's pathways and belonging. Further, they impact on everyday parenting and family practices. The following paragraphs will provide narrative examples for the argument outlined above.

First and foremost, both models frame motherhood in a way that entails *extensiveness* and *intensity* in the laborious and emotionally trying maternal practices. In what is instantly crucial for *gendering* the experiences of migration and parenting, intensively mothering Polish women in the West often voluntarily exclude themselves from the host society's 'public' sphere of the labour market (Hobson 2002, Craig 2007). They consequently reproduce the traditional division of *familywork* by their resisting to delegate care:

> "I don't believe in nannies – I don't think it's good for anyone – not for me, and surely not for my children." /Kamila, UK, IM/

Unsurprisingly, mirroring findings of the international (Hays 1996, Douglas & Michaels 2004, Walby 1990, O'Reilly 2010a) and Polish (Krzyżanowska & Wiśnicka 2009, Sikorska 2009a, 2009b, 2012) works on the topic, a Polish *Intensive mother* considers herself the best possible care-provider under those premises, and many women voiced the same opinion:

> "As a mother you are the most important person in your child's life from the moment that she or he is born. I mean, come on, they will leave you behind soon enough, why would you want to rid yourself from the possibility of being with them for the first couple of years? I don't understand how these three years part-time or at home would ever matter in the grand scheme of things. […] I don't know anyone older who would say that they regret staying home but the opposite view is quite common; [my friends] they haven't formed the relationship with their children when they were young. It is very visible here in Germany – look at all the elderly homes, no one feels the need to visit their parents. And I think it is also our parents' problem – they were told by the government to work, work, work and very few of my friends have any sort of warm relationships with their parents – it is all very formal, I would not like to repeat my mum's mistakes of seeing her children but not really *seeing* us, not knowing us at all /Justyna, DE, IM/

From this narrative, it is clear that Polish mothers abroad pinpoint broader social issues of employment and care as justifications or enablers of certain practices, but also

look at caring practices through the prism of Polish *familialism* – explicit about caring obligations towards their children and the elderly (e.g. Slany & Małek 2005, Małek 2010, Slany et al. 2014, Krzyżowski 2013), with the latter care requirement extended vastly to daughters, daughters-in-law, grand-daughters and nieces in a gender manner.

Practices of care carried out by the Polish *Intensive* migrant mothers illuminate the move abroad as a facilitator for a newly found option of staying longer at home with their children. Gabriela offers clues for such trajectories, when speaking about the differences between being a 19-year old mother for the first time in Poland and having her second daughter in Germany 15 years later:

> „[with the first child] I had to go back to work very soon when she was very young, we had no money. Money is important and I really did not want to go to work, I regretted it, and therefore I have also decided this time around it will be different. [But back] then I really regretted it, oh, so for example I did not see her first step! And the worst that could happen – she started calling my mother 'mum', it was so horrible, so difficult, I was so hurt. But at the same time I knew I had to work. She was 8 months old when I went back to work and to be honest I have not seen her childhood, I haven't been there for her when she was little. And that is why I wanted to have a second child now, so that I could experience it differently" /Gabriela, DE, IM/

The difference manifests itself in the framing of the choice that women make. In essence, *Mother-Poles* structurally need to work due to their household's insufficient income and a largely working-class status, while *Intensive Mothers* recite motivations of a more ideological nature, focusing on the exceptionality of the relationship in the mother-child dyad:

> "I am really so happy to be home with my children – to be the one to take care of them every night, morning and evening. Even though we now have less money because I am not working.[47] I feel this time with them is an investment in their sense of security, trust and being loved […] Missing my job sometimes, I still miss my daughter more when she is napping during the day even, I wish she woke up sooner, so that we can play and she is the happiest child ever because her mummy is there"/Bogusia, UK, IM/

Such dissimilar choices should therefore be considered in a matrix of gender and social class, as they intersectionally allow a degree of freedom to the *Intensive Mothers'* group, in which women enjoy a generally higher social standing, higher educational and cultural capital, comparable to that of Erel's (2010) highly-skilled female interviewees.

[47] Again, just like Ania in Chapter 7, Bogusia talks about 'not working' although she has quite a lucrative part-time contract in corporate HR. Outside the scope of this thesis, however, the accounts of Polish women's perceptions of 'work' and 'non-work' should be explored further.

Illustratively, Lena (UK, IM), a mother of two children aged 5 and 7, made an agreement with her husband that they would not hire any carers until both children were three. In fact, the couple made arrangements to work part-time and take extended leaves of absence from both jobs, which they combined in order to achieve the goal. As of now, they still prefer to remain in professions that allow flexibility, with her employed on 0.8 FT basis and the husband in education, enjoying more holidays and shorter working hours. Alongside having high and sought-after qualifications that make practices of residential parental caring possible, their example also suggests the choice of a more equality-oriented partnership, which will be addressed further within *Feminist mothering*. Importantly, similarly to Hansen's (2005) US-based research, working and (lower)-middle-class mothers in this study relied on kin networks, while professional middle-class and upper-class *Intensive mothers* who needed to delegate care chose institutions over family members. A simple explanation would be the context of being away from one's kin while living abroad but, as it turns out, personal preferences attained after migration, active contestation of the models perceived as 'Polish', as well as the Western and developmental-foci of *Intensive parenting,* all come to play. Several women noted that they would not like their mothers to take care of their children, even if grandparents were around, as in Sylwia's answer to the question about advice-seeking when faced with parenting doubts:

> "I never call my mother, if that's what you suspect. I feel like she does not know much about children any more, her methods are very outdated […] Letting her raise my children would be too much – we would fight about her giving them chocolate and generally stuffing their faces all the time, overdressing them, allowing too much TV and inability to say 'no'… She was absent from my childhood, so I guess she would like to compensate. I have learned enough from her to know how I should not parent my children"/Sylwia, DE, IM/.

This quotation further illustrates that the emotional aspect of mothering is handled differently by women in each group. For *Mother-Poles,* the role of economic provisions, framed as crucial for good mothering during the communist era (Morokvasic 2007, Muszel 2013), allows for female employment being part of 'good mothering', seen as a responsibility for feeding the family (Titkow 2007, Dunn 2004, Walczewska 1995). Conversely, for *Intensive Mothers* it resembles the migratory context of the emotional maternal blame expressed by (transnational and reunited) migrants from Latin America (Parreñas 2005a, Pratt 2012, Dreby 2006, Nicholson 2006). This is particularly evident in

Sylwia's resentment of her provisions-oriented mother who is blamed for her emotional absence. Earlier on, Sylwia also noted:

> "The Kita [Kindergarten – PP] has a variety of experts on site – well-qualified teachers, a speech therapist, a dance instructor, and a sports' coach… I am not sure even the best grandma could provide such a great environment, not to mention social development that happens in a group of children. My youngest will go to a nursery as soon as she's one […]" /Sylwia, IM,DE/

The respondents' stories support the *Intensive motherhood*-characteristic of valuing expertise, their knowledge based on the information prepared, recommended or certified by those whom they view as (scientific) experts, mirroring the findings of Poland-based studies of, among others, Sikorska (2009a, 2009b), Olcoń-Kubicka (2009a), and Urbańska (2009, 2010). Especially, when talking about pregnancy and transitioning to motherhood, women mirrored Miller's (2005) respondents in focusing on the professional help of trained healthcare personnel and thoroughly researching 'motherhood' as a topic, for example:

> "I have read an anthropology book about caring across cultures and decided that this is how I want things done, so I never left my daughter, for her first three years of life. […] always with her, carrying her close, and we developed a bond, and she was then ready to be detached, to be her own person"/Ola, DE, IM/

Likewise, as an ideology served to Western women, *attachment parenting* explains the preconceptions about emotional engagement, as in the story of Hania:

> "I parent very differently from my mother – she quickly went back to work full-time, I stayed with my grandma… She did not breastfeed me, and obviously she did not carry me around too much – there was no equipment like that then. And later on, my mum was more about discipline and ambitions. And well, I stayed home for a year with each of them [son 5, daughter 2 -PP] and she is still on the breast… The first time I left my son overnight was when I was giving birth to my daughter" /Hania, UK, IM/

Comparing parenting strategies across and within generations, it may be argued that a continuum of *tradition-modernity* can become an applicable axis of views on motherhood in Poland, as it is in other destinations where 'old-wives' tales' are pushed away as incongruent with modern expert-driven motherhood (Cosslett 1994, Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson 2001, Miller 1998, 2007). The collected evidence suggests that expertise is understood differently in the Polish and Western contexts: *Mother-Pole* is primarily self-reliant, gains necessary insights from her kin members and broader contexts of religiosity, whereas a mother who parents intensively is much more research-orientated, subject to expertise she views as scientific. On a broader level, it also indicates that *Mother-Poles* relate primarily to what they view as generations of tradition behind Polish mothers in

Poland, while *Intensive mothers* appear to have a 'modern' orientation. Perhaps this distinction is also evident in views of one's migration. *Intensive Mothers* frame mobility to the West as a type of progress, although more fluid and values-oriented than a traditionally economic current from global peripheries to the centre would entail (e.g. Piore 1979, Wallerstein 1984, 1991, Jaźwińska & Okólski 2001), more comparable to the '*free-falling'* flexibility (e.g. Beck 2000, Beck & Sznaider 2006, Bauman 2000, Mas Giralt & Bailey 2010).

Further, several women in this group openly contested Catholicism, others promoted a non-committal approach to religion,[48] which practically meant little spirituality but respect for tradition with regard to the observance of holidays and the rites of passage in the life trajectories:

> "We don't go to church. We are married [civil wedding-PP], but keep postponing the christening of A. [daughter, aged 2], because we really don't want to do it but can't really tell it to the grandmothers […] We celebrate Christmas, and when we're in Poland we might even go to church at Easter, but I would not call us believers. /Ola, IM, DE/

This short excerpt exemplifies the attitudes and rationale present in multiple accounts, which among *Intensive mothers* seem most disconnected from the reflection on this particular behaviour. In general, it bears similarities to what has been recently identified in scholarly research on the limited day-to-day religious practices of the predominantly Catholic Polish population (non-migrants living in Poland (Mandes 2002, Jasińska-Kania & Marody 2002).

Depicting the diversity within this category, many women in this group (unlike Lena above) expressed concerns about the limited role that their husbands play in the child-raising activities. In fact, the issue of fathering was quite prominent in the narratives of *Intensive mothers*, illuminating the contradictory nature of this Western model: on the one hand it advocates modernity in terms of the family roles and gender equality, yet it does not advise women on how to reconcile the necessity of income-earning and career

[48] Mandes (2002) presents a good explication of the Polish religiosity necessary as a backdrop for this discussion. While 97% of the Polish population declares as Catholic, every-day religiosity is a completely different matter, as the percentage ratios of acceptance of the key dogmata (such as Resurrection – 67%) and the practical dimension of one's faith (e.g. not using birth control – 15%). This led the priest-sociologist Piwowarski (cf. Mandes 2002:168) to call Poles 'unconscious heretics'. Mandes delineates three models of religiosity – new non-Christian religiosity, orthodox Christianity, and popular Christianity (2002: 179-184), with the latter two largely congruent with the categories I delineated for the migrant mothers in my research group as highly religious and traditional interview-partners. Non-religious mothers constitute a different category.

progress with obligations inherent to having a family. This remains in stark opposition to the ideas behind the daily extensive practices of motherhood that require women to manage their schedules around the children's activities. Gabriela's case is the one of such contradiction, as she first made a case praising her husband for being very much engaged in all of their young daughter's custodial care, but subsequently remarked that:

> "He is a great dad, but since he is working he cannot do as much as I have to… I do not earn money because I have to take care of her, it's a vicious circle that makes it hard, someone has to work and provide and if I have to choose me or him, it has to be him" /Gabriela, DE, IM/

The respondent does not clarify why it has to be like that, and prompted to do so, she could not really explain it but emphasized that mothers are better and more important parents. Said ideological preconception was seemingly deeply rooted and never questioned, in accordance with the earlier research seen as 'normative' and 'normalized' (Phoenix & Woollett 1991, Gustafson 2005, Abbott & Wallace 1990). The ideology of *Intensive motherhood* highlights the primordiality of the mother-child dyad (Hays 1996), and places maternal practices in opposition to both men and markets (Douglas & Michaels 2004). The neoliberal discourse employs a social construction of motherhood that is full of cultural contradictions (Hays 1996). One of the interview-partners experienced those in the following way:

> "When I was at work I worried about my son: Was he okay? Has he eaten properly? I missed him and was certain he was crying for me. And then, when I was back home after work, I was convinced that there must be a crisis in the office, maybe I forgot to send this email, or did not call that one client. I love my job and I love my children – it is a shame that you can only choose one and your career stagnates in consequence" /Sylwia, DE, IM/

Indeed, how can women reconcile neoliberal modernity, individualization, flexibility and career-orientation on the one hand and, on the other, the 24/7 task of the emotional and (per expertise) highly structured daily routines of caring that reject the possibility of women's self-prioritizing? The impossibility has been noted both in general reflections and everyday practices – as Karolina said she was conflicted by love and devotion for her sons, but wanting a career for herself at the same time. For her, neither the social policy instruments, nor the sheer limitations of the time available in one day allow for both tasks to be done successfully, and so the result is ultimately a perceived failure in both. Again, the use of a strong judgement language of "failure" rather than "adaptations/adjustments" (which were the explications favoured by maternal feminism) showcases how unattainable ideals affect real lives of women. Whilst progress towards

equality has been made and adopted by women with their Westernized worldview, *Intensive mothers* are still disadvantaged.

A clear-cut difference between *Mother-Poles* and *Intensive motherhood* should be seen in references to the national component, respectively present or absent from the narratives. *Intensive motherhood* wishes to provide a somewhat beyond-borders universal idea of what good parenting or good mothering should be, but is in fact a Western (and ethnocentric) social construct which does not take into consideration the differences that may occur among those from different locations (Gustafson 2005, Green 2010b), like ethnic or migratory backgrounds (Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003). Besides removing economic differentiation in assuming that all women-mothers have means to afford intensive, expert-advised mothering, *Intensive motherhood* ideology removes ethnicity from view, evidenced in how respondents tried to escape or contested the very notion of '*Polishness*':

> „Well, there is probably a difference between 'Mother-Poles' out there and myself. I mean obviously I have a different cultural baggage, different heritage, but I am a mother, just like other mothers from here and from all around the world here" /Lena, UK, IM/

> "I don't know if there is such a thing as Polish mothers… You mean that maybe we are more protective or something, I don't know… I think it is very individual – there are pathologies and elites in every nationality, every ethnicity, so for me it is about talking to my sons every day, showing them that I love them and having their trust – is it really such a Polish thing? I see other mothers here that try to do this, too" /Karolina, UK, IM/

Clearly, the above understandings of motherhood do not seem bound by the national constructs, a finding further supported by the importance of children's individualism and open-ended cultural identifications, as expressed below:

> "I feel like my motherhood is not very Polish – I only want this one child I have, I think that's uncommon. I treat my daughter as her own person, don't want to determine that she's Polish or German – I am supposed to help her become herself" /Ola, DE, IM/

Ola's statement mirrors the *Intensive mothers*' approach to children as becoming their own, yet doing so on the basis of maternal engagement, investment and attachment – fetishizing a child-centred process of creating a 'high-quality' global citizen (Beck & Beck-Gernshein, 1995, 2002, Bojar 1991, Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a, Maciejewska-Mroczek 2012, Szpakowska 2003). Generally, this approach is supported by the practices of "doing family" marked by intimate personal relationships, in which women emphasized the role of making time for or investing time in 'togetherness'. Similarly, families of Intensive

mothers are clearly child-centred, both in regard to major life decisions and in the organization of their everyday lives:

> "We organize our life around children – their needs at school, their interests and dreams, wishes for spending time in certain ways. I want to be there for them and go to their musical performances, see their sports games. My parents never did that and I am not even sure they knew which class I was in or which sports I played. I like knowing my children's friends and their parents are often guests in our house […] Weekends are for the family – we make sure we have no work to do and I try not to do housework then because that's not fun, that's not quality time. We do things we all enjoy – trips to the seaside, museums, eating out – one weekend children can choose, and then it's our turn. That way we know each other well." /Lena, UK, IM/

Similarly, Karolina reflected on the fact that her 18-year-old son (now away in college) calls her every single day to ask about her day and share his experiences, and she perceives it as the cause of her maternal claim to be proud of "a job well-done".

Intensive mothers' view of their migration could not be more dissimilar than the 'Polish exile' reasoning of the *Mother-Poles.* Incidentally, if women see their decision as a form of political resistance, it is grounded on social issues, particularly those referring to gender – reproductive rights, discrimination, sexuality (Coyle 2007, Lutz 1997, 2011), as noted in the following *Feminist Mothering* Section. For the most part, *Intensive mothers* simply find it easy to *integrate* with their new host society, praising its attractiveness in terms of the culture and opportunities. As one of the interview-partners has put it:

> "I adore England, I loved it from the moment I got here […] I could not go back to Poland – the lack of diversity and choice, the treatment of women, how children are raised – it is not for me" /Basia, UK, IM/

In the spirit of child-centeredness, *Intensive Mothers* often narrated their own migration story in relation to their children's migration, or being born abroad and its consequences, in a sense that familial trajectories are determined by what is viewed as the best possible option for the next generation:

> "I think it is very important that each generation does better than their parents, we did not have that, my husband and I, despite education we had to move abroad, the lost generation […] It makes it that much more important to do it right through our children – we moved house, so they get to better schools, we buy all the novelty and certified educational eco-toys […] We drive them to tennis lessons and pool attractions. We shop for organic groceries and I dress them at boutiques and brand stores." /Kamila, UK, IM/

Significantly, because "there is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of the immigrant and refugee integration, […], the concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated" (Ager & Strang, 2008:167). Social research often necessitates contestation of the frameworks derived from classic notions of assimilation

(originating from the Chicago school), and segmented assimilation models (Portes & Zhou 1993), both focus on adopting local values and practices, as well as gaining access to the significant resources in a foreign destination. Indeed, severing ties with Poland and the upward social mobility largely displayed by women in this group could be seen as signs of a successful *integration*, combined with gaining locally legitimized capital (Bourdieu 1986, Erel 2009, 2010, 2012a, 2012b), while it should also be noted that the migration itself was rarely an issue. A geographical place of residence (as long as it belonged to the mythical *West*) was not seen as binding, with women often saying that they might move somewhere else in the future, often making their choice tied to children:

> "We did not really have to move, but now we can afford ballet lessons, horse-back riding classes, private education for Amelia […] I can stay at home, help her develop" /Ola, DE, IM/

At the same time, contrary to popular beliefs about intra-European transnational migration seen as flexible and fluid (Ignatowicz 2011, Roudometof 2005), women emphasized that in order to professionally progress to their managerial positions, they had to forget what they had known from their past occupational experience in Poland in order to benefit from the mobility (see also Morokvasic 2006:8), perhaps signalling persistent notions of East-West intra-European divisions:

> "You have to move forward for yourself and your children. Thinking that Poland was better is an illusion that is holding you back, you have to feel comfortable where you are, this will make you and your children successful" /Justyna, DE, IM/

Depicting a practical dimension of *doing Intensive Motherhood* in the context of Polish migration, an example of a high linguistic competence (ie. children having native-level reading and writing skills in Polish) is highly illustrative. When asked about language spoken at home, such mothers offered quite a flexible approach, for example saying that using English or German during homework or some forms of untranslatable game playing[49] was natural, and they certainly did not view the use of a foreign language at home as unpatriotic or harmful in any way. Contrasting the ideas as symptomatic of their respective ideologies, the quotations from the interviews with Basia (IM, UK) and Lidia

[49] One example would be Lena's comprehension that when her children adopt games from the popular „Peppa Pig" TV show, they re-enact them in the same language. In comparison, Matylda in Chapter 7 has translated all homework to Polish, and Aga (*New Migrant Mother* from Chapter 8) encourages her son to translate games he learns in his German Kindergarten, so that they can play together (in Polish) at home.

(MP, DE), who have children of similar ages, delineate the difference in the respective linguistic practices:

-Is it important to you that your children speak Polish?	
It is the most important thing! How else will they remain Polish? I would go deaf in an instant if my children started speaking German to me. I already had to do this with them couple of times – ignoring requests until they switched back, so they learned […] I have to go in every now and then when they play because they switch to German – it is horrible! […] It is very difficult for me to correct them all the time but I know I have to" /Lidia, DE, MP/	Not really. I mean, of course we speak Polish at home, so they know it and understand. They actually read Polish books better than English ones […] But we live here and I doubt that my daughters will be fully proficient in Polish – there is no way to overcome the language they use to play, to interact with their peers. I think reading is important but I am not pressuring them too much – it is supposed to be fun […] English is the international language, Polish as the second one is just that something extra, nothing too special. /Basia, UK, IM/

Already hinted at in Basia's account, educational strategies used by *Intensive mothers* are largely narrated as investments in capital-building and future payoffs, confirming earlier discoveries on the choices of highly-skilled migrant women (Erel 2009, 2012a), as well as the compensatory trend of children's commodification, observed primarily among higher social strata in Poland (Sikorska 2009a, Maciejewska-Mroczek 2012). *Intensive mothers* tend to gravitate towards local schooling, ensuring that their children are well-adapted and doing well in the system that will most likely determine their future paths. Again, those choices are concurrent with their own educational capital and the occupational status of successful professionals, women worldwide using English language fluently and 'British' education as means to satisfy their cosmopolitan strivings, not only in their instrumental sense, but primarily in redefining their pan-national and class belonging (Park & Abelmann 2004:667, Erel 2012a). Children's skills in Polish are contextualized as just another element within the 'global education' that *Intensive mothers* desire for their children. As such, Basia talked about home-schooling her daughters to ensure that they can read and write in Polish, encouraging them by importing 'the best' (meaning: award-winning and expert-recommended) Polish children's books, also using digital media for extra attractiveness. With 'being informed' considered the key skill and task of *Intensive Mothers*, many understood benefits of bilingualism as a form of the (educational) capital for life:

> "Better for her to speak two languages instead of one. You never know when she can need them for work"/Gabriela, DE, IM/

In addition, Basia and Marta specifically talked about certification examinations in Polish as part of the children' academic curriculum, evidenced in other strategies of registering for the Polish internet school, hiring GSCE/ A-level Polish[50] tutors or signing children up for language-exam preparatory courses. Nevertheless, this educational link to *Polishness* may lead to a need to *display* the more status-appropriate options of the children's development and family practices:

> "My husband was not particularly open to this idea of them going to [a Polish] school and I am not sure if I can win with him next year when they are old enough to sign up for a sailing school for children, his dream hobby for them […] As for now they are attending the school and are having much fun at it; I can see it gives them [a lot], that they can speak to other children in Polish, this is completely different from talking to us –adults, a different language […] I will see what to do later, one thing is clear that I will take them from the school if some religious messages [in original: "*tony maryjne*" suggesting a negative outlook on the presence of catholic/national element in educational contents -PP] prevail" /Kamila, UK, IM/[51]

While her two children currently attend a Polish Saturday School, Kamila demands a specific type of school that is '*modern*' which, in her view, entails disassociation from religion. Lena was similarly unhappy with the patriotic and heroic narrative of national sacrifice and suffering, and she was adamant about ceasing her daughter's Polish school attendance when the youngest of the children were smeared in ketchup-blood during a Polish Independence Day theatre spectacle for parents. She further noted her disappointment with fellow Polish parents, who appeared more interested in shaming the British social welfare system than in their children. She also mentioned being appalled by their racist remarks towards other immigrants and the local society. This concurs with a desire for 'neutrality' – a mother-child relationship that is supposedly ideology-free and built on the emotional bond only. This, according to its feminist critique is yet another social construct of the maternal task (difficult if not impossible and unnecessary; e.g. O'Reilly 2010a, Green 2010a). With tolerance and diversity named among the key (clearly West-originating) values that Lena, like other *Intensive mothers*, wishes to imprint in her

[50] GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) in Polish was sat by 4,000 students in 2010, 1,500 of whom took the exam via Polish Saturday Schools (Lasocka 2011). It is also possible to select Polish as a modern language for one's A-level exams at completion of one's secondary education.

[51] As illustrated in Chapter 7, conflicts between migrant mothers at the institutions of Polish supplementary schooling abroad are not uncommon.

children, the national component is often challenged or even fully eliminated from everyday practices:

> "Ola [daughter] plays violin and does ballet. Filip is more sporty – he plays tennis and rugby. Recently he also got into climbing. Oh and they have a French tutor – I want them to be fluent in a third language by the time they go to off to uni[versity]. I wish my parents did that for me when I was growing up and I think this was part of the reason for us coming here – to make a better life for our children, to give them all the opportunities that we had to miss out on. Take a simple example – my first time abroad was in Lviv for a student trip when I was 22, my children have already seen most of Europe and you can see it from them – they are open and courageous and very happy to go and explore the world out there." /Lena, UK, IM/

A look at the above description of child-raising ideals shared by Lena may suggest a cosmopolitan rather than a transnational pattern in her internationally-conceived life. According to Skrbiš and Woodward (2011:53) "[t]here are different ways of being cosmopolitan, but what most cosmopolitans share is a disposition of openness to the world around them", and for *Intensive mothers*, such a 'cosmopolitanization of reality' (Beck 2006:75, 85-94) was infrangibly connected with migration. In light of the typology by Vertovec and Cohen, it seems that Polish cosmopolitanism is in its rather 'immature' form, "an attitudinal or dispositional orientation", rather than a "political project towards building transnational institutions/recognizing multiple identities" (2002). However, perhaps the two most apparent versions of cosmopolitanism in the narratives of Polish mothers pertain to treating it as a "kind of philosophy or worldview" they express, and "a mode of practice or competence" (2002) they attempt:

> „Life here is exciting – a lot of things we do here do not exist in Poland. For example my cooking class – it is so refined, so friendly and affordable. Or take my husband: for birthday he got a gift experience of piloting a plane, for Christmas I think I will get him better golfing equipment – he really got into it recently. We have tried so many new things as a family – bowling, sailing, not to mention the very many trips we have taken together – from mountains to seaside – it was great and I feel bad, or rather weird maybe, because here I know the countryside and major cities and I have never visited Warsaw, I mean as a tourist, and I have not gone to Polish seaside […] Our house is always open, friends from work, of all nationalities, they come and we have great debates about life, travelling the world, big issues" /Basia, UK, IM/

This quotation illustrates the "empirical dimension of cosmopolitanism" (Skrbiš et al 2004:131), also referred to as a "cosmopolitan condition of real people" (Beck 2006: 9) or "actually existing cosmopolitanism" (Malcolmson 1998: 238). The stories of Intensive mothers are concurrent with cosmopolitan social integration (Skrbiš et al. 2011, Beck 2006), appreciating and respecting diversity and difference (Glick Schiller et al 2011), searching for an "equilibrium between the universal and individualistic" (Kwok-bun &

Plüss 2013:50). Similarly to what Oloffson and Öhman argued for the case of Sweden (2007), the data from the Polish mothers study also does not suggest any links between increased transnationalization and cosmopolitanism, with the latter emerging in its 'thin' version, not associated with a particular country or region, but signifying a change of values (Roudometof 2005). In fact, women spoke about wanting their children to be open-minded about diversity, tolerant and brave in exploring the world, and no one in this group ever gave an answer to this question that was focused on what might be associated with 'Polishness', unless it was in the contradictory statements:

> "Values, here's the thing – Polish people are about regret, shame, complaining: I don't want my children to be like that. I look at British people my age – no stress, no problems with their bodies, everyone deserves respect. I want them [my children-PP] to be like that – happy, maybe even carefree. They should go study and travel the world, not worry about everything that potentially might go wrong like their mum and grandma always do" /Joanna, UK, IM/

The focus on multicultural values, and a carefully considered type of particular and Western educational pathway spreads into the shape of *Intensive mothers'* networks. While they are not *per se* against community-involvement, they often do not see much value in peer relationships that the institutional and/or migrant (diaspora) environments foster, arguing that contacts with peers from around the world are sufficient (if not more beneficial). Such views were expressed by Basia, a graphic-designer living in Wales and a mother of two daughters aged 8 and 5, who acknowledged that there was enough to do over the weekends in their international circle of friends and professional acquaintances, so they did not seek out opportunities to socialize with their co-nationals. Furthermore, quite telling were the examples of the *family practices* they chose for leisure time, which included trips to a sea world and aquarium, hopping over to Ireland for a sightseeing weekend, and art classes from accomplished artists living in the area. During summers, families of *Intensive Mothers* less frequently travel to Poland, and encourage their kin members to visit them instead. Accordingly, their transnational family practices are much more limited, largely utilitarian and replaced by a cosmopolitan orientation. In attempting to explain this, it is worth restating that what *doing* of *Intensive motherhood* entails is pertinent to the children's centrality within the family and much attention dedicated to developing children's skills and capacities from an early age, as well as maternal sacrifice and 24/7 involvement in her offspring's life (Hays 1996, O'Reilly 2010a).

As it stands, the *powerless responsibility* of motherhood (Rich 1976, O'Reilly 2008, 2010a) affects migrant women to a greater degree due to the gender-ethnicity

binding and turning them into the 'usual suspects' of maternal *policing* (Gustafson 2005 Pratt 2012, Goulbourne et al. 2010). It affects daily life in a way that, for example, migrant children's school performance is by default (largely unjustly) seen as a cause of concern (Reynolds 2005, D'Angelo & Ryan 2011, Ryan et al. 2008), and it is much harder for migrant mothers to align to the standards of 'perfect' children that *Western Intensive mothers* are expected to raise. This can be observed in the feelings of guilt over not being a perfect mother, reinforced by shortcomings resulting from a foreigner status:

> "Obviously I wish my German was perfect, so that teachers in school would not know that my son is an immigrant, that he is different. I have to kick myself in the head often for not knowing something that mothers here in Germany are simply aware of, like with the paints – something that trivial was the last issue with my son – I confused poster paints with watercolours. I hate disappointing him like this" /Justyna, DE, IM/[52]

Arguably, because *Intensive motherhood* is closely linked to being a 'normative' female in a Western society (Phoenix & Woollett 1991, Hays 1996, Green 2010a) – a place that my interview-partners live in and largely aspire to become a part of, it is through fulfilling the maternal ideal that migrant mothers may access a standardized method of '*fitting in'*, both as those responsible for socialization of their children, and in their own definitions of 'self' and 'womanhood'. By adopting *Intensive Motherhood*, women may move closer to their notion of a '*family they live by'* (McKie & Callan 2012), an idealistic vision of a 'cereal box family' (Szlendak 2010, Leach 1967, Gajewska 2008). Congruent with a pragmatic approach to parenting children as 'life-projects' – products of rationalized reproduction and general societal economic progress (Slany 1989, 2002; Maciejewska-Mroczek 2012, Giza-Poleszczuk 2005), this parenting style was narratively expressed as follows:

> "We consciously decided to only have one child, although we earn good money here. We just want her to have everything and with education being more and more pricey, and the good hobbies, like ballet or horse-riding, those are costly, too […] We wouldn't want to compromise A's future by having to get cheaper sub-standard care or schools for her" /Ola, DE, IM/

[52] It might be noteworthy to make a methodological note that this was one of the several moments of great linguistic confusion that I experienced during my fieldwork and quite often with the subsequent translation process of the transcriptions: Justyna and myself both struggled in specifying what we were actually talking about – she found it hard to recall Polish names of the German nouns of the types of art supplies, which I then confused when initially translating them into English. It serves as a further illustration of how certain contexts of children-related family practices are entangled with the linguistic (in)comprehension.

Moving towards concluding remarks for this Section, it is evident that while *Intensive motherhood* of Poles abroad often indicates severed or at least loosened ties with one's culture of origin, certain dimensions and practices of the *New Momism* display similarities with the *Mother-Pole* parenting. However, this resemblance is to a lesser degree a result of shared heritage (with oppositional views on Poland being in fact expressed), but are rather brought on by the fact that the ideologies of mothering share some major commonalities from the gendered perspective, both seeing women primarily in their maternal and home-orientated roles. While the explanations or backstories might be different, women in both groups are often conflicted by the notions of irreconcilable tensions resulting from the recommendations and requirements that have to be met in their attempts to be a good (or, more often – a perfect) mother, by every standard, and from the difficulties of everyday realities of doing family, especially when living abroad. While women who mother intensively generally wanted their children to have a certain understanding of their parents' origins and heritage, they were, in general, not too decided, determined or persuasive about their 'feeling Polish' as far as their sense of belonging was concerned. This is linked to the unsurprisingly easy adaptation of the cosmopolitan belonging-craving of the migrants with a professional status, for some of them – reinforced by the contestation of Poland upon moving West. Essentially, such a combination of factors has led many women to enter a clear path towards integration, internalization of *Intensive motherhood* and a cosmopolitan rather than transnational disposition.

Emerging Practices of Polish Feminist Migrant Mothering

"[T]he practice of feminist mothering may be envisioned metaphorically as a cartwheel or a somersault, insofar as its aim is to invert and subvert patriarchal motherhood"
/Andrea O'Reilly 2008:19/

Although no respondents could be viewed as Feminist Mothers in a sense delineated by O'Reilly (2004, 2006, 2008, 2010a), it would not be justifiable to simply overlook the symptomatic narratives that indicate practices of 'empowered' mothering.

Arguably, the main reasons behind the lack of reflections concerning gender, equality or empowerment stems from the fact that *feminism* remains a sort of 'taboo' word in Polish (e.g. Szpakowska 2003, Zielińska 2010). Coincidentally, *'Feminist Mothering'* is globally a rather new topic, with a dearth of the critiques of patriarchy and studies of the maternal practices addressing the concept (O'Reilly 2008, Liss & Erchull 2012). In addition, as there is clearly neither *one feminism* nor a single shared understanding of what

is ‘feminist’ about mothering and beyond (e.g. Green 2010b, Elshtain 1995, Gajewska 2008, Tong 1995), even a contestation of a certain type of ‘feminism’ could follow the expression of feminist notions, as in the case of Bogusia who said:

> “Those feminist marches in Poland[53] – I don’t get it, they don’t do anything. Labour market is our problem, women don’t earn equal pay and they are solely responsible for children in most cases. Somehow in the UK everyone is just aware of the fact that gender has nothing to do with work performance, it is normal. Even young girls know what to do when they are mistreated, at work or by their partner – it is simply understood. I don’t know how we can ever get to that point in Poland” /Bogusia, UK, IM/FMM/

This idealistic view on the host society notwithstanding, there is still a case to make for tracing signs of empowerment among Polish mothers abroad. Therefore, it is proposed to focus on those elements of the respondents’ stories which illuminated a broader shift to a critical and gender-conscious understanding of a family, as well as a few examples of actual *Feminist mothering* practices.

Ideas of equality largely governed the lives of the *Feminist Mothers* described in this work in a post-migratory setting, both in private and public spheres. While the latter pertains more to female participation on the labour market – a topic addressed elsewhere in more detail[54] – they by and large indicate a visible qualitative change in the perceptions of women-friendly, non-discriminatory and meritocratic work environments abroad. As such, they have been somewhat diffused among the Polish women abroad and inspire discussions that foster gender equality in family practices, including the gender-equal division of labour, engaged fathering, abandonment of mother-blaming and self-sacrifice, as well as novel patterns of intergenerational transfers and children’s socialization (see e.g. Slany 2013, O’Reilly 2008, Green 2010b, Vasquez 2010 for justifications of such selection).

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[53] Bogusia is here referring to the 8th of March (Women’s Day) marches that are annually held in the major Polish cities. Although often viewed as focused on ideology (e.g. LGBT matters) and politics (e.g. democracy and parity), contrary to Bogusia’s belief, economic and labour-market related issues (e.g. equal pay) and inadequate care infrastructure (like in a slogan: We want nurseries, not stadiums) have also been raised. A description of the event in English can be found at: http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2012/03/21/poland-manifa-2012-report-from-the-warsaw-demonstration/, Polish website providing a more general overview of the annual developments and slogans can be viewed at: http://www.manifa.org/.

[54] As already mentioned, my upcoming paper on “Escaping *workplace gender discrimination through mobility? Labour market experiences of Polish female migrants in UK and Germany”* submitted to the *Interdisciplines journal* for vol.1/2015 deals with the gendered framing of pre- and post-migratory labour market experiences that my interview-partners shared.

Firstly, the stories of women representing different generations help to support claims about a general social change that is marked by a greater support for women's rights being expressed in coupledom among the interview-partners, while they also suggest that their mobility might have contributed to *emancipation:*

> "If he wants a clean house, then he can clean himself or hire a cleaner! I don't understand why there is even ever a debate on this – it is the most natural thing to divide housework and all things that need doing around the kids. […] Especially here [abroad-PP], you have to trust your partner to help you, together you can understand this new reality better, you work together so the family does well, it is harder to go at it alone, neither as a man nor as a woman. Parenting is the best example" /Aga, 24, DE, NMM/FM/

> "Society has changed; what would never pass between my parents was quite a challenge at the beginning for me and my husband, but not because of him – he was always quite pro-women, if you could say that… But rather, in what we have heard from others – about me being manipulative, treating him as a puppet, yes, that was hard to explain that the fact that he knows how to bathe and change the baby does not mean that he is unmanly. Equality between husband and wife was not understandable in Poland then […] But it is all so natural for my children, it's such a relief" /Alina, 57, DE, NMM/FM/

Both quotations suggest that family practices have been reworked upon migration so as to support a balance within housework and care, and Alina's story is particularly interesting for its intergenerational element – her joy at raising children to make them understand gender equality, which will re-emerge in the stories of socialization practices below. For now, it is vital to note a divergence in the gendered care practices that were in place in the homes of the *Feminist Mothers.* Lena's (UK, NMM/FM) story of sharing childcare and respecting with her partner the agreed division of the workplace responsibilities evenly over the course of several years, has already been discussed in the previous Section, and is supported by a similar statement made by Basia:

> "Maybe because we both work in a similarly free profession [graphic designers working from home-PP], it was quite easy to see how to divide things evenly. I was breastfeeding, so I naturally took on nights in their first year, and then it was my husband's job to tend to the girls during the nights from 1st birthday onwards […]. Since I am the morning person, I get them to school and he picks them up. We cook three days a week each and order in or go out during the weekend […] I used to say that I was too lazy to be a martyr, when everyone was surprised that I don't feel like doing all the housework, but now I feel that this is a half-explanation that does really take into consideration that doing things like this, having a partner that really helps rather than an always absent mythical bread-winner, is the most natural thing" /Basia, UK, IM/FM/

Although Basia parents her daughters in a rather intensive manner, she manages to share the responsibilities with her partner, making room for the newly defined, more

participatory fatherhood without falling victim to *paranoid parenthood*. In accordance with the feminist framework, the women do not exclude any sorts of knowledge without critically assessing them, a finding proven especially by pregnancy-care stories – the women in this group were the first to conduct a proper research and adapt to the local care practices, managing to voice their concerns, yet remaining respectful and understanding whenever scientific data or simple good practices were on their side. Accordingly, the feminist mothers were able to assess various options of care, and did not demonize institutions such as nurseries, child-minders and the like. Many reflected on the fact that where choices have to be made, it should be the partner's shared responsibility to supply care. Those who needed to go back to work additionally expressed demands for improved access to affordable institutionalized childcare. Women based in Germany were particularly sensitive to the insufficient infrastructure, while those in Britain tended to focus on high costs, showing that *Feminist Mothers* adopted a reflexive local optics and were responsive to challenges and priorities. It is also quite clear that the women were quite empowered in making sure that their relationship was balanced and their careers treated seriously, being of equal importance to those of their husbands. Aga underlined this aspect:

> "I think I said it at least five times already, but I am really ambitious, so my career is important to me […] I went to Uni, unlike my husband, so I expect that my work is given the priority it deserves. In a long-term it is in the best interest of our family to have both of us successful in our jobs, I don't know why my work should be any less important than his, it's quite the opposite and luckily he understands it."/Aga, DE, NMM/FM/

It is clear that Aga understands societal views about gendered roles of men and women, seeing the dualism of expectations and difficulty in reconciling work and the family obligations. Consequently, having children is not viewed by these interview-partners as something that should prevent them from full labour market participation and career success. Karolina (IM, UK) linked the family topics with her migratory experience, saying that having children in Poland was the key factor for her career stagnation there. She subsequently shared a belief that this would not have happened in Britain, and that it had nothing to do with her husband's unwillingness to participate in the childcare. Rather, this is structurally due to the *normativity* and the uncontested '*normalcy*' of female under-privilege in the interview-partners' recollections of the Polish contexts of production and reproduction. Ola said:

> "Like I said before, my husband was very irresponsible before the baby was born, or rather, before the move. And I just agreed to all his childish behaviours – money-wasting, parties, and so on, because everyone, and I mean my mum and his mum in particular, was saying that he has to have his time to 'blow off some steam' before it's time to get serious. I hated the fact that I had to stay home – no one could imagine a pregnant woman at a party, and that it was my job to nurture him back to health after he had great fun. I think it took me just three months of being here [in Germany – PP], without all these 'femininity rules', to say what I really thought […] I cut him off, stopped being his servant, finally. And he understood. I feel our marriage is much better for it – he supports my career and, most importantly, wants to raise our daughter right" /Ola, DE, IM/FM/

This idea of transgressing the formerly acquired national understanding of gender roles appeared in several other stories, where children were treated very individually and were said to be given freedom to be who they wanted to be, endowed with all the parental approval and support they needed. As such, socialization practices foster the acceptance of various sexual identifications, gender-positive framings of '*girlhood',* diversity of family forms, and other areas of inclusivity. During the interview, Lena (IM, UK) helped her children with colouring books, allowing me to witness as she discussed the future relationships of the children saying "when Kuba [son-PP] has a wife or a husband", rather than presenting a singular heteronormative option. On the same note, Aga (NMM, DE) mentioned that she is happy about how even in her village Kindergarten, children of various ethnicities and different types of families are treated equally, pinpointing the fact that it prevents the pitfalls associated with raising children in Poland where, despite growing diversity, there is essentially one model of a *normal* family (a heterosexual married couple with children – a nuclear family) presented in the school textbooks, despite the significant diversity in actual family forms. The interview-partners often blamed the Polish Catholic Church for reproducing and promoting a false image of an ideal family, and they sometimes criticised the way in which religion is used to oppress women. The common statement of having nothing against religion *per se* was often followed by an informed analysis:

> "Priests in Poland tell women to carry their crosses – meaning that even when husband is an alcoholic who beats her and the children, they should stay with him, and perform marital duties, and have even more children born into such pathology. They also never help such women and children in any material way… How is that pro-women?" /Ola, DE, IM/RM/

Similarly, when asked about the values that they want to pass onto their children, women in this category took longer to reflect and usually came up with a single word –

'tolerance', sometimes followed by 'openness' and 'respect'. This is what said about her teenage son:

> "I am glad he is so comfortable everywhere and with everyone. His best friend is Welsh, his girlfriend is of Asian descent and boys of all nationalities and skin-colors play on his football team. It does not seem like he even notices that they are different – I think that is our biggest success" /Marta, UK, NMM/FM/

Again, Alina, a 1980s immigrant with grown-up children, said that their top priorities as parents were to make sure that their children did not harm anyone and did not discriminate against others. She also underlined the fact that they are multilingual, artsy, travelling the world and not seduced by the corporate world. In general, this type of pan-national, global and inclusive way of child-raising was acknowledged, and women had no pretence towards how their children identify now or would define their belonging in the future. The women usually attempted to foster understanding of the heritage within diversity, yet were careful not to display an attitude of superiority derived from their own background. Quite the opposite, some of them recognized that the multicultural setting had allowed them to benefit from cultural exchange in their practices. Hanna's account serves as a good example here:

> "This one baby group I went to was really cool hands-on practical crash-course on best practices – a lady from Africa taught us best ways of handling slings and wraps, one Asian friend did a demo on introducing exotic flavours to your little one's diet, and a local British mum made little flashcard with medical terminology for non-native-English speakers – all super-useful, right?" /Hanna, UK, NMM/FM/

The women in this group definitely saw their families as something continuously changing, and perceived their significant relationships as based on intimacy and emotional closeness. They *do family* in a manner that requires spending time together – as a family, as a couple, and as parents with children. Feminist mothers seem to go beyond the simple *attachment parenting's* 'how to' guides, and are much more reflexive about their personal lives:

> "It is somehow assumed that you simply know your family by some magic, osmosis. But you don't! Even if you kiss or hug your children or husband – it may just be perfunctory, meaningless. You have to spend time together, have conversations – there is no other easy way, that is, if you want that kind of relationship… Love and friendship, I think, that's what we want to build with our partners and children" /Basia, UK, IM/FM/

A high desire for mutual trust significantly leads to redefinitions of power – 'king child' to parental servants (van de Kaa 1987, Slany 2002:106, 1989) may no longer be the case, as child-centeredness is leveraged by parenting led by a dialogue and does not shield

children from conflicts. The women in this group seem to allow themselves to be *'good-enough'* mothers:

> "You don't have to be cheerful all the time, but it is good to acknowledge that what you have is great, every once in a while. And I know that this may not be a very easy thing for a Polish person to admit, that's not how we've been raised. […] It helps to see that people are different, just because they do things differently, it does not mean they are worse than you. I think that's the biggest challenge and a lesson that Polish mothers somehow have to learn. To admit to themselves that they sometimes screw up" /Bogusia, UK, IM/FM/

Having understood the duplicities and contradictions of motherhood, *Feminist mothers* do not feel obliged to outperform anyone or comply with a specific set of cultural scripts:

> "There is no such thing as a perfect mother. And every child will tell you that their mum is the best – no matter if you are in Africa, or Poland, or here. You have to do the best you can. By being a martyr you do not help anyone, least of all your children or yourself" /Ola, DE, IM/FM/

With regard to socialization practices, Ola made an important point on gender norms:

> "Obviously I want to raise my daughter to be strong and independent. I will keep telling her that she can do whatever she wants […] When I was growing up I really wanted to do kung-fu like my brothers, but my parents did not think that was appropriate for a girl – I had to sing in a church choir instead – what a ridiculous thing! But also, if she wants to dress in pink and study art – that's fine too, I want to support her no matter what" /Ola, DE, IM/FM/

There is a degree of individuality and freedom that women assign to their children and themselves, and it seems that a middle-class ethos of children's '*appropriate*' (often educationally over-burdening) future is comparably less featured in their stories. A medical-degree holder Lena (IM, UK) specifically contested the common association between education and life success, saying that if her son can achieve happiness by being a carpenter, then she is fine with that idea. While mothers still highly valued college education (especially in the British context), they were much more permissive when it came to choosing subjects or universities. This somewhat novel understanding of happiness no longer embedded in notions of 'success' (see Urbańska 2009) is also reflected in the mothers' empowered individualism. While they are still aiming to be *good mothers*, the idea of self-sacrifice seems to have been replaced with one of responsibility, both in a literal as well as in the more abstract sense of aiming for a social change:

> "Being a mother makes you responsible, even if you were earlier only caring about yourself. I was quite lost before and my son gave me purpose and inspiration. But it's

> not like I gave up on myself for him, quite the opposite, actually, I realized that who I am has a direct impact on who he will become, so I responsibly searched for a better job and so on […] I like myself much more here [in UK], you know, I feel like it is more okay here to search for what is best for you, for happiness. I don't know any woman my age back home who is still continuously trying new things and checking what she's good at" /Marta, UK, NMM/FM/

To conclude, while there is an observable progress towards achieving equality in relation to womanhood in general, Polish migrants are still somewhat *in the process* of making their *mothering* empowered. Relatively satisfied with progress towards labour market equality that migration to the West brought to them, they are now concentrated on overcoming domestic inequalities. The women's main concerns tie into attitudes towards diversity and a general support for the feminist social postulates (e.g. widened access to childcare). However, the missing dimension, the one that can significantly hamper any broader shift towards gender equality among the Poles, is a lack of activism on the part of *Feminist Mothers,* who thus far do not build any maternal networks. This inactivity is prevented, in a way, by the fact that Polish women reflect the multiplicity of feminisms, and their ethnic background plays a vital role in how they reflexively reconstruct ideologies of *Intensive Motherhood* and *Mother-Pole* on an individual level. At the same time, an intersectional matrix sheds light on the implication of social class and education, as the women voicing feminist notions are mostly middle-class university graduates, which makes them privy to intercultural understanding and privilege in terms of resources. It now is now vital that the *Feminist Mother* engage with *Polish-Othermothers* parenting from different social locations.

Chapter 9: Towards 'New Migrant Motherhood'

> "What does being a Polish mother abroad mean to you today?
>
> It is a process of adaptation and constant re-adjusting – mostly for me; as a grown-up, I have to ensure that my foreign-born children who feel at home here –and that's a good thing and how it is supposed to be… But, I need to know that they have a connection to my heritage, that they know their parents' language." /Hanna, UK, NMM/

It is argued in this thesis that a particular strategy, which I am calling the '*New Migrant Motherhood',* can be observed among Polish mothers abroad. In essence, it is a novel ideal-type construct evident in an integrative set of practices, which are aimed at merging the discourses and ideologies that guide the understanding of what it means to be a *'good'* mother under both the Polish notions framed through the analytical traits of the *Mother-Pole* model (Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012, Titkow 2007, 2012), and the Western views supplied by the *Intensive motherhood* concept (Hays 1996). Peripherally, this ideal-type also includes items originating from the feminist critique of motherhood (O'Reilly 2008, 2010a).

In fact, a slight majority of the interview-partners did find themselves continuously trying to find balance between the often competing and incongruent directives for 'appropriate mothering'. As a response, a hybrid mothering model emerges from the narratives concerning practices of 'doing family', along with some broader reflections on the meanings of motherhood and mothering shared in the accounts. As a result, this chapter is dedicated to outlining the features of the '*New Migrant Motherhood*', largely in relation to the pre-existing models described in *Chapters 7* and *8*, showcasing the interdependencies, but also indicating the specificity within the *'New Migrant Motherhood'* that calls for distinguishing it as a standalone model. The chapter begins with a discussion of the maternal *reflexivity* in this group – primarily by recounting the narratives on the trajectories of mobility and their implications with regard to gender orders. It then moves on to the more practical dimension of *transnational resourcefulness*. The presented case examples of *hybridization* in relation to educational choices link an empirical dimension of 'displaying' family to the broader societal context, thus serving as an outline of the potential personal and social implications of the said type of mothering.

Pragmatism and Reflexivity:

Core Features of New Migrant Mothers

Starting with an optimistic trajectory evaluation, let us have a look at what Ania said:

> "I think I have it pretty well worked-out… I mean when I arrived I was really lost – it was very surreal to not understand things – the language, I mean, but also how things are done – like I did not know that you have to apply for schools, or who the health visitors were… And now I know, I am not scared anymore – I know I am a good mum and doing it abroad… it makes a difference because maybe it's harder in the beginning, but then you are very proud of how well you can deal with all these new ways of doing things" /Ania, UK, NMM/

While this section provides a few similar reflections on success, it also aims to depict the journeys that had to be taken in order to achieve this state and sense of hanging in the balance that Ania acquired in her mothering practices abroad. As such, it will shed light on how various aspects of integrative *in-betweenness* are handled by the interview-partners.

The first point that has to be made about women belonging to the *New Migrant Mothers*' group is that they are significantly more reflexive about their practices than their fellow female co-nationals leaning towards other ideal-type categories. It may be, quite simply, because the confrontation with a variety of models (and their respective directives concerning practices) forces women to perform a series of critical assessments of how they should act. An example pertaining to the core equality ideas within a couple, can well demonstrate this point:

> "A couple of years ago I had to temporarily cut contact with some Polish friends because they really were nagging me about the fact that my partner took a paternity leave. They were living here but it was still weird for them, they questioned me being a good mother. But then German colleagues at work supported my decision […] I know that there might be some benefits to having traditional families – some friends here, Polish mostly but also some Germans, they have that – working husbands and stay-at-home wives, raising kids only, but it is not for me, I made that decision and I am happy with it" /Kaja, DE, NMM/

Other aspects of Kaja's life are still organized to support patriarchy – even as the children grew older, she is the sole person in the household handling all medical, educational and consumption-related arrangements. Besides, several respondents were prone to looking past conflicts and differences within their marital dyad for the sake of the children, as the subservient position of women legitimized the double-standards that

allowed non-participation of men in the housework, and elicited forgiveness for the husbands' marital infidelity. This is how Mariola explains turbulences in her family:

> "My son and I had been here for 6 months then, I recall, and I just started finding my place here, fitting in and meeting some Polish people online […] One of them turned out to have known my husband better than I would have hoped, if you know what I mean […] I considered going back to Poland but I stayed because I wanted my son to see his father. He pleaded with me and I believed him, but then it started happening again, him cheating on me. And I have forgiven him once again – he might not be the right husband for me but he is a good father, he loves our son" /Mariola, DE,NMM/

The ambiguity may be interpreted through the lens of the feminist critique, stating that female economic dependency in the household is strongly reinforced when children are born and the woman's individual freedoms become restricted, if not completely revoked (Wolf 2001, O'Reilly 2008, 2010a). For women, the spheres of reproduction and mobility are immanently interconnected:

> "I don't think I would have decided to have a second child so soon. Here it is a matter of psychological safety related to financial security, which I have here but I would not have had in Poland in my occupation [...]. Despite the fact that we could not complain about our finances back in Poland. [...] I suspect we would only have one child" /Hanna, UK, NMM/

Arguably, motherhood deprives a woman of her power as she ceases to work, but requires instead resources for accommodating a new and costly family member, which in turn allows the gendered division of housework and the exclusivity of female *motherwork* to resurface (see e.g. Walby 1990, O'Reilly 2010a, Douglas & Michaels 2004:203-235). In that sense, there is certain evidence of a somewhat staggered or incomplete transition to gender equality, with other accounts confirming this pattern:

> "We've been here a long time but the household matters, such as paying taxes, or checking insurance policies – health, car, house – it is all on me […] My husband helps out around the house with cleaning and gardening – it took some time but now he even cooks once in a while. […] With the family-matters he is rather useless – he does not remember birthdays of our children or our grandchildren, these kinds of things – he does not know how to show that he cares about us, about his family" /Teresa, DE, NMM/

The analysis of the gender-crucial issues among the *New Migrant Mothers* remains challenging. At times, adopting Western practices paves way to a more individualistic and equality-orientated approach towards the significant people in one's life, subsequently introducing practices of new fatherhood:

> "I sometimes hear that men don't do anything at home – this seems very weird to me, my husband helps. Maybe it is the attitude of women. At the beginning I also pushed my husband away, thinking that I would do everything better. But now I see it differently- even if he is going to do something wrong, I still think he should still do it, help me. […] The fact that we moved really contributed to this, people here live in such way, […] women are not afraid to demand their partners' participation – as fathers and partners at home" /Daria, UK, NMM/

The forgoing is a clear departure from the earlier described pattern, where *mother-managers* and *managerial matriarchs* are predestined to outperform both men and other women in every single aspect of their children's lives under the discourses of *natural* dispositions, *normative* and *normalized* orders, as well as neoliberal frameworks (e.g. Hays 1996, Hryciuk & Korolczuk 2012, O'Reilly 2010a, Douglas & Michaels 2004). Conversely, '*new fathers*' have not yet fully emerged as '*new partners':* the observable male participation in child-rearing does not change the fact that partaking in household activities varies.

Although it was shaped by the entanglement of socio-political factors, Alina's husband's trajectory constitutes a good example of the multiple aspects shaping gender relations. Initially, her husband was very much involved in the months following their first child's birth (in Poland), contributing largely to the custodial care. Then, however, his departure to Germany made it impossible for him to be involved in their second child's care. Yet, later on, he was fully capable of being left alone for half a year as the sole carer for their school-aged son when Alina and their younger daughter went away to spend one school semester abroad (partially due to the girl's unsatisfactory skills in Polish and to a degree motivated by state regulations of Alina's profession). At any rate, a pattern that places a man with child in the destination country would be inconceivable to women in the other categories.

The above means that the maternal co-residentiality requirement is no longer necessarily equated with *good mothering* (Gustafson 2005, Nicholson 2006). To illuminate the contrast between *New Migrant Mothers* and *Mother-Poles*, let's compare a statement from Ewa, whose twenty-something children still live at home, with Judyta's assessment:

"My children have not spent a night away from home until they were 18. I don't see the value in some sleepovers or holidays alone – they had time for that when they grew up […] I cannot imagine we live in different countries or even different cities – compromises have to be made but we have to stick together, we're family!" /Ewa, DE, MP/

"Knowing a lot of Polish women here I can understand that some of them really made a right decision – that is - by leaving their children behind for a while. My children were born here, so it would be easy for me to judge, but I know that some of them really had no other way – one [woman I know] was a single mum of three, partner left her with nothing when he was sent to prison. She left them [the children-PP] with grandparents for a few months until she got settled here […]. You never know how it is going to turn out for you here – it makes no sense to extend that risk to children" /Judyta, UK, NMM/

Temporary maternal absences were acceptable among the *New Migrant Mothers*, and periods of separation were advocated as the children grew older. Celina's teenagers are often away for sporting meets and tournaments, sometimes for periods of two weeks or longer, and the aforementioned Alina sent both her children to live with her brother in the USA during high school, seeing them spending one school-year each in an English-speaking country as an educational investment. As per the above quotation, such behaviours would be unacceptable and stigmatized under other ideologies.

In spite of the practical differences and situational demands, observations about a definite need for more gender-equal relations at home were unanimously made by the *New Migrant Mothers*. Their wishes were not always implemented and, at times, the women tended to live under an illusion of change, indicating that progress was being made in comparison to the generally poor state of gender relations in Poland (see e.g. Coyle 2007, Dunn 2008, Titkow 1994, 2013, Titkow et al. 2003, 2004). However, the accounts were still rich in ambiguity, like the experiences of Korolczuk's respondents (2012). On the practical level, migration-related explanations pertaining to the initial years abroad illustrate this:

> "He worked construction from early on – long working hours primarily spent with other Polish men on the team on site. So quite naturally, I was the one who had time to figure out the official matters here, like benefits, school, doctors, registrations. To understand all this, I needed to learn German, or at least some of it, while he never did. And now, over 5 years later, he still has trouble communicating, so a lot of things just can't be delegated to him." /Mariola, DE, NMM/

While this explanation recurred in other stories, the interview-partners were not always overly unhappy with this gendered division of work, resonating Elshtain's (1986) arguments on the importance of a maternal identity for women. They added that as long as

they were in charge of the husbands' income, did not have to work full-time and do all of the housework, they considered it a *fair deal*, demonstrating the diverse aspects of gendered migratory experience. While women migrated differently from men, they also had various expectations for being migrant wives and mothers (Bjerén 1997, Salaff & Greve 2004, Morokvasic et al, 2003, Lutz 2011) and their preferences were by no means universal. The respondents' stories show a variety of possible trajectories, in which women may still be assigned a given role because of the external factors (e.g. labour market segmentation that favours male migrant workers, e.g. Doeringer & Piore 1971, Piore 1979, Reich et al. 1973, Kaczmarczyk 2005, Gorny & Kaczmarczyk 2003), or because they are '*tied-stayers'* as mothers of small children (White 2010, 2011a, Szczygielska 2013). Equally, they may '*do gender'* with a degree of agency should they decide to spend time with their children and enjoy mothering -- a possibility fully allowed by certain feminist works – e.g. Green 2010a, 2010b, Elshtain 1986, Wolf 2001). Just as often, however, women become primary migrants from the household, owing to their particular education, skills or networks (e.g. Morokvasic 1984, 1992, 1993, Lutz & Palenga 2010) and may quickly progress in their professional careers.

The latter was the case for Klara who was headhunted to work in her company's international branch in the UK, whereupon her family followed. Interestingly enough, it was her husband who took a career break and stayed home with their small children upon migration. Among the *New Migrant Mothers*, the expectations for women to be active members of the labour force while being 'stay-at-home' carers are somewhat lifted and mitigated in a variety of ways. Mariola's case above showcases female preferences for the traditional care and labour division, often fostered by a higher income, childcare costs and the general better (compared to Poland) standing of single-career households abroad. Daria, who said she likes being home with the kids, enjoys the individual freedoms to experiment with new things professionally because her husband's income is sufficient. A somewhat feminist-revised *Intensive motherhood* has resulted in a direction rendering women more inclined to express openly their strong career orientation, a trait especially remarkable in the stories of the educated professionals, such as Hanna, Klara, Aga or Alina. One of them said:

> "There is nothing wrong with being a working mother. I actually believe that just the opposite is true, especially if you have a daughter – for her to only see you serving away around the house, wasting away your education – that is not good, even if you can afford it […] I am not advocating killing yourself with 12-hour shifts when your child is just a few weeks old, but staying home for more than a year is just not for me. […] Obligatory

> kindergartens are there for a reason and it is not only to benefit the children. The option of being successful at your job is there - just as long as you want it." /Hanna, UK, NMM/

Arguably, migration is a time for revisions that allows *New Migrant Mothers* to reflect on and benefit from a degree of choice, resulting in a novel understanding of motherhood that is permissive about both career and home-orientations, mainly advocating the best possible individual solution or marrying the two throughout one's life-course:

> "In one's life there is time for work and time for children – here [in Germany-PP] it is much easier to make them co-exist: you can use benefits and live off one salary – it is impossible there [in Poland-PP]. I am happy that my daughters could choose – one has children, one is quickly advancing her career. And the older one [with children –PP] did not have to give up her work, and I think the younger one will have a family when it's her time to do so. I am sure they know what they are doing, and it's the best they can do" /Marzena, DE, NMM/

Evidencing reflexivity on the topic of reproductive and career choices in an intergenerational perspective, this short excerpt demonstrates further characteristics of a *New Migrant Mother*. Firstly, while a mother is there for her children, the ideal of self-sacrifice is often weaker than her newly developed sense of individual fulfilment and success in and beyond private life. Secondly, although a mother remains the best possible care-provider for her children, delegating care is largely accepted:

> "There is a fine line between doing a lot for your children and maybe doing a little bit too much. I think it is great to be able to enjoy the time you have with them, to maybe stay at home for the first year or so, but staying at it for a longer time does not appeal to me. […] I have my mum here, so maybe I am just lucky, but I think she is taking better care of them that I would – I crave doing something for myself […] I feel like Polish women are very judgemental – just recently I've read about an outrage that an opening of a 24/7 nursery caused – I would not use it myself, but I understand that some people may need it – for example if they work crazy hours – like doctors or waiters, or if you are a single mum – it is absolutely okay to do what you need to do, no harm will come to your children from that" /Judyta, UK, NMM/

The critical assessment of ideologies and practices is often performed indirectly, yet it seems to illustrate a more general realization of the distinction between mothering as a personal experience on the one hand, and the social institution of motherhood on the other, widely debated by the feminist scholars (Rich 1976, O'Reilly 2008, 2010a, Hays 1996). It is further illustrated in the desire for a strong bond with one's children in one's personal life (e.g. Smart 2007, Jamieson 1998) while escaping the broader constraints imposed by the national mission of *Mother-Poles* (Graff 2008, Zielińska 2010) or the all-encompassing societal responsibility within *Intensive* and *paranoid parenthood* (Faircloth 2014, see also: Hays 1996, O'Reilly 2010a, Green 2010b).

Whenever possible, *New Migrant Mothers* seem to prefer a hybrid strategy where an unavoidable loss on the one hand (e.g. no income of their own, postponing career advancement) is paired with a win on the other (e.g. time to pursue further education, quality time and bonding with children). Marta took time off immediately after migration (her son was 9) and subsequently returned to work. She reflects on her daily life as follows:

> "I keep busy and he is older now [16-PP], so he does not need that much care, but I am very involved, like I try to give him a ride when the weather is bad and he needs to go somewhere… I watch him very carefully, discuss the emotional matters – we are really close." /Marta, UK, NMM/

Seemingly, the women identify more with the managerial style of the now retired '*Mother-Pole*' pre-1989, who highly valued her employment, rather than a subservient traditional one that forgoes the sense of her own self for the sake of her family, in the contemporary setting referent to the Catholic values (see Titkow 2007 vs. Titkow 2012, Muszel 2013). Thus, it might very well be that a clash between '*Mother-Pole*s' and *'Intensive mothers'*, conceptually blurring the two orders of the everyday and abstract levels, inevitably leads to the need for a '*third-way*' in the form of *New Migrant Motherhood*. A pattern of talking about daily activities, but linking them to grand judgements should be noted:

> "You don't always have to make your child a Polish packed meal for lunch at school, it might be a *Wurstbrot* or something, but you do have to make him a meal. What kind of mother are you if your child has to fend for itself?" /Mariola, DE, NMM/

Having been initially puzzled by the responses that put symbols, definitions and grand-narratives on the same discursive level with everyday practical single-occurrences, one can conclude that they function as heuristic responses to several conflicting models, a practical way of '*doing family*' in the context of *being Polish but living abroad*. While each interview was packed with both the 'correct ideologies' and practical recommendations, women felt compelled to make sense of how their observations of the foreign resonate with what they acknowledge or reject as Polish:

> "Many things are done differently here, but it does not mean that all things we know from our mothers are bad. Sometimes it's just like with butter and spread – science cannot agree on one – look at how they talk about baby sleeping on the back or on the belly, with parents or in the cot – these recommendations constantly change. There are some good things about Polish mothers – they don't ignore their intuition, signals that something is wrong with their child and they are usually right. German women lost that ability, I think. And then other things are ridiculous – they are always so stressed out – it

> is very hard to work with that when they are preparing for birth, for example" /Teresa, DE, NMM/

In the end, the coexistence of Polish and foreign elements within definitions and practices is preferred, paving the way for hybrid practices that will be detailed later on in this Chapter. For now, this peculiarity is hinted at in the selection of the maternal knowledge sources that *New Migrant Mothers* deem useful for their parenting. Overall, expert and scientific knowledge (key domains of reference for *Intensive mothers*) seem to be combined with the tradition derived from one's heritage (as articulated by *Mother Poles*):

> -What do you do if you have doubts about parenting?
>
> "-I have to think about an example – oh, I know – my son is overweight, you know. At first I went by what my mum said – that he would grow out of it and baby fat is okay, and that he should be out a lot, but then I also saw a doctor here to check – do all the tests, exclude medical reasons. His results came back great, so I now do it my mum's way – have him outside rather than in front of the computer and I started buying food in a Polish store – it actually helps" /Mariola, DE, NMM/

Similarly, a practising midwife Teresa reflected on how Polish women must do their research and comply with the German vaccination schedule because avoidance of vaccination is based on outdated research. However, she also believed that women should value their *Polish* upbringing and cook for their children themselves, using natural ingredients only and referencing the notions of '*feeding the family*' (e.g. Walczewska 1999, Main 2013, Dunn 2008, Morokvasic 2006:71). Teresa's convictions also highlight how practical provisions are linked with love within the family and the propinquity which is recurrent in the emotional accounts of *New Migrant Mothers*, which can be seen as a sign of a new era of 'personal life' (May 2011, Smart 2007):

> "I recently read this book – it said that children are like a suitcase – the more warmth, attention and interest we give them now, we will then be able to take out, returned in the future. It seems very fitting in a migratory context, doesn't it? […] I think I would try to mother similarly, had I stayed in Poland, I mean. I follow the new research on parenting and try to care as recommended, for example I cook in accordance with what eco-parenting suggests. And I watch TV programs on it – British and Polish TV alike." /Daria, UK, NMM/

It is worth noting that the entire account of Daria's parenting was full of references to literature and, what was deemed crucial for her position as a *New Migrant Mother* rather than an *Intensive* one, the books she mentioned were all Polish editions of Anglo-American self-help and hands-on parenting manuals, lightly edited to appeal to a Polish reader, not simply translated. Daria also makes use of the popular science literature from

the health context – mostly about paediatrics and nutrition – both in Polish and in English, which makes her quite well versed in the differences between the national settings. On that note, like Vasquez's Chicana mothers-respondents (2010), women in the *New Migrant Mothers'* category used their familiarity with several contexts to build a capacity to choose selectively the best option for their own migrant type of motherhood:

> "So with the Polish Saturday school – there is quite a lot of fuss about it – some say it's the most ridiculous thing that will impede your children's chances at integration, and some praise it for teaching children the language that should be their first. I sort of disagree with both these statements – I send my children there and I want them to be bilingual, but I also have no delusions that 4 hours a week will make them capable enough to simply move between the two educational systems if necessary, so that's not my goal at all. My motivation is more about my kid hanging out with Polish children and knowing to write two sentences on a Christmas card to grandma" /Judyta, UK, NMM/

Faced with numerous daily-life choices, the *New Migrant Mothers* certainly display a kind of pragmatic attitude, which they consider to open as many doors as possible for their children without over-explaining their decisions through 'ideological' reasoning:

> "I don't think it hurts anyone if the children are christened, it is a nice occasion for bringing the family together, though not a big deal. I don't know where they will end up and faith may be useful. Also think about the [benefits] of catholic schools!" /Ania, UK, NMM/

A similar attitude was expressed by Julia who sends her child to a Catholic school because it is the best one in the area, and openly addresses the fact that this looks hypocritical. Her justification is that she was forced to spend so much time in church growing up that it suffices for her entire family abroad for a lifetime. As it stands, religion does not seem to play a definitional role within the motherhood of *New Migrant Mothers;* they tend to display non-committal traditional faith (Mandes 2002) in their stories:

> "Some things that Polish church says about women and mothers – like the matters of the assumed due-respect – that of wives for husbands or children for parents – I do not agree with it. I don't think that works for families like mine. Maybe it is the migration that affected how I like to run my family […] But we go to church – often to a Polish mass. The children are baptized, they will receive other sacraments. It is important for me that they know what Christmas is about – not only presents, like it is here. Even if they do not believe in God later on, at least they won't be ignorant about it /Judyta, UK, NMM/

Let us have a closer look at an example of the integrative efforts of the aforementioned celebrations, as the family practices described by the respondent below combine all possible cross-national holidays:

> "We had a [church-PP] wedding and we baptized our children but it was not out of conviction, rather something that the grandparents wanted and insisted on – we would

> not want to upset them, so we did it, what's the harm? […] it would be unfair to take away Santa or an egg hunt – it's just a tradition and although I am aware I may sound hypocritical, it's just how it is, it is just not that important to our family" /Aga, DE, NMM/

Aga's children receive presents on both days that Santa visits Polish children (6th and 24th of December), as well as during a typically German Easter-hunt (absent from Polish tradition). Another respondent, Celina, made a similar case for Christmas customs in the British context, with her family having a traditional Polish no-meat supper on Christmas Eve (December 24th), but then following a local custom of a grand family dinner on the 25th and holding a Boxing Day gifts exchange on the 26th, (rather than on the 24th, as it occurs in Poland). To compare, *Mother-Poles* were expectedly very adamant about not letting any non-Polish elements enter their households and, generally speaking, *Intensive mothers* leaned towards celebrating the holidays "just like the locals do". For the *New Migrant Mothers,* the fact that their children feel well in the place they reside in (e.g. fit in with their peers at school) was underlined just as much as feeling comfortable in Poland.

While the families of the *New Migrant Mother*s are child-centred, there is a feeling of the focus being shifted from treating individual members on their own, towards a reflection about ways in which the wellbeing of individuals depends on their collective relatedness:

> "I think it's important to spend time with your kids because how on earth are you ever going to find out if they have problems? I do homework with them, I listen when they talk about school and friends, although sometimes it is boring… But it is important! I sometimes force them to do things they don't like at the beginning but then they accept it, and they respect me because I try to explain why I want them to learn Polish or read this or that book – it's not like I am just bossing them around, I don't think that works well at all. Unlike before, and to a detriment of my mum, we hire a sitter every other weekend or so, because our relationship won't work if we don't go out as a couple – just me and my husband. So we try to do it whenever we can" /Kaja, DE, NMM/

Arguably, the *New Migrant Mothers* have a certain level of maturity in understanding the differences of mothering across cultural contexts, both cross-nationally and even in the intra-national cases of social class differences. Being in-between, the respondents did not have the same awareness of the 'equality in diversity' that *Feminist mothers* did, but they were rid of the superior status that *Mother-Poles* (see e.g. Kościańska 2012, Mościcka-Bogacz 2011) and *Intensive mothers* (see e.g. Douglas & Michaels 2004) often attributed to their own parenting. Instead, they tended to be good observers of their surroundings, providing interesting evaluations:

> "Young mothers in Poland seem to be very isolated. You are in this 'zone' of *Mother-Pole*, always super-busy with the housework and children, even if the food is cooked and the house is clean, then there is always something else – like comparing prices in store brochures, running to the cemetery with flowers, planning a family menu for two weeks ahead. Here priorities change… It is about spending quality time with your children and meeting other mothers, other people. This is much better for you – keeps mothers sane" /Ania, UK, NMM/

As it turns out, many contrasts were largely structural – migrant mothers raise the outstanding problems in Poland, such as poor infrastructure, few family-oriented policies or social welfare tools, as well as the labour market hostility towards women as managerial matriarchs burdened with a 'dual shift' at work and at home (e.g. Zembrzuska 2000, Mazurkiewicz 2013, Dunn 2008, Kotowska 2007, Titkow 2007, 2012, Matysiak & Steinmetz 2009):

> "Polish mothers are stressed all the time, thinking about money, work, and connecting the two so as to make things right. Here it is different because of the financial status is better, even if you talk about social services and benefits – here much more help and support is offered. We don't need it but it is very comforting to know that you have options"/Judyta, UK, NMM/

Again, while *Mother-Poles* often reflected on the broader national problems, such as the general governmental incapacity, the *New Migrant Mothers* looked at specific solutions, or their nonexistence, which made life in Poland difficult for families:

> "I would like it if Poland could move in a similar direction when it comes to mothers and children…So that there would be more groups and meetings where children can play together. As it is now, mum has to stay home with her child until he is three, alone together for three years. Theoretically, you can send a kid to a kindergarten but it's an illusion – you have to meet certain criteria, like having a full-time job, at the very least, and it does not always work out even then. Here also the non-working mothers can go to mother-toddler groups, can get free sessions at a day care centre" /Daria, UK, NMM/

The stark contract was particularly evident when Hania narrated her family's short-lived (but planned as final) return to Poland, which she now sees as motivated by an idealistic vision of home, presumed propinquity of the family, and a choice grounded in some pervasive nostalgic memories. Subsequently, what contributed to the family's decision to go back to the UK and settle abroad for good was described as no places to go to with children, being locked away at home, and the realization of everyday overly fast pace and "greyness" of the surroundings. While being primarily focused on parenting practices, this type of narrative is symptomatic of other stories where going home was mythologized, but then turned out to be rather difficult, as family care obligations, administrative matters, and the general discontent with Poland took over during short-term visits home. Eventually, many accounts assumed the form of stories of an ambivalent

return (e.g. Constable 1999, Doyle & Timonen 2010) – highly anticipated but ultimately disappointing and emotionally-trying.

By and large, it would be wrong to assume that the *New Migrant Mothers'* transitions to living and parenting abroad were immediately complete or easy:

> "Parenting abroad is much harder than working abroad… I had no trouble being a great employee, while I was really a horrible mother at the beginning. Parenting skills do not transfer, I guess. If you don't know certain things there is no one to guide you… There is just this assumption that since you've been a mother for a while, then you can do it well… I mean, I had no concerns like that before [in Poland], I would never **not** know what to do. Only now I feel like I am back again, and it all comes quite naturally, there's a routine, just like the one we had back home, just updated to match different requirements that mothering has here […] Like being engaged with school lots more, being proactive, or choosing different activities for weekends." /Celina, UK, NMM/

It must be clearly stated that it is women who are most affected by the family's move, and that it is women who bear the burden of family life reconfiguration strategies and daily challenges. At the same time, *New Migrant Mothers* seek answers and actively operate as *agents* – taking matters in their own hands and making difficult decisions on behalf of their families. As such, even if their position is difficult, they seem to persevere. This is how Ania, who now provides guidance to others, recalls the process:

> "Everyone was going abroad, so I assumed that it was rather straightforward – you pack your things and you start living on the other side of the border, but trust me, when you have children, no amount of research, or travelling, or even being a perfect mother in your own country will not prepare you for the roller-coaster, for all the things you will do wrong in relation to your children when you are an immigrant, a foreigner. It is very disheartening – you should be the adult, the parent, the one guiding them through the change – the new school for example – but you don't know jack! You have no idea, you assume that because in the Polish school teachers are very clear and say that your kid is not doing well and that's an evaluation [a clear message]. But here you have to go, and enquire, and guess, and find the real meaning behind their politically correct assessment. […] While there are job agencies that can tell you how to write your CV, maybe which courses to take, there is really no one to tell you how to deal with all the parenting stuff – schools, childcare, small rules like – what's the law on child's car seat or how there is no pediatrician assigned to you. How can you know all when you first get here? You can't! But in time you learn" /Ania, UK, NMM/

At times, a degree of self-blaming on the mother's part is still visible, although it mostly pertains to the overarching parental responsibility and framing of the capabilities that women feel they may be lacking as migrants. Coincidentally, the stories of how *New Migrant Mothers* progress from initial confusion, fear and feelings of inadequacy to re-establishing themselves as competent parents, capable of rationally deciding on what is best for their children and even advising others on the matter, share an astonishing similarity to the phases of shock, recognition and reconciliation described by Miller (2007,

2005) for women who become mothers for the first time (see *Figure 2*). As such, they may be considered to validate an approach that extensively links migration and motherhood scholarship, both of which should be seen as crucial and trajectory-breaking events in people's biographies. Importantly, a temporal axis should be taken into account, as personal crises or 'hub events' – namely a transition to motherhood or a migration and settlement abroad – seemingly operate in a similar manner, shifting from the initial puzzlement and ambiguity, to re-establishing one's 'self' in a new identity that is embedded in the chosen (self-constructed or socialized) ways of confident *good* mothering and (at least fairly) adapted migrant.

Moving forward, a maternal 'adjustment' to life abroad can be evidently seen as a predicate for how the other family members are faring and, once again, it is the practical pragmatic dimension of the female ways of dealing with problems through hybridization and resourcefulness that should be examined closely.

New Migrant Mothers and Transnational Resourcefulness

The choices that New Migrant Mothers make as migrants (and parents) show connectivity with their heritage (Polish traditions), while also acknowledging the impact of the Western (ie. cosmopolitan, global) values on the life of their families abroad. This balance is achieved primarily through transnational family practices. The multiple and fluid transnational orientations of contemporary global migrants, who no longer fit into the patterns of unidirectional and permanent mobility were extensively covered in scholarly research (e.g.Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, Vertovec 2004b, 2009, Glick Schiller et al 2011), Aga's statement empirically grounds this notion:

> "We are here and there – the grandparents are in Poland, we shop there, we spend summers there. But we live here, and the important things like work and home, and school – it is all here, so I often have trouble explaining where I actually live my life […]" /Aga, DE, NMM/

For *New Migrant Mothers*, it is often the case that transnational orientation signifies navigating the two national discourses and actual resources in pursuit of a more appropriate or a more attractive option (see also Bryceson & Vuorela 2002, Goulbourne et al. 2010). This affects both practical choices (e.g. children's education), and the broader ideas about a sense of belonging envisioned or allowed for different family members. In consequence, and like the mothers described by Vasquez (2010), Polish women abroad challenge certain elements of their home culture (e.g. gender orders) but preserve others

(e.g. food). A narrative excerpt from Kasia's story shows how her coupledom has been redefined to fit a more equality-based (perceived as 'western' or 'modern') pattern, while the values transferred to the next generation remain respectful and reinforce the Polish setting:

> "Our family life is sometimes Polish and sometimes British. I think our marriage is definitely Western- European [*zachodnioeuropejskie* - PP], but the upbringing we offer to our children is rather Polish: they go to Polish schools, must speak the language, go for long [summer] trips there, know food, history, geography […] Luckily they feel at home in Krakow and in London, or at least they did last time I asked" /Kasia, UK, NMM/

Once again, showing a variety of practices, Hanna somewhat contradicts the above in her parenting, making a point that 'just hanging out'[55] and planning the family time is to be embedded in the context where the children actually live:

> "I held a grudge against my parents that I had not seen a museum until I was a student living away and already in my twenties. This has to be different for my children. I can't imagine spending weekends in the same way as we did as children – church or TV, always two separate worlds for children and adults. I don't want that. Going to various places as a family is the best thing ever; it is how you make memories and how you build a bond with your children. So even if the zoo costs 17 pounds per person and means that I cannot get a new pair of shoes I want, we will still all go during the weekend and look at monkeys, because that is what they [the children] want." /Hanna, UK, NMM/

All in all, the respondents' accounts present their family lives as bi-national, bi-focal, multi-local and beyond-borders, determined by more than a singular place of origin/residence. It is as if they are caught in between, simultaneously attempting to benefit from cultural exchange with the local community, while being determined to preserve and promote the Polish culture:

> "I always volunteer to run a Polish day in my daughters' schools – it is easy for me to serve Polish dumplings [*pierogi*] and tell stories and legends, like the one about a dragon in Krakow's castle [*Smok Wawelski]* –children love it! It makes my kids very proud when we do it, proud to come from Poland […]" /Celina, UK, NMM/

Even though Celina, a mother of three, talked about being excited about organizing 'Polish' events and underscored how this builds up a knowledge and pride of being Polish

[55] The idiomatic use of 'hanging out' as passing time together does not have a clear translation to Polish and Hania (like myself) had trouble conveying the meaning of the family time that does not necessarily have a goal or purpose. Eventually, she started to use a *Ponglish* verb '*hangoutować [się*]*.*'

in her children, she was also vocal about her family's multiple local involvements. This concerned the 'British' community (son on a rugby team, herself in a local acting group that fosters a theatre tradition specific to her English historical town of residence, husband being a member of a local hiking club), and their globally or internationally-orientated aspirations, under which one can classify her proud reiterations of being invited over for a meal by their Asian neighbours, as well as voicing a dream of travelling to exotic destinations around the world. Celina's case illustrates the transnational practice that indicates attachments to the place of origin and a foreign destination as equal values, which signifies that while cultural diversity is represented, *Polishness* is not lost. Similar ties to both countries are visible across the levels of the analysis, for example in the economic implications of dual property ownership (keeping/obtaining a flat in Poland and having a second residence in the destination country, as mentioned by Amelia and Klara), and the continuous exchanges of goods expressed by Marzena. It additionally speaks to the strength of the kinship relationships between and beyond the two locales:

> "I laugh that various baby-gear in our family is constantly making cross-border journeys […] My daughter sends out sab simplex [a German colic medicine that is believed to be the most effective yet remains unavailable in Poland– PP] to her Polish cousins, and then they sent her this beautiful, sewn-to-order, really exceptional quality carrying sling – every other person on a street in Germany stops to ask her where she got it" /Marzena, DE. NMM/

Aside from serving as an interesting example of travelling transnational objects in the unified Europe, the above quotation supports the case for *New Migrant Mothers* placing utmost importance on maintaining social relationships with their Poland-based kin and friends. This was particularly underscored for the children, who were expected to partake in Skype and phone conversations with the grandparents back home, and encouraged to sustain or build their own networks in Poland. Marta's story showcases the *New Migrant Motherhood* of a teenager. Her now 16-year old son arrived in Wales at the age of 9:

> "After just a year here my son was mistaken for a Welshman, I was very proud of him for managing to integrate so quickly, but, truth be told, I was also a little worried whether he would remember that he is *also* Polish […] Now it is harder, he is almost a grown-up, but earlier he would spend every summer in Poland, cultivate friendships there, took art classes at our local Community Centre"/Marta, UK, NMM/

Importantly, Marta elaborated that ensuring that her son sees Poland as an attractive place was also tied to his future in Britain, as he has taken a GCSE exam in Polish. Furthermore, it is interesting that the mother herself narrates a **dual** identification

she envisions for her son, which seems to guide her educational practices. Considering university studies for her son in Poland, she emphasized that it would have to be a top-ranked program taught in English, illuminating a transnational 'capital' brokering (Erel 2009, 2012a, 2012b) in the Polish case. As a part-time teacher Marta encourages other migrant parents to speak their language at home, highlighting the financial payoff for buying certain high-quality educational materials (books, electronics) cheaper in the country of origin, as a practical way of achieving simultaneously two goals: providing general knowledge and learning Polish. In fact Klara, another interview-partner, spoke about doing just so when her daughter requested an expensive digital wall world map. Klara bought it for her during a stay in Poland, fulfilling the girl's wish but effectively making her learn new Polish vocabulary in the subject that interested her. Crucially, Ania, who works with the newly arrived Polish women, recommends that parents cultivate their Polish roots while equally opening their social circles to integration, foreign acquaintances and practices. She said:

> "It is not good to exaggerate: I feel sad when I hear Polish people speaking broken English to their children in the street – one has to raise their awareness, educate them […] On the other hand, our children live here, so they should feel fine here. So overall I would like them to feel a part of the Polish community here in Britain, to engage with it" /Ania, UK, NMM/

Indeed, Ania's children (aged 8 and 4) speak Polish without accent. Although they live in the UK, they first learned to read in Polish. This, nonetheless, did not prevent the older daughter from being a star pupil in her English school, perfectly fluent in the other language. Both children happily attend a Polish Saturday School, but are said to be similarly comfortable partaking in the activities organized by their local council (e.g. taking dance classes) or playing team sports at school.

As for the mothers themselves, they also demonstrate comparatively high levels of social participation and seem to develop new personal networks (largely multicultural ones) in the United Kingdom or Germany, respectively. They engage in their children's schooling, join professional associations, and support local charity causes (e.g. one respondent mentioned volunteering for the British Heart Foundation). *New Migrant Mothers* also contribute to the Polish migrant organizations and initiatives that could be seen as examples of grassroots maternal migrant activism:

> "I actually advise other Polish mothers now – it is important and I remember that when I got here I was very scared – excited about all the opportunities, yes, but also quite

> reserved during my first weeks here… Mothers have to do so much more when they get here – everything is on them, on us… […] /Ania, UK, NMM/

Oftentimes active in Polish online communities, the women care about Polish matters in general, which concurs with their migration stories, rich in numerous temporary returns to Poland over summer breaks and holidays. Unlike the other groups, the transnationally-oriented *New Migrant Mothers* keep one foot each in the sending and the receiving society. They declare vital importance attached to socializing, both within and beyond their ethnic networks:

> "Those groups for mothers here are great – mums can exchange their experiences and children play together – it is already something that links these children, it is then easier when they start school – they may know other kids by then […] it is especially important for mothers like us – foreigners – as we do not know a lot of things about which schools to apply to and when, or how to communicate with teachers or school in an officially appropriate manner, so as to be successful in explaining when your child needs extra help, for instance" /Kaja, DE, NMM /

Interestingly, when it came to the question of social networks, the interviewed women could be divided on the axis mirroring both their social class and their children's age. Within the enquiry about ethnic origins among the friends and acquaintances of the family, two associated trends could be observed:

- The degree of the networks' ethnic heterogeneity grew on the continuum from '*Mother-Poles*' (who had almost exclusively Polish networks), to '*New Migrant Mothers'* and '*Feminist Mothers'* (both with a balanced composition and a high degree of diversity beyond home and host countries' nationals), to '*Intensive mothers'* (who mostly socialized with the local population);
- The diversity in regard to the local/foreign/ethnic networks was significantly higher for mothers with school-aged children. While many baby and toddler groups are often bound by the *'national containers'* (perhaps for the sake of the communication ease among the parents and with the goal of fostering the development of the children's linguistic capital in the parents' native tongue. Conversely, the homes of the interview-partners with school-aged children needed to become open to multiculturalism, at least to a certain degree.

Consequently, it was particularly visible in discussions about education when women recalled the struggles to 'marry', 'bridge' or 'connect' two systems, as they understood the need to facilitate their children's educational attainment and success in

Britain or Germany. They simultaneously acknowledged the vast range of strategies they had attempted to ensure that their children accomplish the basic literacy skills (reading, writing) and gain a decent general comprehension of the Polish language. A hybridized strategy of balancing educational efforts between the two contexts of the sending and receiving societies therefore distinguishes the *New Migrant Mothers.* Women in this group always considered some form of teaching Polish to their children and, when a Polish Saturday School was either (geographically) unavailable or unable to fulfil the particular needs of their children, mothers sought out alternatives (e.g.hired private tutors, signing up for distance learning online). At the same time, the children appeared to display high levels of success in their foreign schooling, with examples of winning competitions, memberships in sports teams and academically-orientated groups. In several cases, successful admission to the university education in Britain was noted and some Germany-based respondents proudly described the international program and top-ranking graduate study programs that they children managed to get into.

A dilemma that can speak volumes on the practical distinction between mothers representing different categories is the one concerning plans for spending summer holidays. While the *Intensive Mothers* may forgo obligations towards their family in Poland (with several women saying that they have not visited Poland in years, and went instead on holidays to 'exotic' resorts or culture-rich destinations), this would be unheard of among *Mother-Poles*, who consider it their duty and pleasure to 'return home'. The *New Migrant Mothers*' entanglements, however, reveal a more problematic relationship within their multi-sited lives, pinpointing a feasibility problem in everyday decision-making:

> "The summer is definitely too short – we must go to Poland because, well, it is obvious, and besides, the grandparents planned some family events, want to take the children to Warsaw, show them the capital… But then they also really need to see London, other kids from their class normally went there couple of times and we had never had a chance, to see the Parliament, Tower, all that important sites. So if it was up to me, to be honest, I would just relax with my husband and kids somewhere on the Spanish coast – it would probably even be cheaper, but then this is not how it will go" /Ania, UK, NMM/

In this predicament, splitting the vacations time between going home to Poland and travelling to the places of cultural significance for the host society is a display of the transnationalism's practical limitation on the one hand and, on the other, the significance of the *motherwork* whereby women invest in the bi-locality of their children.. It is so because the "transnationals are people who move and build encapsulated cultural worlds around them. Cosmopolitans, by contrast, familiarise themselves with other cultures and

know how to move easily between cultures" (Werbner 1999:19). It might be this very issue of the practical differentiation between the life-orientations that arguably illustrates eventual discrepancies between *New Migrant Mothers* and the pre-existing ideal types.

Concerning the above dilemma, neither the children's development nor national/ethnic/kin obligations can be easily prioritized, as Ania formulates in her original attempt to fulfil, at least partly, the requirements posed by both societal contexts. The *New Migrant Mothers* oftentimes see themselves as globally-oriented, but tend to have a dual, bi-national orientation for establishing balance between the country they live in and the country they come from, resulting in Ania's *normalization* of the dual-spilt of time between Poland and her country of residence, void of other international travels. Ultimately, being concerned about cross-border familyhood – welfare, loyalty and unity (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002:3) - makes *New Migrant Mothers* fit the bill of the transnational family optic. Further, in the particular setting of contemporary Polish intra-European migration, transnationality is facilitated by the relative easiness of sustaining the bi-national orientations through proximity, legality, new technology as communication-enabling, easy travel, economic benefits, availability of various educational options, shops, organizations, churches and so on (see e.g. Ignatowicz 2011, Vertovec 2004a). The *New Migrant Mothers* take advantage of those features and express a hybridization within their practices, in line with Glick Schiller's recent argument on the inaccuracy of the oppositional positioning of 'openness' and 'rootedness', envisioning instead a possibility of a 'cosmopolitan dimension' occurring simultaneously with 'the maintenance of ethnic/national ties' (2011: 400). Finally, the *New Migrant Mothers* seem to oscillate between transnationalism and a Europeanized version of the cosmopolitan disposition (Beck 2007), with the quotation below supplying a summary of the said orientation:

> "It might sound strange but I feel very European, like I have developed this extra-special term to describe that I feel at home here in Germany, but Poland is also my home. And I do not feel like a stranger in France or Netherlands, where we go for vacation. […] We have a lot of [Polish] family here from both mine and my husband's sides, so the children know that this is where we are all from […] One aunt once asked my son where he's from and he said he's a German from Poland, and then my daughter, who just had a lesson at school about European integration said that she is <a citizen of the united Europe> - it was both funny and quite amazingly uplifting, coming from a 9-year-old!" /Kaja, DE, NMM/

The accounts of *New Migrant Mothers* merging or marrying cultures whilst living abroad paint quite an optimistic picture. Their transnational resourcefulness facilitates educational success abroad but maintains an option for children to connect with and

benefit from their Polish heritage. Thus they are likely to develop a sense of being Polish and British/German with regard to the language and culture (Mayrol et al. 2010, see also Reynolds 2008). On the one hand, the children raised in these families continue to have tangible and strong links to Poland with respect to the national heritage, culture, language and personal networks, while for the parents regular visits to Poland ease the transition to settlement abroad and may mitigate the effect of struggles that being a foreigner in their daily lives must bring. On the other hand, the said children do not become alienated or excluded in their new homelands of Western Europe, being encouraged in their adaptation and integrative behaviours.

Significantly, this particular strategy appears to be beneficial for mothers, who begin to create spaces of identities for themselves – as Poles living transnationally abroad. More broadly, however, the *New Migrant Mothers* belong to all the different segments of the middle-class, and that *positionality* has implications for both the receiving and sending societies. The pressing doubt, however, is whether *New Migrant Mothers* are somewhat "stuck" with the transnationalism, while they may wish to be more cosmopolitan, as Marta said:

> *"*I really wish I could be friends with more people but one has to be careful here – friendships are really difficult when you are not one of the locals and with Poles, you know, they are also not trustworthy […] Our life here is good, we can buy a lot of things, we can strategize about investments here and back in Poland […] but we still are not there yet – we can't travel, for example, have to watch out with money, especially with M.[son] going to university soon I can't afford to change my job now, do what I want, because [financial]security is key" /Marta, UK, NMM/

It is apparent that Marta's narrative includes some elements of intra-national distrust (Garapich 2009), the middle-class ethos of university education and the transnational strategizing (investments, see e.g. Levitt & Jaworsky 2007), and that her choices are impeded by a matrix of social class and migrant positioning (for similar case examples see e.g. Nowicka 2013). As already mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter, women recall their status by listing the gains in one regard (e.g. gender equality, availability of family time together, increased family consumption, a better range of opportunities for children), noting losses in another area (e.g. brain-waste, nostalgia for home, absence of their kin support), and making plans for the future, further supporting the argument that a family life is led dynamically. Nonetheless, the *New Migrant Mothers* are increasingly transnational in their attempts to maximize the benefits of having access to the resources and possibilities offered by both Poland and their Western destination.

Finally, for the following discussions, a note of caution should be sounded in the face of certain heterogeneity within the group. In the spirit of the feminist approach (e.g. Green 2010b, O'Reilly 2008, 2010a), it is valid and valuable to talk about *New Migrant Mothers* in a plural form, allowing a degree of individual choice and agency. Therefore, this contribution should be broadly seen as a novel ideal type pertaining to a set of practices rather than an ideology. *New Migrant Mothering* is little concerned with the set-in-stone definitions and the institutional dimension of motherhood; it is rather focused on *doing motherhood* or *mothering* – a personal experience, a dynamically shaped effort of hybridization of influences, and an individual maternal endeavour.

Chapter 10: Comparing the Models and Situating Key Contributions

"We know more about the air we breathe, the seas we travel, than about the nature and meaning of motherhood"
/Adrianne Rich, Of Women Born, 1976:11/

Interestingly, the quotation above touches upon both travelling – an expression of human mobility – and motherhood, a metaphor suitable for one of the arguments put forward in this thesis. While any discussion of migrant mothering evidently requires both perspectives, it also shows a gap in theorizing. With a breadth of scholarship dealing with various aspects of migration, paired with a growing interest in how family matters affect transnational mobility, there is a definite scarcity in the literature pertaining to motherhood in Poland, particularly that which views the subject from a feminist perspective or offers an in-depth discussion in the context of the growing number of Polish families relocating to (or being started in) Western Europe. However, Garapich has recently argued that "the inadequacy and the ideological bias of the previous paradigms, and the still ripe need to develop new conceptual and methodological tools to be able to capture better this fast changing reality" (2011:7) is being currently responded to within various projects. Attempting to contribute to this and similar debates, this final *Chapter* recapitulates the empirical findings by discussing the evidence illustrating the four ideal-type models side by side in the context of the existing literature. The following discussions illustrate the dimensions listed in the *Traits/Characteristics* sections of *Table 4* (Appendix 2).

Discussion

While the focus of this thesis is on migrant mothers, it stands to reason that women may both straightforwardly represent and openly contest the understandings of the family they grew up with in Poland, as well as those encountered abroad. It is evident in the meanings of being a *'good mother'* understood so differently by women belonging to the same ethnic group. As families do not exist in a vacuum, upon an international move the relevance of different debates becomes duplicated by the reference points present in both the sending and the receiving societies. Migration (and any discussion of the subject) requires the respondents to perform a task of self-positioning within or outside certain maternal discourses as the "Self and the Other are knottily entangled" (Fine 1994:72, cf.

Letherby 2003:131). This supports the claim that identities are narratives that tell stories of who we are and are not, who we were and perhaps who we may become (Yuval-Davis 2006:197). The data illustrates that migrant women construct hierarchies when it comes to how they and other-mothers comply with a '*good mother*' ideal. Within individual stories some women described a shift in their practices upon migration, stating that perhaps their parenting before (in Poland) was not up to par but has much improved (as in it has a larger degree of similarity with their ideal of 'good mother') in Germany or in Britain. More importantly, the evaluation often takes form of comparing oneself to others in the group of reference (Polish mothers). It almost always concerned with women (mothers) rather than parents (men as fathers/husbands) and quite commonly means that women who make different choices are negatively judged. As there is no 'Polish migrant mother' collective identity understanding, conflicts clearly arise on the grounds of social status, religion, and interpretation of national narratives. In a way, those inner-differences translate into migrant version of *mommy wars* when women argue about practical matters concerning their children and have a version of a proper 'Polish mothering' that is exclusionary to others with different ideas. This became evident in how tensions between mothers led to Polish schools breaking apart or splitting into two separate institutions (Praszałowicz et al. 2013), as well as stories where mothers express their wishes about the local schooling and openly criticize classrooms with 'too many Polish children' or, alternatively, seek out schools where Polish children are numerous.

Therefore, master discourses, as well as family practices and parenting strategies within the migrant communities that they determine, should be analysed together. The 'national' component assumes that the Polish nation as a collective is based on a singularly conceived ethnicity (Yuval-Davis 1997a, 1997b, Glick Schiller 1977, Glick Schiller et al. 1992, Castells 2008), religion and a forced exile, that together frame womanhood in a specific way (Irek 2012:25, Praszałowicz 2010:17, Zielińska 2010:62, Garapich 2012, Zinovijus 2012, Karnat-Napieracz 2012). While the interview-partners referred to those ideological aspects of nationhood (as illustration or critique), their national identities are reproduced in what Billig calls the 'banality of the everyday' (1995:6). Their identity-practices are not all political, and many are shaped by consumption patterns and the simple, dull routines of culinary practices that have a broader meaning of 'feeding the family' in migration and beyond (Walczewska 1995, Dunn 2004, DeVault 1991, Beoku-Betts 1995, Main 2013). The interview-partners often expressed their 'Polishness' (or non-

Polishness) by choosing (or rejecting) traditional Polish food and scheduling family meals in a certain way, feeling nostalgic for certain products (sour milk, gherkins) and dishes (*bigos, pierogi),* as well as celebrating certain holidays (Christmas, Easter) primarily through the established and familiar (or novel and foreign) culinary practices (see e.g. Bielawska 2013). Those banal nationalism practices should also be understood as forms of *displaying family* (Finch 2007) – demonstrating the elements of the national culture and identity that a migrant considers important, valuable or distinctive.

The analysis attempted in this thesis pinpoints the (sometimes blurred) lines between the everyday forms of displaying/doing family (Finch 2007, Jamieson 1998, Morgan 1996, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c) and the broader societal/institutional bonds that families have (McCarthy & Edwards 2011:88-91). Morawska argues for a similar duality within transnational families: "depending on the specific constellation of factors, it can involve single or multiple cross-border activities […], regular or prompted by specific situations [...], carried by individuals, immigrant families or ethnic groups through informal or institutional channels; and it can be confined to private lives of people on both sides of the border or involve the public sphere" (2007:153).

When put side by side, the basic convictions about the family, studied across the mothers representing the four models, clearly indicate that the child-centeredness of modern families persists as a salient feature (Green 2010a:573, Hays 1996:115, Szpakowska 2003, Slany 2013). Whereas the families of *Mother-Poles* could be understood through the functionalist approach offered by Polish Family Sociology which affirms collective and traditional, culturally homogenous (predominantly Catholic) values, as well as a heteronormative nuclear family order (e.g. Titkow et al. 2004, Titkow 2007, Titkow & Duch-Krzysztoszek 2004, Giza-Poleszczuk 2005), the ideas expressed by mothers from the other categories cannot be understood within this paradigm. The sociology of personal life proves to be a much more useful set of tools for developing a 'dynamic' and a 'constructivist' view of a family, which the interview-partners narrate as relatively more individualistic, yet also relational, flexible, diverse and intimacy-oriented (Slany 2002, 2013, Allan 1999, McCarthy & Edwards 2011, McKie & Callan 2012, Gattrell 2005, Smart 2007, 2011, Jamieson 1998, Morgan 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 1996, 1999; Allan 1999, May 2011, Smart 2011, McKie & Callan 2012, Chambers 2012).

Conversely, the 'mother-child' dyad was unequivocally acknowledged to be primordial by the women-respondents and operated as a 'pure relationship' (Giddens

1992:58), the only constant and unbreakable bond of responsibility in the postmodern chaotic world of global families (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995, 2013), regardless of some New Migrant- and Feminist Mothers' being aware of the importance of maintaining other relationships (e.g. in the coupledom, which nevertheless operated more on a 'rolling contract' basis; May 2011:6).

The latter is consistent with the re-definitions of the gender orders which closely connect family and migration. Like Parreñas (2005a: 168), Szczepanikova (2006: 3-4) and Kay (1988), my intent is to illustrate that there is no predetermined progress towards gender equality that could be straightforwardly based on the simple fact of changing one's country of residence: *Mother-Poles* have re-traditionalized in ways similar to the women described in the studies by Muszel (2013), Szczepanikova (2012), Reid & Comas-Diaz (1990), and Morokvasic (2007:71), while some progress was observable in other groups, most noticeably among the *Feminist Mothers*. Nevertheless, once 'gender' is acknowledged as a variable despite its inconstant nature and the fact that it is continuously constructed and transformed (Nakano Glen 1994:8), it still facilitates portraying women as individuals equipped with agency(O'Reilly 2008, Liss & Erchull 2012, Kinser 2010a, Green 2010b), who take pride in their actions and navigating their family lives abroad. This thesis aimed at transgressing the earlier frameworks by 'giving voice' and representing migrant women from their own perspective.

The gender-relevant arguments are not incongruent with what Roudometof said about the mass-mobility setting:

> "The proliferation of the different levels of transnationalism around the globe leads to a bifurcation of attitudes among the public. Faced with the reality of transnational experience, members of the public might opt for an open attitude welcoming the new experiences or they might opt for a defensive closed attitude seeking to limit the extent to which transnational social spaces penetrate their cultural milieu" (2005:127).

The interviewed Polish women indeed displayed a range of preferences in relation to how much they allow or wish the elements of both their national culture and what they perceive as 'global' aspects enter their homes and impact their maternal practices, supporting the argument made by some earlier research across ethnic contexts (e.g. Goulbourne et al. 2010, Reynolds 2007, 2008, Erel 2010, Vasquez 2010). Unsurprisingly, Mother-Poles imminently narrate their practices from the position of Polish national superiority (Blumberg-Stankiewicz 2010:211-224, Morawska 2003, Praszałowicz 2010:49-51, Eade et al. 2006:18, D'Angelo & Ryan 2011:254). An 'ethnic-lens' vision

(Glick Schiller et al. 1992, Garapich 2009), that the majority of Mother-Poles refrain from going beyond, is accentuated by the migratory processes and results in the rejection of anything that is perceived as 'foreign'. The middle-ground of *New Migrant Mothering* (shared with FM) is in this dimension related to the maturity of recognizing those components that one sees as fitting in their particular case, accustoming themselves to change and difference, and performing activities that can be seen as a process of hybridization (Glick Schiller 2011: 400, Plüss 2013:7). Finally, the *Intensive Mothers* perhaps go one step further in abandoning their heritage altogether, removing the national narratives and replacing them with the framings of a pan-national, global and cosmopolitan lifestyle (Skrbiš et al. 2011, Beck 2006, 2007, Vertovec & Cohen 2002).

Taking a closer look at the migration trajectories studied, a very clear finding from the interviews was that economy-related reasons appear insufficient to explain the contemporary mobility of Polish women who are mothers or desire to have children. While a financial hardship or better career prospects were mentioned (see also. Dzięglewski 2012, Fihel & Piętka 2007, Waniek 2007, Frelak 2012, Grabowska-Lusińska 2012), the individual accounts of migratory decision-making feature a plethora of factors that are primarily related to family matters. Like those interviewed in the realm of other projects, the women who endured a phase of a maternal transnational separation prior to the family reunification declared reasons for their family mobility that were anything but economically rational (Lutz 2008, Pratt 2012, Pustułka 2012, Nicholson 2006). The stories of Ania's or Aga's families living apart, with the primary male migrant earning high wages in the West, suggest that female relocations significantly worsened the economic standing of their respective families. Instead of having one parent living cheaply abroad and sending remittances to Poland where, owing to their high purchasing power, the family is economically comfortable, upon relocation the reunited family ends up as a single-income household with children to support, operating under the demands and costs of a foreign economy.

For some couples, reunification meant having to deal with marital problems that could be no longer avoided, and, for the parent-child relationships, the transitions from living apart to the new post-migratory settings were also not always easy, particularly for the primary-migrant women who commented on the sense of unbearable guilt incurred from their earlier separation from children and the difficulty in re-adapting to everyday togetherness (see ie. Lutz 2008, Pratt 2012). As the literature notes with increasing

frequency (e.g. Parreñas 2005, 2009, Pratt 2012, Bjerén 1997, Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997, Dreby 2008, Segura 1994, Vasquez 2010, Levitt & Jaworsky 2007), experiences of migration are irreversibly linked to parenthood, with both procreative decisions and later child-rearing issues named among the rationales behind decisions to migrate. The stories told by women provide evidence of the careful planning of mobility and feature ideas of togetherness, child-centeredness and emotional propinquity, to a much greater degree than can be anticipated by the models relying on salary differentials, unemployment and similar macro-level factors. Consequently, it transpires from the narratives across the models that migration is a project predominantly seen as a way of securing 'a better future' for one's children, and framed through an intergenerational lens of a family life across borders.

However, some attention should be paid to the fact that for Polish women in the intra-European context, the realities are very different from the ones described in the underprivileged sending societies of the Global South, where migration means securing the basics, rather than a life-improvement move (eg Parreñas 2005a, Pratt 2012, Sassen 1984). Evidently, the latter entail much less manageable conditions for a potential long-distance propinquity (distance, time zones, access to communication technologies). As such, the stories presented here need to be contextualized into their intra-European level of somewhat "*non-transnational"* transnationality. All in all, the stories mostly include the components of 'success' and 'happiness', both in relation to the 'objective' societal success of achieving economic sustainability and stability, and the 'subjective' evaluations of improved intra-family dynamics. For many families, settling abroad equals "living a normal life" (White 2011a:62-66, Galasińska & Kozłowska 2009, Botterill 2011:58-60, Ryan 2006), with the prospects of a return being quite unlikely. Importantly, having no plans to permanently relocate back to the home country does not necessarily mean that ties with Poland are broken, which fits with the continuing importance of one's kin in the globalized world, pinpointed by the sociology of the family and migration studies (ie. Baldassar 2007, 2008, Slany 1997, 2008, Slany et al. 2014, Krzyżowski 2013). The latter was particularly highlighted by migration research on transnational kin (Goulbourne et al. 2010, Krzyżowski 2013, Nesteruk & Marks 2009), mirroring what Temple stated about the migrants' attachment to Poland being built around the emotional aspects of the ties with those who remained back in the home country, as revealed by the nostalgia for the 'Polish way of life' (2011b:51).

It should also be underlined that the stories of numerous interview-partners who were female 'birds of passage'– the primary migrants (Morokvasic 1983, 1984, Kofman 1999, Kofman et al.2000, Mahler & Pessar 2001, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003, Elrick & Lewandowska 2009) and those profoundly successful in their professional careers abroad, overturn the presumptions about female migration projects being portrayed as pathways to their economic dependency on men. Even though their migration decision might have origins in economic necessity (MP, some NMM), a career progression prospect or an indirect response to political conditions (IM, some NMM, FM; see e.g. Sword 1996, Coyle 2007, Burrell 2008a), the mobility of Polish women largely contributed to the creation of certain alternative personal and/or family opportunities.

While the comparative nature of this thesis was originally intended to offer an insight into the differences between Polish mothers in Germany versus those in the United Kingdom,[56] the real migration story has been discovered to be that of the East-West migration (Favell 2008, Morokvasic 1991, 2004). The comparative aspect was most apparent in how Polish migrant women position themselves against Polish mothers in Poland, or 'other' Polish women in their destination country, or the 'local' majority population (German/British/Welsh) mothers, or, marginally, the international migrant minority mothers of their respective destination locale. For that purpose, Germany and the United Kingdom appear to be the perfect fieldwork countries in focus, as they are the two most important receiving countries (statistically, politically and socially; see e.g. Nowosielski 2012, Burrell 2011, Burrell 2010, Dzięglewski 2012, Garapich 2011) for Polish migration flows.

While proving that Polish mothers undoubtedly remain the primary agents of the inner-workings of their family lives (Parreñas 2005, 2008; O'Reilly 2010a, Parutis 2007) who usually operate as the sole decision-makers and 'managerial matriarchs' (Titkow 2007, see also Nakano-Glen 1994), the discussion about migration and maternal practices must take into account the heterogeneity of the narratives. In brief, with no need to

[56] Notably, there were some aspects of the comparison that could be seen on the continuum, particularly in regard to a subjectively perceived degree of the state intervention into the personal lives of their citizens (higher in Germany), the state/school dynamics (parental engagement expectation, multicultural and language classroom politics – evaluated as better in the UK), the presence of a Polish migrant, as well as judgements passed on the health services, particularly in the context of the pregnancy care frameworks (ambiguity in the UK, praise in Germany). Some illustrations were incorporated in the analysis Chapters, while others might be discussed in future publications.

question what the broader scholarship shows about the womanhood/reproduction and the nationhood/mobility being closely interconnected (Bjerén 1997, Yuval-Davis 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, Lutz et al.1995), this work helps to explain why the practices of *Mother-Poles* are just as much aligned with the discourses of exile, heritage and national identity, as they are directly opposed in the stories of Polish *Intensive Mothers*.

Erel concludes that migrant "[m]others are a crucial link for maintaining, enhancing or destabilizing the intergenerational reproduction, accumulation and transmission of cultural capital. However, a gendered analysis of women's relation to cultural capital is not sufficient; it is important to take the intra-gender differentiations of ethnicity and class into account" (2012a:466, see also Parreñas 2005b:318). The collected empirical data strongly supports such explanations and the view that the cultural capital and the parenting choices are conceived differently along the social class axis and thus cannot all be fully covered by the arguments of the transnational framework. Building on White's argument that "[i]ndividuals have a degree of choice as to how cosmopolitan their lives will be. Nonetheless, since the social and economic structures also determine how much cosmopolitanism is possible for individual migrants" (2011a:16), it has to be noted that for my interview-partners the logic of class and access to resources governed and dictated the degree of participation in integration and transnational activities.

Looking at the backgrounds of women representing the main categories, one can notice the impact of social class on the resultant type of migrant mothering, from the migrant narrative and the constructions of a sense of belonging, to the intergenerational transmission of values, the practicalities of schooling strategies, on to the model of holiday celebrations or the choice of vacation destinations, which are additionally entangled and permeate the personal and the social spheres. The structural factors of educational attainment and occupational status determine the understanding of migration in one's life and an overall 'family orientation' with regard to the presumed (transnational) bi-focality or alternative orientations and choices. Paradoxically, the claims made about class need to be heuristic as they refer predominantly to the migration scholarship (e.g. Trevena 2011, Eade et al. 2006, Garapich 2012), arguing for the incongruence of the social statuses usually experienced by migrants (Beck 2007:694, Nowicka 2013). In Poland, the class debate has been skewed by the communism-era heritage, and only recently a revival of an interest in social class and lifestyles can be observed (see e.g. Domański 2002, 2013, Gdula & Sadura 2012). It is perhaps most suitable in this context to retain Hondagneu-

Sotelo and Avila's (2005:316-317) argument for an elastic definition of a transnational motherhood framed through the currencies of "milk, shoes, and schooling" as a metaphor for the inherent and widely shared maternal drives, concerns and responsibility to provide sustenance, protect the children's well-being at present, and to make sure that they are well-prepared for the future (see also Parreñas 2005b).

For migrant mothers, children's schooling is one of the most powerful institutional and organizational concerns raised by research worldwide (e.g. Erel 2010, Pratt 2012, Parreñas 2005a, Vasquez 2010), and the Polish women in the study group are no exception (see e.g. White 2010, 2011a, Ryan et al. 2008, D'Angelo & Ryan 2011, Szczygielska 2013). Migration accentuates the crucial importance of the ways in which contemporary parents are responsible for their children's socialization, in accordance with what Chambers noted about '*good parenting*' prescriptions, practices and values being shaped differently across space and time (2012:55-75). Local education systems inevitably involve contact with the foreign culture, values and ways of life (Adams & Kirova 2006:2; D'Angelo & Ryan 2011:239), and the majority of women clearly voiced opinions that the educational strategies they employ are targeted at making migratory projects worthwhile for their children (see also: Pratt 2012, Ryan et al. 2008, Erel 2010, 2012a).

Showing similarity to Lopez Rodriguez's respondents (2010), *Mother-Poles* tend to invert the above logic as they rarely reflect on aspects of education (unless it directly relates to Poland) and seem somewhat unaware of the systemic differences or intercultural disjuncture. More broadly, the *Mother-Poles* often struggle with either their limited social capital or the problems with its transferability (Erel 2012a) into the foreign surroundings. They appear similar to the female labour migrants of earlier decades through their occupational status (e.g. Lutz 2011, Morokvasic 1993, 2004, 2007), which often keeps them socially isolated abroad. As a rule, they have few possibilities to interact with the host society (Lutz & Palenga 2010, Kałwa 2006, Slany & Małek 2005, Kordasiewicz 2010),with acquaintances recruited primarily from amongst their fellow co-nationals with a similar social class affiliation (Main 2013:20). Furthermore, their lack of language skills may impede contacts with local institutions (White 2011a, Temple 1997, Ryan et al. 2008), such as health services or educational entities, which they in turn question as hostile to immigrants.

Under these circumstances, a situation described by Weiß appears applicable: "While the upper and some middle layers of world society extend their life-worlds to the

globe, the lowest positions are affected by global dynamics, but reduced to their immediate surroundings in the opportunities for action" (2005: 716). The coping mechanism that Mother-Poles adopt in dealing with those challenges is to return to the familiar, strengthening those elements within their family strategies that display both their national belonging in Poland and their children's Polishness. The translocality of those mothers indicates a pattern of replication and implementation of Polish practices in a foreign milieu, exemplified by exclusively Polish cooking and extensive participation in the religious practices of Polish Catholic parishes abroad. Although their post-migratory economic status improves (sometimes greatly), their consumption choices remain deeply rooted in their working class habitus. They orientate themselves towards the country of origin, seem unable to move away from the initial pain of the biographically incomprehensible culture shock (Waniek, 2007:99). Additionally, they perpetuate a generally strong "*us versus them*" narration, conducive to what Plüss delineates in her statement: "Non-access to resources can lead to non-integration in a place, and also to an increasing essentialization of one's culture in one's social positioning" (2013:7). In addition, *Mother Poles* particularly stand out in terms of their attitudes towards difference, being captured in the 'ethnicity forever' constructions of singularly approved of (Catholic) Polishness (Morawska 1990).

Conversely, the generally well-educated professionals in the Intensive Mothers category make choices that highlight their belonging to elites, regardless of the national contexts (Erel 2010, 2012a, Park & Abelmann 2004, Werbner 1999), in all actuality distancing themselves from the co-nationals they view as differently positioned (Trevena 2011:88). For mothers in this group, the initial migratory experience often represents and reinforces a vision of becoming a cosmopolitan citizen of the world. Their journeys often begin as travelling, socializing, gaining international experience, embarking on adventures, realizing a wish to experience what they see as a Western lifestyle. They become cosmopolitan citizens of a borderless Europe (Beck 2007, Beck and Sznaider 2006) who just happen to have originated from Poland. In the broader migratory categorizations, they are often referred to as nomads with a high degree of freedom that goes beyond the geopolitical boundaries and functions as a new element for identity formation (Koryś & Okólski 2004, Bauman 1998, 2000, 2005).

Such attitudes are later reflected in their Intensive parenting as the resources they hold, especially in terms of educational capital (Bourdieu 1986), allow them to maximize

the benefits of their international move, both in their own careers (see also Ong 2002) and in the futures they envision for their children. In that sense, they illustrate to a large degree the research claims about changes within postmodern families (Szlendak 2010, Slany 2002, 2013) and the 'new motherhood' in Poland (Sikorska 2009a, 2012, Olcoń-Kubicka 2009a). The 'new motherhood', which has arrived from the West only marginally challenges the *Mother-Pole's* master discourse due to the astounding similarity between the two. Moreover, it is predominantly seen in the urban middle-classes of Warsaw and other large Polish cities, where it is moving towards 'paranoid' intensive parenting. Abroad, subscribing to a Western ideology of *Intensive motherhood* additionally facilitates integration, doing so in its version not necessarily targeted at the host society as a whole, but rather aimed at fitting in with the international highly-skilled and locally hegemonic (upper-)middle-class (Plüss 2013, see also Reay 1996, Gdula & Sadura 2012, Kaczmarczyk 2006, Zmroczek & Mahony 1999). For those migrants, "not standing out" and adopting local practices as parents paves the way to further social advancement. Adopting the ideology of *Intensive Motherhood* might not move the women towards understandings of motherhood that are less constraining, but it is rational in aiding the families in the process of reclaiming a social status that might have been questioned upon migration and when they are being assessed through the lens of representing a non-majority ethnic background.

Finally, the *New Migrant Mothers* constitute the most diverse group in terms of their educational and professional backgrounds. They seem to incorporate some elements of their heritage into their lives abroad in the effort to 'marry' the two orders. Transnationalism helps to outline several aspects of their family practices, including a generally high level of maintenance of ties with their kin members left behind and development of the personal non-affinity networks with co-nationals abroad (frontiering and relativizing, Bryceson & Vuorela 2002). It is further characterized by a sense of familyhood and Polish familialism (Siemieńska 1994, Slany 2002, 2013, Beisert 2006:24-26), instrumental for sustaining material links with Poland through social and financial remittances in various forms (Levitt 1998, 2010), buying vacation properties in Poland and quite frequent visits in their home country. At the same time, they are neither considering a return to Poland, nor refraining from the idea of settlement – making meaningful real-estate investments (e.g. creating homes, see Parutis 2006) and establishing extensive networks abroad. While some earlier scholarship suggested that 'hybridity' of practices is

not always something to be manifested or celebrated, the evidence from the interviews with Polish women exhibit a hybridity (to varying degrees), in which there is no favouritism towards a given culture or locale (Eriksen 2012:27).

Transnational *New Migrant Mothers* are the ones who benefit most from intra-European migration characterized by easy and cheap travel, as well as communication technology (Vertovec 2004b, Ignatowicz 2011, Madianou & Miller 2011, Madianou 2012, Parreñas 2005a, 2005b, Burrell 2010). They express a conviction that non face-to-face familial exchanges over the phone or the Internet constitute vital forms of family practices (see e.g. Morgan 2011a:2, Cheal 2002). The *New Migrant Mothers* may also use their transnational resources in social capital bonding and bridging – as a means of resilience in times of difficulty (e.g. by supplementing the disposable income by renting their house in Poland, relying on kin members to arrive abroad and alleviate the costs of childcare, etc.; see e.g. Goulbourne et al. 2010, Nesteruk & Markus 2009) or, alternatively, by soliciting assistance from their extensive networks of collateral and fictive kinship (McKie & Callan 2012:153, Pahl & Spencer 2004) abroad. As such, they are embedded in the dynamically constructed practices of managing ties and kin relationships beyond national borders (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002), which signifies a constant interplay of ethnic identity components from the countries of origin, destination and beyond (Goulbourne et al. 2010, Reynolds 2008). It is also most evident in their stories that individuals need to constantly reconcile the 'movement and staying put' within different networks of loyalty and orientations to the past, the present and the future (ibid:10). In practice, these orientations translate into the obligations that the mothers express about keeping their children connected to both Poland and their foreign locale, as well as their own rooting in the sending society by means of the responsibility they have towards their elderly parents through gendered care obligations (Constable 1999, Doyle & Timonen 2010, Krzyżowski 2014, Baldassar 2007, 2008, Charkiewicz & Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz 2009).

While the resources of the *New Migrant Mothers* vary, they continue to integrate without abandoning their Polish values (see e.g. White 2011a:137-195), and thus they may constitute empirical examples of Irek's *Cosmo-Pole* concept (2012:26). This can be read as identifying as Polish and preserving elements of the Polish culture, yet being globally-inclined in aspirations, as well as displaying increasingly positive attitudes towards

diversity. When Irek discusses Cosmo-Poles, she argues that perhaps the new approach can bring an end to the notorious 'Polish peasant[57] (ibid:29), moving away from a permanent settlement towards being a migrant who is '*here and there',* "just a node in an ever-changing universe he is free to shape himself" (ibid:28). Personally, I tend to see this prospect as fairly likely, particularly among the *New Migrant Mothers*.

In spite of the class distinction, the evidence suggests a high maternal *agency* in daily lives, empowerment in making personal and career choices, significance of their opinion in regard to the family expenditures and lifestyle, as well as an executive decision-making power about relations with broader kin and their children's lives. Conversely, the IMs and MPs appear to mother from positions of less power over their own selves, as their individual value is regarded as secondary to that of the children (either under a national mission or paranoid parenting (e.g. Drat-Ruszczak 2010:206, Hays 1996, Green 2010a, O'Reilly 2008, 2010a). Moreover, they are expected to relinquish to (kin or scientific) experts the control over how to mother (Miller 2005, 2007, 2011, Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson 2001, Cosslett 1994, Smart 1992, Urbańska 2009, 2010, 2012, Sikorska 2009a, Olcoń-Kubicka 2009b). While *Mother-Poles* do not escape sacrifice or an overburdening responsibility, *Intensive Motherhood* may also be a double-edged weapon: as women become absolved from the womanhood-nationhood concatenation, they naturalize the Western model which is also classist, ethnocentric and, most importantly – difficult to comply with for mothers worldwide (see e.g. O'Reilly 2010a, Gustafson 2005, Douglas & Michaels 2004, Bell 2004:47, Nakano Glenn 1994:3, Skeggs 1997, Reay 1996).

In that sense, both the *Intensive Motherhood* and the *Mother-Pole* models illuminate the gravity of the burden that a proper performance of mothering entails, with the dissimilarity lying in the explanation of the two – either as resulting from economic necessity applied to an already demanding patriotic figure or elicited by the neoliberal myths. In a slight distinction professional success in the public sphere for *Intensive Mothers* often mitigates that non-power effect outside of the familial context, while *Mother Poles* are further limited by the resurgence and fortification of the traditional masculinity/femininity binary that confines them to the spaces of their homes. It appears

[57] This is a reference to the classic biographical research in sociology initiated by the Chicago School and the prominent work of Thomas and Znaniecki – "*Polish Peasant in Europe and America*" 1918/1976), which has influenced the concatenation of migration and the ethnicity perspectives, as well as predetermined the labour outlook on migration as an economic necessity, particularly in the Polish Sociology.

that migration has a regressive effect on the *Mother-Pole* model and can be compared to the transition that its Polish archetype endured from 1990s till the present day (Titkow 2007, 2013, Muszel 2013). While the ethnic/race-centred non-Western mothering was seen as a potentially empowering source of female power and strength (as, for instance in the maternal "strong Black woman" figure described by Hill Collins 2005:285-295, or in the politicized collective maternity in Latin America, see e.g. Hryciuk 2012), maternal self-reliance and resourcefulness rarely belong still to the symbolic contents of the figure, and are thus not reflected in the daily practices abroad. Conversely, the *New Migrant Mothering* seems to be embedded in those earlier specifics.

Together with *Feminist Mothering*, the *New Migrant Mothering* allows for a somewhat 'buffet-style' selection of the discourse-derived components that are used for shaping personal experiences of mothering, and might be seen as much more resilient towards the exclusionary and binary conceptualizations of '*good motherhood'* – as such they are capable of granting an individual power through reflexivity. Analogically, I argue that since both the *Intensive* and the *Mother-Pole* models have an extensive history that perhaps makes them under-theorized (Perrier 2012) or void (Ostrowska 2004), their primary embeddedness is also institutional. They constitute the ideologies of *motherhood* that have been developed in the historical processes, and seem to influence maternal choices 'from above'. Conversely, the sets of practices under the NMM and FM models stem from the same origin of a personal opposition to (and – particularly in the case of FM – collective challenging of) the unrealistic Master Motherhood Discourses of the MP and IM models. As such, the *Feminist* and the *New Migrant Mothering* should be understood dynamically as doing motherhood or mothering.

Contributions and Closing Remarks

Contrary to what Oleszkiewicz claims about the mother (figure/ideal) being "[…] the great equalizer. Before her, gender, race, class, and ethnic origin lose their distinctions" (2003:2-3), it is an argument of this thesis that both the ideologies of motherhood and the practices of mothering employed by the women interviewed for this study illuminate the multiple distinctions within the mono-ethnic Polish group. This causes unresolvable tensions, which cannot be detached from the (understandings) of gender and the features of social class.

The contributions made by this thesis are clearly most relevant in regard to bringing the notions of mothering, family and migration together. The novelty of the general approach does not necessarily pertain to a broader context of social scholarship, but is innovative in the thematic area of Polish (or Poland-focused) Migration Studies, as well as Feminist Family Sociology. Utilizing British Family Studies and dynamic approaches to family analysis together with the increasingly mainstreamed transnational lens seemingly allows for covering more ground – ensuring that the perhaps non-standard agents of transnationality are captured and covered in the analysis.

Not only women as migrants and mothers, but also the reunited families more generally are often invisible in relation to the transnational ties within intra-European mobility processes. As a qualitative analysis of parenting practices that accounts for gendered consequences of class and ethnicity, this study re-joins reflections concerned with the Polish family with the Western development of family studies, focusing on everyday practices of intimacy and their display in personal life (Jamieson 1998, Finch 2007, Smart 2007, Morgan 2011b). Those two contexts combined may predicate some broader understandings of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006a, 2006b), with aspects of transnationality, translocalism, cosmopolitanism and integration all warranting a discussion in the context of contemporary Polish mobility. The common standpoints which offer the 'either/or' alternatives to the mobility versus settlement discussions, and largely foster the invisibility of women and families in migration have been proven insufficient to explain the cases of the Polish migrant mothers presented in the study.

Reflecting on the benefits and limitations of the approach that relies on the 'ideal types', it is helpful to recall Gerhardt's developments of Weber's concept (designed primarily for medical sociology). She argues that an ideal type should serve as a link between the need to systematically look at many aspects of each case on the one hand, and a relevance of cross-cases' comparisons, on the other. Thick descriptions and analyses of biographies should not side exclusively with either a nomothethic or ideographic mode of theorizing, and an ideal type of a phenomenon can be seen as a way for linking the two without falling victim to becoming diffuse or vague (1991, see also Kluge 2000). Using a typology in this sense illustrates the spirit of analysis proposed by Wengraf, who wrote that one should acknowledge that even having a general sense of certain types which, in this case, consists in what particular types of motherhood are about, does not preclude the new cases from causing multi-branching and construction of a new tacit typology that may

force out our previous mental models and/or inspire their revisions and improvements (2001:304-305, see also Kluge 2000:3). A comprehensive typology of migrant mothering, which further advances knowledge on non-migrant motherhood in Poland, is in fact one of the main contributions of this work.

Applying Aronovitch's framing (2013:363) of a processual, dynamic and flexible nature of any ideal type (outlined in Chapter 6) brings about arguments on how mothers ("agents of this or that kind") that differ from each other interpret certain facets of their particular experience of migrant motherhood, such as changes within gender roles, constructions of belonging or parenting practices. The reflections help to illustrate how mothers "ascribe meaning to various selected elements" of migrant mothering, with one example being that the 'ideal type' Mother-Pole highly values the traditional Polish Catholic religiosity, while Intensive and Feminist 'ideal type' mothers contest it or deem it insignificant. While both these examples highlight a dimension that has been outlined in literature, they seem to appear here also as 'pure type' –experience narrated within a particular biography. Following the analysis, "the constructed subgroups with common attributes that can be described and characterised by a particular constellation of these properties, are defined with the term type" (Kluge 2000:2). The typology acknowledges that Intensive Motherhood, Feminist Mothering and Mother-Pole models are relatively present in the discourse analysis perspective, yet it draws the attention to the empirical meaning of the two systems of reference for the interviewees (pure types). Not only does it lead to a discovery of subsequent 'types' of mothering, but also seeks relations of the actual, under-researched practices to the broader systems of meanings (ideal types).

The typology demonstrates how mothers "orient themselves and act" (Aronovitch 2013: 363) through making their choices about both the seemingly inconsequential daily routines (e.g. what constitutes a good school meal for a child, which may not significantly differ in all actuality, but refers to a particular 'ideal type' in broader motivations and justifications of a 'good mothering' act) and deciding on the shape of their transnational kinship. The ideal types provide an organized way for presenting and explaining what migrant mothers were "thinking, seeking, and so on" (Aronovitch ibid:363).

Conclusively, the empirical value of Weber's ideal-type follows Gerhardt's logic (1991) of multi-level extraction and cross-checks, which included drafting 'types' on the basis of literature, extracting ideal types from a series of single cases (where a single empirical case is more or less a 'pure' form as an isolated optimal case), and, finally, using

them as a set of hypotheses tested in the broader scope of stories and cases, as well as earlier discurses. It was never the intention of the ideal-types as used here to be of universal value, and their greatest advantage is perceived in meeting the challenge of outlining "understandable sociological rules" (Weber 1972:55, cf. Kluge 2000:3) in regard to interpretations and contributions.

More specifically, in regard to the ideal-types and the contributions to scholarship on motherhood in Poland and beyond, the following points should be reiterated:

- The study provided an empirical 'testing' site for a relocated *Mother-Pole*. While the overuse of the concept on multiple levels led to its vacuity (Ostrowska 2004:215), the need for a maternal reflection in the face of foreign surroundings facilitated assigning a context-dependant content to the powerful claims on the national meaning of the figure, thus far predominantly examined through discourse analysis or quantitative surveys about values. As such, with the evidence for the translocalism and the nationally-oriented practices, it is now possible to have a more 'tangible' idea of what the 21st century Polish women identifying with the Mother-Pole concept think and do in their daily lives, and how their experiences of motherhood are shaped. Furthermore, from a feminist standpoint, observing what women believe to be the 'iconic' Polish motherhood guided by Polish Catholicism (Mother of Christ), patriotism and tradition can be provisionally linked to the broader debates on the changing roles of women in the Polish society where re-traditionalization (particularly, the conservative views on gender and family) is increasingly evident. The nostalgia for the lost home explains the type of full-force backlash made possible by emigration.
- The study embarks on a dialogue about the possibility of *Intensive Motherhood* penetrating the lifestyles of the urban middle-classes in Poland, arguing that contesting the 'Polish' model evidently travels abroad accompanying the highly skilled and professional women. Accordingly, the concerns for the Polish migration being increasingly motivated by political, social and cultural (rather than exclusively economic) reasons might be particularly valid for women who wish to be able to live their lives with more gender equality without forsaking the centrality of children in their lives. Fitting in with the cosmopolitan ideals associated with the West serves as a platform for belonging to the middle-class and elites – a

phenomenon which equally holds for the wealthier (or upper-class) families in Poland, and the ambitious highly-educated women moving to Western Europe.

- The discovery and subsequent inclusion of the peripheral *Feminist Mothering* model emphasizes the importance of an in-depth small-scale focus: the narratives may not be entirely coherent in regard to implementing feminist practices of parenting, but they illustrate a conscious shift away from the *Mother-Pole*, and attempts to transgress the *Intensive Motherhood* through individual choices. The findings contribute to the so far limited social research on feminism and motherhood of Polish women, adding a new migratory dimension.
- The thesis offers the novel ideal type model of *New Migrant Mothering* -- parenting embedded in flexibility and in-between-ness as the markers of contemporary post-modern changes in identities and practices, both within families, and in the trajectories of mobility. As such, the ideal-type illustrates the specifics of the Polish case, but might be reflective of similar processes experienced by contemporary female migrants from other countries, in so far as women (particularly mothers) are required to negotiate and navigate conflicting elements between their culture and the country of origin, and the demands and discourses of their foreign destination. It is also in the *New Migrant Mothering* where the transnational family ties extending beyond the period of parent/child separation are apparent, demonstrating that ceasing inquiries at the moment of the family reunification not only obscures the multi-dimensional familial and structural challenges of being a mother abroad, but also disregards the persistent relationships, social remittances and other forms of intergenerational support within the broader, bi-nationally located kinship.

While they are not intended as a replacement for other possible entanglements between the national and the global, a transnational optic and an integration framework (see e.g. Erdal & Oeppen 2013) and the like, the 'ideal type' models employed and developed in this thesis pinpoint an interesting diversity in the adopted strategies. The collected empirical material focuses on detailed descriptions of the practices that cut across the singular level of analysis and go beyond the mere trajectories of departure and arrival. The narrative accounts of 'doing family' contained herein present a perspective on the actual everyday emanations of the larger ideologies, discourses and institutions, tying religion, education or 'good' parenting to the daily lives of migrants. Recognizing such

connectivity by ‘giving voice’ to Polish women confirms that the heterogeneity of the contemporary migrants should be accounted for, and their newly acquired roles as mothers abroad must accompany debates on transnational family separation on the one hand, and on the other – the general absence of the depictions of families that have either been reunited or were constituted abroad.

Mothering practices are by no means monolithically static, but rather constantly constructed during one’s life trajectory, which may prove particularly important for longitudinal research projects. Also, the ideal types are based on knowledge that is historically contingent. In conclusion, to paraphrase what Letherby wrote about her own research (2003:118), which also happened to pertain to a very personal issue and her biographic experience, while I do not believe that I have generated the true story of ‘Polish Migrant Motherhood and Mothering’, I do think that my work stands as a challenge to what has gone before.

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Table 3: Overview of the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics

Interviews conducted during a doctoral project (2011-2012)

	Name	Age	Date	Dest. Loc.	Area Type	Children: number, age, country	Procr. plans	Education level	Religiosity	Current work position	Social Class	Date of Int.	M. Type
1	Ola	26	2007	DE	Town	1: 2 (DE)	Maybe	University	No	Accountant	UpMid	2011	IM*
2	Justyna	29	2002	DE	Sub.	1: 6 (DE)	Yes	Technical	Trad.	SPA manager	Middle	2011	IM
3	Kamila	29	2009	UK	Sub.	2: 5 (PL), 4 (PL)	Yes	University	Trad.	Kindergarten teacher	Middle	2012	IM
4	Basia	33	2003	UK	Town	2: 8 (UK), 5 (UK)	No	University	Trad.	Graphic Designer	UpMid	2011	IM*
5	Bogusia	34	2006	UK	Town	2: 5 (UK), 1 (UK)	Maybe	University	No	HR Consultant (PT)	UpMid ^	2012	IM*
6	Gabrysia	35	2007#	DE	Town	2: 16 (PL); 2 (DE)	Maybe	Vocational	Trad.	Shop assistant (PT)	LowMid	2012	IM
7	Lena	35	2001	UK	Sub.	2: 7 (UK), 5 (UK)	No	University	No	Veterinarian	UpMid	2012	IM*
8	Sylwia	35	1999	DE	Town	2: 5 (DE); 0.5 (DE)	Maybe	University	Trad.	HR Specialist	UpMid	2011	IM
9	Karolina	41	2006#	UK	Town	2: 18 (PL), 13 (PL)	No	University	Trad.	Teacher	Middle	2012	IM*
10	Patrycja	23	2009	DE	Sub.	1: 3 (DE)	Yes	Vocational	Yes	Stay-at-home mother	Working	2011	MP
11	Kasia	35	2008#	DE	Town	2: 6 (PL), 2 (DE)	Maybe	Vocational	Yes	Hair stylist	Working	2012	MP
12	Lidia	35	2001#	DE	Town	3: 10 (PL), 4 & 3 (DE)	No	Technical	Yes	Nurse	LowMid	2011	MP
13	Beata	38	2004#	UK	Town	1: 13 (PL)	No	Technical	Trad.	Chef	Working	2012	MP
14	Eliza	39	2004#	UK	Town	2: 17 (PL), 15 (PL)	Maybe	Technical	Trad.	Business owner	Middle	2012	MP
15	Weronika	39	2007	UK	Village	1: 14 (NL)	No	Vocational	Trad.	Hotel manager	Working	2011	MP
16	Agata	43	2006	UK	Village	2: 9 (PL), 6 (UK)	Yes	University	Yes	Social worker	LowMid	2012	MP
17	Ewa	57	1993#	DE	Town	2: 22 (PL), 20 (PL)	No	Vocational	Yes	Business owner	LowMid	2011	MP
18	Helena	63	2005	UK	Village	1: 33 (PL)	No	Vocational	Yes	Nanny	LowMid	2012	MP
19	Zosia	39	2006	UK	Sub	4:13,12, 7(PL) 6 (UK)	Maybe	University	Yes	Stay-at-home mother	Middle	2012	MP

	Name	Age	Date	Dest. Loc.	Area Type	Children: number, age, country	Procr. plans	Education level	Religiosity	Current work position	Social Class	Date of Int.	M. Type
20	Aga	24	2010	DE	Village	2: 4 (PL), 1 (DE)	Maybe	University	Trad.	Biochemist	UpMid	2011	NMM*
21	Daria	27	2006	UK	Town	2: 6 (PL), 1 (UK)	Yes	Technical	Trad.	Dietician	Middle	2012	NMM
22	Judyta	27	2004	UK	Village	2: 6 (UK), 2 (UK)	Yes	High School	Trad.	Cashier	LowMid	2012	NMM
23	Kaja	33	1999	DE	Sub.	2: 10 (DE), 8 (DE)	Maybe	University	Trad.	Shop Manager	UpMid	2011	NMM
24	Ania	34	2006	UK	Sub.	2: 8 (PL), 4 (UK)	Maybe	University	Trad.	Kindergarten teacher (PT)	Middle	2011	NMM
25	Celina	34	2008#	UK	Town	3: 13 (PL), 10 (PL), 2(UK)	Maybe	Vocational	No	Shop assistant/part-owner	Middle	2012	NMM
26	Hanna	36	2004	UK	Town	2: 4 (UK), 2 (UK)	No	University	Trad.	Manager (corporate)	UpMid	2012	NMM*
27	Mariola	38	2005	DE	Town	1: 10 (PL)	No	Vocational	Trad.	PT Cleaner	Working	2011	NMM
28	Marta	39	2006#	UK	Village	1: 16 (PL)	No	Technical	Trad.	Teacher (spec.needs)	Middle	2012	NMM*
29	Alina	57	1984	DE	Village	2: 32 (PL), 28 (DE)	No	University	Trad.	Dentist	UpMid	2011	NMM*
30	Marzena	61	1991#	DE	Town	4: 38, 33, 27, 26 (PL)	No	Vocational	Yes	Domestic help	Working	2011	NMM
31	Teresa	64	1980	DE	Sub.	2: 37 (PL), 35 (PL)	No	Technical	Trad.	Midwife	Middle	2011	NMM

Supplementary Interviews conducted during "Ambivalent Returns?" Project (2013)

	Name	Age	Date	Dest. Loc.	Area Type	Children: number, age, country	Procr. plans	Education level	Religiosity	Current work position	Social Class	Year Int.	M. Type
1/32	Matylda	39	2005	UK	Town	2: 10 (PL), 8 (UK)	No	Technical	Yes	Warehouse worker	Working	2013	MP
2/33	Joanna	34	2004	UK	Village	2: 4, 2 (UK)	Yes	Technical	Trad.	PT office assistant	Middle	2013	IM
3/34	Amelia	42	2000	DE/UK	Sub.	3:13 (PL), 11, 7 (UK)	No	University	No	Corporate accountant	UpMid ^	2013	NMM*

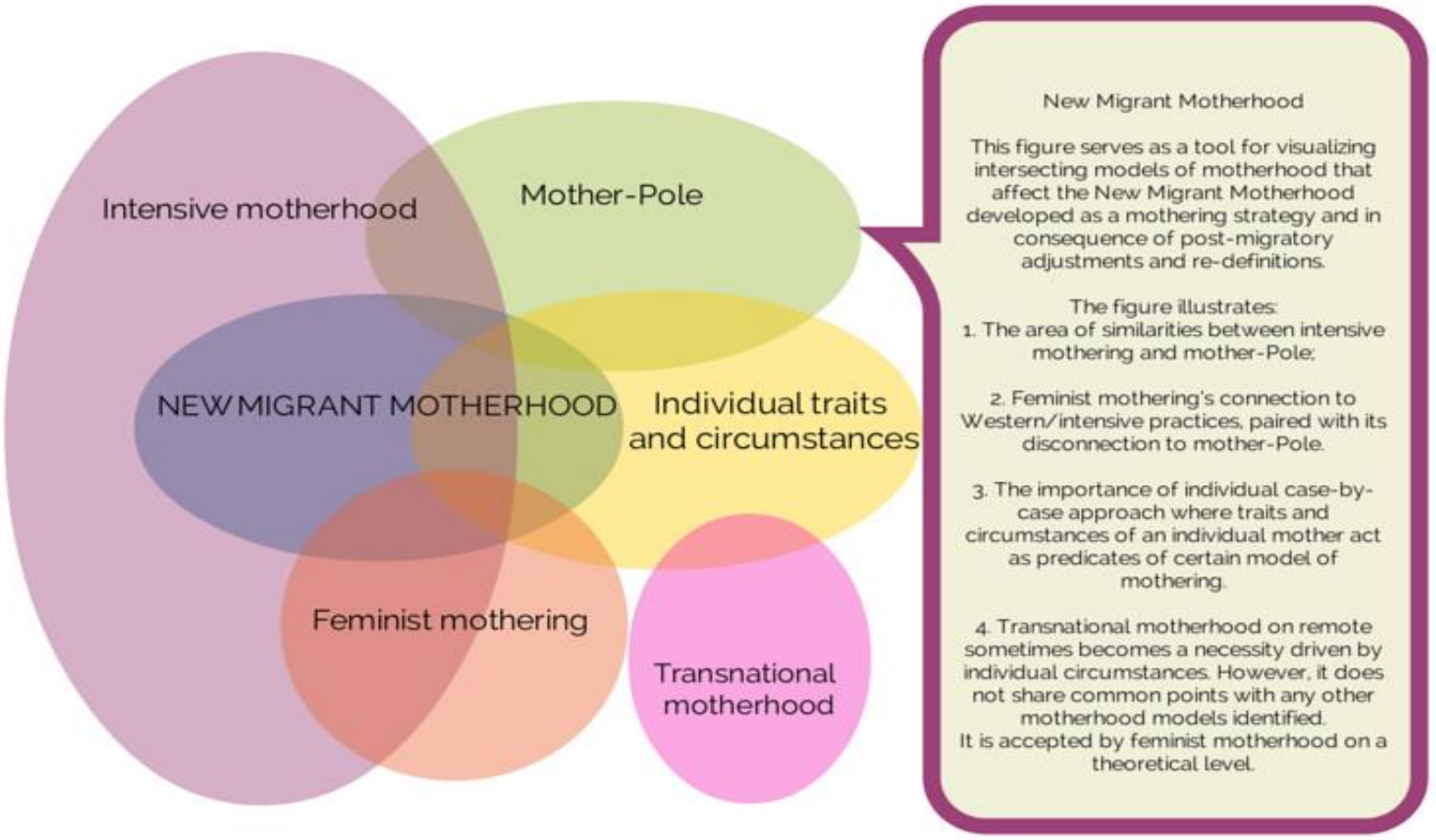
	Name	Age	Date	Dest. Loc.	Area Type	Children: number, age, country	Procr. plans	Education level	Religiosity	Current work position	Social Class	Year Int.	M. Type
4/35	Klara	35	2005	UK	Town	2: 11, 9 (PL)	Maybe	University	No	Regional Manager	UpMid	2013	NMM
5/36	Julia	25	2005	UK	Sub	1: 6 (UK)	Maybe	High School	Trad	Hotel receptionist	LowMid	2013	NMM
6/37	Martyna	44	2006#	UK	Town	4: 19,15, 11(PL), 4 (UK)	No	Technical	Trad	PT shop assistant	LowMid	2013	MP

Table Legend /column headers from left to right/:

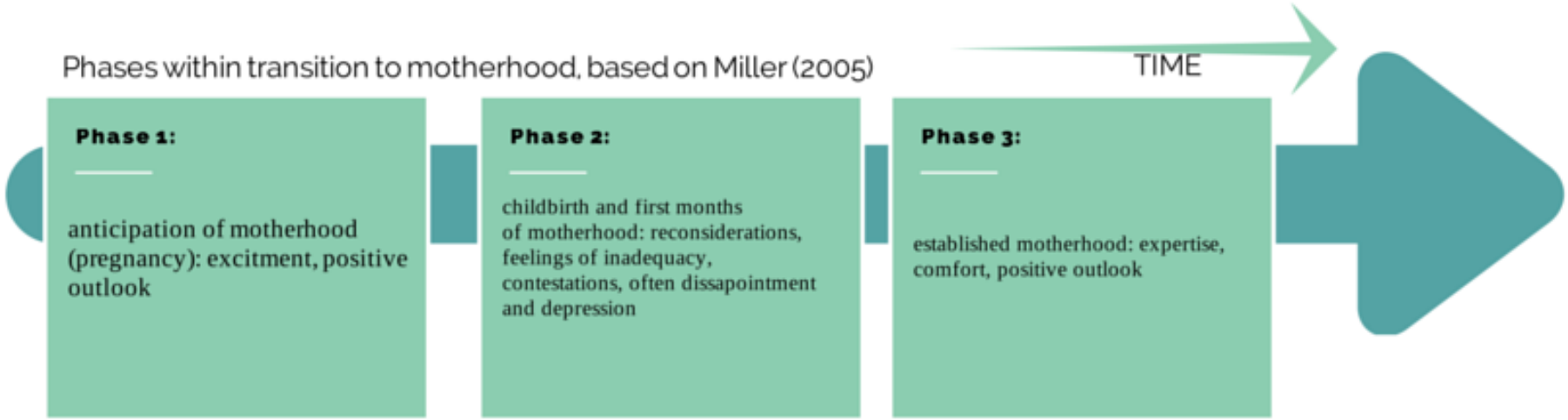
- Name: interview-partner's pseudonym (anonymized code name);
- Age: interview partner's age recorded at the time of the interview;
- Date: date of interview-partner's migration; # means that a phase of mother/child separation has occurred;
- Dest.Loc.: a destination country: DE (Germany) or UK (United Kingdom);
- Area Type: indicates a type of residential area of the interview partner's current residence: Village, Town, or Sub. (Suburb of a town or a larger city)
- Children: first number denotes a number of children the interview partner has, the breakdown shows the age of children and their country of birth (DE/UK). In case of one respondent NL is used – her child was born in the Netherlands.
- Procr. Plans: a column that addresses procreation plans of my interview partners at the time of the interview; it is an answer to a question on a plan to have more children (with yes, no, or maybe as possible responses).
- Education level: ranges from Vocational (8+3: primary school+ vocational training, Technical and High School (8+4: primary + secondary comprehensive or technical school, both with A-levels), and University (8+4+3/5 : primary + secondary A-levels + university BA degree of 3 years or MA of 5 years),
- Religiosity: response to a general question about the role of religion in the family life of the interview-partner; I have aggregated responses into four categories: YES –religious women/families who are practising churchgoers and often participate in religious community of their parish, Trad. - identify themselves as Catholic and celebrate traditional holidays but neither go to church on Sundays nor participate in religious community – a group compliant with confused religiosity of Poles, which is more about tradition than faith or belief. N/A – religion plays no role in family/women's life, NO – those who actively contest/challenge religion (namely that of Polish Catholic church).
- Current work position: indicates a labour market status and type of employment with either a job title or self-identification. PT signifies Part-Time employment; otherwise the women work full time.
- Social Class – researcher-assigned postioning on the social stratification continuum comprising: Upper-class/elite (N/A) Upper-middle class (UpMid), middle class (Middle), Lower-middle class (LowMid), Working class (Working). ^ means that an interview-partner is married to a foreigner (a predicator for easier upward mobility)
- Date of int. – indicates interview date (year)
- M.Type: Motherhood type – indicates which model of motherhood is predominant for this interview-partner, the options are: MP (mother-Pole), IM (Intensive Motherhood), NMM – New Migrant Motherhood. An asterisk (*) next to the motherhood type signifies that this respondent has also expressed notions of feminist mothering. While those stories were not fully exemplary of that particular strategy, thus, they did not led me to creating a separate category for these interview-partners, they were indicative of certain Feminist Mothering elements that have been addressed in this dissertation.

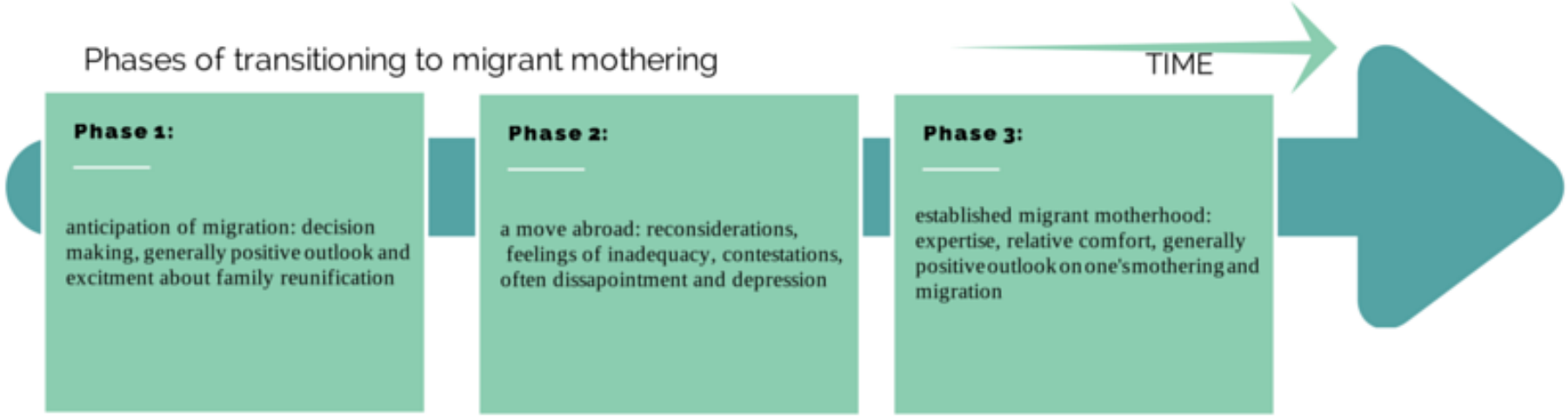
Table 4 – insert]

Appendix 2


Intensive motherhood
Mother-Pole
NEW MIGRANT MOTHERHOOD
Individual traits and circumstances
Feminist mothering
Transnational motherhood
New Migrant Motherhood
This figure serves as a tool for visualizing intersecting models of motherhood that affect the New Migrant Motherhood developed as a mothering strategy and in consequence of post-migratory adjustments and re-definitions.
The figure illustrates:
1. The area of similarities between intensive mothering and mother-Pole;
2. Feminist mothering's connection to Western/intensive practices, paired with its disconnection to mother-Pole.
3. The importance of individual case-by-case approach where traits and circumstances of an individual mother act as predicates of certain model of mothering.
4. Transnational motherhood on remote sometimes becomes a necessity driven by individual circumstances. However, it does not share common points with any other motherhood models identified.
It is accepted by feminist motherhood on a theoretical level.

Appendix 3


Phases within transition to motherhood, based on Miller (2005)
TIME
Phase 1:
anticipation of motherhood (pregnancy): excitment, positive outlook
Phase 2:
childbirth and first months of motherhood: reconsiderations, feelings of inadequacy, contestations, often dissapointment and depression
Phase 3:
established motherhood: expertise, comfort, positive outlook


Phases of transitioning to migrant mothering
TIME
Phase 1:
anticipation of migration: decision making, generally positive outlook and excitment about family reunification
Phase 2:
a move abroad: reconsiderations, feelings of inadequacy, contestations, often dissapointment and depression
Phase 3:
established migrant motherhood: expertise, relative comfort, generally positive outlook on one's mothering and migration

Appendix 4

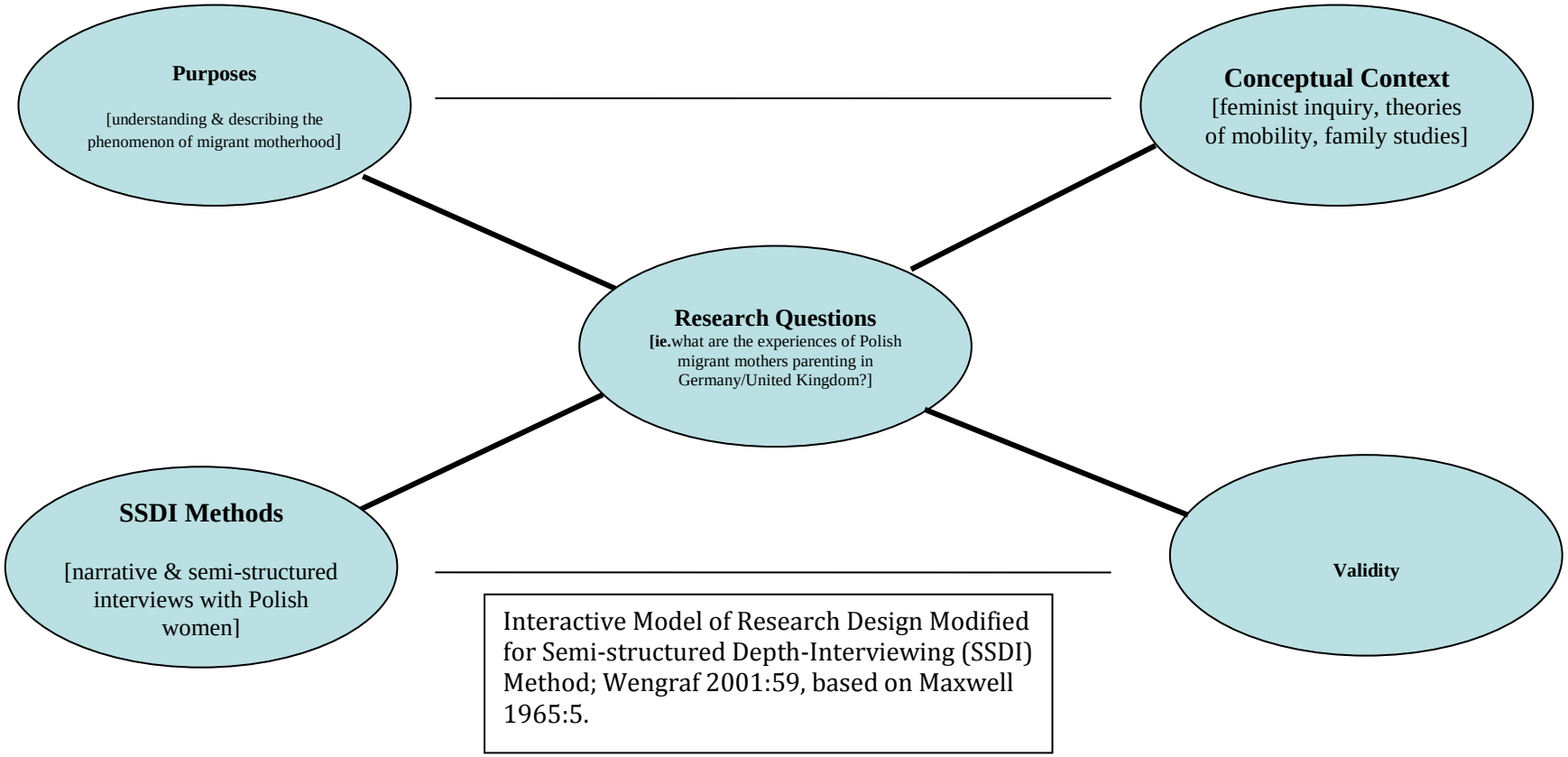


Figure 3: Research Design Model

Annex 1

Table 4: Motherhood Ideal Type Models

Appendix 2

			Mother-Pole (MP)	Intensive mothering (IM)	New Migrant Mothering (NMM)	Feminist mothering* (FM)
Traits/ characteristics		**Brief Definition→ Thematic-Analysis Category ↓**	Managerial matriarchy	New Momism: costly, laborious, emotionally and care-wise- intensive mothering	Integrative practice of mothering abroad	Empowered motherhood
	Family life, roles and values	**Key relationships Preferred family type(s); Internal family structure**	Families are child-centred but husband/wife dyad is also important; Family unit: a collective rather than individualist members; Ideal of hetero-normative married couple with children with a male bread-winner and female home-maker; State-recognized and traditional nuclear family as a norm; Questioning diversity; Very important role of extended kin;	Families are child-centred. Individualist approach: mother and child are separate individuals; A mother-child dyad is a primary one, yet its existence across various forms of family is allowed and recognized; "Doing family" – intimacy and dynamics rather that static institutional construct; Diversity of family models accepted and often lived/encouraged; Extended kin is not often mentioned, friendships may replace some familial propinquity;	A complex dynamics that appears to centralize women in their relatedness to other family members (mother/wife); Families are child-centred and have a collective approach – a unit rather than individuals; Diversity of family forms is acknowledged and accepted, but nuclear family is usually an individual model preference; Important role of extended kin and vital role of friendships;	All relationships are important, personal nature of intimacy often underlined "doing family" rather that constituting one; Diversity of family models accepted; Individualist approach: relationships and dynamics within family are varied but personal and equality-oriented; A 'good-enough' mother approach; Role of the extended kin varies. Friendships are particularly important.
	Family Life, Roles and Values	**Motherhood: National/Polish vs. Foreign Elements**	Superiority of Polish model over local/foreign practices; Denial and/or a critique of foreign practices paired with a common critique of mothers from different (non-Polish) backgrounds;	Mothering as beyond-borders, somewhat universal (although Western) practice; exclusion of both national (Polish) and foreign elements; Actually, a Western (ethnocentric) social construct;	Co-existence of Polish and foreign elements within practices; Maturity in understanding differences of mothering across cultural context (no superiority), may build on models found across various national/regional/global contexts;	In general, a pan-national , global and inclusive model; Maturity in understanding differences of mothering across cultural context (no superiority); Largely derived from various feminist ideologies, thus may contain cultural/local elements characteristic of a specific movement.
	Family Life, Values	**Sense of Belonging – Mothers vs. Children**	Mothers have solely Polish identification, rarely any attempts at adaptation are made, and foreign citizenship was not an option/held; Children should identify as Polish;	A diversity of patterns is observed and allowed: some women are still very connected to Poland, while others orientate themselves more towards foreign destination locale; Generally children are allowed to create/choose their own identifications;	Mothers identify themselves as Polish but may have acquired foreign citizenship; Thriving towards integrating and benefiting from both foreign and Polish belonging; Children are supposed to be European (or: part-Polish, part-foreign/global);	Beyond-national identifications that still value heritage/tradition. Generally children are allowed to create/choose their own identifications.

Table 4: Motherhood Ideal Type Models

			Mother-Pole (MP)	Intensive mothering (IM)	New Migrant Mothering (NMM)	Feminist mothering* (FM)
Traits/ Characteristics		Fatherhood Type & Participation in Parenting	Traditional patriarchs, Absent fathers – very limited or no participation;	'New-fathers' who nevertheless have limited participation;	Traditional absent fathers are contested but 'new-fathers' have not yet emerged; Participation varies;	Equal partners; Participating 'new fathers'.
		Ideal of Sacrifice	Mother is required to sacrifice for their children;	Certain degree of self-sacrifice on mother's part and feelings of guilt over not being a perfect mother;	Self-sacrifice is still present, but it is weakened by the newly developed sense of individuality;	No ideal of self-sacrifice, admonished guilt.
		Parenting Knowledge	Tradition and 'elderly'/ 'old wives' tales as knowledge sources;	Expert /scientific knowledge – Attachment Parenting as primary ideology for childrearing;	Expert/scientific knowledge (IM) combined with traditional sources resulting from one's heritage (MP);	All knowledge sources are suitable, provided that they were critically assessed from a feminist standpoint.
	Migration & Family	Migration Narrative/ Ideologies of Mobility	Translocalism; migration seen as sacrifice for the nation and unwelcome necessity;	Cosmopolitanism; migration for better or "easier" life for parents and children "No big deal" ;	Transnationalism; Migration seen generally in positive terms, a strategy for improving the future of the children, might be less beneficial for parents;	Elements of transnationalism and/or cosmopolitanism; Migration as one of many life choices, usually positive change.
		Attitudes to Return	(Unrealistic) but powerful dream of return;	Generally, no return to Poland envisioned, further mobility possible;	Ambivalent, often temporary returns, sometimes visions for one's retirement but no short-term plans;	Generally no return to Poland envisioned, further mobility possible.
		Co-residentiality Requirement/ Attitudes to Distance Parenting	Mother is required to co-reside with her child; maternal absence is unaccepted and viewed as bad mothering;	Mother is required to co-reside with her child; maternal absence is unaccepted and viewed as bad mothering;	Mother is required to co-reside with her child but temporary maternal absences are usually accepted (reconciliation with transnational mothering on-remote);	Necessary temporary maternal absences are accepted, obligation of co-residence for mother and children may be lifted.
Traits/ Characteristics	Institutions/ Broader Society	Gender Orders	Patriarchy; Lack of gender equality: subordination of women;	Patriarchy; Gender equality is praised and strived for but often remains an illusion. More equality is observed for (IM) who are also (FM);	Patriarchy; Observations of a need for more equal gender relations are made but not necessarily implemented; often an illusion of change, particularly for (NMM/FM);	Opposition and negation of patriarchy; Efforts are made so that the ideals of gender equality are put in practice.
		Public Motherhood & Private Mothering	Distinction between mothering as personal experience and mothering as institution is blurred as women are generally not aware of it;	Distinction between mothering as personal experience and mothering as institution is clearly visible and women are mostly aware of it;	Distinction between mothering as personal experience and mothering as institution is blurred: it appears that those discourses are being confused upon a clash of MP and IM models;	Awareness of the distinction challenges dualism and attempts to overcome it, leveraging its gendered consequences.
		Religion in Motherhood Definitions Religiosity of Mothers	Religious elements used for definitions and validity of motherhood; High & participatory;	No religious elements definitional; Low, normally only a general respect for traditions, little participation;	Religion seems to be excluded from new definitions of migrant motherhood; Mixed: tradition dominates over religion;	No religious elements definitional Very low, often strong contestations of religion present.

Table 4: Motherhood Ideal Type Models

Appendix 2

			Mother-Pole (MP)	Intensive mothering (IM)	New Migrant Mothering (NMM)	Feminist mothering* (FM)
		Vision of Care Provision	Mother is the best possible care-provider, kinship members are preferred over institutions, both are accepted but neither is viewed as ideal;	Mother is the best possible care-provider, institutions are preferred over kinship members, both are accepted but neither is viewed as ideal.	Mother remains the best possible care-provider but both institutionalized care and having kinship members as care providers are very much accepted and usually appreciated.	Mother is not assumed to be the only possible care-provider; Women postulate widened access to affordable institutionalized child care.
		Labour Market	Ideally woman does not have to work; in practice, however, she normally executes a double-shift at work and at home; Female employment does not have the same status as that of men, gender labour market discrimination occurs;	Cultural contradiction: women are expected to fully participate in employment, and independence is highly valued but, at the same time, performing intensive mothering prevents women from fulfilling all these obligations; Seeing women primary as carers, often disconnects the two and separates the labour market activities from mothering on the ideological and discursive levels; Idea of an extensive mothering of working women – an opposition;	The expectation is for women to participate in the labour market, but the Western cultural contradiction (IM) is mitigated by either: 1. traditional heritage that allows women to be dependant; or 2. feminist views on gender labour market equality and utilizing its critique for realizing one's goals;	Generally, mothers should be enabled to function as equal labour market participants; female labour market independence and equality is a priority; Critical approach to work-family balance: acknowledgement of female career responsibilities.
Traits/ Characteristics	**Institutions/ Broader Society**	**Educational Strategies: Receiving Society**	Limited value assigned to foreign education, often no understanding of the local system paired with unwillingness to learn; English language fluency among children seen as a potential benefit on the Polish labour market in the future;	General "intensive" nature of educational practices, choices and investments, extensive focus on the destination country;	Slight preference for the destination country, which is seen as the driving force behind higher educational attainment; understanding of the systemic differences cross-nationally;	Preference for the destination country systems seen as teaching values of tolerance, gender equality, diversity.
		Educational Strategies: Sending society / Diaspora	Vast support and acknowledgement of Polish schooling abroad; Users of supplementary weekend Polish education, often broadening its scope through additional Polish- and Poland-focused educational activities; Polish school equated with Catholic school;	Polish language treated as an additional element of 'global' education, an area of a relative easiness for building social/academic capital. Ideals of a 'modern' Polish school disassociated from religion and nationalistic narratives; Home-schooling and certification often replaces Polish institutionalized/ supplementary education;	Support of Polish schooling, often in an active form of volunteering, etc.; Ideals of a balance between traditional and modern school that is capable of including all migrant children; Polish school as a potential resource improving performance in a British school, but also as means of connecting with one's heritage;	Similarities both with IM and NMM – Polish language as resource and part of an identity-component.

		Interview Partners:	Patrycja, Kasia, Lidia, Beata, Eliza, Weronika, Agata, Ewa, Helena, Zosia, Matylda, Martyna	Ola, Justyna, Kamila, Basia, Bogusia, Gabrysia, Lena, Sylwia, Karolina, Joanna	Aga, Daria, Judyta, Kaja, Ania, Celina, Hanna, Mariola, Marta, Alina, Marzena, Teresa, Amelia, Klara, Julia	*Ola, Basia, Magda, Karolina, Aga, Hanna, Marta, Alina, Amelia.

Table 4: Motherhood Ideal Type Models

*Feminist Mothering: interview-partners who have been assigned to this group are primarily present in other groups – as representatives of either Intensive mothering or New Migrant Motherhood. As such, these interview-partners have expressed feminist views and showed some examples of feminist mothering practices.

Remarks

1. This is a list of selected traits which is by no means exclusive, but designed to serve as illustration and comparative overview of the models.
2. Assigning an interview-partner to a group: As motherhood is a complex, dynamic and fluid practice, it must be emphasized that the divisions between the models are not clear-cut (see also the visualization in Figure 3). The majority of women made statements that could be classified in several ways and my rationale for an overall assignment is only indicative.
3. All models are characterized as examples of "*good mothering*" within their respective strategies, in an attempt to non-judgementally combine literature-driven considerations with narrative evidence gathered during data collection.

Interview Guide (English Version)

0. Introductory remarks/ research description for the participants

-> Consent form to be given.

[I] Open question (migration):

I am interested in your entire migration story. Please tell me what you thought about leaving before actually migrating, how did you come to this decision and how was this experience for you? Start as early as you can remember and take all the time you need to recall your personal history in as many details as possible.

[II] Stimulus questions (motherhood):

Now I have some questions about what being a mother is like for you. First of all, can you tell me:

1) How did you first find out about being pregnant (for the first time)? What was your reaction?

*a.1 And how did you react to the news of your second/following children?

What did you do after finding out:

1.2) How did your pregnancy go? (Probing if necessary: What kind of medical care did you choose to receive?/ What kind of care was available? How did you prepare for the arrival of the baby? Where did you seek information about pregnancy? Who did you turn to for advice? How was your partner involved? Was pregnancy different from what you have expected it to be?)

*a.1.2 And how did this experience look like in case of your second (third, fourth) child? (Can you please pinpoint the differences between the experiences of medical care and your own feelings of pregnancy in Poland versus United Kingdom/Germany? Which experience was more pleasant for you and why?)

Childbirth is said to be an important and complex experience

2. Can you tell me how was it for you? (What do you remember about the people present? Was your partner there? Did you get to see the baby immediately?)

Early months of being a mother can be hard...

3. What do you remember about the first months of caring for a newborn at home? (Did you have any help?/ From whom? Where did you search for information and/or advice?)

Moving forward,

4. What does being a mother mean to you today? (What is your everyday role as a mother? How does your typical day/week/weekend/holidays look like? Who is responsible for caring for children in your family? What values do you try to pass on to your children? What would you say are the most important things you learn as a mother? Who do you turn to when you have doubts about childrearing/care?)

To go back to my original interest in migration,

5. How did having children affect your decision to leave Poland? What does it mean to be a Polish mother outside of Poland? (And what does it mean to be a "Mother-Pole"?) How is it different to raise children here instead of our home country? Do you think it means something different to be a mother here? When you meet/observe local mothers and children, what are your thoughts? What language do you use when speaking with your baby at home? Do you intend for your child/children to learn Polish and go to Polish schools at some point (why?/why not?)? While living here, have you received any help from the government because you are a mother? Have you participated in any activities organized by the local authorities of organizations? (classes, translation services, toddler groups) Do you have many friends who also have small children (if so, are they foreign or Polish?)

6. We are almost at the end of our conversation, is there anything you would like to add to what you have told me about your experiences of migration and motherhood.

7. Metrical Data to be collected/noted (subject to anonymization): name, place (rural/urban) and year of birth (age), social class/status: education, occupation, labour market status and/or last/most relevant job, experience (present post migration), number and age of children, including place of birth (Poland or abroad), marital status data (type of partnership: civil/church, length), current place of living (location, type of housing, year of family migration (specifying the date of first migrant from the family unit, duration of the transnational period, and finalizing the move)

h*) referrals – if any, for potential participants

8. Interview notes (not limited but including): date & time, place (surroundings, public/private space), presence of others (children), recruitment type note, interview situation and other researcher's comments.

Przewodnik do Wywiadu (PL)

Informacja o projekcie, odpowiedź na pytania respondentki

-> Zgoda na udział w badaniach (+ nagrywanie audio): Formularz Zgody

[I]Pytanie otwarte/narracyjne (temat: migracja):

Interesuje mnie Twoja historia i doświadczenie migracji. Proszę powiedz mi co myślałaś o wyjeździe zanim faktycznie zdecydowałaś się na opuszczenie kraju. Jak podjęłaś decyzję i jak wspominasz czas decydowania? Zacznij od najwcześniejszego wspomnienia dotyczącego rozmyślań o emigracji; mamy dużo czasu, a mnie zależy na wysłuchaniu Twojej szczegółowej opowieści.

[II] Pytania szczegółowe (temat: macierzyństwo)/ wywiad semi-ustrukturyzowany

Teraz chciałabym zadać Ci kilka pytań dotyczących tego, co oznacza dla Ciebie bycie mamą.

Na początek, prosiłabym Cię o opowiedzenie mi:

1. 1 jak dowiedziałaś się o tym, że po raz pierwszy zostaniesz mamą? Jaka była Twoja reakcja na wieść, że jesteś w ciąży?

*a1.1.) a jak zareagowałaś na wieść o kolejnym dziecku/dzieciach?

A gdy już wiedziałaś o ciąży?

1.2. Jak przebiegała Twoja ciąża? Jak wspominasz doświadczenie ciąży? (Pytania pomocnicze: Jaką opiekę medyczną otrzymałaś? Czy byłaś zadowolona z oferty i relacji z lekarzem/położną? Jakie badania zdecydowałaś się wykonać i dlaczego? Jak przygotowywałaś się do narodzin dziecka? Gdzie znajdowałaś informacje na temat przebiegu ciąży? Kogo prosiłaś o radę? Czy/w jaki sposób Twój mąż/partner był zaangażowany w ciążę? Czy ciąża była innym doświadczeniem niż się spodziewałaś?

*1.2. A jak wyglądało to doświadczenie w przypadku kolejnego/kolejnych dzieci?

(Czy możesz wskazać na różnice między prowadzeniem ciąży oraz Twoimi osobistym doświadczeniami ciąży i porodu w Polsce oraz w kraju migracji? Które doświadczenie wspominasz lepiej i dlaczego?)

Poród jest jednocześnie niezwykle ważnym i bardzo złożonym doświadczeniem...

2. Czy mogłabyś opowiedzieć mi o swoim porodzie (porodach)?

(→ Jak zapamiętałaś tych, którzy byli razem z Tobą (personel, rodzina)? Czy Twój mąż/partner był przy Tobie/na miejscu? Czy od razu zobaczyłaś dziecko? Etc.)

Mówi się, że pierwsze miesiące bycia matką są zwykle najtrudniejsze...

3. Jak wspominasz pierwsze tygodnie i miesiące w domu z noworodkiem? (→ Czy ktoś pomagał Ci w opiece nad dzieckiem? Gdzie szukałaś pomocy/informacji/porady?)

Idąc trochę dalej do Twojej obecnej sytuacji...

4. Co dziś oznacza dla Ciebie bycie mamą? (Jak wygląda Twoja codzienność jako mamy? Jak wygląda typowy dzień/tydzień z życia Twojej rodziny? Co robicie w weekend? A jak spędzacie wakacje? Kto w Twojej rodzinie opiekuje się dziećmi? Jak dzielicie się obowiązkami? Jakie wartości starasz się przekazać dziecku/dzieciom? Do kogo zwracasz się o radę/pomoc w razie wątpliwości dotyczących wychowania czy też opieki nad dzieckiem? Jakie są najważniejsze rzeczy, których nauczyłaś się będąc mamą?)

Wracając do mojego pierwszego pytania o migrację

5. Opowiedz mi proszę czy/jak posiadanie dzieci (plany związane z posiadaniem dzieci) wpłynęło na Twoją decyzję o wyjeździe z Polski? Co to znaczy być mama z Polski tutaj? A co to znaczy być Matką Polką zagranicą? Jakie różnice widzisz w wychowywaniu dzieci tutaj i w Polsce? (Czy zmieniłaś swoje praktyki macierzyństwa?) Jak według Ciebie podchodzą do macierzyństwa Brytyjki/Niemki/kobiety innych narodowości w porównaniu do Polek? Czy bycie matką jest tu inne? Co myślisz obserwując matki i dzieci tutaj?

Jakiego języka używacie w domu/ jakim językiem mówisz do swojego dziecka? Czy chcesz by Twoje dziecko mówiło po polsku? Czy zamierzasz wysłać je do polskiej szkoły (tu lub w Polsce)? Dlaczego/dlaczego nie? Czy mieszkając zagranicą otrzymujesz jakąś pomoc od lokalnego rządu czy organizacji pozarządowych ze względu na fakt posiadania

dziecka/dzieci? Czy brałaś/bierzesz udział w zajęciach organizowanych lokalnie dla matek/matek z dziećmi? (kursy językowe, grupy, zabawowe, spotkania edukacyjne? Dlaczego/dlaczego nie?) Czy masz tu znajomych/ przyjaciół z małymi dziećmi? Jeśli tak, to jak liczna jest to grupa i skąd pochodzą?

6. Zbliżamy się do końca naszej rozmowy, czy są jeszcze jakieś ważne kwestie dotyczące migracji lub macierzyństwa, które chciałabyś poruszyć? Czy chcesz coś dodać na temat swoich doświadczeń?

7. Dane metrykalne: (poddane anonimizacji: imię, miejsce pochodzenia/urodzenia (miasto/wieś) oraz rok urodzenia, status społeczny/klasa: wykształcenie, zawód, pozycja na rynku pracy, ostatnie/najbardziej znaczące doświadczenie zawodowe: przed oraz po migracji, dzieci: liczba, wiek, miejsce urodzenia, stan cywilny (typ związku/małżeństwa: cywilny/kościelny, obecne miejsce zamieszkania (miasto/wieś, typ domu), rok migracji rodzinnej (z podziałem na: wyjazd migranta prymarnego, czas trwania fazy transnacjonalnej, ostateczna przeprowadzka z dziećmi.

h*) wskazania innych potencjalnych respondentek uczestniczek projektu

Notatki z wywiadu (m.in. data & godzina, miejsce: opis szczegółowy (przestrzeń prywatna/publiczna, obecność innych osób /dzieci/, typ rekrutacji, sytuacja wywiadu i inne uwagi badaczki.

Participant Information Sheet

"The study of motherhood and migration in Germany and United Kingdom"

This research is a part of my doctoral study conducted under the auspices of Bangor University in Bangor, United Kingdom. Before you decide to take part in my research or not, I would like to ask that you read this information sheet, so that you understand the purpose of the research and how it will actually be carried out.

What is the purpose of the research?

This research is a large part of my studies towards a doctoral degree in Sociology at Bangor University. The study is supervised by Professor Howard Davis (see contact details below). It is focused on understanding how Polish women experience motherhood upon moving West to Germany or United Kingdom. I am concentrating on people's experiences rather than on statistical information, thus I am interested in hearing your individual story of being a migrant and being a mother.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been asked to participate in this research as you fulfil the research criteria- you are a female migrant with children and you have come to live in UK/Germany.

What will happen if I agree to be interviewed?

If you agree to take part in the research we will begin an interview. I will ask you about your experience of migration to UK/Germany, focusing on the decision process that took place within your family and asking you for details about your current situation. In the second part of our conversation, I would like you to tell me about some aspects of your journey to motherhood, and what it means to be a mother in a foreign country for you today. You are free and encouraged to tell me anything that you think is relevant and interesting, as well as to withdraw any information that you wish to keep to yourself.

The interview will be audio recorded.

Do I have to take part?

The participation is voluntary. If you decide to be interviewed you will be asked to sign a Consent Form. If you do not wish to participate, you do not have to do anything in response to this request. During the interview, you will be able to refuse to give answers to questions that you may find inappropriate and withdraw your participation from the entire study at any time.

Will the information I give in the interview be kept confidential?

All the information collected will be kept confidential and securely stored. I will have exclusive access to the recordings and to your personal details. I will not be discussing the interview with any third parties. On all published records, including transcripts and academic articles and papers, your name and any information that would make you identified or identifiable will be changed. My academic supervisor, just as any audience in the future, will only have access to an anonymized version of the data. In the case of co-authoring an article based on the research data, I will provide

only anonymised data as well. Similarly, if the data is to be archived and re-used, it will only be in the previously anonymised form.

What will happen to the interview material?

The results of all the interviews will be used as the research data for my doctoral thesis. The data can be used at academic conferences, workshops and/or symposiums. It may also be used for academic publications, such as journal articles, book chapters or books.

Who is organising and funding the research?

My research is based in the School of Social Sciences at Bangor University. This study is being funded by the 125 Anniversary Research Scholarship granted by Bangor University.

Who has reviewed the study?

My ethics application has been reviewed and cleared by the research ethics committee at Bangor University in 2011.

Contact Details:
Paula Pustulka
PhD candidate
School of Social Sciences
Bangor University, UK
Email: sopc15@bangor.ac.uk/paulapustulka@gmail.com

Academic Supervision:
Professor Howard Davis
School of Social Sciences
Bangor University, UK
Telephone: 01248 382123
Email: h.h.davis@bangor.ac.uk

Informacje dla Uczestniczki Wywiadu

"Macierzyństwo i migracje Polek do Niemiec i Wielkiej Brytanii – projekt badawczy"

Niniejsze badania prowadzone są w ramach moich studiów doktoranckich na Uniwersytecie Bangor w Bangor w Wielkiej Brytanii. Zanim zdecydujesz się wziąć udział lub odmówić uczestnictwa w badaniu, prosiłabym Cię o przeczytanie informacji zawartych w tym dokumencie. Dzięki temu poznasz cel badania, a także dowiesz się jak będzie ono faktycznie wyglądać.

Jaki jest cel moich badań?

Realizowany projekt badawczy stanowi podstawę do napisania i obrony pracy doktorskiej z dziedziny socjologii na Uniwersytecie w Bangor. Badania są nadzorowane przez mojego opiekuna naukowego – profesora Howarda Davisa (jego dane kontaktowe znajdziesz poniżej). Projekt jest próbą zrozumienia tego jak Polki doświadczają macierzyństwa w kontekście migracji do Niemiec lub Wielkiej Brytanii. Skupiam się głównie na osobistych doświadczeniach, a nie na zbieraniu informacji statystycznych, więc jestem zainteresowana wysłuchaniem Twojej indywidualnej historii bycia migrantką i bycia matką.

Dlaczego zostałam wybrana jako uczestniczka?

Zostałaś zaproszona do udziału w badaniu ponieważ spełniasz kryteria wyszczególnione w projekcie – jesteś matką i migrantką, która zdecydowała się na życie w Niemczech lub Wielkiej Brytanii.

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

Jeśli zgodzisz się na uczestnictwo w projekcie to rozpoczniemy wywiad. Zapytam Cię o doświadczenie emigracji do Wielkiej Brytanii/Niemiec ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem tego, jak podjęłaś/podjęliście decyzję o wyjeździe, a także poproszę o opis Twojej obecnej sytuacji. W drugiej części naszej rozmowy, chciałabym Cię poprosić o opowiedzenie mi o Twoich doświadczeniach związanych z różnymi aspektach zostania matką oraz tym, co dla Ciebie oznacza macierzyństwo zagranicą obecnie, Chcę Cię gorąco zachęcić do opowiedzenia mi wszystkiego, co uważasz za ważne czy interesujące, ale też do zachowania jakiejkolwiek informacji, którą nie chcesz się ze mną dzielić dla siebie.

Wywiad będzie nagrywany za pomocą dyktafonu (audio).

Czy muszę zgodzić się na udział?

Uczestnictwo w projekcie jest dobrowolne. Jeśli zdecydujesz, że chcesz wziąć udział w badaniu, poproszę Cię o podpisanie formularza wyrażenia zgody. Jeśli nie chcesz być uczestniczką projektu, nie musisz nic robić w związku z moją prośbą, Podczas wywiadu będziesz mogła odmówić odpowiedzi na każde pytanie, które uznasz za niewłaściwe oraz będziesz mogła wycofać się z uczestnictwa w każdym momencie.

Czy informacje, których udzielę w czasie wywiadu będą poufne?

Tak, wszystkie zebrane informacje będą poufne i bezpiecznie przechowywane. Tylko ja będę mieć dostęp do nagrań z wywiadów i Twoich danych osobowych. Nie będę z nikim omawiać przebiegu

czy treści naszej rozmowy. We wszystkich materiałach publikowanych, takich jak np. transkrypcje wywiadu czy artykuły naukowe, Twoje imię i każda inna informacja, która mogłaby umożliwić zidentyfikowanie Cię zostanie zmieniona. Mój opiekun naukowy, tak jak każdy inny odbiorca w przyszłości, będzie mieć dostęp wyłącznie do danych w formie zanonimizowanej.

Muszę Cię jednak poinformować, że w wyjątkowej sytuacji, gdybyś ujawniła informacje, które mogą sugerować, iż Tobie bądź osobom trzecim dzieje się krzywda, mogę być zobowiązana do poinformowania odpowiednich służb.

Co stanie się z materiałem z wywiadu?

Wyniki badań, czyli dane ze wszystkich wywiadów będą zanalizowane i użyte w mojej pracy doktorskiej. Dane mogą też być użyte podczas konferencji, warsztatów i/lub sympozjów naukowych, jak również do celów publikacyjnych, to jest np. w artykułach w czasopismach naukowych, rozdziałach książek czy samych książkach.

Kto organizuje i finansuje projekt badawczy?

Mój projekt badawczy jest realizowany na Wydziale Nauk Społecznych Uniwersytetu Bangor. Badania są finansowane w ramach Rocznicowego Stypendium Badawczego przyznanego przez Uniwersytet.

Kto recenzował projekt?

Etyczne aspekty projektu zostały zrewidowane i uznane przez komisję etyki badań naukowych na Uniwersytecie w Bangor w 2011 roku.

Dane kontaktowe:
Paula Pustulka
PhD candidate
School of Social Sciences
Bangor University, UK
Email: sopc15@bangor.ac.uk/paulapustulka@gmail.com

Opiekun Naukowy:
Profesor Howard Davis
School of Social Sciences
Bangor University, UK
Telephone: 01248 382123
Email: h.h.davis@bangor.ac.uk

Formularz zgody/ Zgoda na udział w wywiadzie

Projekt badawczy:

Macierzyństwo i Migracja w Wielkiej Brytanii i Niemczech

Imię i nazwisko oraz instytucja badawcza: Paulina Pustulka, Bangor University, UK

	Proszę zaznaczyć wyrażenie zgody:
Potwierdzam, że zapoznałam się i rozumiem treść „Informacji dla Uczestniczki" w/w projektu badawczego, a także, iż miałam możliwość zadania nurtujących mnie pytań.	☐
Rozumiem, że w badaniu uczestniczę dobrowolnie i mam prawo zrezygnować z partycypacji na każdym etapie.	☐
Rozumiem, że moje dane osobowe pozostaną anonimowe, a informacje, które mogłyby mnie zidentyfikować zostaną zmienione.	☐
Rozumiem i jednocześnie wyrażam zgodę na użycie przeprowadzonego wywiadu w pracy doktorskiej. Uzyskane informacje mogą być również (w formie anonimowej) użyte podczas konferencji, sympozjów, a także w publikacjach akademickich.	☐
Zgadzam się na udział w wywiadzie	☐

_____ _____ _____

Respondentka Data Podpis

_____ _____ _____

Badaczka Data Podpis

Consent Form

Project: The study of motherhood and migration in Germany and United Kingdom

Researcher's name & affiliation: Paulina Pustulka, Bangor University, UK

Please, tick a box if you consent

I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet of the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time. ☐

I understand that my personal information will be kept anonymous and any identifiable information will be changed. ☐

I understand and consent that my interview will be used as part of a PhD thesis. The anonymised information may also be used at conferences and in academic publications. ☐

I agree to take part in the interview. ☐

_____	_____	_____
Name of interviewee	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature