

**GENDERED MIGRATIONS:
AN EXPLORATION OF THE INFLUENCE OF MIGRATION ON
POLISH WOMEN'S PERCEPTION OF GENDER ROLES**

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Abbreviations:

A8 – Accession 8: EU Member States which joined on the 1st May 2004, see EU8

A2 – Accession 2: EU Member States which joined on 1st January 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania)

CBOS – Centre for Public Opinion Research (PL: *Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej*), a major opinion polling institute in Poland.

CEE – Central and Eastern Europe

DLA – Disability Living Allowance

EDM – Ewa Duda-Mikulin, the doctoral candidate

ENG – English (language)

EU – European Union

EU8 – „new“ EU Member States which joined the EU on 1st May 2004 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia)

EU15 – „old“ EU Member States (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden) including the UK

GBP – Great British Pound

HO – Home Office

IOM – International Organisation for Migration

NELM – new economics of labour migration

NHS – National Health Service

NINo – National Insurance Number

ONS – Office for National Statistics

PL – Polish (language)

PLN – Polish Zloty

UK – the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

UN – United Nations

USA – United States of America

WRS – Workers Registration Scheme

Abstract:

Following the expansion of the European Union (EU) in 2004, migration from the new Accession 8 EU Member States to the United Kingdom (UK) has been identified as one of the most significant international migratory movements to the UK in recent times. The largest member of these states is Poland and the UK has been the most common destination for Polish migrants post 2004. Arguably, there is limited literature that focuses solely on women; indeed, women migrants were invisible until the 1970s. In relation to A8 migration, gender and gender roles are an under-researched area. The aim of this thesis is to fill this gap and offer new insights with regard to the influence of the migratory experience on Polish women's lives and the way they negotiate their gender roles through migration. This thesis contributes new and unique evidence to the debates surrounding migration, gender, Polish women and comparative social policy, in particular with regard to the role of networks in migration; enduring and new push and pull factors; the icon of '*Matka Polka*' and work-life balance.

Through the use of 32 qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews with Polish migrant women resident in two countries – the UK and Poland, this thesis considers the factors that motivate the initial and any subsequent 'return' international migratory movements undertaken by Polish women between the UK and Poland. Additionally, the ways in which Polish migrant women (re)negotiate their gender roles in regard to paid work and informal familial care across time and space are explored. It is concluded that motivations for migration as well as motives to remain in the host country are often related to economic factors and the availability of migrant networks. It is shown that the migratory process may indeed influence women's perception of gender roles which seem to be re-evaluated post migration.

Key words: gender, migration, Poland, UK, women migrants

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores the influence of migration on women's perception of gender roles by focusing on the international migratory movements of Polish women between Poland and the United Kingdom (UK) post 2004. The aim is to examine the complex phenomenon of migration and its influence on women's gender roles from the perspective of Polish migrant women who undertake such travels which can often be life-changing. Through the use of 32 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Polish migrant women in two countries – the UK and Poland, this thesis explores how migrants come to a decision to leave their country of birth and move away to a foreign territory; how they rationalise their stay in the destination country and what influences some of them to return to their 'home' country. Furthermore, in this research the way in which migrant women reconcile their gender rolesⁱ across international spaces is scrutinised, illustrating how Polish migrant women negotiate their gender roles in regard to work and care across time and space (i.e. post migration). The extent to which migration to the UK may, or may not, lead Polish women to rethink and/or challenge their own perceptions of gender roles in respect of work and welfare is also considered.

This chapter introduces the themes that are pivotal to this research. First, a gendered approach to theorisation is outlined. This is followed by a discussion on migration as an important social phenomenon that affects millions worldwide, and then the migration of Polish nationals to the UK is briefly discussed. Second, attention is given to migrants as gendered social actors and how the concept of 'gender' is defined and used throughout this thesis. Third, the marginalisation of women as migrants in their own right within migration studies is considered. The fourth section briefly outlines the notion of migration as an opportunity to reconsider one's gender roles. Fifth, the expansion of the EU in 2004 is identified as an important structural factor that enabled Polish nationals to migrate to the UK. The penultimate and final sections of the chapter set out the aims and objectives of this study and offer an outline of subsequent chapters.

1.2 International migration as an important global and social phenomenon

Arguably, there are more people on the move than ever before. Today, around 3.2 per cent (which accounts for approximately 232 million people) of the world's population live in a country that is different to their home country (UN, 2014). Europe and Asia are hosts to the majority of them, while the United States of America continues to be the most popular destination. This thesis focuses on post 2004 international migratory flows between Poland and the UK, two Member States of the European Union (EU) (for more see chapter two). The UK is home to approximately 7.8 million international migrants, which makes it the fifth most attractive destination country in the world and within the UK, "EU nationals accounted for 4 in every 10 long-term migrants in 2013" (OECD-UNDESA, 2013). There was an increase of net migration (i.e. the difference between in and out flows) into the UK from the EU (from 177,000 in 2012 to 243,000 in the year ending March 2014) with approximately 66 per cent of EU citizens who migrated to the UK entering for employment purposes (ONS, 2014). The same has been said about Polish migrants to the UK, the majority of whom have been identified as economic migrants (Irek, 2011)ⁱⁱ.

It can be argued that in recent decades the population of the UK has become more ethnically diverse (Vertovec, 2007). Vertovec (*ibid.*) has argued that we live in the era of super-diversity (cf. 'intersectionality' in chapter three). Since the 1990s, there has been a rise in net immigration recorded with a greater variety of countries of origin. The UK remained an attractive destination for migrants for most of this time due to a relatively low unemployment rate, labour shortages and comparatively high economic performance, particularly in relation to Central and Eastern Europe (ONS, 2008; Trevena, 2009). A benefit of this process is the possibility of increased innovation which is conceivable through the exchange of knowledge and ideas between different migrants' cultures and nations. Its other consequences, however, may include racial, religious and other similar conflicts (Vertovec, 2007).

In 2004, the EU15ⁱⁱⁱ were joined by ten new countries, predominantly from Central and Eastern Europe; Poland was among them. Following the expansion of the EU it is noteworthy that migration from the A8^{iv} to the UK has been identified as one of the most significant social phenomena of recent times (Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008). Furthermore, Polish nationals migrating to the UK post 2004 constitute the largest immigrant community from Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 (Trevena, 2009). Today, a decade after the EU accession that permitted Poland to join the European community, Polish

migrants constitute a vibrant and growing community in the UK (Isański & Luczys, 2011) (see chapter two).

The reason why Polish migrants were chosen as the focus of this study is because they represent a distinctive case of large-scale economic migration to the UK enacted within the new institutional settings of intra-European migration. With regard to the numbers^v of Polish nationals residing in the UK, in 2010 Polish nationals accounted to around 550,000, then that figure increased to 658,000 in 2011 and to 713,000 in 2012. This translates to 14.9 per cent of all migrants to the UK (Salt, 2012). The prominent position of Polish migrants in the British labour force is confirmed by the 91,560 UK National Insurance Numbers (NINo) issued to Polish nationals between June 2013 and June 2014. Poland holds the top position in terms of NINos allocated to foreign-born individuals (ONS, 2014). Moreover, Polish nationals were issued the most initial right to reside documents in each year between 2006 and 2011 (HO, 2014).

Despite the fact that Polish migration to the UK has been studied extensively, predominantly post 2004 (e.g. Burrell, 2008; Ryan, 2009, 2010; Temple, 2010, 2011a, 2011b; White, 2011; Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012; Kilkey, Plomien & Perrons, 2013; Pemberton & Scullion, 2013; Garapich, 2014), gender and gender roles in relation to A8 migration, remain an under-researched area (Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Slany, 2008; Krytyka Polityczna, 2014). Although, gendered studies of migration are now gaining recognition, there is limited literature in relation to Polish women (Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Prasałowicz, 2008; Kindler & Napierała, 2010; Slany, Struzik & Wojnicka, 2011; Krytyka Polityczna, 2014). Arguably, traditionally there has been a male bias in social research (Oakley, 1981; Morokvasic, 1983) and migration (Lutz, 2010; Yeoh & Ramdas, 2014), and comparative social policy often relies on secondary data rather than primary research (Ackers, 1998). It can be said that it is not that women are absent from migration theories but that their portrayal is inadequate (Donato *et al.*, 2006; Lutz, 2010). This thesis seeks to contribute to the task of addressing that omission (for more see chapter four).

1.3 A gendered approach to theorisation

This qualitative study was conducted with a gendered approach to theorisation as this was found suitable for exploring gender roles and migrant women. This is particularly relevant because migration has for a long time been androcentric, with women essentially being invisible

although physically present (Oakley, 1981; Phizacklea, 1983; Morokvasic, 2004). The researcher recognises the contribution of some of the early feminist theorists (e.g. Oakley; Finch; Stanley & Wise; Lister; Maynard) and was inspired by their writing. However, in the migration sphere research has moved on from being once purely 'feminist' with the focus on women as those oppressed, to 'gendered' and with attention to both men and women as gendered actors (Ryan & Webster, 2008). It is now widely recognised that it is not only women but gender (femininity and masculinity) in general that is one of the most influencing factors in people's lives (Maynard, 1994; Phizacklea, 2004; Mahler & Pessar, 2006). Research undertaken from a gendered perspective aims to use gender as a 'lens' through which people's experiences are explored. To that extent, it does not privilege women's matters, which is often the case with regard to feminist research (Hesse-Biber, 2014), but rather focuses on women and men as 'gendered subjects'.

The researcher identifies gender as an organising characteristic which mostly divides but then can also unite, but more importantly, plays a pivotal role in people's lives (Mahler & Pessar, 2006). Indeed, Lutz (2010) postulates that gender can be employed as a key category in the understanding of migratory processes. Nonetheless, certain feminist research principles that advocate that research has to be based on women's experiences were followed (Finch, 1991) and qualitative methods with the view that "only qualitative methods, especially the in-depth face-to-face interview, could really count in feminist terms and generate useful knowledge" adopted (Maynard, 1994, p. 12). The researcher also followed Blaikie's (2007, p. 166) view that "the cultural background of the researcher is part of the evidence" (by referring to chapter five, section 5.2.2 the reader will see the relevance of this statement). Arguably, researchers need to recognise that women and/or research participants cannot be treated as research objects and that subjectivity is not necessarily unscientific (Stanley & Wise, 1990). The researcher reflected on hierarchical power relationships that research often involves which have been criticised by feminist researchers (cf. section 5.2.2 on reflexivity). Feminists are in favour of a non-exploitative relationship between the researcher and the researched where the latter are not treated purely as a source of data (*ibid.*).

Research becomes a means of sharing information and, rather than being seen as a source of bias, the personal involvement of the interviewer is an important element in establishing trust and thus obtaining good quality information (Maynard, 1994, p. 16).

This research is underpinned by the view that knowledge in social sciences has a male bias and that balance is needed (Finch, 1991; Ryan & Webster, 2008) and that the social world is organised ‘along the lines of gender’ (Creswell, 2013). This will be further discussed in relation to women’s gendered lives in chapter three; with regards to migration theories in chapter four; and in respect of reflexivity in research in chapter five.

1.4 Migrants as gendered social actors

Gender is a very important “force shaping human life” but it has been “regularly sidelined in research on international migration” (Pessar & Mahler, 2003, p. 812; Donato *et al.*, 2006; Lutz, 2010). In this study, gender is understood as a social construct (Titkow, Duch-Krzystoszek & Budrowska, 2004). One’s gender is not only related to biological and psychological difference but also social and cultural factors. Gender is linked to certain specific characteristics and expectations of women and men in any given society (Oakley, 1972). It should be acknowledged that the concept of gender relates to both men and women, although this thesis focuses specifically on women (see chapter three).

As already noted, there is a male bias in migration theory and literature (Morokvasic, 1983; Ackers, 1998; Ryan & Webster, 2008; Lutz, 2010; Yeoh & Ramdas, 2014). Migrants are often portrayed as male, single and unburdened by a host of gendered responsibilities that have been traditionally and stereotypically assigned to women (Anderson, 2000; Boyd & Grieco, 2003; Temple, 2011a, 2011b). Even when a migrant has a family, he (as it is often asserted) is repeatedly represented as a migrant in his own right, a pioneer (Zlotnik, 2003; Eagle, 2004), whilst his female partner is frequently depicted as a ‘tied mover’ or a ‘trailing wife’ (Bruegel, 1996; Cooke, 2001). However, in this thesis, internationally mobile women are considered as migrants in their own right and are represented as such. Many scholars note that the number of women who relocate internationally as sole migrants is on the increase (Slany, 2008; Castles & Miller, 2009; Lutz, 2011). Worldwide, approximately 48 per cent of all migrants are women (UN, 2013) and within Europe, migrant women already outnumber their male counterparts (OECD-UNDESA, 2013). Also notable is the fact that “over the past thirty years, more females than males migrated to the UK” (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1040). Thus, some scholars emphasise the contemporary feminisation of migration^{vi} (Castles & Miller, 2009; Kilkey, Lutz & Palenga-Möllennebeck, 2010), while others argue that this has in fact been evident since the 1970s (Zlotnik, 2003) (see more in chapter four).

This thesis explores how and why women become internationally mobile and also the factors that may be influential in them choosing to remain in the host country (UK) or return to their home country (Poland). Women's social networks are scrutinised because arguably these have often previously been studied in a gender-neutral way (Ryan, 2009). Migrant women's gender role expectations are also explored with regard to the process of migration and how the latter may affect their lives. Precisely because women have long been viewed as those attending to the needs of others, be they senior relatives, young children or those who fall ill (and men more generally), these gendered expectations make understanding their international moves particularly complex. Moreover, gender ideology prevalent in the country of origin can 'migrate' with women, thus putting an additional strain on them as they settle in the new country but may still be somewhat constrained by the gender roles commonplace in their home country (cf. Temple, 2011b).

Issues around work-life balance remain particularly problematic for women (Sweet, 2014) (cf. 'double burden', Hochschild, 1989; Doucet, 2011) and men (Kilkey, 2010a, 2014). Women have become increasingly more active in the paid labour market, thus they are less likely to be in a position to balance work with informal caring roles in the home (Daly & Rake, 2003; Płomień, 2009; White, 2011). Moreover, the nature of relationships is changing and we now observe fewer marriages, more cohabiting, less stable relationships and decreasing family size (Pascall, 1997; Lewis, 2009; Fraser, 2013). What is more, the adult worker model prevalent in the UK and Poland and the increasing pressure on adults to engage in paid work (Williams, 2010), contribute substantially to the processes outlined above.

Arguably, this research is important because it is looking at women who continue to be the main caregivers and domestic workers even today, doing the lion's share of the responsibilities tied to the private sphere (Keryk, 2010; Boyle, 2013). At the same time there has been a rapid increase in women's employment rates (Pascall, 1997; Lewis, 2009; Fraser, 2013) (this may be due to necessity and/or simply increased aspirations) and this, coupled with ageing populations, can potentially lead to a demographic crisis in Poland. Women's increased participation in paid work does not automatically shift the burden of housework on to their male counterparts (Orloff, 2002; Keryk, 2010; Fraser, 2013). Thus, it can be said that women's gender role expectations are contradictory and may be challenging when women become migrants.

1.5 Migration as an opportunity to challenge gender roles?

Until the 1970s women were invisible in much international research on migration even though they were physically present; they were finally acknowledged when they entered the paid labour market (Morokvasic, 1983; Donato *et al.*, 2006). It can be argued that through migration, women are exposed to new social and cultural norms and different life-styles (Valentine, 2008; Datta, 2009; Temple & Judd, 2011). This research seeks to contribute to debates on the influence of migration on women's understanding of their gendered 'responsibilities'. This thesis aims to add to the growing body of work on gendered migration and more particularly Polish migrant women in the UK. Arguably, when women migrants engage in paid work in highly developed Western countries, with it they secure the means to escape certain oppressive traditions that are prevalent in their countries of origin (e.g. patriarchy) (cf. Morokvasic, 1983, 2004; Slany, 2008). Thus, migration may reinforce or disrupt the traditional gender order (Ho, 2006; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; Siara, 2009). Certain scholars have argued that the move to Western Europe may prove to be a step towards emancipation for women migrants (Kosack, 1976). Some Polish academics have noted that migration as a strategy to avoid an undesirable gender ideology has been employed by Polish migrant women (Kindler & Napierała, 2010). It can be asserted that in the process of migration, some women are presented with an opportunity to not only project themselves in a different 'light' in the new setting, but to make new choices with regard to certain new norms that they observe in the host society (Datta, 2009; Slany, 2009). Hence, in this thesis, the process of migration is treated as potentially an opportunity in itself. It is explored as a chance to improve life by accumulating economic but also social and human capital (e.g. experience, knowledge, contacts; see chapter two) (King, 1986; Klagge *et al.*, 2007). Migrants could therefore be considered 'agents of change' (Lisiak, 2014), particularly in the event of their return migration. As a consequence of living in a new social setting in the destination country, migrant women may re-evaluate their current arrangements with regard to gender roles (Temple, 1999; Siara, 2009). It is noteworthy that this study was conducted in the context of rather heated debates in Poland around 'gender' and the perceived dangers related to it (see chapter three). In the last couple of years 'gender ideology' has received much attention from the Catholic Church, the Polish academic community and society at large (cf. Gdula, 2014; Graczyk, 2014; Kimmel, 2014; Szelewa, 2014).

Furthermore, significant differences in gender role expectations seem to exist in the two countries under exploration. In both Poland and the UK, the adult worker model is prevalent (Williams & Brennan, 2012). However, in Poland gender roles seem to be comparatively more rigid to those found in the UK (cf. Siara, 2009; Temple, 2011b; White, 2011). Due to Poland's troubled history, the Catholic Church has reinforced the icon of '*Matka Polka*' ('Mother Hen',

see chapter eight) which, as some argue, highlights the desirable roles for Polish women (Łobodzińska, 2000; CBOS, 2013b).

1.6 The interplay of structure and agency in migration

Debates about structure and agency have long been considered vital to explaining human behaviour (Giddens, 1984). According to Giddens (*ibid.*), the author of structuration theory, both concepts can serve as enabling and constraining factors all at the same time. 'Agency' is here understood as "the capacity for social actors to reflect on their position, devise strategies and take action to achieve their desires" (Bakewell, 2010, p. 1694). The following quotation represents the definition of 'structure' employed in this thesis: "Structures, conceived of as patterns of social (including economic and political) relations and cultural formations constituted through everyday practice of social actors" (Morawska, 2001, p. 52). This demonstrates the self-perpetuating nature of agency and structure and the fact that they both influence one another ('duality of structure', Giddens, 1984). It can be asserted that a discussion about structure and agency is key to debates around migration (Morawska, 2001; Hoang, 2011). Arguably, migrating, similarly to any social relations, involves a complex interaction of certain structures that both foster and inhibit people's movement as active agents (Bakewell, 2010). However, it ought to be clarified that this thesis does not engage with structuration theory as a whole but uses it to establish the context in which migration takes place.

As already alluded to in the last section certain structural opportunities and constraints frame agency of Polish women migrants. In this research, the structures that are seen as important are related to the government policy and legal framework and the welfare state in both Poland and the UK. The European Union citizenship which, arguably, facilitated the recent 'wave' of Polish migration is also part of structural context. Additionally, certain cultural norms in both countries, namely in relation to gender roles, are part of the structural setting. Moreover, migrant social and familial networks can be considered as structure (cf. Palloni *et al.*, 2001; chapter four, section 4.3.4). Agency, on the other hand is understood here as the capacity to act. In this thesis migrants' actions in the host and home countries are considered. Among those are: paid/unpaid work; consumption, social and education practices.

All of the abovementioned factors can act as limitations to exercising agency (e.g. the relatively limited Polish welfare state) but they can also serve as opportunities (e.g. the comparatively more generous British welfare system). These, arguably, translate into push and pull factors in

migration decision-making (see chapter four, section 4.3). These structural contexts both enable and constrain all at once. There are likely to be tensions between the two – EU citizenship and opportunities linked to this status (e.g. freedom of movement; welfare rights; access to the British paid labour market); and constraints related to the cultural icon of ‘*Matka Polka*’ (‘Mother Hen’) as a symbol against which women’s rights and responsibilities have traditionally been measured in Poland (see chapter eight, section 8.2). Thus, structure constitutes opportunities and constrains while individual agency is facilitated/circumscribed by structure and social actors continuously engage in a renegotiation of these (Giddens, 1984).

1.6.1 Citizenship of the European Union as an important structural context^{vii}

For the purpose of this study the notion of citizenship calls for exploration. The concept of citizenship is a much contested term which has attracted the attention of many scholars (e.g. Vogel & Moran, 1991; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Ackers, 1996, 2004; Ellison, 2000; Currie, 2008; Dwyer, 2010). This is not to say that it is a new concept; indeed, the notion of citizenship originates in the ancient city states of Athens and Sparta from the period between the 6th and the 4th centuries BC (Dwyer, 2010). Its contemporary definition and understanding varies significantly depending on social, political and cultural context, not to mention the historical background of the country in question. Some thinkers emphasise the conceptual differences between citizenship as a status and citizenship as a practice. The former highlights the status which carries with it civil, political and social rights that citizens enjoy. The latter implies duties that are linked to practising one’s citizenship status (Lister, 2003).

Traditionally, the concept of citizenship has been linked to the nation state, however, the development of supranational institutions such as the EU make it a concept with contemporary relevance beyond the single nation state level (Ellison, 2000; Geddes, 2008; Dwyer, 2010). Thus, it can be asserted that citizenship is nested at different levels, including national (e.g. Poland/UK) and supranational (e.g. the EU). People utilise their citizenship status as citizens of particular countries and/or as EU citizens at different times and for different ends (more on this in the next chapter).

Arguably, “the concept of citizenship implies a notion of equality in that citizens are said to share a common status in respect to the rights and duties that they hold” (Dwyer, 2010, p. 11). However, it can be asserted that the EU citizenship for instance, is based on the A8 nationals’ belonging to their nation states as the EU citizenship and the rights of EU citizens to free

movement are derived from an individual's Member State citizenship status (Ackers, 1998; Bloemraad, 2004). Hence, it can be said that the EU citizenship is complementary to national citizenship (Lewis, 1998).

The European Union and its enlargement on the 1st May 2004 are pertinent to this research. As already noted, in the aftermath of the EU enlargement in 2004, the UK^{viii} experienced unprecedented numbers of Polish nationals who exercised their newly acquired right to free movement. Although the UK has previously encountered Polish migration, the post 2004 migration 'wave' proved to be more substantial and differently motivated to post-war migration (Düvell & Garapich, 2011) (see chapter two). Therefore, the citizenship status 'attached' to the EU as a supranational institution (i.e. positioned somewhat 'above' the nation state level) is an important structural context within which Polish nationals' migratory flows took place (Ackers, 1998; Currie, 2008). It can be argued that if it were not for this enabling structural context, the migration of Polish nationals would perhaps not occur on as significant a scale. Thus, the EU acceptance of Poland as one of its new Member States is pivotal to this thesis as it provides the opportunity for Polish women migrants to move elsewhere within the EU.

It is noteworthy that although the expanded EU may present a structural context that enables migration for EU citizens, European citizenship remains a "highly stratified status" (Dwyer, 2004, p. 162) which offers preferential rights to economically active migrants, as the original goal of the EU was to promote and facilitate the movement of workers (Ackers, 1998). The majority of recent Polish nationals in the UK are considered to be economic migrants (Düvell & Garapich, 2011; Akhurst *et al.*, 2014), thus their movement has been relatively unobstructed; although the opportunities in relation to welfare rights have been curtailed at different points in recent years (cf. Worker Registration Scheme in chapter two section 2.3.1) (Pemberton & Scullion, 2013).

Polish migrants enjoy a host of social rights in the UK by virtue of being European citizens. Yet, European citizenship remains a hybrid type of supranational citizenship:

Its hybridity stems from the fact that access to European citizenship is controlled entirely by the national authorities of member states of the EU, whilst its content in terms of rights associated with it – by the supranational European executive, legislature and judiciary (Osipovic, 2010, p. 84).

However, European citizenship does not ensure the same entitlements to all citizens who possess it (Dwyer 2004). The privileged treatment of economically active migrants originates from the rationale underpinning EU citizenship, namely the promotion and facilitation of workers' mobility and ensuring they are not worse off when moving than when staying in their home countries (Ackers, 1998). It is noteworthy that EU citizenship tends to disadvantage women, whose relationship with the paid labour market is often disrupted by informal caring responsibilities. Instead of being treated as citizens in their own right, through the recognition of the economic value of care and domestic work, women's claims to social rights linked to EU citizenship are recognised through their own or their partners' paid employment. One consequence of this is women's "very high levels of personal dependency on working spouses" (Ackers 1998, p. 316).

It has recently been highlighted that A8 migration is linked to "the proactive and defensive engagement of social citizenship" (Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012; also cf. Ellison, 2000 who originally coined this phrase). Cook and colleagues (2012) suggest that A8 migrants are active agents who utilise their national and European citizenship rights to their advantage. This illustrates the interplay of structure and agency in migration (Morawska, 2001). By migrating to the UK (as European citizens) they actively exercise their newly-granted rights to movement, residence and work in order to access opportunities abroad (Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012). However, such migrants are not adverse to returning 'home' to their country of origin to exercise their national citizenship rights in order to access services (e.g. a dentist, undergo prenatal tests, etc.) and/or purchase goods (e.g. cigarettes, alcohol, meats, etc.) that are less costly or perceived to be of better quality than those available in their host nation.

At the same time, their engagement with members of local host communities is often minimal (Hunt, Steele & Condie, 2008; Trevena, 2009; Ryan, 2011; Temple, 2011b; Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012). The established communities seem to be mutually wary in regard to the new arrivals as the host country's nationals often view migrant workers as potential competitors for increasingly scarce resources, jobs and housing in particular. Through "defensive engagement", the locals use their national citizenship status to reassert primacy over new arrivals (Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012). This may be true particularly in the on-going global recession of 2008.

Many A8 migrants live in UK neighbourhoods where accommodation is relatively inexpensive and which are already home to diverse ethnic communities who have previously settled in Britain (Hunt, Steele & Condie, 2008). That said, many migrants visit their local shops that sell products from their home countries and interact with each other almost exclusively (cf. White

& Ryan, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; Temple, 2011b). This translates into minimising their contact with the native population or other existing communities and engaging with them only when necessary. It is noteworthy that this is not solely a phenomenon associated with A8 migrants or the UK. Arguably, newly arrived migrants tend to live in clusters as it often proves to be more financially viable, safer and can be a response to hostility from the host population (cf. Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012). Thus, it can be asserted that the EU citizenship status serves as 'structure' or structural context to the recent Polish migration to the UK while citizenship as practice (i.e. undertaking the actual movement from Poland to the UK) corresponds to 'agency' and migrants' agentic powers (cf. citizenship as status and practice, Lister, 2003; agency and structure in migration, Morawska, 2001; Bakewell, 2010).

1.7 Research aim and objectives

The broad aim of this research is to explore the influence of international migratory experiences on Polish women's lives and consider the ways in which they (re)negotiate their gendered expectations through the migratory process.

More specifically, the research objectives are to:

1. Examine women's motivations for migration and return migration and motives behind their stay in the destination country.
2. Consider the extent to which migration may be a catalyst for change in Polish women's (often traditional) perception of gender roles.
3. Explore how Polish migrant women negotiate their formal rights and informal responsibilities in respect of paid work and informal familial care work.
4. Compare and contrast the differences, if any, vis-à-vis gender role expectations between Polish migrant women living in the UK and those who have returned to Poland.
5. Add new empirical knowledge and contribute to theory development with regard to international migration and gender, and more specifically to Polish women migrants and gender role expectations.

This research presents an analysis of qualitative data generated in interviews with two groups of participants:

1) 16 Polish migrant women who moved to the UK post 2004 and who at the time of the interview were based in the North West of England;

2) 16 Polish return migrant women who, having migrated to the UK post 2004, subsequently returned to Poland and who at the time of the interview were based in Poland.

These 32 in-depth interviews were carried out between October 2012 and January 2013 (see chapter five).

1.8 Thesis structure

The chapters that follow provide a more detailed examination relating to existing literature on migration and gender, methodology and the research findings.

In chapter two a historical perspective of Polish migration into the UK is provided. Due to space limitations historical discussions are brief; however, a comparison between the refugee related migration from Poland post World War Two (WWII) and the relatively recent post-accession 'wave' is offered. The expansion of the EU is highlighted as an important structural change which facilitated the subsequent significant flow of Polish nationals to the UK. In this chapter transitional arrangements are considered together with characteristics and trends of 'recent' Polish migration to the UK. A comparison between implications for home and host country and migrants themselves is offered.

In chapter three considerations of gender and women's gendered lives are provided. In this chapter, the reader will find a definition of terms such as sex and gender, and the historical development of feminist theory which constitutes an important theoretical context to this research. Women's gender roles are scrutinised with an exploration of the public and the private spheres and how women's 'responsibilities' in those two are negotiated. A comparison between women's gendered lives in Poland and the UK is presented by looking at some trends concerning gender equality in both countries and at the EU level more generally.

In chapter four classic and contemporary migration theories are critically analysed and their applicability to post 2004 Polish migration to the UK is considered. A gendered critique of mainstream theories of migration is provided with particular attention paid to the invisibility of women as migrants. Women migrants as gendered social actors are considered with special attention paid to the influence of migration on women's gender roles. An outline of different

migration patterns and types, namely circular, return and family migration, is given as those are deemed particularly relevant to this study.

In chapter five, the research design, methodology and methods are outlined. Firstly, ontological and epistemological standpoints are provided. Reflexivity in the research process is considered by focusing on the researcher's roles and her positionality with regards to the research participants. The research questions that correspond to the research aim and objectives outlined in the present chapter are given. Then the sampling strategy and the sample composition are described. The research methods comprising literature review and qualitative interviews are explored with specifics on the pilot study and field notes included. Ethics in research is then outlined with all the relevant ethics forms (versions in English and Polish) found in Appendix III. Then issues related to handling of interview data are examined, with special attention paid to transcribing and equivalence in bilingual research. After that, data analysis is scrutinised and potential research limitations described.

Chapter six, seven and eight present analysis of the qualitative data generated from the fieldwork. In chapter six, Polish women's initial motivations for migration to the UK are considered. Various push and pull factors in the respondents' migratory decisions are scrutinised. Among the reasons that mattered for the research participants that are considered here are: economic reasons; migrant networks; and opportunities through migration. In chapter seven, women's motivations to remain in the UK together with their motives to return to Poland are examined. Similarly to motivations for migration these mostly relate to economic reasons and social networks developed in the UK and maintained in Poland. In this chapter women's gendered expectations that operate across national borders are dissected. Chapter eight explores the influence of migration on the gendered lives of the participants. A comparison between what are perceived to be more traditional gender roles in Poland and more flexible gender roles in the UK is provided. The impact of the icon of '*Matka Polka*' ('Mother Hen'), a cultural symbol for Polish women that is often seen as the equivalent of a 'superwoman', is considered. The perceptions of Poland and the UK are compared here with regards to women's gender role expectations with special attention paid to balancing paid work with unpaid care. In this chapter, the idea of the process of migration as a trigger for change, particularly in relation to one's gender roles, is presented.

In chapter nine conclusions are provided. First, a summary of the main empirical findings and theoretical contributions that this research makes to knowledge on international migration is presented. These relate to the complexities of being a woman migrant, transnational gendered

expectations and the process of migration serving as a chance to re-evaluate current gender roles. The main theoretical contributions focus around women in migration, overcoming economic determinism in migration theory and the Polish icon of '*Matka Polka*'. Third, methodological contributions are presented. Among those are issues that relate to cross-national and bilingual research, reflexivity and positionality in research and what can be considered innovative research methods in the form of internet interviews. Fourth, specific social policy implications are drawn. Those are linked to women migrants and their gendered 'responsibilities', work-life balance, and wider gender equality. Lastly, a further research agenda is outlined.

CHAPTER TWO: Polish migration to the UK post 1945

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide some contextual backdrop to the recent significant wave of Polish migration to the UK. In order to do this, section two offers a brief historical overview of significant waves of out-migration from Poland during and in the aftermath of WWII. Previous Polish migration to the UK is here explored. Section three explains post 2004 Polish migration to the UK. In section four discussions move on to offer an exploration of the EU enlargement in 2004. The transitional rules put in place by the UK post 2004 are also set out. In section five the extension of EU citizenship rights to Polish nationals is highlighted as an important structural change which enabled large numbers of Polish nationals to migrate to the UK. Section six moves on to discuss the key characteristics and size of the post 2004 Polish migration into the UK. The penultimate section (seven) considers the implications of post 2004 Polish migration in relation to Poland, the UK, Polish migrants and their families. Conclusions are then offered.

2.2 Polish migration to the UK during and in the aftermath of the Second World War

Whilst the UK has witnessed many waves of international immigration over the centuries (Craig, 2012), Poland has by contrast been a country of emigration (Iglicka, 2010; Janeta, 2012) (although, it is increasingly portrayed as a destination country too, Keryk, 2010); “Poland has a history of shifting borders and of migration, both forced and voluntary” (White, 2011, p. 31). In the second half of the 19th century Polish people (mainly poorer peasants and Jews) started moving away from eastern Poland. The most popular destinations were the United States of America (USA) followed by Canada and Australia. Germany, a neighbour to the west, also proved to be a common choice for work (Castles & Miller, 2009). Between the two World Wars many more Polish people decided to leave the country. As the result of the Second World War, the Polish borders moved to the west and mass displacement of Polish people, Germans, Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians occurred (White, 2011).

It can be asserted that the history of Polish migration is as complex as that of the country itself. The first major in-migration was observed during the period of Poland’s partitions (1772, 1793 and 1795), when Poland was successively divided between the great powers of central Europe,

namely Russia, Austria and Prussia. It is difficult to gauge with any accuracy the numbers of people leaving Poland at this time. However, it is true to say that during this period, many Polish nationals migrated. The most common destination at the time was North America. Polish migration to the USA had now been established and would continue at a steady pace for the next two centuries. Whilst Polish migrants and exiles continued to arrive in many European countries and the USA throughout the 19th century, the first real 'wave' of migration to the UK occurred much later (Davies, 2001; Morawska, 2001).

It was during the Second World War when many thousands of Polish men arrived in Britain through various routes through Europe. Perhaps the greatest contribution of all by Polish servicemen to the defence of Britain and other countries during the Second World War was that of RAF Squadron 303. 303 Squadron was staffed almost entirely by Polish nationals and played a crucial role throughout the Battle of Britain in 1940. With British pilots at a premium in the early stages of the war, the squadron was instrumental in the days of the battle (Olsen, & Cloud, 2003). Following service in the skies above Britain, Polish soldiers and airmen, female auxiliaries and children settled in the UK. However, due to political tension between the Polish government in exile and the British government in 1945, the status of these people was unclear. Eventually, the British government decided on a policy of encouraging Polish nationals to return to their homeland. This policy was brought to an abrupt end when it became clear that the new communist regime in Poland ruthlessly persecuted those who either opposed the new communist order or who had any relationship to the wartime government and the British armed forces (Davies, 2001).

In spite of their service during the war years, the British authorities were reluctant to promote the settlement of Polish people in the aftermath of WWII. Thus, Polish nationals were encouraged to migrate to the Commonwealth countries such as Canada, South Africa and Australia. By the mid-1950s, it was decided that those Polish people remaining in the refugee camps in the UK, known as Polish hostels at the time, would be given the right to remain in the UK and would be naturalised as British citizens (cf. Polish Resettlement Act 1947). The hostels had mostly been located in the West Midlands and the West Country, notably around Worcester and Cirencester. The conditions within the camps were relatively good and many Polish men were able to find work in the local areas to supplement the provisions within the camps. By the end of the camps' operations, many had become overcrowded as families grew and the need to provide the children with education was particularly pressing. Many of the servicemen and their families stayed in the area whilst others moved to various parts of the UK. More than 200,000

Polish ex-servicemen and women, together with their children, eventually settled in the UK with the largest concentration found in London, the seat of their last elected government in exile (Davies, 2001).

During the communist period (1945-1989) out-migration from Poland was not permitted; indeed the majority of citizens did not possess a passport which was only administered on special request and on reasonable grounds with regard to the need for it (Morawska, 2001). Thus, official out-migration was minimal while illegal escape to the West was desired by many although not easily implemented (Düvel & Garapich, 2011). During this time the most popular destination countries were Canada and the United States of America (Łobodzińska, 1996; Morawska, 2001; Wallace, 2002). After the fall of the Berlin wall, the borders were open again. Then, during the post-Cold War era in the 1990s, Polish nationals again mainly migrated to the other side of the Atlantic with relatively minimal numbers coming to the UK (Temple, 1994, 1999; Garapich, 2008b).

2.3 The European Union enlargement in 2004

As already stated, on the 1st May 2004 ten new countries joined the European Union: The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta. The first eight of those countries are referred to as the Accession 8^{ix} (A8, also known as EU8) countries^x. In 2004 the UK was one of only three countries^{xi} to open its labour market to the A8 nationals, a decision which arguably was based on the need for workers rather than altruism. Additionally, the predictions were that only a small number of migrant workers would arrive in the UK, however, the actual numbers were greatly beyond statisticians' predictions (Currie, 2008). As the new states from Central and Eastern Europe joined the EU, many of their nationals almost immediately decided to exercise their newly won rights to free movement as EU citizens which resulted in large numbers of people moving to the UK. As mobile citizens many migrants assumed they could improve their lives and remit money home as a result of wage disparities and the relatively low unemployment rate in the UK, thus exercising their agency (cf. Dustmann & Weiss, 2007; ONS, 2008).

It is important to outline the basic rights granted to EU citizens that act as structures. The founding principles of the EU as previously noted were: freedom of movement of persons, goods, services and capital (Europa.eu, 2013), "the free movement of workers is one of the fundamental principles of the European Union" (Light & Young, 2009, p. 285). The EU was

primarily concerned with free movement of workers and economic and trade ties. Its aim was to protect workers' rights to live and work in the EU countries (Ackers, 1998). The Member States approved certain social security provisions for migrant workers which mainly concerned employment and economic policy. Throughout the years, EU social policy continued to be established and protected by the Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers (1989), the Maastricht Treaty (1992) and the Lisbon Agenda (2000) (Dwyer, 2010). The EU put in place various policies (e.g. the Maastricht Treaty which sets out the EU citizens' rights) to protect the rights of its members' citizens. Those citizens are seen mainly as workers since the EU's primary aim has been stimulating economic growth of the European community by free movement of migrant workers (Ackers, 1998; Currie, 2008). Hence, it seems as though the EU plays, in some respects, a similar role to a nation state whereby it protects its citizens' rights and has clear criteria of inclusion and exclusion. It is evident that the existence of such supranational bodies as the EU, make citizenship tied exclusively to membership of a nation state problematic (Morris, 1998).

2.3.1 The UK implementation of transitional rules post 2004

In the run-up to the signing of the Treaty of Accession in 2003, there were many debates around granting the rights to free movement of persons originating from the new Accession 8. The original Member States (EU15^{xii}) feared the consequences enlargement may have on their economies and general wellbeing of their citizens. They were anxious that increased migration of the less privileged new Member States' nationals could potentially impact on the wages and unemployment rate of their citizens. Therefore, transitional arrangements were agreed and resulted in denial of full access to the EU law for Central and Eastern European nationals (A8 and A2^{xiii}) (Currie, 2008). The temporary restrictions on access to labour markets were imposed to safeguard the original Member States' economies and could be in place for a maximum of seven years after the accession of the new Member States (i.e. until the 30th April 2011). The EU15 were not allowed to monitor migration from the new Member States but they were entitled to determine the conditions which A8 nationals had to fulfil in order to access employment. Those from the new Member States who found employment had the right to be treated equally with host state nationals in regard to work conditions, access to housing and social and tax advantages (*ibid.*, p. 17). The restrictions were addressed predominantly to workers, and a distinction was made between workers and self-employed persons. The latter category was excluded from the restrictions imposed on workers. What is more, those who lived

and worked in the EU15 countries prior to the EU enlargement were not subjected to the transitional provisions, if they had previously been resident for a continuous period of 12 months (Currie, 2008).

In regard to the national implementation of transitional restrictions, there were considerable differences between the EU15 states as the decisions were made independently by each Member State on what restrictions to implement. The UK opted for labour market access provided the migrants registered on a Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) with the requirement to complete twelve months of continuous employment before being eligible to access certain welfare rights (UKBA, 2009). This type of restriction may be seen as liberal but is in fact misleading. The UK authorities decided to take advantage of the national insurance and tax contributions of the A8 workers giving them no immediate rights to welfare entitlements in return (Currie, 2008). This is seen as problematic especially since many of the A8 workers were incorporated in the so-called '3D jobs' – dirty, dull and dangerous (Favell, 2008).

Prior to the EU expansion in 2004 and in its aftermath too, the British press painted a rather negative picture of A8 migrants (e.g. Ramesh, 2010; Pidd, 2011; Bakalar, 2013). Moreover, other members of the EU15, by imposing certain more or less restrictive transitional arrangements, put pressure on the UK to act similarly. However, as noted earlier, the UK was also in need of workers to fill a number of jobs in different sectors and foreign labour was seen as a solution to this (Currie, 2008). The right to access the paid labour market was not challenged, given the A8 workers registered on the WRS but the habitual residence test (HRT) which regulates access to benefits was altered. The HRT consists of two parts and an individual in question must pass both: right to reside and actual habitual residency. Those with the right to reside include those who are either considered to have permanent residence or qualified persons (Homeless Link, 2012). The WRS together with the altered HRT were meant to protect the UK welfare system from being taken advantage of by A8 nationals, and at the same time enable the country to fill its labour shortages.^{xiv}

It can be asserted that due to post 2004 transitional arrangements A8 nationals had only restricted rights to welfare in the UK, however, this has changed after the seven-year transitional period ended at the end of April 2011. From May 2011 an A8 national who is a jobseeker, a worker, a student, a self-employed person or is in a position to financially support him/herself is permitted to remain in the UK beyond the initial three month period. However, in order to be able to claim out-of-work benefits, an A8 national must show that they are habitually resident in the UK and intend to permanently stay in the country (Currie, 2008; Homeless Link, 2012).^{xv}

It needs to be noted that social welfare rights constitute part of the structural context within which migrants exercise their agency.

Arguably, the improved access to welfare rights that A8 migrants gained on the 1st May 2011 has had little effect on the numbers of Central and Eastern Europeans migrating to the UK (Dustman & Frattini, 2013; Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). Indeed, it has been noted that large numbers of A8 workers have left the country in the aftermath of the economic crisis in 2008 (Pollard, 2008; Gentleman, 2011). Other sources however, have acknowledged that there is a constant circulation of A8 migrants repeatedly moving in and out of the UK from their homelands in order to access work (UKBA, 2009; Harris, 2011; Pidd, 2011; White, 2014). Additionally it needs to be acknowledged that substantial numbers appear to be long-term residents settled in the UK (White, 2014).

It is noteworthy that from the end of 2013 the British authorities have introduced measures that impose gradually more restrictive access to welfare for nationals of Central and Eastern Europe. In December 2013 a more robust Habitual Residence Test was announced for means-tested benefits claimants. From January 2014 income-based Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) claimants must have resided in the UK for a minimum of three months to have their claim successfully processed. Additionally, jobseekers have to demonstrate they have a "genuine prospect of finding work" to keep receiving JSA after six months. In March 2014 a minimum earnings threshold was introduced to decide if a person was in "genuine and effective" work, and thus had a "right to reside" in the UK. Then from April 2014 CEE jobseekers have been excluded from receiving Housing Benefit when they receive JSA. Moreover, from July 2014 new jobseekers need to have lived in the UK for three months before being entitled to Child Benefit or Child Tax Credit (Kennedy, 2014).

2.4 Post 2004 Polish migration to the UK

As already asserted, it was not until after 2004 that the UK experienced "the largest ever wave of immigration" (Drinkwater, Eade & Garapich, 2006, p. 2). Polish migration to the UK post EU accession was "one of the largest and most intensive migration flows in contemporary European history" (Trevena, 2009, p. 1). Today, the Polish community is one of the biggest and most dynamic communities in the UK (Isanski & Luczys, 2011). Evidently, the recent wave of Polish migration to the UK is not unique in some respects (e.g. home/host country) but it is novel in others (e.g. scale, motivations). Consequently, the inflows of Accession 8 migrants to the UK were recognised as "one of the most important social phenomena of recent times"

(Pollard, Latorre & Srisikandarajah, 2008, p. 54). Noteworthy is the fact that the UK experienced relatively small A8 immigration prior to the beginning of the 21st century (Drinkwater, Garapich & Eade, 2006). Furthermore, it cannot be taken as read that members of the post-war diaspora and their families continue to identify themselves as Polish (cf. Temple, 2010, 2011). Many second and third generation Polish immigrants to the UK may by now identify themselves as British or reconcile multiple identities (Temple, 2010). Irek (2011, p. 6) offers a comparison between the post-war diaspora and the more recent Polish arrivals, clearly portraying the recent economic migrants in a comparatively less positive light: “almost sacred political migration and ordinary, profane and rather shameful economic migration”. Similarly, the following quotation demonstrates a comparison between the post-war and post-accession Polish migration to the UK:

After the end of communism, migrants were seen as primarily economically motivated as opposed to earlier politically motivated migrants. (...) Post-accession migrants are seen as market-oriented individuals, using migration as an opportunity for personal and educational development, the older established Polish London Diaspora is viewed as traditional, anti-liberal, more inward-looking and explicitly relying on family and Christian values (Garapich, 2008, p. 137 as quoted in Erel, 2011, p. 704).

However, it should be emphasised that, although the previous flow of Polish migrants to the UK post WWII is important to acknowledge, this research deals exclusively with those Polish nationals who arrived in the UK post 2004. Having outlined the above, it is hardly surprising that Accession 8 migration to the UK has been studied extensively, particularly since the European Union enlargement in 2004 (e.g. Drinkwater, Eade & Garapich, 2006; Slany, 2008; Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski, 2008; Burell, 2011; Dustmann & Frattini, 2013; Pemberton & Scullion, 2013). There have been a number of studies focusing on migrant workers from the new A8 countries (e.g. Kilkey, 2010; Scullion & Morris, 2010; Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2011; White, 2011).

2.5 Characteristics and trends of ‘recent’ Polish migrants to the UK

As already asserted, post 2004 EU enlargement, the UK proved to be the most popular destination for Polish migrants (CBOS, 2006; Trevena, 2009). It was estimated that between one and two million Polish nationals left Poland for the West (Isański & Luczys, 2011); hence

the Polish community is said to be the most rapidly growing migrant community in contemporary Britain (Isański & Luczys, 2011). Migrant Polish nationals soon became the single largest foreign born resident group in the UK (Trevena, 2009) and by 2011 the Polish language became the second, after English, most widely spoken language in England (ONS, 2011c). As shown above, Polish migration to the UK is not a new phenomenon; however, it was not until the EU enlargement in 2004 that the idealised stereotype of a Polish migrant worker was coined. It points to a hard-working, educated, compliant worker, who makes few demands on welfare services in the UK (Drummond & Judd, 2011).

White (2011) argues that for Polish nationals who chose to migrate to the UK post the EU enlargement in 2004, migration became a way of life and a 'livelihood strategy'. For others, migration may be a way "to have fun and enjoy life before going back to the normal life and a normal family in Poland" (Cieślik, 2012, p. 15). Post-accession migrants are often seen as "individual actors engaging in the rational pursuit of economic goals" (Irek, 2011, p. 1). White (2011) explains that due to 'brain overflow' in Poland, whereby almost half of 19-24-year-olds were university students, workplaces for graduates could not keep up with the demand. The lack of opportunities was an important push factor for young Polish nationals to move to the UK. Additionally, back in 2004 the unemployment rate in Poland stood at over 20 per cent, but later decreased to just under 11 per cent in 2009 (GUS, 2009). In comparison, today, it is at over 13 per cent (GUS, 2014) while in the UK it is just over 6 per cent (BBC, 2014). At the same time, from the mid-1990s and in the early-2000s the British economy was experiencing significant economic growth with less than 5 per cent unemployment in 2004 and substantial labour shortages (ONS, 2008). Other scholars emphasized the 'brain drain' of Polish migrants to the UK who cannot utilise their skills here and, despite being relatively well educated, find themselves in low-paid, low-skilled jobs (Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski, 2008).

It is recognised that life-course stage has a major impact on decisions regarding migration (Cieślik, 2012). Most of the post-accession migrants were at the beginning of their adult lives. Many came to the UK to gain transferable experience that can later be utilised anywhere they may subsequently decide to move (Bielewska, 2011). Szewczyk (2012) termed this 'brain training' and it is particularly applicable here as some of the respondents migrated to study in the UK (for more see chapters six and seven). Bielewska termed this migration trend 'fluid migration', which is characterized by no settlement goal and no specified period of time (2011, p. 87) (cf. 'intentional unpredictability', Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich, 2006). Whilst previous migratory decisions were linked to economic reasons, today there is evidence of migration

being perceived as an adventure and a way to learn about the world (Kindler & Napierała, 2010). White (2011, p. 36), referred to 'migration culture' in regard to specific places in Poland where people see migration as a natural way of life.

Among the more recent Polish migrants in the UK close friendships with the native British population or other more settled migrant communities are uncommon (Temple, 2011b). Migrants seem to be eager to cultivate Polish customs sometimes more strongly than they did before emigration, especially when they have children in the UK; "their Polishness does not define their whole life but appears when circumstances demand it" (Bielewska, 2011, p. 103). However, many admit to dislike and mistrust their co-ethnics (Irek, 2011). It should be acknowledged that the majority of Polish nationals are Roman Catholics; many regularly attend church services and believe in 'family values' (Czekanowski, 1961; Łobodzińska, 1996; Irek, 2011; Temple, 2011a, 2011b) and even "young people locate family on the top of the hierarchy in terms of values" (Mikołajczyk-Lerman, 2011, p. 115). Certain scholars argue that Poland, in comparison to the UK, is considerably more traditional, conservative, slow-paced and safe and that "family values are lost in England" (Cieślík, 2012, p. 18). Thus, as is argued in chapter four (section 4.4), the process of migration may influence migrants' value systems and gender roles (Kosack, 1976; Ho, 2006; Siara, 2009).

As noted above, the majority of post-accession migrants are young adults, with over 80 per cent of those registered with the WRS between 18 and 34 years of age (UKBA, 2005). About one third of recent Polish migrants to the UK came from rural areas whilst over 40 per cent originated in towns with a population of under a hundred thousand (Fihel & Kaczmarczyk, 2009, p. 37, as quoted in White, 2010, p. 566). However, it is noteworthy that there is a clear lack of reliable sources of statistical data in regard to the size and scale of migration to the UK as well as the size and scale of out-migration from Poland (Trevena, 2009). The data is fragmented and does not offer a full picture as there is no one consistent way for recording people's migrations; thus, producing accurate estimates has proved to be a challenge^{xvi}.

With regard to estimates about the Polish migrant population in the UK, whilst in September 1939 there were approximately 3,500 Polish nationals, following the EU enlargement the Polish Embassy estimated that in the first five weeks 50,000 Polish nationals migrated to the UK (Janeta, 2012). Between the end of 2003 and 2011 the Polish-born population in the UK increased from 75,000 to 532,000 (ONS, 2011b, p. 1). According to some of the Polish sources, post 2004, between one to two million nationals emigrated to the West (GUS, 2012). Whilst

this figure is not nation specific, in light of many sources reporting that the UK was the most popular destination for Polish nationals, it is likely that a significant proportion of these migrants relocated there.

2.6 The effects of post 2004 Polish migration

Discussions now move on to consider the effects of post 2004 Polish migration to the UK. These are divided into three separate sections differentiating migration consequences on the sending country – Poland, the receiving country – the UK and migrants and their families.

2.6.1 Implications for the sending country (Poland)

Among the consequences of out-migration on migrants' home countries is the possibility of remittances, financial gains sent by those who wish to support their families back in their country of origin. If migrants manage to integrate with other ethnic groups (cf. 'bridging' vs. 'bonding', Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008; Ryan, 2011), this in consequence may influence the home country's ethnic composition (e.g. mixed marriages, Janta, 2013). There is also the potential of social remittances when the migrant decides to return to his/her home country and brings back home assets other than financial resources (e.g. social networks; work experience) acquired in the host country (Klagge *et al.*, 2007). This can be referred to as 'brain circulation' or 'brain regain' (Klagge *et al.*, 2007). The flows of people can create opportunities for "migration-induced knowledge-based development" (Klagge *et al.*, 2007, p. 2). This has previously been called 'migration-return-development-nexus' (Ammassari, 2004). Another effect of migration on the emigration country is the potential decrease of the unemployment rate due to the unemployed searching and gaining employment outside their homeland (Iglicka, 2010).

Some of the consequences of out-migration on the sending countries are possible skills shortages and labour shortages due to the loss of some of the labour force. This is sometimes referred to as 'brain drain', whereby the emigration country suffers due to the loss of its often young and educated people (Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski, 2008). For instance, 'washing out' of parts of the Polish population was recorded in the aftermath of the EU accession (Anacka & Fihel, 2012). Declining birth and fertility rates and in consequence accelerated ageing of the population which can lead to a demographic crisis may also occur.

2.6.2 Implications for the receiving country (the UK)

One of the benefits of migration for host countries is the possibility of filling gaps in the labour market and skills shortages. This is perhaps most common in those countries that have traditionally been recognised as migration countries (e.g. UK) where the native population perhaps got accustomed to migrants taking on the least desirable positions (cf. Currie, 2008; Craig, 2012). Another impact is linked to 'brain gain', which may be facilitated by attracting highly skilled migrants (Ackers & Gill, 2008; Ackers, 2013). It is noteworthy that the possibility of drawing on a pool of migrant workers can prove to be very beneficial to the receiving country since these workers were brought up and educated elsewhere; thereby these costs were met by the sending country (Anderson, 2000; Kilkey, Plomien & Perrons, 2013). Also, with regard to economic migrants, the potential benefits to a host country are relatively greater than the costs as migrant workers are required to pay taxes but seem to rarely claim social assistance benefits (Currie, 2008; Dustman & Frattini, 2013). Arguably, post-accession migrants can be perceived as an asset for the receiving countries' economies; this relates to the fact that, when compared to the British host population:

Recent immigrants, i.e. those who arrived since 2000, are less likely to be both receiving benefits and living in social housing than natives. Furthermore, recent immigrants, both those from EEA and non-EEA countries have made a positive net contribution to the UK fiscal system despite the UK's running a budget deficit over most of the 2000s (Dustmann & Frattini, 2013, p. 4).

Among the consequences of immigration on the receiving countries are potential issues around integration and effective communication (i.e. English language issues). At its worst, the former can lead to racial, ethnic or religious conflicts with regard to migrants who do not share similar characteristics with the host population (Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Vertovec, 2007). Whilst in the longer-term, immigrant communities may become a burden on the social and/or economic resources of the receiving country; in the short-term an increased demand for certain services and resources in particular areas may also occur (Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Currie, 2008). However, others note this is not a common outcome, especially in regard to economic migrants who predominantly come to work and rarely put a strain on the country's resources (Dustman & Frattini, 2013).

Currie (2008), similarly to Kymlicka and Norman (2000), notes that negative views are prevalent in the public and political debates with regard to migration and welfare due to economic concerns about the potential for immigration to generate increased welfare expenditure. Proponents of such arguments view migrants as an additional burden on increasingly stretched welfare budgets, perhaps particularly post the global economic crisis of 2008. Counter arguments have been made by those who state that the long-term contributions of migrants prevail over their costs to the welfare state (Dustman & Frattini, 2013). The importance of overcoming racism and xenophobic intolerance should be emphasised; however, concerns about newly arrived migrants being in competition with disadvantaged established communities for limited local jobs and welfare resources also must be acknowledged (Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012; Pemberton and Scullion, 2013).

2.6.3 Implications for migrants (and their families)

Among the consequences of economic migration on migrants themselves are financial (e.g. savings; remittances) and social (e.g. work/life experience, language skills, new ideas/identity) gains that may emerge from international migration (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). However, the latter can also add to the difficulty of re-integration on returning home since it is most probable that the home country will have changed in the migrants' absence, while the migrant is likely to be somewhat changed too (Andreouli & Howarth, 2012). Klagge and colleagues (2007) coined the following terminology: financial capital, social capital (e.g. social relations and networks), and human capital (e.g. newly acquired skills and attitudes). The latter emphasises that returnees can be innovators who could potentially bring change to their country of origin in light of what they experienced in the host country (King, 1986). As noted earlier, recent studies consider women migrants as potential 'agents of change' (Lisiak, 2014). This is particularly relevant to this research because return migrants were involved (see sample characteristics in chapter five). To these three forms of capital, 'migration-specific capital' can be added (Vertovec, 2007). This presents the experience of migration as beneficial to migrants who wish to make subsequent migratory decisions (e.g. knowledge; social networks; previous migration experience):

The more you have of this, the less risk you face moving, the lower the costs and the better the chances of success... all factors encouraging circular migration (*ibid.*, p. 5).

One of the possible consequences of migration for migrants themselves is ‘brain waste’ in cases where individuals are unable to utilise their pre-existing workplace skills and qualifications (Iglicka, 2009). This may be due to limited language skills or the necessity to take on any type of low-skilled, low-paid work, because of debt or a poor financial situation. It is noteworthy that with regard to Polish migrants working in the UK, even menial work can bring high returns due to the wage disparities between those countries (Morokvasic, 2004). Furthermore, ‘double marginalisation’ can be experienced by some return migrants who, having initially faced problems finding work and starting new life in the immigration country, return to the home country and face similar problems. This is part of what was referred to by Iglicka (2010, p. 120) as the ‘migration trap’ which highlights the possibility of Polish migrants deciding to migrate again after being unsuccessful in their attempts to re-integrate in the home country (cf. chapter six).

It is also necessary to consider the impacts of migration on family life. Family breakdown may be one of the outcomes of migration (Cooke, 2001; Smith, 2011). Due to new pressures abroad, some families may not be able to deal with the stress related to being mobile or the management of a ‘dual-location household’ (Smith, 2011). One of the effects reported with regard to recent Polish migrants to the UK was that they contribute to the phenomenon of ‘euro-orphans’ (cf. White, 2011). ‘Euro-orphans’ are those children whose parent (or parents) emigrated abroad while they were left behind in relatives’ care. This often relates to seasonal, short-term economic migration of the parents, which is often motivated by wishing to ensure a better future for their children (White & Ryan, 2008). Moreover, certain gendered expectations that may be experienced across international spaces may put a strain on some migrants. In relation to these, Ryan and colleagues (2009) coined ‘double caring responsibilities’. This could relate to, on the one hand, the need to provide care and support to parents in the home country, and on the other, to the necessity to offer care to children in the host country (cf. chapter seven, section 7.4).

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to the theoretical and structural context of the study. The first section focused on the migration history between Poland and the UK. A historical perspective of Polish migration to the UK was offered and a comparison between the refugee-related migration from Poland around the WWII period and the relatively recent post-accession ‘wave’ was offered. Whilst the former was mostly politically-motivated, the latter was related to economic reasons.

Then the EU enlargement in 2004 was explored together with the UK implementation of transnational rules post 2004. The expansion of the EU, which in 2004 was enlarged by ten new Member States, among them Poland, was explored as an important structural context which facilitated the subsequent significant flow of Polish nationals to the UK. However, the UK employed certain restrictions to protect its economy (which are part of structure); these were dropped after the seven-year transitional period expired. Nonetheless, in recent years the British authorities have introduced measures that gradually restrict access to welfare. That said, recent Polish migrants are portrayed as relatively young, compliant hard-working employees, who may be less likely to require welfare assistance. The citizenship of the EU as an important structural context was also considered. Lastly, the impact (or perhaps impacts) of the migratory process were examined with the distinction between home country, host state and migrants and their families. The consequences of post 2004 Polish migration on the receiving country may include filling labour shortages but also putting a strain on local services. The sending country may face 'brain drain' but can benefit from remittances and increased innovation when migrants return. The migrants, on the other hand, profit from financial and social gains but can experience difficulties with re-integration post return migration. Whilst this chapter focused on certain historical and structural contexts and reviewed academic literature relevant to this study, the following chapter is devoted to the literature on gender and women.

CHAPTER THREE: Gendering women

3.1 Introduction

There has been a long-standing interest among social science scholars in the concept of gender and related matters (Nayak & Kehily, 2013; Yeoh & Ramdas, 2014). Academic literature emphasises the importance of gender as a 'lens' through which the organisation and interpretation of human interactions and wider relationships can be understood (Woodward, 1997; Lutz, 2010). The aim of this chapter is to provide a review of literature related to women's gendered lives. Initially, the terms of sex and gender are defined and gender roles explored. The development of feminist theory is then outlined and the significant differences in the feminist movements in the UK and Poland are considered. Then, an exploration of intersectionality is offered. A critical discussion of women's gendered 'responsibilities' and the impact of gender on women's lives are also depicted. Here, paid work and informal familial care work are assumed to underlie women's gender roles.

3.2 Defining sex and gender

Arguably, gender "sustains us at the same time as it constrains us" (Glover & Kaplan, 2009, p. 18-19). It is a part of our identity or 'self' but it pressures us to follow certain complex set of rules, which arguably, are the result of socialisation. Due to the various conceptions of femininity and masculinity, it may be more appropriate to refer to those in plural: femininities, masculinities and genders (Glover & Kaplan, 2009). According to Connell (2002), the term 'gender' "was borrowed from grammar". It originates from an ancient Indo-European word meaning 'to produce', which generated words meaning 'kind' or 'class'. In grammar however, 'gender' is used to group nouns as male, female or neuter (Bradley, 2013). The concept of gender, as it is used in social sciences today, is relatively new but it is unclear who was first to use it. As a highly politically charged concept, its usages are still evolving and meanings remain slippery (Bradley, 2013).

Gender is often explained in opposition to sex, the social construct in relation to that of biology. The pioneer of the concept of gender in the discipline of sociology was Oakley, who in 1972 published *Sex, Gender & Society*. Oakley's book is the "first major feminist reutilization of the

existing grammatical term” (Bradley, 2013, p. 3). Oakley coined the sex versus gender dichotomy and argued that sexual identity is not based purely on biological and psychological difference but social and cultural conditioning: “gender is a visible fact most of the time; sex is not” (*ibid.*, p. 161). The author asserted that the social standards prevailing in societies are those of men, while women are perceived as mostly dependent on their male counterparts (Oakley, 1972). Oakley (1972) proclaimed that the terms male/female correspond to the sex categories, masculine/feminine to gender. In consequence, gender behaviour is understood to reflect people’s beliefs about gender, masculinity, femininity and sexuality. As illustrated in the quotation below, the terms sex and gender were key to the development of feminist thought.

The distinction that Oakley and others made between sex and gender was crucial to the feminist case as a way to contest the view, still widely held today, that gender differences are ‘natural’, arising from genital and genetic differences, and thus inevitable and impossible to change (Bradley, 2013, p. 18).

More recently, ‘doing gender’ was again brought to the fore as a way of looking at women and men as being actively involved in ‘gendering’, i.e. as creators of their gendered selves by dressing and behaving in a particular way, for instance (Zimmerman, 1992; Lykke, 2006; Bradley, 2013) (cf. section 3.2). This way, the gendered self is a product of gendered socialisation, which constitutes structural context, while individuals exercise their agency in their choice of clothing, behaviour. Their agentic powers are however somewhat constrained by the structural context (e.g. workplaces, schools, shops) and certain expectations related to this context. Bradley argues that “these institutional processes feed into the development of gendered structures at the macro, or societal, level” (2013, p. 26). Consequently, these affect sexual division of labour, paid work and familial care work and these in themselves vary among cultures and countries (*ibid.*). Thus, it could be asserted that gender mediates structure and agency.

The effort to sustain the gender categories also sustains the relations between them – and therefore sustains the inequalities they produce, and the harm they do (Connell, 2002, p. 5).

It can be asserted that the majority of people “often enjoy the gender polarity” (*ibid.*, p. 4) and perhaps happily engage in the display of their femininity or masculinity (clothes, behaviour). However, Connell (2002, p. 5) asserts that psychological research revealed that most people “combine masculine and feminine characteristics, in varying blends, rather than being all one or all the other”. Connell emphasises that ‘gender blending’ (*ibid.*) is so common that it has attracted much attention particularly from more conservative individuals who are proponents of traditional values. One such example may be the Polish Church and their recent reaction to gender debates (cf. section 3.3.3).

It is also worth noting that there are those who do not neatly fall under one of the genders (hermaphrodites) and those who prefer to ‘display’ gender that is not in line with their sexuality and/or body characteristics (transvestites), and those who undergo medical treatment to match their sexual and gender identities (transsexuals/transgender) (Bradley, 2013). ‘Third sex’ categories are noteworthy as they challenge and problematise the distinction between the sexes/genders as fundamentally opposite to one another (i.e. men vs. women). Among others, Butler (1990) acknowledged the complexity and fluidity of sex and gender.

3.2.1 Gender roles

Arguably, the first reference to the concept of ‘gender roles’ was made by John Money in 1955 (Money, 1994): “in fact, there was no concept of gender as a human attribute” before 1955 (*ibid.*, p. 163). Gender and gender categories have reflection in ‘sex roles’ which today are more commonly known as ‘gender roles’: “In early upbringing, in education and in their adult occupations, males and females are pressed by our society into different moulds” (Oakley, 1972, p. 156). Those roles can be perceived as “situated identities” which are not as firm as identity itself but are contextual and very much dependent on the circumstances (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 128). The authors of *Doing Gender* argue that gender is, above all, socially constructed and reproduced through interaction. Femininity and masculinity are considered “our essential natures” which correspond to what we wish to communicate to others. At the same time, people do not seem to have the choice of being recognised as female or male. Sex and gender roles are intertwined in a way that when the former is known, the latter is presupposed.

It can be asserted that gender is not a characteristic of people but it is a process, it is something people ‘do’ (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 140). Doing gender encompasses the use of subtle

but recognisable mannerisms which during interaction with others can be identified as depictions of femininity or masculinity. It is worth noting that “doing gender is unavoidable” (*ibid.*, p.137). The process of doing gender is triggered by sex-role socialisation and soon, boys and girls learn that they cannot opt out from partaking (*ibid.*). Gender appears to be relevant when considering division of labour as women often find themselves responsible for the “emotional labour” which allegedly matches their ‘essential’ femininity (Hochschild & Machung, 1989) (more on this in the latter parts of this chapter). Gender denotes not simply a characteristic of individuals but it affects gender relations and “is a powerful ideological device, which produces, reproduces, and legitimates the choices and limits that are predicated on sex category” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 147).

However, having outlined the above, it can be asserted that precisely because gender, similarly to gender roles, is a social construct, thus produced and reproduced by humans, it can also be changed and the status quo can be dismantled (Titkow, Duch-Krzystoszek & Budrowska, 2004). In other words, the structural context can be somewhat altered by people’s agency, as these two influence one another (Morawska, 2001). Arguably, gender mediates structure and agency (cf. Hoang, 2011). This is particularly relevant to this study as its overall aim is related to the influence of the migratory process on Polish migrant women’s gender roles and their gendered ‘responsibilities’ in regard to work and care (see chapter one for details on the research aim and objectives or chapter five for details on the research questions). For the purpose of this study it is important to recognise that women and men are different but should be offered equal opportunities while the differences between them should also be acknowledged (Lister, 2003). Even though women and men are dissimilar, they can be equals; difference does not constitute inequality. Women have previously been excluded from culture on the basis of their allegedly inferior roles as mothers but “a woman is the one who bears the people... women are very important. Women are like God, because they bear children” (Oakley, 1972, p. 139). The simple, inevitable and invaluable fact that women ensure the reproduction of the human race seems to have placed them in a disadvantaged position. However, what once was understood as ‘natural division of labour’ is somewhat outdated in the era of global capitalism when both partners are expected to sell their labour power (Lister, 2003; Keryk, 2010; Lutz, 2011). Arguably, change is needed as women appear to have started to abandon their reproductive roles, which is reflected in declining birth and fertility rates (Płomień, 2009; Keryk, 2010; ONS, 2013).

With regard to gender roles in Poland and the UK it can be asserted that in Poland “strong motherhood ideology” (Lutz, 2010, p. 1653) is prevalent whilst British mothering style is seen

as comparatively more *laissez-faire* (Erel, 2011). Traditionally, both countries adhered to a strong male breadwinner model. Today however, the UK is perceived as relatively more equal with more flexible gender roles in comparison to Poland (Siara, 2009; Temple, 2011b). Research indicates that Polish women have previously employed migration as a strategy to escape oppressive patriarchal traditions (Morokvasic, 2004; Kindler & Napierała, 2010). Thus, migrating may be seen as an opportunity to re-evaluate existing gender roles and, in light of a new social setting, implement changes (Kosack, 1976; Ho, 2006; Datta, 2009; Siara, 2009). Following Hoang (2011) it can be asserted that gender roles act as a structure and thus can enable and/or constrain individual agency. Further, Hoang notes (*ibid.*) that relationship status affects women's decision-making capacity, particularly when they were raised in traditional households.

3.3 Feminist theory and practice

Feminist theory and practice serves as part of the theoretical context to Polish women's migration to the UK. This section first looks at the historical development of feminist thought, then feminism in the UK and in Poland are considered and the concept of intersectionality is explored.

3.3.1 Historical development

Feminism in its broadest sense relates to "political activism by women on behalf of women" (McCann & Kim, 2010, p. 1). The term 'feminism' originated in France (*ibid.*) and became known in English for the first time in the 1890s (Walters, 2005). It can be asserted that "feminism is both an intellectual commitment and a political movement that seeks justice for women and the end of sexism in all forms" (Haslanger, Tuana & O'Connor, 2013). Oakley (1972) argued that three periods are particularly relevant to feminist thought development (even though some would undoubtedly assert that these predate feminism itself). Those are: mid-16th to mid-17th century; the Victorian era (1837-1901); and the 20th century. The period between 1540 and 1640 was characterised by "practical equality between the sexes" with women preoccupied with retaining their rights (*ibid.*, p 9). It was widely recognised that women's place was in the home and the divide between work and family started to emerge as it was commonly accepted that women's subordination began in nature (Oakley, 1972). In the Victorian era in

the UK, discussions about equality between men and women revolved around access to specific institutions, e.g. women's exclusion from the business world and their incapacity to benefit from formal education (*ibid.*). In light of clear and accepted biological differences between the sexes, political and educational equality was at the forefront. Granting women the status of citizenship was the ultimate aim. During the 20th century, women achieved legal and political rights and duties on a similar footing to men: "since the emancipation movement, the civil status of the sexes has become more nearly equal" (Oakley, 1972, p. 14). In the 20th century feminist thought reached further to incorporate men and declared that both sexes are constrained by "conventional sex-role definition" and "conventional ideas about the roles of the sexes" (*ibid.*, p. 15). This is when gender studies started to gain recognition as the emphasis was no longer on women or feminism but on both men and women as differently oppressed by societal norms with regards to their gender roles (Donato *et al.*, 2006; Lutz, 2010).

Routinely however, three distinctive 'waves' of feminist thought are recognised (Donovan, 2012). As shown above, it can be argued that first-wave feminism (19th century) was not the first wave at all. However, because the term 'feminism' was coined in the 19th century, those early 'feminists' were not recognised as such. What is routinely called first-wave feminism took place between the late 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The first wave was a response to a shared exclusion from political, social and economic life. Objectives common to those involved, were to extend the social contract so that it included political citizenship for women. The second wave occurred between the 1960s and the 1980s. During this second stage in feminist history, a self-defined feminist movement emerged. Feminists disappointed by the fact that substantive change had not happened, concerned themselves with broader social relations. The third wave, which could be perceived as a reaction to and a counter-revolution against the previous wave, started in the 1990s and continued until the early 21st century. The third wave defined itself as something 'different' from previous feminisms. It mainly included women who were raised during the women's liberation movement of the 1960s. It has been suggested that today we are witnessing the fourth wave of feminism in the UK which began in 2008 (for more see section 3.3.2).

Regardless of the interpretation of the different waves, feminists share some common ground and emphasise that gender is a "structuring principle of social policy and the provision of welfare" (Woodward, 1997, p. 88) and a factor that influences the organisation of society and resources distribution. Moreover, feminists share a concern for women and addressing their needs.

Feminism puts gender first when defining social problems, in explaining their causes or exploring appropriate levels of state or voluntary sector intervention. It contains different perspectives from which to address questions of gender, but what unites all feminist approaches is their concern with the question of how social policies affect women in particular (*ibid.*).

Similarly to gendered studies which originally developed from feminist theory, studies from a gendered perspective were developed on the basis of feminist research (Donato *et al.*, 2006; Lutz, 2010; Worek, 2011). Thus, gendered studies share some commonalities with feminist research. They recognise that gender is the most important divisive characteristic in societies. Societies are organised 'along the lines of gender', therefore research needs to be conducted through 'the lens of gender' (Woodward, 1997). Gender is understood as a lived process rather than a fixed attribute; it is not the outcome of the sexed body but it is socially constructed and learned and reproduced in everyday life. Bodies are both the objects and the subjects of gender process, thus they are affected by both the structural context (i.e. society) and the agency of social actors (i.e. their actions). Noteworthy is the fact that gender structures are subject to change and vary over time and place as already acknowledged (Nayak & Kehily, 2013). In consequence of the abovementioned debates, gender studies first appeared at Western universities in the 1970s. In Poland, gender studies were not commonplace at universities until the 1990s, even though some important publications on the topic appeared in the 1980s (Slany, Struzik & Wojnicka, 2011). Now, it is important to consider the feminist movement in the UK and (the lack of it) in Poland as there are some distinct differences between the way it unfolded in Western Europe and in Central and Eastern Europe.

3.3.2 Feminism in the UK

As previously noted, some argue that since around 2008 the fourth wave of feminism has started in the UK (Cochrane, 2013; Munro, n.d.). This is due to a new generation of young feminist writers, bloggers and activists (e.g. Laurie Penny, Finn Mackay, Laura Bates, Caroline Criado-Perez, Lucy-Anne Holmes; Kira Cochrane) whose voices have become increasingly more critical of what they perceive to be misogynistic popular culture. Laurie Penny (also known as Penny Red)^{xviii} is now a well-known feminist writer and journalist who made her views known

on many occasions regarding 'cybersexism' and other issues related to gender equality (e.g. Penny, 2010). Another vocal feminist academic, writer and founder in 2004 of London Feminist Network is Finn Mackay who is the author of *Radical Feminism*. Another of her books, *Feminist Activism in Movement*, is due to come out in early 2015^{xviii}. Mackay has been involved in feminist activism for over 20 years and in her latest book and journal article she postulates a global resurgence of feminist activism (Mackay, 2014). In 2004 she revived the now world-wide Reclaim the Night March and in 2006 was nominated by *The Guardian* as one of the UK's "World Changing Women". After a career in policy work on domestic violence prevention she is now a lecturer and researcher in British academia (Wordpress, 2015).

It can be asserted that the internet has emerged as an ever more important space for feminist activists (Munro, n.d.). Arguably, this new wave of feminism was facilitated by the rapid growth and popularity of social media. One example of a social media campaign is Everyday Sexism Project that started in 2012 with its own website^{xix}, Twitter account (@EverydaySexism) and a hashtag (#ShoutingBack). Its creator Laura Bates was overwhelmed by a record-breaking 50 thousand entries by women who have suffered some sort of sexual abuse that were gathered only in the first twenty months from the launch (Bates, 2014).

Everyday Sexism currently has more than 108,000 followers on Twitter. Of course, following a social media account isn't the same as joining a political party, but to put this engagement in perspective, Tory membership is now at 134,000 (Cochrane, 2013).

In August 2012 Lucy-Anne Holmes launched a No More Page Three campaign^{xx} against including photographs of topless female models in *The Sun*. So far the petition has been signed by well over 215 thousand supporters^{xxi}. The campaign started after Holmes found "she couldn't stop thinking about the fact that the largest female image in *The Sun* was of a young woman showing her breasts for men" and that "the page three image is there for no other reason than the sexual gratification of men" (No More Page 3, 2014). It is worth noting that in February 2015, *The Sun* finally stopped including naked women on its page three; however no official statement was released (Ridley, 2015). Another feminist activist, Caroline Criado-Perez, is known for her campaign for women to gain better representation in the media and to be depicted on banknotes. She is a Co-founder of the Women's Room^{xxii} which aims to include more women experts in the media (Cochrane, 2013). Additionally, in January 2014 the Fourth Wave

Feminist Manifesto^{xxiii} appeared on the internet which somewhat confirms the rise of fourth wave feminism and the significance of the World Wide Web.

Moreover, on the 17th December 2014 the first female bishop in the Church of England, Reverend Libby Lane, was announced as the Bishop of Stockport. Later, on national television news she admitted she was a feminist^{xxiv} (Brown, 2014). Arguably, those voices symbolise the resurgence of feminism and its fourth wave. Noteworthy is the fact that according to Cochrane (2013) the majority of the aforementioned feminists describe themselves as ‘intersectional feminists’. This may symbolise the wide variety of causes they care about that at the same time relate to differences between women, e.g. race, ethnicity, age, ability, class. Intersectionality is further explored in section 3.3.4.

3.3.3 Feminism in Poland

In Poland feminism was relatively weak due to the legacy of communism (Brystydzenski, 2001) “the communist regime has left a legacy of deep distrust of efforts to achieve gender equality and of feminism” (*ibid.*, p. 503). Arguably, this is still the case because of a decrease in state-subsidised childcare, limited maternity leave, withdrawal of the right to abortion and general ‘retraditionalisation’ that gradually took place post 1989 (Płomień, 2009; Keryk, 2010). When communism collapsed and women were offered the choice to remain at home, as sole homemakers, they took it (Brystydzenski, 2001), and this then contributed to the process of ‘retraditionalisation’ (Pascall & Lewis, 2004; Keryk, 2010).

Poland, in some respects, represents the strongest case for a return to the male breadwinner model, with its Roman Catholicism, legislation restricting abortion, high unemployment for women and more contingent benefits supporting parents (Kalinowska-Nawrotek, 2006, p. 66).

Post-communist Poland experienced “growth of nationalism and religious fundamentalism, the lack of political consciousness among women as a result of forty years of imposed socialist^{xxv} gender equality politics” (Grabowska, 2012, p. 390). Polish people, traditionally highly patriarchal with a strong commitment to the Roman Catholic Church, were led to believe that gender equality was realised under communism (Łobodzińska, 2000). In Poland the male

breadwinner model was challenged in the communist era and, under communism, women were officially equal with men (Pascall & Kwak, 2005). Rhetorically at least, gender regimes in CEE countries seemed to achieve, to a certain extent, gender equality with women enjoying high levels of participation in the paid labour market and a low gender pay gap (White, 2011). During the rule of the Communist Party, women were encouraged to work outside, as well as in the family home (Pascall & Kwak, 2005). Thus feminism, although forbidden (as were any other social actions or gatherings), was perhaps seen as unnecessary (Brystydzenski, 2001). Particularly relevant to this research is the fact that: “family responsibilities [were] exclusively identified as specifically female family roles: roles not shared with their partners” (Łobodzińska, 2000, p. 49). Women as mothers depended on the state rather than on their husbands which in consequence shifted patriarchy from private to the public sphere (Brystydzenski, 2001; see also Walby, 1994 for similar discussion in a UK context).

It could be asserted that feminism was associated with communism, when women enjoyed many rights on an equal footing with men (e.g. right to employment) and abortion was legal (between 1956 and 1993). On the other hand, the Church was the only legal institution in opposition to the Communist Party and thus played a vital role in preserving Polish national identity. Another matter that delayed the Polish feminist movement was simply the fact that due to the troubled Polish history (i.e. foreign domination, partitions, active involvement in both World Wars) for a long time gender equality was not the priority (Brystydzenski, 2001). Under communism there was virtually mandatory full time employment of all women which was linked to a variety of family allowances, paid maternity leave and subsidies. The availability of those, in consequence, discouraged men from contributing to and sharing housework with women. This resulted in women’s double shift work which could be the reason women often choose to work in secondary positions with lower earnings (cf. Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Pascall & Lewis, 2004).

Polish women’s position in the paid labour market has been influenced by tradition and cultural norms whereby familial and domestic ‘duties’ are perceived as women’s responsibility which in consequence affects women’s other aspirations:

Women’s employment position is a result of tradition, or an outcome of the family and home responsibilities seen as the female’s primary social roles. (...). This seems to indicate women’s acceptance of their family roles as a priority which is still prevalent

during the post-1989 transition to a free market economy, and still motivates women's educational and occupational preferences (Pascall & Lewis, 2004, p. 51).

Furthermore, despite the fact that Poland is officially a secular country and that there is no mention of Catholicism in the Polish Constitution (from 1997), the Roman Catholic Church plays a major role in public life (Temple & Judd, 2011). In the aftermath of the Second World War, the Church and the Communist Party reinforced the role of the family. The Church, perhaps unsurprisingly, favoured a traditional gendered division of labour within the family. It is noteworthy that even though the political and economic system change brought new opportunities (e.g. women-managers) those views are still widespread (CBOS, 2006; 2009). Arguably, the Catholic Church "reintroduced nationalistic symbols such as '*Matka Polka*' (the heroic Polish Mother)" in order to emphasise the desirable roles for Polish women (Łobodzińska, 2000, p. 53) (for more see chapter eight, section 8.2). For the purpose of this research this term was translated into 'Mother Hen' to reflect its specific meaning. Previously, it was translated into 'Mother Poland' which is more of a literal translation and reflects Polish women looking after the Polish nation by taking care of their children (cf. Ryan *et al.*, 2009). Recent Polish research described '*Matka Polka*' as "the soul of the home", meaning a domestic goddess, perfect mother and domestic worker (CBOS, 2013b, p. 1). Nevertheless, references to this term seem to be scarce and a recent Polish publication suggested the end of the myth of '*Matka Polka*' (PL: *Pożegnanie z Matką Polką?*; Eng: Saying goodbye to 'Mother Hen'?; Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012). However, discussions in chapter eight indicate that this may not be the case for all Polish women.

It is worth noting that in Poland 'gender ideology' has received a lot of recent critical attention (Gdula, 2014; Graczyk, 2014; Kimmel, 2014; Szelewa, 2014). Primarily, it was the Catholic Church that warned against the 'ideology of gender' as damaging to Catholic values (Dunin, 2014). Gender ideology, which is presumed to be against the family and linked to radical feminism, is seen by the Catholic Church as something to be afraid of and avoided (Ryś, 2014). The Church appears to view 'gender' as something that people should be cautioned against (Morska, 2014). For example, general public debate about gender triggered the appearance of posters in schools calling to "protect your child against gender" (Sierakowski, 2014). The Church made their voice heard in an official letter entitled, "The dangers related to the family coming from the ideology of gender". In that letter Church officials argued that this ideology

propagates 'unusual' gender roles (*ibid.*). Thus, it is perhaps timely to explore the concept of gender and the gender roles of Polish women migrants.

3.3.4 Intersectionality

Following from feminist theory and practice, particularly in the UK where fourth wave feminists were recognised as 'intersectional' (Cochrane, 2013), the concept of 'intersectionality' is worthy of exploration. Intersectionality was originally coined by Crenshaw (1989) and refers to the numerous "categories of difference" (e.g. ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, etc.) that cross one another in the everyday lives of women. The term has been developed in relation to feminist theory and originally served to explain the disadvantaged position of black women in society (Maynard, 1994). However, today it is widely used to explain other phenomena. The concept of intersectionality emphasises that gender should not be examined on its own but that there are multiple identities that impact on experiences of subordination (Davis, 2008). Moreover, feminists coined a 'matrix of domination' which symbolises intersecting dominations – 'axes of difference' that influence everyone's lives (McCann & Kim, 2010). This refers to social practices, institutional arrangements and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power relations (Davis, 2008). The notion of intersectionality addressed the most central theoretical and normative concern within feminist scholarship: namely, the acknowledgement of differences among women (and people more generally) (*ibid.*). Race/class/gender became the new mantra within women's studies and it was fashionable to speak in the plural – of genders instead of gender, feminisms instead of feminism (Davis, 2008). Intersectionality is related to feminist understandings of gender, race, ethnicity as categories, which people 'do' in complex processes of everyday interaction, rather than as firm or fixed features, which they 'have' or 'are' (Lykke, 2006).

The concept of intersectionality is particularly relevant to this research which deals with women migrants, who often are, in many respects, different from the majority of the host population (e.g. in ethnicity, nationality, spoken language, culture, religion). Intersectionality is here used to acknowledge the, often very subtle, differences between women (e.g. British and Polish women), and how these influence their lives. Thus, in order to understand women's experiences, their various characteristics and the way they intersect with one another need to be acknowledged (Bürkner, 2012). This research focuses on the intersection of gender and nationality, and to a lesser extent religion, tradition, culture, in migration. Intersectionality can

be understood as a reflection of the move from a focus on women to the emphasis on gender as an attribute shared by women and men.

Today, intersectionality is integrated into a critique of identity politics, thereby mirroring the major paradigmatic shift from feminism to gender studies, from ‘oppression’ to ‘diversity’, and the discursive construction of gender as a central concept (*ibid.*, p. 182).

As mentioned in the introduction, this research was conducted from a gendered perspective. Whilst the researcher recognises the early feminists’ contributions (e.g. Oakley, 1972, 1981; Stanley & Wise, 1981; Pateman, 1989; Lister, 2003) and draws on some of the principles behind their thinking, the shift from feminist to gendered studies of migration is widely recognised (Donato *et al.*, 2006; Ryan & Webster, 2008). Moreover, discussions in the empirical chapters indicate that the concept of intersectionality may be applied to other processes (cf. an ‘intersection of motivations’ for migration).

3.4 Women’s gendered lives in Poland, the UK and at the EU level

This section provides an exploration of women’s gendered lives in Poland, the UK and at the EU level. A comparison between certain social structures that could potentially impede or enable individual agency is presented. First, the public versus private dichotomy is scrutinised. Second, women’s gendered ‘responsibilities’ with regards to paid work and unpaid care are explored. Third, it is argued that women are still perceived to be second-class citizens.

3.4.1 The public versus private divide

In the UK the ‘family wage’ in the 19th century originally separated the ‘productive’ from the ‘domestic’ spheres and was paid to the male head of household (the breadwinner) in order for him to be able to support his wife and children (Pascall, 1997; Fraser, 2013). This reflected the change from an agrarian to a more industrial society and aimed to exclude women from manufacturing work. The traditional (i.e. male breadwinner-female caregiver) dichotomy

descends from industrial capitalism and was centred on the family wage. At the time, heterosexual male-headed nuclear families lived on the man's wage sufficient to support his children and wife, whilst the wife looked after the home, himself and his children (Fraser, 2000, 2013). Arguably, the welfare state introduced post WWII in the UK, heavily influenced by the Beveridge Report, continued to support the breadwinners (i.e. men) by providing them with benefits as a form of replacement for family wage, and mothers by providing them with benefits for their children. Therefore, it can be said that the welfare state is gendered and privileges men as their entitlements pay more in real terms than the benefits women receive (Pateman, 1989; Williams, 1989; Lewis, 1992; Lister, 2003). The male breadwinner and female caregiver model was based on a firm division of labour between women and men. Men were workers with a lifetime of paid employment secured, whilst married women were generally not involved in paid labour. However, the changing life patterns, whereby paid employment is increasingly more difficult to secure and there is a growing interest (undoubtedly partially out of necessity) in paid work for women (often secured on a part time basis due to familial 'responsibilities'), have altered the domestic division of labour (Bovill, 2013; Fraser, 2013; ONS, 2013).

Arguably, the public and private spheres have always been in conflict. What is more, the divide is often seen as the root of the problem for women (Vogel, 1991; Walby, 1994; Lister, 2003; Lewis, 2009). The private versus public divide is gendered. Women are primarily in charge of the private, hence incapable of engaging in the public. They can, of course, participate in the public but only having first mitigated the loss of their domestic and care work (Anderson, 2000). There is an agreement that care-giving is unappreciated even though it is an inevitable part of everyone's life (Orloff, 2009; Erel, 2012). The difficulty with the two spheres under consideration is that there are different values attached to the male and female domestic work. The former is often perceived as skilled whereas the latter unskilled, seen as coming naturally to women (Kilkey, 2010a). It can be argued that the work-life conflict women experience when faced with decisions around motherhood and employment can be overcome. Women can resolve it by either having fewer children or engaging in less demanding jobs (Łobodzińska, 1996). It is unlikely they can 'have it all', they are rather faced with an 'either-or' choice (cf. 'great expectations', Lanning, Bradley, Darlington & Gottfried, 2013).

It can be asserted that women's reproductive work "was [is?] considered women's political duty" (...); "it is especially the care for children as a new generation of future citizens that has served to legitimize women's social and political citizenship" (Erel, 2012, p. 4). Arguably,

contemporary citizenship is increasingly about a citizen who is a worker (Lister, 2003; Sweet, 2014). Yet, “women are perceived first and foremost as mothers rather than citizens” (Guerrina, 2002, p. 52). Despite the fact that “paid work is now treated as a primary citizenship obligation for women as well as men” (Lister *et al.*, 2007, p. 9), “there is a built-in tendency for caring responsibilities to fall on women” (Finch, 1989, p. 53). When women disappear from the labour market, they disappear from the analysis of paid and unpaid work and welfare (Lewis, 1992). This appears to be a particularly contradictory relationship. It can be argued that everyone is expected to engage in paid work while policies and assumptions concerning informal care work remain grounded in the old divide between male breadwinner and female caregiver (Finch, 1989; Sweet, 2014). Further, even though “caring is now understood as work” (Lutz, 2011, p. 6) women still undertake the majority of it in Poland (Keryk, 2010) and the UK (Boyle, 2013).

Moreover, it can be asserted that, “men’s unemployment, however, does not usually lead to role reversal” (Pascall, 1997, p. 39). Some scholars argue that traditional perceptions of gender roles are extremely pervasive and do not change automatically: “The roles reversal in the form of a mothering father simply does not occur naturally when the mother becomes the breadwinner of the family” (Lutz & Palenga-Möllnbeck, 2012, p. 21). As far as women from post-communist countries are concerned, it has been increasingly difficult for them to combine the responsibilities around work and care. As was previously explained, the political system change has left them in a disadvantaged position and the withdrawal of state support meant that they were assigned to a double shift of work in both the paid labour market and domestic sphere (Hichschild & Machung, 1989; Doucet, 2011). However, given the new employment trends and the decrease in fertility rate combined with inadequate state support, women may be faced with a difficult choice. Indeed, it has been observed that when women have to choose between work and care, they often choose the former: “women experience difficulties in combining work and care, and faced with an ‘either-or’ choice, tend to choose work” (Płomień, 2009, p. 146).

Even though the UK was the first European country to provide payment for informal care work for the elderly and/or ill people (1976 marked the introduction of a social security payment), the divide between the private and the public spheres is apparent (Daly & Rake, 2003). Although, in the majority of countries, care work is provided in an informal capacity on an unpaid basis, women are twice as likely as men to be the care providers for children as well as adults (*ibid.*). Therefore, it can be asserted that care work is a highly gendered activity, and a “feminisation of the caring sector” is evident (Daly & Rake, 2003, p. 56). Hence, care work is

the biggest limitation on women's paid labour market participation rates; the UK is one of "the countries where motherhood has the greatest impact on women's employment rate" (*ibid.*, p. 60). In the UK: "gender pay gap for full-time employees narrowed to 9.6 per cent in 2012, from 10.5 per cent in 2011" (Bovill, 2013, p. 1); yet "the gender pay difference for all employees (full-time and part-time) based on median hourly earnings (excluding overtime) was 19.7 per cent" in 2012 (*ibid.*, p. 10). However, mothers' hourly wages are considerably lower than those of men; women with children are paid relatively less in comparison to those without children, and in consequence there are higher female poverty rates and evidence of feminisation of poverty (Daly & Rake, 2003). "Men's lifetime earnings are higher than their partners'", in British nuclear families women's earnings on average are half men's, thus "a collective approach to care" is needed (Pascall & Lewis, 2004, p. 381-382).

In Poland, similarly to many other CEE states, the dual-earner model is the norm. The Polish system of care provision can be categorised as 'implicit familialism' where an inadequate welfare state constitutes a constraint on equally sharing duties attached to the public and private spheres (Keryk, 2010). According to Fenger (2007, p. 24), Poland can be classified as a post-communist European welfare state type. This type, when compared to the UK liberal welfare state, has only a slightly higher level of government expenditures (e.g. for health) but a considerably lower level of trust among its people (liberal – 37.43 per cent; post-communist – 20.18 per cent). Female paid labour market participation is slightly higher whereas the total fertility rate is significantly lower (*ibid.*). Thus, it could be argued that as a consequence of a low level of total government expenditures, Polish women feel the necessity to participate in the paid labour market, which could, in consequence, have an impact on their choices regarding parenting and the wider fertility rate.

According to recent research on the division of domestic work in Poland, women tend to perceive domestic work as their primary responsibility (CBOS, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c) which, arguably, is a result of socialisation and nationalistic, cultural and religious icons, such as 'Matka Polka' ('Mother Hen'; see chapter eight, section 8.2) (cf. Ryan *et al.*, 2009). Women may see paid work as an opportunity to utilise their skills and be able to achieve fulfilment but tradition and culture seem to impact negatively as women still feel obligated to look after the home and the children (Keryk, 2010; Temple, 2011b). It appears that, generally speaking, Polish women are in favour of equality. Three quarters of Polish people would like to see gender equality in both spheres the private and the public. The common view is that equality would be beneficial but that women's lives in Poland are nonetheless satisfactory. Unsurprisingly, it is

mostly women who see their disadvantaged position. However, they seem unaware of how disadvantaged they really are. Research has shown that they do not mention relatively lower earnings or fewer opportunities for promotion even when they are in the same work situation as men (CBOS, 2006, 2009, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c). It appears as though they do not perceive these issues as signs of discrimination; perhaps they have become accustomed to this. Those women who accept the traditional gender order will not necessarily view some of the practices as unfair. Arguably, this is what occurred post communism, when among women's roles was that of a mother and of a worker (Pascall & Manning, 2000). These women may view the inequality in the division of household labour as consistent with their ideology, and therefore not necessarily unfair (Todesco, 2012). It is noteworthy that parental policies have continually recognised women firstly as carers then workers while for men it has been the opposite; this supports the gendered division of labour (Płomień, 2009).

3.4.2 Care to work or work to care?

Care is an inevitable part of both private and public life, thus it can uncover a complex relationship between family and the state and the way these are gendered (Daly & Rake, 2003). What is more, forecasts of ageing populations and the future proportion of those able to work to those unable and in need of care, raised "care into an important policy concern for many European states, and on the level of the European Union" (Erel, 2012, p. 1). The centrality of women in the welfare state should be widely recognised as paid workers but also as unpaid caregivers; as clients and consumers of services and political citizens (O'Connor, 1996). Caregiving is a central theme to welfare and at the same time it is a matter central to women's independence or the lack thereof.

The welfare state's influence is huge. Not only does it serve to define the location of care, it exerts singular influence on whether care is paid or unpaid and on the general conditions under which it is carried out and experienced (Daly & Rake, 2003, p. 18).

Daly and Rake (2003) argue that, on the one hand, women are required to provide care, on the other men are regarded as voluntarily deciding to care. "Across countries care is women's work. (...) Welfare states, as we have seen, are active in supporting that obligation. (...) Care provides an excellent way of understanding contemporary social policy" (*ibid.*, p. 67). Hence, care can be seen as the trademark of society which determines the nature and division of labour between

women and men, the family, the state, and the market (Daly & Rake, 2003). Despite this, women's care work in the private sphere is often seen as unskilled and 'natural' while care work undertaken outside of home has also often been perceived as low-skilled, low-paid and low-status work. Care work, although it often relates to intimate familial arrangements, is pivotal in society. As asserted above, the influence of the welfare state is key to the gendered division of labour (O'Connor, 1996; Daly & Rake, 2003; Lister, 2003). The welfare state, by offering certain incentives takes a stand on the place of care work in society and in its current form it disadvantages women (Pateman, 1989; Williams, 1989; Lewis, 1992; Lister, 2003). The welfare state by providing greater support to parents acts as a buffer and helps to achieve a balance between the public and the private. Parents are eligible to parental leave and they are entitled to certain benefits due to the care work that they undertake. Arguably, the extent of those is a good indication of how well valued care work is and who should carry it out (Daly & Rake, 2003). "... in order to achieve flexibility and competitiveness in the growing global economy, the single market must recognise the contributions of the female labour force" (Guerrina, 2002, p. 60), that is the contributions in the paid labour market and, perhaps more importantly, in the informal economy of care. Until this is realised women will struggle to reconcile "their obligations and rights concerning citizenship and performing motherhood" (Lutz & Palenga-Mölenbeck, 2012, p. 31).

As already noted, care work is perceived as a constraint on paid work and women often feel morally obliged to provide it (Finch, 1989; Finch & Mason, 1993). However, the way this is organised depends on the kinds of social groups and locations that are considered (Duncan & Irwin, 2004). Many factors can make this decision more or less difficult: private matters, individual circumstances and/or public factors such as the presence of certain structures (e.g. the welfare state) which may support women in achieving a balance between care and work responsibilities (Guerrina, 2002). The work-family balance (cf. Lewis, 2009) can take the form of the work-family conflict (cf. Sweet, 2014). Additionally, some scholars argue that British gender roles are relatively more flexible when compared to Polish gender roles (Siara, 2009; Temple, 2011b; White, 2011). Erel (2011), for instance, highlights a distinction between relatively stricter Polish mothering styles and more relaxed British mothering styles:

Mothers and children alike identify a strong concern for children, sometimes coupled with particularly strict rules concerning studying, homework and respectful behaviour as 'Polish' mothering styles. They see this as distinct from 'British' mothering styles

perceived as more laissez-faire, fostering earlier independence and 'cooler' familial relationships (*ibid.*, p. 701).

The difficulty in reconciling care responsibilities and employment may be a result of care being recognised as an individual or familial responsibility which is expected to be fulfilled by a family member (usually a woman) who leaves the paid labour market for a sufficient amount of time in order to do that (Finch, 1989; Sweet, 2014). Some argue this is the case in Poland (Keryk, 2010). European policy-makers have some way to go to implement 'women-friendly policies' which enable women to resolve the conflict between the public and the private and be in a position to better balance the two. It can, however, be asserted that the limited availability of such policies may start to have an influence on women's attitudes towards motherhood (Guerrina, 2002). This discussion emphasises that family-friendly policies have somewhat failed in respect of gender equality as they still perceive women as primary carers.

Unsurprisingly, men are also found subject to the work-life conflict which is due to their, often long, working hours and the limited policies that ensure men are also able to reconcile their paid work with familial care (e.g. paternity/parental leave) (Williams, 2005; Kilkey, 2010a, 2010b). Indeed, it has been documented that they too, similarly to women, transfer some of what has been traditionally perceived as men's roles (e.g. home repairs) onto other men – migrant men. This contributes to the "migrant handyman phenomenon" (Kilkey, Plomien & Perrons, 2009) and confirms men's place in global care chains and the gendered nature of migration (Kilkey, 2010a, 2010b). It can be asserted that resolving the work-life conflict that men experience would ease women's role conflict too.

All of the above is taking place in the context of the "crisis of the welfare state", which is due to many processes: contemporary migration movements; the weakening of trade unions; growing hostility between different racial and ethnic communities; and "one absolutely crucial factor is the crumbling of the old gender order" (Fraser, 2013, p. 111). Moreover, this research was conducted in the context of the so-called 'silent crisis' – the global crisis of care (Williams, 2012) which devalues care despite the fact that it is essential to everyone's life. Care is being turned into a commodity and service users into customers even though "the need for care is inevitable, given humans' dependence in infancy and old age, and often in between" (Orloff, 2009, p. 334). The crisis of care is partly a result of ageing Western societies and the increasing need for paid carers in the formal labour market (Lutz, 2011). The 'care deficit' in developed

states has been precipitated in part by the increase in women's involvement in the labour market and the shift from a male-breadwinner model to a so-called 'adult-worker model' underpinning welfare policies (Williams & Brennan, 2012). Arguably, all of these processes constitute the structural context to this thesis.

3.4.3 Women as second-class citizens?

As noted above, many feminists argue that the divide between the public, where men dominate, and the private, which has traditionally been the realm of women, is the primary cause of women's disadvantaged position (Vogel, 1991; Walby, 1994; Lister, 2003; Lewis, 2009). Even today many social rights are dependent on women being in full-time employment (e.g. pensions), which confirms that men's standards are being applied to women, and this makes them difficult to achieve when women have caring responsibilities in the home. Although it is true that some policies (e.g. child benefit) acknowledge women's unpaid labour which results in their entitlement to social rights. However, this entitlement is gendered and those benefits are lower in real terms when compared to the rights attached to paid work (Lister, 1990; 2003). The gender pay gap proves to be problematic as women are often employed in lower skilled, lower paid jobs in comparison to men, which increases their dependency on men (or the state) within and outside of marriage. This economic dependence is exacerbated by what are seen as women's caring 'responsibilities' and by the physical and emotional dependency of others on women's care. As long as the care needs of others (e.g. men, the elderly and/or children) are met by women, since there are limited state provided alternatives, women are likely to remain in a disadvantaged position (Orloff, 2002). Thus, the value assigned to women's caring 'responsibilities' (or more generally gender roles) makes them unable to fully participate in the paid labour market. Hence, it has been suggested that informal familial care should be incorporated into formal citizenship and both men and women should be given the opportunity to combine paid work and familial caring (Lister, 2003; Fraser, 2013).

Women are often defined according to what are perceived as their caring 'responsibilities' and the gendered informal expectations about care roles while they are assumed to contribute to the household's income by undertaking paid work. It can be argued that "women [are] stereotyped as inferior workers" (Łobodzińska, 1996, p. 526) and supposedly lack certain necessary skills and qualities that men seem to possess whilst needing paid leaves of absence and fringe benefits. Therefore, work done by women is less valued and consequently less well paid. As a result,

women can often be seen as 'second-class citizens'. The current relationship between the two sexes can be summarised as follows: "a double shift of work from women, but only a single shift from men" (Fraser, 2000, p. 9).

Still, despite women's increasing participation in the paid labour market, gendered division of labour in the private sphere remains: "women's employment continues to be shaped by domestic and caregiving responsibilities, while men's is not" (Orloff, 2002, p. 4). The effect, double-shift work, puts an enormous amount of pressure on women (cf. Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Płomień, 2009; Keryk, 2010; Doucet, 2011). It can be asserted that one of the consequences of the above is declining birth and fertility rates (Jensen & Ahlburg, 2004; Lewis, 2009). Women have fewer children and fewer women decide to have families altogether, this contributes to the ageing process of Western European populations as already noted (ONS, 2012; 2013). However, the UK (and increasingly Poland, cf. Keryk, 2010) can draw on a 'pool' of migrant women to 'top up' the country's birth rate and perhaps more importantly offer a helping hand in regard to informal care in families whose members are preoccupied with paid work (Lutz, 2011; Williams, 2012). Moreover, as acknowledged already, migrant men also undertake certain masculine gendered 'responsibilities' (Kilkey, Plomien & Perrons, 2009; Kilkey, 2010a, 2010b). This however, in consequence, enables gendered division of labour to be preserved (Morokvasic, 2004).

Anxieties about the demographic situation, with an ageing population and declining fertility, bring women's labour market participation to the fore as a solution to Europe's labour market needs (Pascall & Kwak, 2005, p. 2).

It is therefore crucial to recognise that the role of women as workers and carers in contemporary society is undergoing a process of reconstruction (Lewis, 2009). In the context of both the demographic and care crises (Williams, 2012), migrant women prove to be a valuable asset as they may, on the one hand, provide care work, and on the other hand, positively influence the host country's birth rate (cf. ONS, 2013). However, this research is not concerned with migrant women as domestic workers but with women migrants and their gender role expectations post (return) migration. Yet, it is recognised that matters related to care (care crisis, care chains) constitute an important structural context within which women's migrations take place.

As already stated, traditionally the UK has been considered to be a strong male breadwinner state, thus the public–private divide is apparent and gendered (Walby, 1990; Pascall & Manning, 2000). Even though, as noted previously, it is evident that increasingly more women participate in the paid labour market, unpaid work continues to be women’s burden (Lewis, 1992; Keryk, 2010; Boyle, 2013). Thus, it could be asserted that women are still seen as dependants of men (Kofman, 2004). In the past, gendered responsibilities and power relations in families left women in a disadvantaged position (Boyd & Grieco, 2003).

After transition to the market economy, the socio-economic situation of Polish women underwent severe degradation which was reflected in a widening gender pay gap (women received 80 per cent of men’s earnings) and women’s marginal presence in public life (Środa, 2010; Graff, 2011, 2014). Today, as already noted, many Polish women are faced with a double burden which is likely to be higher than that experienced during communism or in the West (Pascall & Kwak, 2005). This is mostly because of state’s withdrawal of subsidised services, namely around childcare, and Poland’s troubled history (Łobodzińska, 2000), which altogether constitute the structural context that seems to act as a constraint on women’s agency. Thus, in Poland, there is rising unemployment rate for women and high unemployment among mothers, even though many possess higher qualifications than their male partners (Kalinowska-Nawrotek, 2006).

As argued in the introduction, EU citizenship signifies an important structural context, while the EU is also a safeguard of gender equality. Implementing gender equality is one of the EU goals: “Equality between women and men is a fundamental value of the European Union and is vital to its economic and social growth” (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2013, p. 3). It is perhaps no surprise that the UK is placed far ahead of Poland in the ranking of the 27^{xxvi} EU states in regard to gender equality as it is one of the most well developed countries in the world (and as acknowledged above, Poland’s history is rather troubled). Yet, it is noteworthy that in relation to income disparity, Poland is fairer than the UK (White, 2011). In regard to most of the ‘gender equality indicators’ (work, money, knowledge, time, power), Poland is listed well behind the UK (EIGE, 2013). However, Polish women’s employment rate (41.1 per cent) is slightly higher than that of British women (40 per cent). In fact, women’s employment rate in the UK is one of only a few areas where the UK is behind the EU27. Despite that, British women’s working life is considerably longer (34.8 years), than that of Polish women (29 years) or the EU27 (31.6 years).

The new Member States (i.e. the A8) are characterised by contrasting gender regimes when compared to the original EU15 (Pascall & Kwak, 2005). As already explained, in the majority of Western European countries, the male breadwinner model has been prevalent. However, in recent years there has been a shift towards a one-and-a-half earner. Even though the EU and its different bodies are devoted, as it appears, to gender equality in the wider Europe (European Commission, 2010; EIGE, 2013), because there is no one single welfare system in Europe, “social policy regimes at national level remain the key” (Pascall & Kwak, 2005, p. 164). Nevertheless, Member States are expected to take due regard of the EU’s supranational powers through the European Court of Justice. Yet still: “the notion and practice of Europe as a single market clearly precedes Europe as a power in social policy” (*ibid.*). Regardless of whether it is the EU or the nation states that are to be held accountable for persistent gender inequalities, “overall, we need a gender politics that is less about how women can succeed in a man’s game, and more about how to change the rules of the game” (Lanning *et al.*, 2013, p. 10).

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter women’s gendered lives in Poland and the UK were scrutinised. It was established that ‘gender’ is separate from ‘sex’ and socially constructed. Similarly, ‘gender roles’ are a social construct, hence could be altered. Additionally, there seem to be distinct differences in women’s experiences in the two countries. These may be partially due to variances in feminist thought development, prevalent gender roles and the extent of the welfare system. All of those constitute the structural background and differ in Poland and the UK. Whilst in the UK the three ‘waves’ of the feminist movement were present, in Poland these were limited during communism. British gender roles are comparatively more flexible than Polish gender roles. Moreover, the welfare system in the UK is relatively more extensive to the one found in Poland. Perhaps due to discrepancies in these three areas, women’s lives and experiences differ in the two countries.

To conclude, feminism has added to the understanding of society. It added gender to analysis of the workings of society and the state, and highlighted the gender specific impact of social policies. It brought a range of under-discussed social problems to the fore. It made the private and personal sphere the subject of debate and deliberation in the public sphere. Feminism revealed gender to be a key dimension of inequality (George & Wilding, 1994). In light of the aforementioned, it needs to be reiterated that informal care work should be recognised as a value concept but also a valued activity (Williams, 2005). Care work should be rewarded

appropriately and recognised as indispensable to the current and future generations. This would improve women's situation as they still are the primary care-givers. While this chapter focused on women's gendered lives and what this may entail for migrant women, the following chapter is devoted to the more general literature and theory of migration.

CHAPTER FOUR: Theorising migration

4.1 Introduction

A key aim of this chapter is to provide a review of migration theory and migration types and patterns that are useful in explaining contemporary migratory movements between Poland and the UK. Initially, section one outlines and defines key terms, then classic theories in relation to migration and more contemporary approaches to migration are considered. The following section provides an examination of the concept of gendered migration and more specifically, it places women within the migratory process and it is depicted how women who are migrants reconcile their gendered lives. A gendered critique of mainstream migration is provided as it is acknowledged that historically there has been a male bias in migration studies which rarely identified women as migrants in their own right. After that, the literature on the influence of migration on women's gender roles is scrutinised. The final section of the chapter explores certain migration types and patterns as they are particularly relevant to this research. Conclusions are also provided.

4.2 Understanding migration

Arguably, migration is one of the key processes of social change and development (Klagge *et al.*, 2007). International migration in the contemporary world is motivated by a number of factors and leads to diverse forms of movement. When considering migration, distinctions need to be made between its different forms. With regard to a broad definition of 'a migrant' the proposal is for the project to utilise the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) definition:

The term migrant was usually understood to cover all cases where the decision to migrate was taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of "personal convenience" and without intervention of an external compelling factor; it therefore applied to persons, and family members, moving to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family (IOM, 2014).

It is worth noting that migration is increasingly understood as a process rather than a one-off event (Ackers, 1998; Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Lutz, 2010; Pemberton & Scullion, 2013). More recent literature recognises people's 'mobility' as more relevant than 'migration' as it signifies fluidity and blurring between its various types and the greater unpredictability of individuals' mobility patterns (Castles & Van Hear, 2005; Bakewell, O'Reilly, 2009). This is particularly relevant to this research as Polish nationals' migration patterns post 2004 are often characterised by their circularity (Okólski, 2012) (see more in section 4.5.1). Thus, some scholars indicate that 'mobility' rather than 'migration' may be a more appropriate term to use in relation to contemporary flows of people (Morokvasic, 2004; Ackers & Gill, 2008; Faist, 2013) and to recent Polish migration (Wallace, 2002; Burell, 2011; Okólski, 2012).

Whilst in the past migration was characterised by a movement of people from point A to point B, those moves appear to have become more unpredictable (Wallace, 2002). According to some scholars, "the mobility turn" in social sciences emphasises the divide between the largely unwanted migration of (regarded as low-skilled) labour migrants and the more positively perceived mobility of highly-skilled professionals (Faist, 2013). It can be asserted that recent Polish migrants, in the majority, would be classed in the former category (Scullion & Morris, 2010; Irek, 2011; Düvell & Garapich, 2011; Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). However, in this study the terms 'migrant' and 'migration' are applied as these are seen as more appropriate due to their long-standing historical usage (Wallace, 2002; Willis, 2010) and the fact that they may be more applicable to labour migrants (Faist, 2013). According to Castles and Miller (2009) we now live in the 'age of migration' that is characterised by the acceleration, increasing fluidity and unpredictability of international movements. Moreover, a 'feminisation of migration' has been observed, which implies that increasingly more women become migrants (*ibid.*), which may not be such a new phenomenon (Zlotnik, 2003) (see section 4.4.1 for further discussions).

External migration, also named international migration, is the type that is considered in this research, which explores migration of Polish nationals to the UK and return migration back to Poland. Economically motivated migratory movements are the focus of this thesis and refer to people who decide to migrate to improve their financial situation. Arguably, the majority of the new Polish migrants to the UK are economic migrants (Scullion & Morris, 2010; Düvell & Garapich, 2011; Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). However, some scholars postulate that the boundaries between forced and economic migration have become blurred (cf. 'asylum-migration nexus', Castles & Van Hear, 2005). Noteworthy is lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Torkington, 2012; Ahmed, 2013); although this type of migration bears a resemblance to labour

migration it is arguably not applicable to recent Polish migrants to the UK (see chapter six, section 6.2.1.1). Whilst Polish nationals migrate in search of a better life too, the majority of them cannot be classed as ‘relatively affluent’ (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009; Torkington, 2012; Ahmed, 2013). Family migration is relevant to this study as evidence shows that recent Polish women migrants to the UK came as part of family migration (White, 2011) (also see section 4.5.3). Return migration is also explored here and refers to those migratory movements that occur after the initial emigration from the home country and involves the move back to the country in question (Jackson, 1986) (see more in section 4.4.2).

It is worth noting that this research explores ‘white migration’ which, as some note, may be seen as an oxymoron since migrants are often thought of as anything but white (Lundström, 2014). Arguably, migrants are frequently perceived as more easily noticeable, hence often non-white. It can be asserted that this demonstrates the problematic perception of newcomers as different, thus dangerous, bringing with them foreign norms and values. Migrants are often seen as non-privileged and essentially as a problem, hence they are “defined by discrimination” (*ibid.*, p.1). In that respect, Polish migrants can relatively easily ‘blend in’ and in many cases the accent may be the only one distinctive difference between them and the majority of the British host population.

4.3 Classic migration theories

Even though some argue that the classic theories of migration may have become redundant in light of contemporary international migratory movements (Morokvasic, 2004), it can be asserted that they provide valuable theoretical frameworks to understand people’s migrations. Arguably, the majority of classic migration theories recognise and focus on economic imperatives as the predominant reasons for migratory decisions (thus, emphasis is on ‘structure’). It could, however, be that people decide to migrate out of curiosity or simply because they can (cf. Kindler & Napierała, 2010; Scullion & Pemberton, 2010). Here, emphasis is on ‘agency’. Arguably, there are three major classic theoretical perspectives that provide an explanation of migratory movements they are: the neoclassical theory of migration, the historical-structural approach and the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory. However, the social network approach and transnationalism are also considered here as they are deemed applicable to the recent Polish migration to the UK. Despite the fact that classic theories may have been developed some time ago they perhaps retain some relevance to understanding post 2004 Polish migration to the UK. It should be acknowledged that because

classic migration theories predominantly refer to economic motivations for migration, they often recognise migrant women as passive followers of their male counterparts rather than pioneer migrants (Morokvasic, 1983; Ackers, 1998). Thus, it can be asserted that classic migration theories remain gender-blind. This research seeks to apply them to Polish women migrants, thus in consequence contribute to redressing economic reductionism and male bias.

4.3.1 Neoclassical theory

The neoclassical theory of migration (cf. Ranis & Fei, 1961; Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969) is presented as the successor to the tradition initiated by Ravenstein in 1885 and later developed further by Lee (1966), as a formulation of the 'push-pull' theory of migration. Push factors affect people's decisions to leave an area, whereas pull factors attract people to another area. Push factors may include, but are not limited to, high unemployment rate, poverty, and underdevelopment. It can be argued that all of the aforementioned are relevant to the recent Polish migration to the UK while the EU constitutes structural opportunities. Pull factors, refer to the opposite and may relate to employment opportunities, lower level of poverty and high development in an area. It can be asserted that all these are applicable to the UK post-2004. Arguably, push and pull factors relate to the structural context.

Neoclassical theory is the dominant approach within the economic migration theory paradigm and explains the movement of people from low to high income countries as affected by push (e.g. high unemployment rate in the country of origin) and pull factors (e.g. relatively high wages in the destination country) (Castles & Miller, 2009). This theory suggests that international migration is related to the global supply and demand for labour. It states that the main causes of labour migration are differences in wages between the sending and receiving countries. Thus, eliminating wage differentials would end migration as migrants would not migrate if such differentials did not exist. As, arguably, many recent Polish migrants to the UK are economic migrants (Akhurst *et al.*, 2014), they have almost certainly been influenced by wage disparities between Poland and the UK. However, this research aims to go beyond this purely economic rationale and takes into account other than financial factors that can potentially influence migrants' decisions to migrate. Among those are curiosity and seeking adventure before settling down (Cieřlik, 2012; Kindler & Napierała, 2010), education (Ackers, 2004; Bielewska, 2011; cf. 'brain training', Szewczyk, 2012), and social networks (Ryan, 2009, 2011; cf. 'migration culture', White, 2011). The latter may facilitate female migration in order to

provide care to migrants resident away from their home country (Aranda, 2003; Keryk, 2010; 'Euro-orphans', White, 2011; 'transnational motherhood', Lutz, 2011; 'the sandwich generation', Ben-Galim & Silim, 2013) (see chapter eight for more on this).

According to this theory, international labour migration can be controlled by governments regulating labour markets in both sending and receiving countries (Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969). Thus, it is individuals who decide to migrate as they observe more attractive structural opportunities in different regions. For example, Polish nationals in the presence of structural opportunities linked to the EU enlargement acted on these by exercising their right to free movement (Currie, 2008). This illustrates the intertwining of agency and structure. It can be asserted that this theory puts emphasis on the agentic characteristics of migrants as social actors who exercise their agency and become mobile as this can bring them higher financial returns. The rational decision-making capacity of migrants is afforded great importance in this theory (Bakewell, 2010). In some cases migration may be a calculated coping strategy whereby an individual contrasts their agentic power with the wider structural factors (Morawska, 2001; Bakewell, 2010) (cf. 'livelihood strategy', White, 2011). Migration costs and returns were explored in chapter two with particular reference to recent Polish migrants to the UK. Also, push and pull factors are explored in chapters six and seven in relation to the research respondents.

4.3.2 Historical-structural approach

The main alternative to the neoclassical theory of migration has traditionally been the historical-structural approach. In contrast to the previous theory, the historical-structural approach to migration is usually presented as a rather loose set of theoretical concepts that focus primarily on the structural demand for migrant labour in advanced capitalist societies (cf. Castles & Kosack, 1973; Piore, 1979; Sassen, 1988). The historical-structural approach (also known as the historical-institutional approach) developed in the 1970s and explains migration as a way of maximising capital by the rich whose predominant aim is to accumulate greater wealth by the use of cheap international labour (Castles & Miller, 2009). According to this theory, international migration is caused by unequal distribution of political and economic power and other resources across the world. Thus, the emphasis here is on the broader social structures, rather than the agency of individuals, as a key influence on migratory moves (Morawska, 2001; Bakewell, 2010). Arguably, the enlargement of the EU and the attendant extension of free rights

to movement is one such structural factor that enabled Polish migratory flows into the UK post 2004.

This theory considers migration as of benefit to both the sending and receiving country. For the sending nation emigration alleviates population pressure, reduces unemployment rates, and provides benefits from foreign exchange and skills developed abroad. The host country gains migrants' labour which complements that of the native population especially in times of labour shortages (Piore, 1979). All of the aforementioned benefits of migration could be viewed as applicable to the post 2004 Polish migration to the UK (Klagge *et al.*, 2007; Currie, 2008; Dustman & Frattini, 2013) (also see section 2.6).

Additionally, Piore (1979) noted that it is mainly industrialised countries where migrants fill the jobs that the natives refuse to undertake, a situation that has been seen as applicable to post 2004 Polish migration into the UK (Currie, 2008). Migrants are routinely unskilled workers, concentrated in seasonal industries and unskilled occupations, and often plan to return home; in that respect they see themselves as temporary workers for whom an investment in their skills is unwanted (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Temple, 2011a). Again, this has been observed with regards to the recent Polish migration to the UK (Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich, 2007) (see more in chapter four). Perhaps paradoxically, industrial economies seem to have a constant demand for unskilled migrant labour which can be explained by both labour shortages and the desire of employers for cheap labour, especially at the bottom of the paid labour market where many migrants tend to be employed (Piore, 1979).

This theory is particularly useful in providing an explanation for migratory movements when international wage differentials decline. For example, for Polish nationals it was more beneficial to migrate and work in the UK in 2004, when one pound sterling was valued at 7 Polish zloty (PLN), in comparison to 4PLN in 2008 (Index Mundi, 2012). Thus, even though the Polish zloty has strengthened against the pound, the demand for workers remains (cf. Cox, 2008). Proponents of this theory argue that the economies of the highly developed countries require a certain level of immigration. Thus, the problematic phenomenon of 'global care chains' should be acknowledged as it signifies a resurgence of paid domestic and care labour which women migrants tend to undertake, symbolising 'migrantisation' of this type of work (Kilkey, Lutz, Palenga-Möllnbeck, 2010). 'Global care chains' may here symbolise how caring responsibilities influence migration strategies (cf. chapter seven, section 7.4). This in consequence contributes to a 'feminisation of migration' (Lutz, 2011). These suggest that

developed economies are dualistic, and have a primary market of secure, highly skilled and waged work and a secondary market of low skilled and waged employment. According to this theory, immigrants are recruited to fill the latter jobs that are necessary for the overall economy to function but are avoided by the native population because of the poor working conditions and low status associated with the secondary labour market work (cf. 'migration industry', Garapich, 2008b). This is evident in the literature on recent Polish migration to the UK which stresses Polish migrant workers' likelihood to undertake such work (Currie, 2008; Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008). According to Piore (1979), the main cause of migration is a structural demand within advanced economies for both highly skilled and low skilled workers. Because the demand for workers from developing countries is structurally built into the needs of the capitalist economy and expressed through recruitment practice rather than wage offers, wage disparities are not necessary for international migration to exist. This can be broadly applied to migration between Poland (a post-communist country) and the UK (a post-imperial country) which not only share certain moments in history but also enjoy relative geographical proximity (White, 2011).

4.3.3 New economics of labour migration

Abreu (2010) suggests that until the 1980s the field of migration theory was dominated by the two previously discussed conflicting approaches i.e. the neoclassical and the historical-structural theories, with the latter gradually becoming the leading theoretical explanation of the phenomenon of migration. Then in the 1980s, a third alternative theoretical approach emerged – the new economics of labour migration (NELM) (cf. Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark & Taylor, 1989; Taylor, 1999). It quickly occupied the middle ground between the structural emphasis of the historical-structural perspective and the agency orientated neoclassical theory. Whilst those other explanatory models hold that migration decisions are made by individual actors – migrants themselves – this third model does not correspond with its predecessors (Taylor, 1999).

NELM has been presented as a more nuanced third option between the previous two approaches. It considers migration decisions as made not by individual social actors but by whole families, or even local communities. It stresses the fact that migration cannot be understood solely in economic terms and highlights family and other patterns of migration (family migration is explored in section 4.5.3). Here, migrants are not simply profit maximisers

but they are active agents who consider the availability and chance of securing employment together with the risks associated with the decision to migrate (Castles & Miller, 2009; with regard to recent Polish migrants cf. Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012). Individuals are not considered as isolated decision makers here as migratory decisions are viewed as being taken in the context of family and other significant micro-networks (Morawska, 2001). According to this theory, families, even whole households and other culturally defined units of production and consumption, are important factors when decisions to migrate are considered (cf. social/migrant networks, Ryan, 2009). This has been observed in regard to Polish migrants in the UK post 2004 (White, 2011) (see chapter two). Wage differentials are not the only reasons behind migrating. This theory implies that international migration does not necessarily stop when differences in wages disappear. Conviction of migration as the right choice will remain if the country of origin lacks certain commodities or goods that can be accessed in the destination country, which arguably applies to the situation of Polish nationals who appreciate the more extensive welfare system in the UK (Krzyszowski, 2011). Thus, women can balance their gendered 'responsibilities' more effectively as argued in the previous chapter (see section 3.4) (Siara, 2009).

In relation to NELM Stark and Bloom (1985, p. 175) highlight that: "migration is a calculated strategy and not an act of desperation of boundless optimism" (cf. in relation to recent Polish migrants, Isański, Mleczko & Seredyńska-Abou Eid, 2014). The authors note that the migratory process is beneficial for both parties: the migrant (or migrants) and the family members who stayed behind (cf. section 4.7 for relevance to recent Polish migrants and chapters six and seven in relation to the research participants). This is due to the exchange of commitments; the migrant brings remittances whereas the family takes care of the migrant's other responsibilities (e.g. looking after siblings and/or children). The 'trailing wife' for instance attends to her family's needs while her male partner is responsible for breadwinning (Bruegel, 1996). Taylor (1999) indicates that the new economics of labour migration treats migratory decisions as family strategies to improve their wellbeing. The author argues that remittances (or simply the possibility of them), enable families from less developed regions to make investments which in consequence "may reshape migrant sending economies" (*ibid.*, p. 64) (cf. family-orientated migration in section 4.5.3).

4.3.4 Social network approach

Similarly to the NELM theory, the social network approach stresses wider social groups (micro-structures) rather than the agency of individual social actors (Boyd, 1989). The social network theory puts greater emphasis on the influence of wider social networks, migrant networks, and family networks, in the process of migrating (cf. Palloni *et al.*, 2001):

Social networks are highly relevant for studies of international migration. (...) They also shape migration outcomes, ranging from no migration, immigration, return migration or the continuation of migration flows (Boyd, 1989, p. 639).

Here, migration is the consequence of previously started and maintained relationships with other social actors, thus is part of a wider structure (Morawska, 2001). This can relate to family migration whereby one family member becomes a migrant and is later joined by the other family members (cf. White, 2011). It can reflect a situation where a potential migrant draws on their wider social networks in order to identify a contact person willing to help in their migratory journey (e.g. arrange accommodation, potential job opportunities, etc.) (cf. Ryan, 2009). As Vertovec indicates: “Networks provide the channels for the migration process itself” (2001, p. 12). Interestingly, Ryan (2009) highlights Polish women and their use of family networks in order to promote migration. These kinds of social relations may lead to the creation of a ‘migration chain’ (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964), where one individual affects another’s migration plans, who then may be in a position to do the same in relation to their contacts; the self-perpetuating chain develops. Social networks are seen as invaluable in some individuals’ decisions regarding migration, no less so with regard to Polish migrants who have been known to rely on their compatriots for support (White & Ryan, 2008; Ryan, 2011). They may serve as the primary point of contact in the destination country, later assist with necessary living arrangements and be a source of information and emotional support (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Temple, 2011b). These networks may even impact on the choice of a destination country of the potential migrant (Morawska, 2001). An individual wishing to migrate could actively seek a contact person from their circle of friends/acquaintances who resides in another country, is willing to assist, and, through whom there is a good chance of finding work and acquiring a relatively higher standard of living there.

This perspective adds a new dimension to migration literature as it goes beyond the exclusive focus on either the host or the home country but puts emphasis on the social actors moving between these. Moreover, in the era of highly-developed communication technology which makes it easier to stay connected regardless of people’s physical location, social networks can

be maintained relatively more easily than before (Vertovec, 2007). Focusing on social networks brings attention to migration as a social product, not as the products of the decisions of individual migrants (agency), or simply the consequence of wider economic or political factors (structure), but as a complex compilation of both, the micro and macro influences (Boyd, 1989). This is particularly relevant to this research which considers the agency of Polish women to move to the UK within wider structural opportunities linked to the EU. Similarly, Morawska (2001) adopted the idea of “migration as a structuration process” during which structure and agency are integrated and interdependent. Arguably, migrant networks may serve as structural opportunities which facilitate social actors’ migration patterns (see chapters six and seven in relation to the research participants). They influence the probability of further migrations as they foster the development of additional contacts which can increase the chances of finding employment, for instance.

Network connections increase the likelihood of international migration because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. (Palloni *et al.*, 2001, p. 1264)

A more interdisciplinary approach, which is linked to the social network perspective, is provided by migration systems theory (cf. Mabogunje, 1970; Fawcett, 1989). This theory postulates that migration is a result of previously developed and maintained links between sending and receiving countries. This could be a result of past colonisation, political influence or pre-existing trade and/or cultural ties between nations. Arguably, the EU enlargement in 2004 constitutes one of those links. Advocates of this theory claim that the international movement of people can be explained by the interconnectedness of macro and microstructures (Castles & Miller, 2009). That could be the connections between a nation-state and individual citizens, for example between the UK and Polish pilots during the Second World War, given the fact that the Polish Resettlement Act (1947) symbolises the beginning of the Polish diaspora in the UK. This perspective should be acknowledged, as the UK previously experienced Polish migration as was explored in chapter two (see section 2.2).

4.3.5 Transnationalism

Transnationalism can be defined as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch,

Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994, p. 7). Many contemporary migrants build social networks that cross geographical, cultural and political borders which is arguably the case with regard to many Polish migrants in the UK as was explored in the previous section (cf. social network theory, Boyd, 1989; White & Ryan, 2008). Today, migrants are able to create and maintain relationships despite the geographical distance between the individual social actors living apart as a consequence of migration and become in effect “transmigrants” with the ability to develop and maintain connections that link them to two or more nation states at one time (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994; Vertovec, 2007). Transmigrants can coexist with both their host and their home countries’ cultures, due to global interconnectedness. It is noteworthy that transnational interconnectedness is particularly easy to maintain today, in the 21st century. The fast development and availability of the new technologies such as the internet (and various internet software packages e.g. Skype, WhatsApp) and inexpensive air travel make this not only possible but relatively easily achievable (Vertovec, 2007). In these circumstances, temporary and/or circular migration becomes easy to pursue and may prove to be very beneficial to migrants (Ryan *et al.*, 2009). This approach may be particularly relevant to some Polish migrants’ movements between Poland and the UK. This will be explored further in relation to circular migrants moving for economic reasons in chapter six.

4.4 Structure and agency in migration theory

As shown earlier in this chapter, numerous migration theories have been developed. Bakewell (2010) argues that the structure and agency debate remains crucial to migration studies and needs applying in order to develop a coherent overarching theory of migration. He asserts that although very important, it is frequently avoided by migration theorists. According to Bakewell, the theory tends to either focus on the structural context somewhat ignoring the agency of migrants or it centres on individual agency overlooking the structures (*ibid.*).

In this thesis practice theory, although not used in full, serves as a means to pull structure and agency together (O’Reilly, 2012). It is adopted as a tool to bring those two concepts together as interdependent in migration. This is to enable the analysis of migration as a process that is framed and shaped by migration legislation, the context related to the EU enlargement (macro-structures), by social networks (micro-structures) and by migrants’ decision-making in relation to the above. Thus, the migrant is neither a purely rational decision-maker nor an object of bottom-down forces beyond his/her control. It is accepted here that migration is the outcome of

individual agency facilitated and/or constrained by a specific context within which it occurs. Further, according to a theory of practice, practice refers to:

The ongoing processes involved in the construction of social life; it favours neither subjectivism nor objectivism, but instead works to understand the interrelationship at the meso level of structures and actions (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 37).

This research used practice theory to mediate between structure and agency without favouring one over the other but instead acknowledging that they cannot be separated and that the middle ground should take the focus. Arguably, this has a reflection in Morawska's (2001) structuration model where she emphasises the self-perpetuating character of agency and structure which both influence one another. Morawska (*ibid.*) considers migration as a structuration process where macro and micro structures influence each other and in consequence affect the agency of social actors which then impacts the structures.

It can be asserted that with regards to the 'recent' Polish migration to the UK, there are two levels to the structures that enable movement. At a macro level there is the enlargement of the EU and the extension of EU citizenship to (among others) Polish people which grants them legal right to movement and work in the UK. At the more personal or micro level transnational networks of Polish migrants who have already migrated to the UK foster the flows of their co-ethnics (cf. Morawska, 2001). The first opens up new opportunities the second helps facilitate them and thus enables individual agency in migration.

Arguably, gender structures migration (Hoang, 2011). One's gender and what is linked to it, gender roles may ease or impede movement and decisions related to it. Hoang (*ibid.*) argues that although migrants are often seen as genderless (for more see the next section), their identities as men or women influence their decision-making. In her research, Hoang (2011) focused on Vietnamese internal migrants and the way they exert agency in the context of certain gendered structures. According to her "the concept of agency is intrinsically linked with that of power" (*ibid.*, p. 1442). She notes that, similarly to Poland, in Vietnam traditional gender roles prevail. Additionally, Hoang (2011) highlights that gender and relationship status are the two factors that are most important in influencing men's and women's migration experiences. This is significant for this research as it looks at Polish women who (as shown in chapter two) are likely to have grown up with traditional gender roles. Further, here the researcher is considering

women's gendered 'responsibilities' which are linked to household decision-making. Noteworthy is the fact that:

Whether the migration in question is transnational or internal, it is likely to generate sizable incomes compared to what may be expected locally and thus to considerably enhance the migrant's status and his/her agency in decision-making (Hoang, 2011, p. 1452).

These matters will be explored further in the empirical chapters. Now attention is turned to the absence of gender in mainstream migration theories.

4.5 The absence of gender in mainstream migration theories

Gender is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, forces shaping human life and, accordingly, it influences migration and migrants' lives. Nonetheless, gender has been regularly sidelined in scholarly research on international migration over the past 100 years (Pessar & Mahler, 2003, p. 812).

It has been widely accepted that migration is gendered (cf. Pessar & Mahler, 2003; Kofman, 2004; Donato *et al.*, 2006; Caritas, 2011). Morokvasic argues that although women play a crucial role in migration, previously they have been "sociologically invisible, although numerically and socially present" (1983, p. 13) and that the presence of women has been finally acknowledged when they entered the waged labour market. In the aftermath of WWI, due to the limited number of female academics and the unwillingness to fund projects allied to social change, male researchers were the main grantees of funding; then in the 1960s "scholarly interest in migration reemerged alongside feminism" (Donato *et al.*, 2006, p. 9). Feminist work in the 1970s and 1980s was arguably easily dismissed as purely women-centred hence addressing merely half of the migrant population (*ibid.*). As Zlotnik (2003) notes, until the 1970s, most research and publications on international migration focused exclusively on male migrants while women migrants were seen as followers. The assumptions of a male breadwinner family model and traditional gender roles have dominated classic migration theories (Ackers, 1998).

Female migrants began to appear in the literature from the mid-1970s. Whereas previously they were often portrayed as “followers, dependants, unproductive persons, isolated, illiterate and ignorant” (Morokvasic, 1983, p. 16), more recent studies consider them to be active decision makers (Kindler & Napierała, 2010). It can be asserted that in the late 1980s social scientists “turned toward gender analysis largely as an intellectual strategy for ending the marginalisation of the women-centred work” (Donato *et al.*, 2006, p. 14). This dominant economic model of migration, male breadwinning and profit-maximising, evident in academic literature is under scrutiny here. This original empirical research aims to consider women in migration as breadwinners, caregivers and free mobile agents.

Morokvasic (1983) noted that paid work in the developed world offered to migrant women from developing countries is one way for them to escape the oppressive (patriarchal and other) traditions in their homeland. For many migrant women the change from unpaid work in the private sphere to paid work in the labour market came about through migration (Phizacklea, 1983). By gaining meaningful employment women often achieve self-respect and secure the means to become independent and confident enough to require a change in the gendered division of labour. Kosack (1976) argued that migration may prove to be a ‘step towards emancipation’. Thus, financial and social remittances may have a positive impact on women’s gender roles or the perception of them (White, 2011). On the other hand, migration may contribute to a ‘feminisation of women’s roles’ whereby post-migration they agree to take on even more responsibilities (Ho, 2006). It has been acknowledged that additional studies on migrant women and their strategies for negotiating gender roles in respect of paid employment and unpaid informal familial care work are needed (Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Ryan & Webster, 2008; Siara, 2009; Slany, Struzik & Wojnicka, 2011; Krytyka Polityczna, 2014). Thus, this research seeks to contribute to the task of addressing that omission.

It has previously been argued that migrant women who are EU nationals migrating between different EU countries are an “under-researched group in their own right” (Ackers, 1998, p. 1). There is limited comparative literature on women originating from the same country but living in different nations (Kofman, 1999). “It is not the absence of women, however, but their invisibility in the research that is at issue here ...” (*ibid.*, p. 139; cf. Lutz, 2010). Recent studies note that female migration was previously viewed as being dictated by purely economic reasons; now, however, it has been recognised that some women migrate out of curiosity and interest in other cultures and foreign languages and seek adventure (Kindler & Napierała, 2010;

Temple, 2011a; Cieřlik, 2012). Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) argued that the existing literature considers migrant women to be incorporated in an ill-defined category of 'women', despite the fact that their migratory experiences are very much affected by their diverse individual circumstances (cf. 'intersectionality', Crenshaw, 1989). Thus, it cannot be taken as read that this research is generalizable to other groups of women migrants.

Even though migrant men's and women's experiences have some common characteristics, they may differ substantially. Previous studies indicate that migrant women, in contrast to men, are often over-represented in the low-paid and low-skilled occupations (Castles & Miller, 2003). However, more recent research on A8 migration questions this view (Scullion & Morris, 2009; Scullion, Morris & Steele, 2009; Kindler & Napierała, 2010) and evidence suggests that Polish women who migrated to the UK post 2004 possess higher levels of qualifications than their male counterparts (CBOS, 2006; Kalinowska-Nawrotek, 2006; Scullion, Morris & Steele, 2009).

4.5.1 Feminisation of migration?

As already acknowledged, Castles and Miller (2009) suggest that we are observing a 'feminisation of migration'. However, the UN (UN-INSTRAW, 2007) rejects this view as misleading, as it suggests a sudden substantive increase in the number of female migrants whereas there has long been a significant proportion of women among migrants. Nonetheless, by year 2000 women constituted 52.4 per cent of migrants in Europe (Zlotnik, 2003). Then in 2013, the proportion of women migrants "ranged from 52 per cent in the global North to 43 per cent in the global South" (UN, 2013, p. 1). With regards to Polish women migrants to the UK, there is no one reliable source of data (Trevena, 2009). However, according to Migration Observatory report (Rienzo & Vargas-Silva, 2014), overall there were just over 4 million women migrants in comparison to well under 3 million male migrants in the UK. The same report stated that "Poland, [with India and Pakistan] are the top three countries of birth for the foreign-born" (*ibid.*, n.p.). Hence, it can be asserted that a large proportion of this number are Polish women.

Engle (2004) indicates that the contrast between women's migrations in the 19th and 21st centuries lies in the reasons for their travels and the way they are recorded. She writes that, "in fact, gender (i.e. perceived roles, responsibilities and obligations – or the lack thereof) may be

the single most important factor influencing the decision to migrate” (*ibid.*, p. 6). Engle acknowledges that women’s motivations for migration may have changed from family reunification to moving as pioneer migrants, but emphasises that women have always migrated (Engle, 2004). Yet, it can be asserted that the international migrant is often portrayed as a single male: “disembodied and disembedded from contexts such as familial or household relationships or the wider society in which *he* lives” (Kofman, 2000, p. 53; emphasis added; Anderson, 2000; Kilkey, Plomien & Perrons, 2013).

The problematic phenomenon of ‘migration care chains’ should be acknowledged here as it largely concerns women (Orloff, 2009; Williams, 2010; Kilkey, 2010a, 2010b). Global care chains symbolise a revival of paid domestic and care work and the fact that mostly women (but also men, Kilkey, 2009) undertake such work (Kilkey, Lutz & Palenga-Möllennebeck, 2010; Lutz, 2011). This concept offers an explanation of the intertwining of personal and global relationships and, perhaps more importantly, confirms the “gendered nature of globalisation” (Williams, 2010, p. 386). Thus, the use of migrant workers in the ‘transnational political economy of care’ enables the universal breadwinner model as both men and women are encouraged to seek paid employment (Lutz, 2011) but it also fosters the gendered division of labour (Morokvasic, 2004). More importantly perhaps, global care chains demonstrate the fact that care responsibilities shape migration decisions.

4.5.2 Migrant women as gendered social actors

As noted earlier, women migrants in Europe constitute over half of all migrants (Zlotnik, 2003; OECD-UNDESA, 2013). However, “the idea of a male breadwinning nuclear family structure and presumptions about gender roles within the family has dominated traditional models of migration behaviour” (Ackers, 1998, p. 44). As asserted above, all countries of the European Union have seen a ‘feminisation’ of their labour force which indicates that an increasing number of women engage in paid employment (*ibid.*; Lutz, 2010, 2011). The European population is ageing due to increasing life expectancy combined with decreasing fertility and birth rates (Fraser, 2013) which result in a “caring gap” (Anderson, 2000, p. 110) or ‘care crisis’ (Williams, 2010) and ‘global care chains’ (Kilkey, 2010a, 2010b). The abovementioned has been occurring at the time when there are fewer women who stay at home to provide care, when marriage breakdown and geographical mobility rates are on the increase, which arguably make familial responsibilities more difficult to administer (cf. Aranda, 2003; Williams, 2005; Lutz, 2010;

Ben-Galim & Silim, 2013). The latter may be more difficult when partners try to reconcile a 'dual-location household' with gendered 'responsibilities' that are transnational (Smith, 2011) and employ long-distance caregiving (Aranda, 2003) or engage in transnational motherhood practices (Lutz, 2011; Cieřlik, 2012) and face 'double caring responsibilities' (Ryan *et al.*, 2009). The shift in the way relationships are organised and the removal of state support make it increasingly difficult for families, and, perhaps more importantly, women to manage the basic domestic and care work of the family (Płomień, 2009; Kofman, 2012).

It has become clear that transnational migration of mothers challenges traditional family structures, gender-specific roles patterns and conventional images of motherhood (Lutz, 2011, p. 148).

The argument put forward by Lutz (2011), which is particularly important to this research, is that while migrant mothers engage in the paid labour market taking up the role of the breadwinner, the caregiving practices are not simultaneously assumed by their male counterparts. On the other hand, women's transnational mothering (cf. 'Euro-orphans'; 'E-family'; White & Ryan, 2008) consists of sending remittances as a way of 'long-distance caregiving' (Aranda, 2003), but may contribute to a 'double burden' (cf. Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Doucet, 2011). This issue is also related to the fact that care is considered as a commodity which can be purchased or retailed depending on the need and resources (Orloff, 2009).

A combination of those processes is partly a result of the fact that grandparents (or parents) are less likely to be in close proximity or are simply unavailable (Anderson, 2000). Despite the fact that more women have joined the paid labour market, the power within the division of labour at home has not changed; this has been referred to as "dehousewification" (Chan, 2012). As a result, women still do the lion's share of housework and, despite the fact that there is evidence of increased involvement of men in parenting, childcare is still defined as women's work (Keryk, 2010; Boyd, 2013; Kilkey, Plomien & Perrons, 2013). Precisely due to this, women who are migrants are often under pressure to reconcile their gendered 'responsibilities' that are related to, on the one hand, their parents and other family members in their country of origin and, on the other hand, their children who are more likely to be with them in the host country. Those gendered expectations that cross international borders can therefore prove to be particularly tricky to reconcile as is illustrated in chapter seven (section 7.4).

According to Kofman (2012) there are three main factors that explain the present trends. First, the shrinking of the welfare state makes care work an individual responsibility. Second, women's increasing rates of employment on the one hand, and the persisting sexual division of labour at home on the other, increase the struggle for women to reconcile various roles. Third, women's increasing migrations make balancing different responsibilities ever more difficult.

the current gaps in reproductive labour stem from three main areas: the withdrawal of the state from supporting children and the elderly; the increased participation of women in paid work and the inflexibility of the sexual division of labour within the household and the expansion of the hospitality industry and associated sex services, on the one hand, and increased mobility of female work force (*ibid.*, p. 148).

4.5.3 The influence of migration on gender roles

While "migration enhances men's ability to do gender" (Aranda, 2003, p. 624), mobile women seem to struggle to balance their occupational success and emotional fulfilment when linked to one location, let alone two (cf. 'dual-location household', Smith, 2011). Thus, migration may have a particularly empowering effect on women (Kosack, 1976; Ho, 2006; Kindler & Napierała, 2010). Post migration, a renegotiation of gender roles may be the only way to deal with the abovementioned issues: "women appear to be 'freeing' themselves from rules concerning sexuality that are specific to the Polish culture" (Siara, 2009, p. 181). However, this may be dependent on life stage: age; relationship status; family composition. Arguably,

Gender roles and dynamics within families may be reconfigured in complex and diverse ways through the migration process, but these dynamics are also influenced by family life stage (Ryan *et al.*, 2009, p. 74).

Ryan (2009) previously looked into the role of the family and argued that migrants' families may serve as 'magnets' pulling migrants back home, 'repellents' driving migrants away or 'anchors' providing a stable basis and support while migrants are away.

The exposure to a new social and cultural setting which is facilitated through migration may influence women's gender role expectations in various ways (Datta, 2009). Arguably, this will

be affected by the level of 'bonding' and 'bridging', the type and quality of relationships and networks that migrants develop (Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008; Ryan, 2011). Thus, as "mobility opens up the possibility to escape from the world of limited opportunities" (Isanski & Luczys, 2011, p. xiii), many women may have migrated for those reasons. Depending on women's life stage and other socio-economic characteristics, the length of time spent in the host country and level of integration, gender roles may be re-defined and re-negotiated leading to change. Arguably, the process (or processes) of migration gives women the opportunity to question and potentially re-consider their gender roles (Ryan *et al.*, 2009). Migration can be viewed as a chance to re-evaluate women's gendered 'responsibilities' in respect of work and care (Siara, 2009). Through migration, women are exposed to different social settings with often different gender regimes and gendered responsibilities (Datta, 2009; Temple, 2011b; White, 2011). They can then compare and contrast how gender roles have played out in the host country in comparison to the home country. This could provide an opportunity to question their current arrangements and perhaps over time change expectations in respect of the gendered division of labour (Siara, 2009).

Some scholars reported that migration opens up a different way of perceiving the world (Temple, 1999; Isański & Luczys, 2011). Migration gives a certain amount of freedom in respect of gender roles as the available options become greater. Migration presents an opportunity to enjoy that, it gives women the occasion to examine their existing situation (*ibid.*). In light of what women experience and observe in the receiving country, they may become empowered to change their views and challenge their current arrangements; "the flows of people bring an exchange of ideas and influences in both directions" (Temple & Judd, 2011, p. 16). The findings of earlier studies (Datta, 2009; Siara, 2009) noted evidence of change as the consequence of encountering new people (e.g. people starting to be more open to other nationalities/ethnicities), and social and cultural settings in the new location (cf. 'contact hypothesis', Vertovec, 2007, Valentine, 2008). It appears that when women observe different norms, different lifestyles that the members of the host population have, they are more likely to question their present arrangements (cf. White, 2011). They appear to become somewhat empowered to challenge the status quo (Kosack, 1976; Ho, 2006; Kindler & Napierała, 2010). In light of what migrants observe in the host country, they may actively redefine or renegotiate their gendered responsibilities (cf. Ryan *et al.*, 2009). Additionally, Mason (2004) notes that geographical distance between family members may disable them from passing on their gender roles.

Similarly to the research by Aranda (2003) on Puerto Rican migrants who find the USA gender roles less rigid, Polish migrants appear to perceive British gender roles as relatively more flexible to those prevalent in Poland (Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Temple, 2011b). Comparing the availability and extent of social services and a more diverse cultural context, the UK is perceived to be more liberal and, perhaps more importantly, more egalitarian with regard to gendered responsibilities (White, 2011). In fact, Polish men's more conservative attitudes towards women and their view on gender relations in comparison to British men have previously been noted by Siara (2009). In the UK, gendered responsibilities do not seem to be as cemented in place as they are in Poland (Siara, 2009; White, 2011). It can be asserted that through migration to the UK, Polish migrant women are offered a chance to re-evaluate their gender ideology (Kindler & Napierała, 2010).

In 1976 Kosack posed the question "the move to Western Europe – a step towards emancipation?" The researcher's aim is to revisit this issue. Kosack (*ibid.*) found that migration to Western Europe in itself does not lead to emancipation but paid work undertaken there may. It can be argued that "migration is in direct opposition to their [women's, particularly single women's] gender roles as caregivers and kin keepers in their families and communities" (Aranda, 2003, p. 624), hence it has the potential to free them from their present responsibilities as primary care givers and home makers. Therefore, migration may have positive consequences with regard to gender equality in migrants' country of origin (Caritas, 2011). Hence, in the long run, it has the potential to contribute to gender equality and work-life balance in the two countries under consideration (cf. Płomień, 2009).

4.6 Migration patterns

Having considered some of the classic migration theories and approaches that apply to recent Polish migration to the UK, it is time to review and critically evaluate more contemporary patterns and types of migration that are deemed relevant to this research. First, circular migration is considered. Second, return migration is scrutinised. Third, family-orientated migratory movements are examined.

4.6.1 Circular migration

The concept of ‘circular migration’ was coined between the 1960s and 1970s and was often linked to seasonal or periodic migration (Newland, 2009). Polish circular migration, according to Okólski (2012), has its roots in the 1970s and 1980s when employment opportunities in Polish industrial areas decreased and people migrated in search of similar opportunities elsewhere, namely abroad. Here, circular migration refers to the often short-term trips abroad with the aim of purchasing and/or trading certain goods or working abroad. Other scholars have argued that “short-term mobility rather than long-term migration is the general pattern of movement in this region [CEE]” (Wallace, 2001, p. 621). Wallace (*ibid.*) clearly made a distinction between the length and intensity of migratory moves, referring to those for a short period of time as ‘mobility’ and for longer as ‘migration’. Arguably, “high degrees of spatial mobility [are characteristic of] modern societies” (Faist, 2013, p. 1638), thus, the notion of circular migration can perhaps be linked to transnationalism and more generally globalisation, as is shown in chapter six in relation to Polish migrants to the UK.

The concept of ‘incomplete migration’ (Okólski, 2012) is somewhat similar to circular migration as it too involves short trips abroad lasting several weeks or months at most. Similarly, Ackers (2013) coined ‘partial migration’ with regard to highly skilled intra-EU mobile individuals to emphasise their limited rights and entitlements. One of the key features of incomplete migration is its temporariness (Okólski, 2012). Bielewska’s (2011, p. 87) ‘fluid migration’ which is characterized by no settlement goal and no specified period of time may be applicable here. This can be contrasted with “intentional unpredictability” with regards to the amount of time Polish migrants wish to remain in the UK, which was coined by Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2006). Eade and colleagues found that recent Polish migrants to the UK are unwilling (or perhaps unable) to specify how long they may remain in the host country.

It can be asserted that circular migration can prove to be beneficial to sending and receiving countries and migrants themselves (cf. ‘brain training’, Szewczyk, 2012) (see more in chapter two, section 2.6). Whilst migrants benefit the host countries by filling labour market shortages, home countries benefit from migrants’ remittances; migrants themselves benefit from flexible employment in both locations (Vadean & Piracha, 2009).

Relatively recent recognition of the significance of migrant transnational practices brings attention to circular migration as a way of fostering development through “brain circulation” (Vertovec, 2007, p. 3).

Arguably however, circular migrants, as opposed to return migrants, are considerably less skilled. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) World Migration Report (2008) compares circular migration to a new form of temporary labour migration that presents a solution to industrialised countries that are unable to handle demographic changes and/or labour market shortages (especially in construction, agriculture, hospitality and the care sector) (this was explored in chapter two).

4.6.2 Return migration

In the 1970s and 1980s, the return migration literature largely dealt with the consequences of return migration for migrants and for countries to which they were returning. The destination country's perspective has been more popular in contemporary literature on return migration (Fihel & Górný, 2013). This denotes a shift of interest in return migration research towards an exploration of determinants of returns and attempts to differentiate between definitive returns and circular migration (Dustman & Weiss, 2007). Traditional definitions of return migration implied a fair amount of permanency in regard to a migrant's decision to return. However, with regard to present-day patterns of migration, as previously noted (cf. section 4.2), such permanency cannot be assumed (Fihel & Górný, 2013) and the postulation that international migrants will ultimately return to their countries of origin (cf. Dustman & Weiss 2007) can be easily contested at a time when circular migration is on the increase (Okólski, 2012) (cf. section 4.51). Thus, migration is increasingly recognised as a 'process' rather than a one-off event as aforementioned (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Pemberton & Scullion, 2013). It can be argued that migrants have 'special' attitudes toward their home country that shape their predisposition to return migration. Gosh (2000) referred to this as a form of 'homesickness', whereas Dustman and Weiss (2007) emphasised migrants' inclination to purchase and access goods and services in their home country over consumption in the host country, which seems to be applicable to recent Polish migrants to the UK (Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012). Other authors have discussed the 'myth of return' in regard to various migrant communities in the destination countries (Anwar, 1979; Gmelch, 1980). The 'myth of return' relates to migrants expressing a desire to return to their home land at some point in the future; however, this often takes the form of a symbolic dream rather than firm plans to return (Ganga 2006; Bolognani 2007).

Return migrants may be perceived as agents of innovation that convey valuable human capital in the form of financial and social remittances to the home country (Fihel & Górný, 2013) (see

more in chapter two, section 2.6). It can be asserted that all types of return, as outlined in Cerase's (1974) typology (i.e. returns of failure, returns of conservatism, returns of retirements and returns of innovation) have been noted in relation to Polish migrants (Iglicka 2002). To his typology, one other type can be added: returns to explore undertaken prior to permanent return (Iglicka, 2009).

It is noteworthy that several different phases of return migration to Poland can be identified. The first one is linked to the mass economic emigration of Polish nationals to the United States of America (USA) between 1919 and 1938 and their returns. The next phase is associated with the communist reign in the years 1945-1989 and the mostly illegal emigration and return migration. The following phase relates to those who emigrated post 1990 and subsequently decided to return (Klagge *et al.*, 2007). In the aftermath of the political and economic changes in Poland in the late 1980s Fihel & Górny (2013) identified two separate waves of return migration. The first one occurred in the 1990s, immediately after the transition from communism to a market economy, and comprised mostly those who had previously emigrated to escape the communist system. The second wave of returnees consisted of those who, having emigrated post EU enlargement in 2004, later returned to Poland. This wave was particularly noticeable after the global economic crisis of 2008 which stimulated moves back. The first wave of returns was considerably smaller in size; it did not exceed ten thousand individuals, whereas the post-accession returns accounted for over half a million, according to estimates (*ibid.*). Okólski (2011) postulates that generally, research has shown positive effects of return migration to Poland; others however (Iglicka, 2010) oppose such views and emphasise 'brain drain' (see chapter two, section 2.6). Return migration is further explored in chapter seven with regards to the research participants.

4.6.3 Family-orientated migration

Family migration should also be acknowledged here as it is relevant to recent Polish migration to the UK (White, 2011). Family migration can include a whole family relocating together or individuals from a family moving to reform a pre-existing partnership or family; thus, it includes migration for the purpose of family reunion (e.g. women/men joining their husbands/wives abroad) (cf. social network approach, section 4.3.4). However, in order to clearly grasp what this entails, a definition of a 'family' is needed. Whilst traditionally the family was recognised as heterosexual couples with or without children, new partnering and

parenting styles call for that definition to be revisited (Fraser, 2013). Nevertheless, this research focuses on precisely that – heterosexual families; thus with regards to this research, the traditional definition still stands.

Family migration can also refer to grandparents (parents and/or other relatives) moving in order to support their adult children with childcare (i.e. give and/or receive care) in the latter's country of residence (Smith, 2011). The great complexity of family migration is emphasised by the 'dual-location household' whereby partners reside in two different locations and undertake journeys of varying frequency to visit and stay with the other family members (*ibid.*). It is noteworthy that: "new forms of family migration are important since they may point to the (re)constitution of different gender and power relations within migrant families" (Smith, 2011, p. 655). Being mobile provides an opportunity to observe new living arrangements and may lead to the acquisition of new gender order within families, as already acknowledged (further discussions in chapter eight).

Women migrants were traditionally considered followers of male pioneer migrants; thus, family migration is often linked to the phenomenon of 'trailing wives' (Bruegel, 1996; Cooke, 2001). This signifies migrant women as 'tied movers' who would not become mobile if it was not for the fact that they are in a relationship with someone who could be identified as a pioneer migrant (Cooke, 2001). However, family migration may have an undesirable effect on a woman's employment, especially when she exchanges financial independence for dependence (Ho, 2006). These negative consequences can be prevented in a situation in which the woman's human capital surpasses that of her husband (Cooke, 2001). However, it can be argued that these effects vary depending on whether the mobile women in question are mothers or not. If they are mothers they are likely to suffer greater consequences than childless women (*ibid.*).

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed theories of migration and considered their relevance and applicability to Polish nationals' (women's particularly) migratory movements post 2004 between Poland and the UK. Classic and more contemporary migration theories have been considered, together with certain other types and patterns of migration that are particularly relevant to this research. Classic migration theories, social network approach and transnationalism were critically analysed in relation to their applicability to post 2004 Polish migration to the UK. With regard to the migratory movements between Poland and the UK which appear to be often explained in

purely economic terms, signifying economic reductionism other factors may play a part (e.g. adventure, curiosity, education, networks). Whilst recent Polish migrants are mostly economic migrants, their social networks remain a significant factor in their movements. In this chapter gendered perspectives on migration were considered as, arguably, classic migration theories are gender-blind. Migration from a gendered perspective was outlined: the invisibility of women in migration was acknowledged and a male bias among migration theorists was emphasised; feminisation of migration was noted. Lastly, migrant women as gendered social actors were explored, and the influence of migration on gender roles was investigated. The literature seems to indicate that migration may have a wide-ranging influence on gender roles: from emancipation to the strengthening of women's roles. Chapter five moves on to consider the research methodology.

CHAPTER FIVE: Methodology^{xxvii}

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have set the scene with regard to what is known about migration between Poland and the UK (chapter two), and women's gendered lives (chapter three); and what is relevant in explaining contemporary migratory moves (chapter four). The following chapter is devoted to the methodological considerations underpinning the research and the methods used to generate empirical data. Having outlined the research aim and objectives in chapter one, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed description and rationale of the processes involved in data collection and analysis and to relate this to the philosophical and methodological standpoints.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, the ontological and epistemological standpoints are discussed. After that, my roles as a researcher and reflexivity in the research process are explored. Following that, the research methodology is clarified and the research questions are stated. Then the chosen research methods, including a literature review and qualitative interviews, are explained. This is followed by a discussion on the pilot study, locating potential respondents and the sample size and its characteristics. After that, a discussion on field notes and ethical considerations is provided. Then, data handling and the process of data analysis and transcription are explained. Lastly, potential research limitations are considered; and at the very end, conclusions are provided.

5.2 Methodological considerations

This section offers an exploration of the methodological choices that were made. Ontological and epistemological choices are explained, and then reflexivity and positionality in research are explored.

5.2.1 Ontological and epistemological concerns

Depending on the ontological perspective the social world represents different components. The researcher's task is to reflect on and identify the components that s/he recognises as important from their research perspective. Social reality may be made up of: social actors, feelings,

understandings, interpretations, motivations, perceptions, attitudes, experiences (Mason, 2002). It does not have to be limited to the aforementioned; however, as far as this research is concerned, the ones named above are particularly important as it is the social actors' interpretations and experiences that are sought after here.

An interpretive framework was applied in this research project (Silverman, 2011). Interpretivism signifies an approach to studying social life with the supposition that the meaning of human action is intrinsic to that action and contextual. According to interpretivism, numerous realities exist which are the construct of people's lived experiences and their dealings with others around them. Thus, reality is the outcome of the researcher and the researched 'co-constructing' the meanings of their individual experiences (*ibid.*). Truth is negotiated through dialogue. As people live their lives they 'construct' their understanding of what is experienced. It is the social actors' accounts of the social world that are important here and therefore they are the notions that need to be explored. "The researcher's intent, then, is to make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world" (Creswell, 2013, p. 25). The epistemological framework of this research is based on the recognition that knowledge is situated and contextual (Yuval-Davis, 1997). Thus, knowledge is dependent on the given situation in which a person finds themselves and is influenced by the particular setting in which it is generated (Blaikie, 2007). Thus, in this research, the status of a Polish migrant to the UK who is also a woman is significant.

According to the interpretivist paradigm reality is intersubjectively constructed whereby our understandings are socially developed. With regard to epistemology, interpretivists emphasise that researchers cannot separate themselves from what they already know. Thus, people's values and opinions affect their understanding of the world around them. Therefore, all interpretations are based in a particular moment and are socially constructed and fluid. It is noteworthy that interpretive approaches rely mostly on qualitative methods, such as interviewing, as these enable a dialogue between the researchers and the researched in the process of which a more informed and sophisticated understanding of the world is collaboratively created (Crotty, 2005). Given the chosen epistemology, it is now important to consider reflexivity in research.

5.2.2 Reflexivity in research

Arguably, researchers do not choose research topics without theoretical or ideological preconceptions or inclinations. Social reality is being modified when researched, while researchers are not impartial observers. Thus, empirical results are not demonstrated from a 'neutral' position. Therefore, it is crucial to reflect on the researcher's own positionality within the research process. This reflects the fact that researchers 'position themselves' which means they are inevitably affected by their background (e.g. experience; views; culture; history) which in consequence influences the research they undertake (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Creswell, 2013). "Like the researched or participant, the researcher is a product of his or her society's social structures and institutions" (Hesse-Biber, 2014, p. 200); hence, no research is 'value free' and, to maximise transparency, the researcher should regularly reflect on their social 'position' and what effect it may have on the studied topic. Thus, reflexivity is pivotal in any research (Gawlewicz, 2014). This has been applied and reflected upon in this research as the following discussion suggests.

Whilst I am a Polish native speaker and a migrant to the UK, this fact did not make me an unproblematic 'cultural insider' to all of the participants. As a Polish migrant woman and a doctoral researcher at the same time I have had to negotiate these roles throughout the course of the research. It could be argued that in this study I was a "familiar stranger" (Agarwal *et al.*, 2009). This is to symbolise the fact that I was somewhat similar (with regard to certain characteristics, e.g. nationality, gender, migration status, sexual orientation, often also age, class, marital status), thus in some ways an 'insider' and 'familiar' to the research participants. At the same time I was a 'stranger' in the sense that I took the role of a researcher gathering information on fellow migrant women who could have had very different experiences (e.g. in Poland/the UK or in migration experience). I recognised the research participants as experts on their own lives who took part in the interview as a "co-construction" of meaning (Hesse-Biber, 2014, p. 199). I, as both an expert and an insider, aimed to compare the accounts of the 'inside' and the 'outside' (i.e. contrast the participants' views with what is known from academic literature). It can be asserted that particularly because I am part of the Polish migrant community in the north of England, I had little trouble finding other Polish migrant women who were willing to participate in the research, despite the fact that this community is often referred to as 'hard to reach' (Vickers, Craig & Atkin, 2013). However, it should be noted that in almost any interview situation the researcher will be both an insider and an outsider at the same time (Hesse-Biber, 2014). While the former is built on commonalities, the latter makes any differences explicit and in any interview situation the two sides are likely to be similar in some respects and different in others. This is due to various 'axes of difference' intersecting one

another (cf. 'intersectionality', Crenshaw, 1989; see section 3.3.4). It is likely that the researcher will always differ in some respects to the research participants whilst perhaps s/he will also have some commonalities (Ahmed, 2012). Arguably, an interview constitutes an opportunity to explore these and continuously renegotiate them throughout the research process.

From the onset, I was open about the roles I played and my background. At the beginning of each interview, I introduced myself giving the research participants some background to my migration history (i.e. sharing my own biography). Arguably, this exercise can contribute to minimising distance, reducing the hierarchy and extending rapport between the research partners. It also emphasises certain shared characteristics (e.g. the migrant status). The interviewees were given the opportunity to choose their own pseudonyms, which can potentially increase their feelings of research ownership. Reciprocity is vital in qualitative research, particularly that of a feminist/gendered alignment (cf. Hesse-Biber, 2014). I feel strongly about the process of giving back; thus I offered to distribute any relevant research outputs to the research participants and/or the interview transcripts to those interested. Finally, with regards to the relationship between the researcher and the research participants it is important to decide whether to do research *on*, *for* or *with* people. In this project my aim was to do all three. However, because of the methodological choices explained above, I wished to be a *reflective partner*, a *conscientizer* with the aim to better the participants' situation in some way (Blaikie, 2007). This, I believe, was achieved by giving them a voice and opportunity to be heard, thus, providing more balance to the existing literature on gendered lives of Polish migrant women.

I did my best to ensure the power relations of the interview interaction (Mason, 2002) were maintained at a level convenient for both parties (i.e. the interviewer and the respondent), so that no one party was able to exercise power over the other, as is expected when adhering to feminist principles. I accept the view that I am 'fallible' and wished to combine my knowledge and experience with that of the research participants (Hoggart, 2012). When asked personal questions that relate to my migratory experiences, I provided an honest and detailed answer. It is difficult to totally eliminate the interviewer effect (if at all possible) (cf. Denscombe, 2010); however, it is believed it was minimal given that I shared sex, ethnic origin, nationality, native language and often age range with the respondents but this cannot be known for sure. I endeavoured to be sensitive to the cultural, religious and socio-economic background of the research participants. At all times, I ensured that I was humble, moderately dressed and used everyday language. This is not to undermine the research participants but rather to acknowledge

that I did not wish to be seen as a person of authority exerting her dominance. I simply wanted to be seen as 'one of them', a Polish woman with emphasis on commonalities rather than differences. It is noteworthy that many of the interviewees must have felt at ease in my company as many used phrases such as: 'we', 'us', 'you know how it is, you've been through this', etc. This perhaps suggests they felt that I was 'one of them' and in many cases that was true for me too. This is recognized as an expression of mutual belonging to both home and host societies. This suggests that the interviewees not only assumed a shared sense of belonging to the Polish nation but also similar migration experience (cf. Temple 2011; Gawlewicz, 2014). However, this assumed commonality of experiences cannot be taken for granted but should be reflected on and questioned (i.e. probed further). Otherwise, the research is in jeopardy of lacking in transparency as certain information can be lost due to falsely assumed commonality of experiences. In this research, there were many moments of assumed similarity and difference between myself and the respondents. On many occasions the shared origin, spoken language and experience of migration seemed to stimulate discussions and foster mutual rapport. Arguably, the fact that I emphasised my migration 'journey' at the beginning of each interview encouraged the interviewees to 'open up'. At the same time, this assumed sameness sometimes appeared to act as a constraint. This was the case when the women expected me to immediately recognise certain situations or cultural contexts due to sharing the aforementioned characteristics.

It is worth noting that my researching Polish migrant women as 'one of them' proved to be challenging at times. On several occasions it became clear to me that I was emotionally involved in the research. Thus, I cared about the end results not only because I wished to carry out rigorous research as part of my degree and career development but because I was concerned about how Polish women are portrayed since I am one. This meant that I had to constantly reflect on my position as an insider (a Polish woman) and an outsider (a researcher) and make sure that my background did not taint the research findings. Although, this may seem like a contradiction to what I argued before with regards to researchers' background being part of the evidence, I believe this ought to be considered with caution so as not to spoil the empirical contributions.

5.3 Qualitative methodology

A qualitative methodology was adopted in this research. It was found more appropriate than quantitative methodology as a depth of knowledge ('quality') rather than its breadth ('quantity')

was sought. Because gaining in-depth knowledge and understanding and an exploration of certain issues was the purpose of this study, quantitative methodology was deemed unsuitable. Quantitative methodology would not capture sufficient detail or go beyond mere description regarding specific experiences and attitudes, beliefs and values in relation to gender roles (cf. Mason, 2002). I felt that in order to address the set research questions (see next section 5.4), a qualitative methodology was suitable. This is because the ‘why’ and ‘how’ and not only ‘what’ were investigated. This qualitative study was conducted because the research problem, outlined in chapter one, needed to be explored rather than described and a detailed understanding of the issue was sought (Bazeley, 2013).

Additionally, as already noted, qualitative methods are favoured by feminist researchers (Stanley & Wise, 1990; Maynard, 1994). Moreover, I wished to “empower individuals to share their stories, [and] hear their voices” (Creswell, 2013, p. 48). Thus, a qualitative research strategy seemed to be a better fit for the chosen research problem (Silverman, 2011). Further, a qualitative methodology better matches my ontological and epistemological position and better reflects my views on positionality in research as discussed above.

5.4 Research questions

The research aims to explore and unpack the following research questions:

1. How does gender influence Polish migrant women’s lives?
2. How does migration shape Polish migrant women’s gender role expectations?
3. How do Polish migrant women manage their roles over time and space (post migration/return migration)?
4. How, if at all, do gender roles differ between the UK and Poland?
5. How do Polish migrant women experience and negotiate their gender roles in respect of work and care (‘formal’ paid work vs. ‘informal’ familial care work)?

Research objectives:

1. Examine women’s motivations for migration and return migration and motives behind their stay in the destination country.
2. Consider the extent to which migration may be a catalyst for change in Polish women’s (often traditional) perception of gender roles.

3. Explore how Polish migrant women negotiate their formal rights and informal responsibilities in respect of paid work and informal familial care work.
4. Compare and contrast the differences, if any, vis-à-vis gender role expectations between Polish migrant women living in the UK and those who have returned to Poland.
5. Add new empirical knowledge and contribute to theory development with regard to international migration and gender, and more specifically to Polish women migrants and gender role expectations.

5.5 Sampling strategy

Strategic purposive sampling was adopted (Mason, 2002). This sampling strategy is particularly appropriate when aiming to approach those individuals who fit the sampling criteria and who are seen as those who could potentially make a considerable contribution and have something to offer when it comes to the area under research. This sampling strategy was also seen as relevant to this study because the sampling criteria were very specific as is explained below.

The aim [of strategic purposive sampling] is to produce a relevant range of contexts or phenomena, which will enable you to make strategic and possibly cross-contextual comparisons, and hence build a well-founded argument. ... in this version, then, the sample is designed to encapsulate a relevant range in relation to the wider universe, but not to represent it directly (Mason, 2002, p. 123-124).

Snowball or chain sampling was also employed to enable inclusion of various individuals to take part in the research after first making sure they were suitable and could enhance the results (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003, p. 94). I sampled across the North West of England. This part of England was chosen as the area with the second highest population density in England (ONS, 2011a). At first, the county of Greater Manchester was chosen due to its vibrant international community and its being the destination for many migrants. However, I felt that Greater Manchester may be too narrow and, as a result, limit the scope of the research. Hence, the North West area was chosen due to the established links with the migrant community. I already had excellent connections with Accession 8 migrants and organisations through my previous work in the area. Through my work at Europa^{xxviii}, I was very much up-to-date in respect to this community. The fieldwork in the North West was followed by a period of fieldwork in Poland, where I used my links to get in touch with returnees. Snowballing was also adopted to identify suitable individuals who fit the selection criteria to be included in the sample (Ritchie, Lewis

& Elam, 2003). I asked each of the UK based respondents whether they knew of anyone who had returned to Poland, and if so, whether I could be put in touch with them.

As noted above, the fieldwork was conducted in the UK and in Poland. It had been anticipated that the UK interviews would be conducted first, and then the interviews in Poland would follow. This was to enable snowballing and identifying individuals who fit the sample selection criteria and can be classed as return migrants. However, the use of snowball sampling when interviewing the UK based women to locate individuals living in Poland resulted in a wide spread of women in different parts of Poland. Given the research project timescale and resources, it would have been extremely difficult for me to travel to all those locations. Therefore, I travelled to some of those interview locations, depending on how far they were from my place of birth (Legnica – a city in Lower Silesia, south-west of Poland). I, when conducting fieldwork in Poland, was based in Legnica where I had access to free accommodation provided by my family. Those respondents who lived in the parts of Poland to which travelling would have been extremely difficult, were invited to participate in an internet interview, provided that they had the appropriate equipment and willingness to do so (see section 5.7.2.1). Snowballing proved to be useful when trying to find participants in Poland as the sample selection criteria made it relatively difficult to find potential respondents. What added to the difficulty is the fact that I permanently live in the UK. This is why internet interviews were conducted (Denscombe, 2010).

It is noteworthy that popular social networking sites such as Facebook^{xxix} were very useful in regard to locating potential respondents. It seemed that people were happier to use those than their regular email accounts. It was also clear that those sites were not only more popular, but people accessed them more regularly. More importantly, social networking sites are more likely to be associated with friends and socialising rather than work and so the response rate to a casual invitation to take part in a research project may be higher and viewed more positively than when it was received by email. Therefore, Facebook was treated as a tool when trying to locate and recruit potential respondents. This is not to say that random individuals were approached. On the contrary, on several occasions I, after making sure I had a provisional ‘yes’ from a friend of a potential respondent, sent a private message with brief information on the research project and asked for this person’s personal email address.

5.6 Sample

The sample consisted of two groups of women who identify themselves to be of Polish origin. For the purpose of this research project, Polish origin is understood as being born in Poland and having Polish as the native language.

Group 1 – migrants: 16 Polish migrant women who migrated to the UK post 2004 and who continue to live in the UK (at the time of the interview, of course) (see Table 1 migrants – UK based).

Group 2 – return migrants: 16 Polish women who migrated to the UK post 2004, lived in the UK for at least 6 continuous months but who have subsequently relocated to Poland (see Table 2 return migrants – Poland based).

The number of interviews was decided during the course of the project and was determined by the point at which new data ceased to emerge from the interviews (i.e. sampling until reaching data saturation point; Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003, p. 80). It is also widely acknowledged that when conducting qualitative research, the sample size is considerably smaller than when carrying out quantitative studies (Baker & Edwards, 2012).

Given the research aim and objectives (see chapter one, section 1.7), only women were invited to take part. The sample included individuals from different age ranges but of working age; who have different socio-economic characteristics; who have been living in the UK for different lengths of time (not less than 6 months); and who are of different relationship status (i.e. married/single/in relationship, with/without children). Another important criterion was that the research participants lived in the UK for a minimum of 6 months. For the purpose of this research project, 6 months^{xxx} is seen as the minimal time needed for migrants to settle in their new environment and develop links with the established communities. Further, given the characteristics of the studied migrant community and the circularity of their moves, I felt that the standard 12 months would limit the scope of the sample.

In order to achieve as diverse a sample as possible, its composition was regularly reviewed and monitored (see Table 1 and 2 for further demographic details of the participants). I made sure to invite as wide a range of individuals as possible. This should enable individuals of different demographic characteristics to have their say and as a result capture a wide variety of views and constitute a balanced sample. This was done by approaching a cross-section of individuals with different characteristics (e.g. age, occupation, current work, length of time spent in the

UK, etc.). Although snowballing may influence the sample composition and capture similar views due to the involvement of the same range of participants (Olsen, 2012; Creswell, 2013), I regularly reflected on the sample composition to avoid this.

With regard to the sample composition, it included relatively young individuals, with the youngest participant at the age of 20 and the oldest 57, most of whom were in their 20s and 30s. The majority of the migrants (Table 1) possessed secondary level of education, whilst the return migrants (Table 2) were relatively better educated. Overall, the majority of the research participants came from cities; most of the migrants originated in smaller towns and rural areas while most of the return migrants were from larger urban areas. Many of the migrants were single with children, whilst the majority of the return migrants were in a relationship, with an equal split between those with and without children. All of the return migrants who were in a relationship had a Polish partner, whilst a couple of the migrants had British partners. The majority of the research participants worked in menial jobs in the UK but most of the return migrants were able to secure relatively better jobs after their return to Poland. The interviewees have lived in the UK for between six months and eight and a half years.

The sample on which this research is based is arguably a good reflection of the overall Polish population in the UK. This is due to the fact that the age of the participants is similar to the age of the post 2004 Polish migrants to the UK (Trevena, 2009; UKBA, 2005). The same can be said about their paid labour market experience. Previous research found that Polish migrants to the UK often undertake low-paid low-skilled jobs regardless of how well educated they are (Akhurst *et al.*, 2014; Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski, 2008). Some argue that many Polish migrants are at the beginning of their adult lives and similarly to the interviewees, are yet to start their families (Cieślík, 2012). Indeed, many research participants started new families or found partners while in the UK. Additionally, previous studies asserted that Polish nationals originate from smaller urban areas and rural places (Anacka & Fihel, 2012; White, 2010) which was the case for many respondents.

Table 1 MIGRANTS – UK BASED

Name ^{xxxi}	Age	Education	Originally migrated from city/town/village	Relationship status/family context	Child/ren – Y/N (age)	Occupation (current) in the UK (full/part time)	Length of time in the UK	Welfare state experience in the UK/PL
Ksenia	32	Higher	City	Partnering (British). Originally followed a man.	N	HR admin (FT)	4.5 years	No
Aniela	32	M.A.	Village	Single. Originally joined brothers.	N	Dealer in a casino (FT)	4.5 years	No
Maria	33	Ph.D.	Town	Single. Pioneer migrant.	N	Researcher (academia) (FT)	7 years	No
Barbara	38	Higher	Town	Divorced/ single. Originally follower a man.	Y (20/14/8/4)	Full time carer (FT)	5 years	Yes – in PL & UK – in receipt of DLA for her child
Amelia	29	B.A.	Village	Married (Polish). Originally came with her partner.	Y (5/3)	Home-maker	8.5 years	Yes - in the UK- in receipt of child benefit
Kasia	33	Secondary	Village	Married (Polish). Pioneer migrant later joined by her family.	Y (10/3,5)	BME Health & wellbeing advisor (PT)	6.5 years	Yes - in the UK- in receipt of child benefit
Aleks	30	Secondary	Village	Single. Originally joined her sister.	N	Picker in a factory (FT)	2.5 years	No
Ewa	25	Secondary	Village	Partnering (Polish). Originally came with her partner.	N	Picker in a factory (FT)	7 months	No

Bernadetta	57	Secondary	City	Divorced/ single. Originally joined a friend.	Y – 3 adult children	Carer/ domestic help (FT)	6 months	No
Wiktoria	48	Secondary	City	Divorced/ single. Pioneer migrant later joined by her daughter.	Y – 1 adult	Carer/ domestic help (FT)	18 months	No
Kinga	25	Secondary	Town	Married (Polish). Originally followed a man.	Y (5/3)	Stay-at-home-mum	6 years	Yes - in the UK- in receipt of Child Benefit
Michalina	33	M.A.	City	Partnering (British). Originally came with a friend.	Y (5)	Stay-at-home-mum	6.5 years	Yes - in the UK - in receipt of Child Benefit
Kornelia	35	Secondary	Village	Single. Originally joined her sister.	N	Production operative (factory work on production line) (FT)	4.5 years	No
Oliwia	37	Secondary	Village	Single. Originally joined a friend.	N	Retail assistant (FT)	8 years	No
Monika	20	Secondary	City	Single. Originally joined her mother.	Y (2)	Cleaner (PT)	2.5 years	Yes - in the UK - in receipt of Child Benefit & Working Tax Credit
Marianna	48	Secondary	Village/ city	Married (Polish husband in PL). Originally invited by acquaintances, later followed by her daughter.	Y (26/ 20)	Unemployed	4 years	Yes – in the UK – in receipt of Jobseekers Allowance

Table 2 **RETURN MIGRANTS – POLAND BASED**

Name	Age	Education	Originally migrated from city/town/village	Relationship status/family context ^{xxxii}	Child/ren – Y/N (age)	Occupation (current) in Poland (full/part time)	Work done in the UK (full/part time)	Length of time in the UK	Welfare state experience in the UK/PL
Olga	28	B.A.	City	Single. Originally migrated with friends.	N	Tutor, practice administrator (FT)	Admin work (PT)	5.5 years	No
Nikita ^{xxxiii}	32	Higher	City	Engaged. Originally migrated with a friend.	N	Store manager (FT)	Bar manager (FT)	6 years	No
Marta	28	M.A.	City	Engaged. Originally joined her brother.	Y (2)	Full time mum	Café assistant (PT)	5.5 years	Yes – in the UK – in receipt of Child Benefit
Lena	28	B.A.	City	Partnering. Originally migrated with her partner.	N	Assistant accountant (FT)	Factory work (FT)	2 years	No
Faustyna (S) ^{xxxiv}	30	M.A.	Village	Married. Originally migrated with her partner.	Y	Maternity leave	KP/chef (FT)	2.5 years	Yes – in PL
Ola (S)	29	M.A.	City	Married. Originally migrated with her partner.	Y	Maternity leave	Barmaid/agency work/IT work (FT)	3.5 years	Yes – in PL
Ariela	26	B.A.	City	Married. Originally migrated with a friend.	Y (3 mths)	Unemployed	Fast food/care work for elderly (PT)	5 years	Yes – in PL

Anna	31	Higher	City	Married. Originally migrated with her partner.	N	HR specialist (FT)	Barmaid/cleaner/receptionist (FT)	3 years	No
Julia (S)	26	Secondary	City	Partnering. Originally migrated with her partner.	N	Sales specialist (FT)	Factory work (FT)	10 months	No
Paulina	30	Higher	Town	Partnering. Originally migrated with friends.	N	Accountant (FT)	Fast food/restaurant (PT)	18 months	No
Magda (S)	31	Higher	City	Engaged. Originally migrated with her partner.	N	Project administrator, didactics tutor (FT)	Shop/post office work then research assistant/Ph.D. student in HE (PT)	4.5 years	No
Matylda (S)	29	Higher	City	Engaged. Originally migrated with her partner.	Y	Graphic designer (FT)	Barmaid/waitress in hotels (PT)	18 months	No
Dorota	36	Secondary	City	Single. Originally followed her partner.	Y (16/7)	Full time mum	No work	5 years	Yes – in the UK & PL – in receipt of Child Benefit
Gabrysia (S)	26	B.A.	City	Single. Originally joined her extended family.	N	Waitress/financial adviser (PT)	In warehouse, shop assistant, waitress (FT)	3.5 years	No
Maja	29	B.A.	Town	Married. Originally joined her brother.	Y (5)	Student	Runner in a restaurant (FT)	5 years	Yes – in the UK & PL – in receipt of Child Benefit
Klaudia	26	Secondary	City	Single. Originally followed her partner.	N	Consultant, sales person (FT)	Receptionist in a casino (FT)	5 years	No

5.7 Research methods

The following section focuses on the chosen research methods. Among those are: a literature review and qualitative semi-structured interviews. As part of the latter a number of internet interviews were carried out which are also explored in the final part of this section.

5.7.1 Literature review

In order to achieve the project's aim and objectives (see chapter one), a focused review of academic literature was conducted. The literature review aimed to summarise previous research in the area that is of relevance to this study and identify a gap in literature that this research intended to fill. The literature review objectives were as follows: to be familiar with other research that has already been done in the area; to use the existing knowledge on the subject and incorporate it into the study; to make sure that the research is original and fills gaps in the literature. An extensive part of the literature review was carried out in the areas of social policy, sociology, social geography and migration studies, as these were deemed particularly appropriate to the research topic and the sought degree. The inclusion criteria were as follows: texts published in English and Polish; texts relating generally to A8 migration to the UK and gender; texts relating to Polish migration to the UK post 2004; texts relating to the notions of gender and migration. Key search terms can be found in Appendix I.

Throughout the course of this research project, I was alert and observant to any new documentary data available. Over the period of the research, I regularly reviewed government websites, official statistics bulletins, newspapers and magazines, web pages and the internet, searching for current debates, reports and statistics on the themes under exploration (cf. Denscombe, 2010). These may be valuable as sources for the numbers and influence of the recent migrations to the UK in general, and to the North West of England in particular. The following websites were regularly visited: the UK Home Office; the Office for National Statistics; Direct.gov web pages; Migrants' Rights Network and Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Newspapers and magazines, online and paper versions, were also checked (e.g. BBC News; Channel4 News; the Guardian). These may provide an indication of what the general public attitudes are in regard to migration from Poland, women's formal and informal roles, caregiving and other relevant matters. A number of Polish online magazines and forums were identified as

a valuable source of information in regard to current issues ‘on the ground’ (e.g. The Polish Express; Cooltura; Moja Wyspa; eLondyn.co.uk; etc.). It can be asserted that they enabled me to attain more of a perspective of an insider.

5.7.2 Qualitative interviews with migrant women

Qualitative in-depth semi-structured interviews were the chosen research tools (see the interview topic guide attached as Appendix III A 4). They were chosen to give depth of information and to allow informal conversation and, when and where appropriate, new questions to be formulated as a result of the interviewees’ responses (Creswell, 2013). This method may be particularly beneficial when discussing more sensitive themes (e.g. sexual division of labour at home) as the researcher may tailor her questions according to the situation and the person she is interviewing. Interviews were favoured over structured questionnaires as the latter only give a limited chance of explaining social phenomena due to their more rigid structure. They were also favoured over the use of focus groups as the topic may be too sensitive to be explored in a group setting (e.g. talking about personal familial arrangements). Moreover, the depth of understanding and flexibility which can be achieved through interviewing made it appropriate for this qualitative research project (cf. Babbie, 2004). Here, the interview is seen as a conversation (‘conversation with a purpose’, Oakley, 1981) between two (or more) fellow women who both have something important and/or interesting to say and want to listen to one another and exchange experiences. Oakley (*ibid.*) suggested that women talking to (interviewing) other women may be more effective than male researchers undertaking the same task as they share womanhood.

In total, 32 interviews were conducted – 16 with migrants in the UK and 16 with return migrants in Poland (details relating to sample characteristics can be found in section 5.6 and to locating respondents in 5.5). An interview, on average, took approximately 50 minutes. During the interviews women were encouraged to talk about their migration history and its influence on: work – paid and unpaid (public/private dichotomy); career and financial autonomy (i.e. work-life balance); and general quality of life (i.e. UK versus Polish welfare system).

From the outset, I felt that the research participants should be offered thank you tokens for the willingness to spare their time and share their opinions with a stranger. Thanks to the financial assistance from the Jagiellonian University in Poland and the research grant from its Polish

Research Centre in London, this was possible. The research grant enabled me to travel across Poland to meet with the respondents and reward them for their time. Each of the interviewees was offered £10 or its equivalent (10GBP = approx. 50PLN) as a thank you gesture. Noteworthy is the fact that potential interviewees were not aware of the sum in question. They did know there was a small amount given out as a thank you as this was included in the participant information sheet (see Appendix III A 2). However, the financial incentive could not play a decisive part as the amount was not stated and I did not mention this until after an interview was complete. In the situation where the respondent was unwilling to take or was uncomfortable about taking the money, I offered to donate it to a charity chosen by the research participant. This was the case with four respondents. I donated £10 to the RSPCA and approximately £30 (i.e. 50PLN x 3 = 150PLN) to WOŚP (*Wielka Orkiestra Świątecznej Pomocy*, a popular Polish charity that has most of its fundraising events in winter).

5.7.2.1 Pilot study

Data collection started by fieldwork planning: designing the interview topic guide, conducting pilot interviews and making any necessary amendments. Following ethical approval, pilot interviews were carried out. The purpose of pilot interviews was to inform me of whether the questions were understood correctly, or needed modification and/or reordering (Bazeley, 2013). Four pilot interviews were carried out – two with UK based and two with Poland based respondents. This process was particularly useful as the interview topic guide differed dependent on whether the interviewee was a migrant in the UK or a return migrant in Poland (see Appendix III). The four interviews were very different in regard to the length of the interview, its location and the extent of responsiveness of the respondents. Having said that, there were no major issues with the interview guide – the questions were understood correctly and prompted the right amount of detail. I decided to change some terms to more neutral words that are more likely to be used by individuals who are not familiar with more specific terminology (e.g. ‘migration’ to ‘moving’, ‘travelling’). On further reflection, I decided to use more prompts in order to generate fuller responses that relate to the notions of gendered experiences and welfare in particular. However, the four pilot interviews were included in the data analysis.

5.7.2.2 Internet interviews

Arguably, internet interviews provide an excellent way of reaching those who are far away. Thanks to the development of the new communication technologies, researchers can now conduct interviews regardless of geographical distance (Olsen, 2012). Furthermore, internet interviews, as opposed to interviews to which the researcher has to travel, are very inexpensive; in fact, the costs are close to zero. What is more, “the interviews take place in real time and, include visual contact between the interviewer and the interviewee” (Denscombe, 2010, p. 190). It can be asserted that no data is lost, or that the same amount of data is lost as when conducting standard interviews. This made internet interviews an ideal way of carrying out the interviews with Poland based participants, when necessary. Additionally, internet interviews may help overcome nervousness:

The Internet may offer a comfortable means of communication that increases social participation and integration; it may help diffuse embarrassment, feelings of being judged or shyness thus enhancing well-being (Holmes, 2009, p. 398-399).

Given the potential dispersal of the respondents in Poland, it was assumed that I would, at some point, conduct internet interviews. This was done only when the respondent had access to a stable internet connection, communication software such as Skype installed and a webcam. I had access to all of the above and did my best to minimise the number of interviews conducted this way. This is why I intended to undertake fieldwork in the UK first, and ask each of the UK based interviewees if they knew any other women who having lived in the UK returned to Poland and whether they would agree to being contacted (i.e. snowballing – see section 5.5). This way I was able to plan my trips to the places in Poland where the respondents were based. Nonetheless, it was anticipated that it may prove to be a difficult task to visit everyone in person. Having taken into account that I only had a certain amount of time and, perhaps more importantly, resources, internet interviews seemed to be a good solution for pragmatic reasons. Therefore, it was decided to carry out internet interviews as a last resort and only in the situation when all other options were exhausted.

In total, six interviews were conducted through the internet using communication software (Skype). All six of those interviewees were based in Poland and stated no objections to being interviewed in this way. Two of the internet interviews were carried out without a webcam on the participants’ part. Whilst it was explained that a camera is necessary, due to unforeseen circumstances respondents did not or wished not to use it. It was not ideal but I decided to carry out the interviews regardless of that fact. It was felt that the possible disappointment of the

interviewee may be greater than the difficulty with which I had to conduct the interview. Those two interviews were, perhaps not surprisingly, quite challenging as I found it difficult to recognise when the respondent was taking the time to think and when she was ready for the next question. Besides, the simple fact of seeing the other person's face can extend trust and make the conversation less artificial. It is noteworthy that in the case of those two interviews some information was impossible to be gathered, such as non-verbal communication (e.g. nodding, body language). Although, non-verbal communication was not analysed, it can be argued that being able to see the respondents' reactions to questions can ease the conversation. The other four internet interviews were carried out without any major difficulties. With regard to one of the internet interviews, the internet connection was disrupted resulting in the loss of connection. However, when reconnected everything worked faultlessly.

5.7.3 Field notes

Field notes were taken during and/or immediately after completing each of the interviews to record preliminary thoughts in regard to the respondents and/or any potential categories and themes for data analysis. The field notes refer to any non-verbal communication, any gestures or breaks the respondent made and initial thoughts on the way the interview was conducted and on how responsive the interviewee was. However, they are not limited only to those matters, I wrote down all the information I thought I may find useful at the later stages of the research (cf. Olsen, 2012). The field notes supported the data analysis in the sense that they provided additional information relating to the preliminary themes for analysis or the breaks taken, for instance. Also, the field notes proved to be a very helpful part of the field research and provided a great opportunity for reflection.

5.8 Ethics

The research was conducted in compliance with the UK Social Policy Association Guidance on Research Ethics^{xxxv} because this is of particular relevance to a degree in Social Policy. An application for approval to the College of Health and Social Care Research Ethics Panel at the University of Salford was produced and submitted in year one of the Ph.D. (see Ph.D. timescale in Appendix II). Throughout the research I was mindful of any arising ethical issues. The research and data collection process were based on two principles: informed consent and confidentiality (cf. Olsen, 2012). The overall aim and objectives of the research were explained

to potential participants prior to the interview (see participant information sheet in Appendix III). Each participant was given the opportunity to ask questions and/or withdraw (without reason) at any stage of the research process. All participants were asked to sign consent forms prior to the start of the interview (see Appendix III). All participants were asked whether they give consent to being audio recorded. It was explained that I wish to maintain eye contact and ensure that no information is lost in the process of transcription hence the use of the digital voice recorder. It was also noted that I will be the only person listening to the recordings. All participants were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality, subject to limits imposed by harm minimisation (Creswell, 2013). To maximise confidentiality and to increase the feeling of research ownership among respondents, all participants were asked to choose a pseudonym for themselves. The interviewees were informed that the research findings will be published as a Ph.D. thesis, in academic journals and presented at national and international conferences. I also ensured my own safety by carrying a mobile phone and informing at least one person of the interview location. In order not to breach anonymity of the respondents, the address of the interview location was left in a closed envelope, which could have been opened in emergency only (i.e. when I had not returned for several hours). Fortunately, there was no need to open the envelope, therefore the interview locations were not revealed.

5.9 Data handling

This section is devoted to data handling. First, the process of transcription is explained. Second, issues relating to bilingual research and translation are explored as these may pose additional challenges.

5.9.1 Transcription

The interviews were transcribed verbatim. Arguably, this type of transcription is one of the most valuable and appropriate as it allows for analysis of the whole ‘conversation with a purpose’ (i.e. interview) and includes both verbal and non-verbal occurrences^{xxxvi}. I transcribed each interview in Polish. Transcription was done simultaneously with the interviews in order to recognise a data saturation point and avoid interviews which may be unnecessary as no new data would be captured. Each and every respondent was offered a transcript from their interview to comment on. Only a few women showed interest in this offer. However, no one interviewee had any reservations with regard to the transcribed interviews. A number of research

participants were interested in hearing more and receiving journal articles and the finished thesis.

5.9.2 Bilingual research

Translation issues should also be considered here as the research study involves two languages – Polish and English (Temple, 2002; 2005; 2006). On the one hand, I am based at a British university and all of the documents must be available in the English language. On the other hand, I am researching Polish migrant women as one of them and therefore certain documents needed to be also available in Polish. This enabled the research participants to choose the language they feel most comfortable with. With regard to the migrants based in the UK, the English versions of the documents were chosen more often than the Polish versions. The return migrants were mostly provided with the Polish versions. However, this poses some important matters in regard to translation and language equivalence:

Cross-cultural research involves both translation and calibration. Whereas translation involves finding equivalency between source and target languages, calibration explores whether a word has the same placement or weight in the linguistic field of the target language as the source language (Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009, p. 105).

All of the interviews were conducted in the Polish language. I did not intend to encourage interviewing in the Polish language only, but felt this language was more appropriate when it comes to respondents whose first language was Polish (cf. Temple, 2005, 2010, 2011a). I did not transcribe from one language to another (i.e. from Polish to English) as this could have resulted in losing valuable interview data, therefore a dual-language interview set was used for coding and analysis. Providing all of the transcripts in English would also involve employing a professional translator which would increase the costs of the study. However, the services of a professional translator were used with regard to the quotations incorporated in the three chapters of empirical findings. This was done because I, although proficient in both English and Polish, am not a qualified translator; hence I could not undertake this task which could prove to be problematic as translation can be seen as “a part of the process of knowledge production” (Temple & Young 2004, p. 164). Therefore, the ecological approach to translation was adopted (Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009). According to this approach, finding equivalent concepts in different languages is not always possible. It does not propose giving up the search for linguistic

equivalence across languages but it sees both, the original and the translated version, to be equally valuable, and any translation discrepancies as research findings. This approach accepts the nontransferability of language, thus it is particularly suited here.

I am aware that much has been written about the ways meanings may be changed through the process of translation (Temple, 2005). However, great care was taken in the translation of the interview quotations with the help of a qualified professional translator. Although it is accepted that translators and interpreters somewhat influence the research too (Temple, 2002) this was given much reflection. Moreover, upon receipt of the translated transcript, I had undertaken 'quality assurance' and compared the two versions to ensure the specific meanings were not changed. It could be argued that I, a post-accession migrant and a Polish native speaker, with support from a professional translator and a native English speaker, was able to ensure good quality translation and equivalence.

It should be acknowledged that the bilingual nature of the research may pose some difficulties for some of the research participants if they wish to receive the final thesis. From the outset I was open and honest about the fact that any research outputs are likely to be in English and that I am based at a British university hence the doctoral thesis would be in English. Nevertheless, as shown above, some meaning may be lost when working simultaneously with two languages. Additionally, producing the thesis in English only is likely to discourage participants with limited English from reading it.

5.10 Data analysis

Thematic analysis of the data generated in the fieldwork was conducted. This type of analysis was particularly well suited as it is an interpretative process that fits well with the chosen ontological and epistemological standpoints. Thematic analysis entails searching for noticeable, recurrent themes in the interview transcripts, coding and analysing them (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Initially, I engaged in continuous re-reading of all of the transcripts. The process of coding involved moving from codes referring to more substantive issues to codes of a higher level of abstraction, until a core concept was selected and relevant themes that emerged during the research were integrated around it in one 'story'. Then the themes were compared and contrasted with one another across all transcripts. Data collection and data analysis, as mentioned before, were conducted simultaneously enabling the recognition of the data saturation point (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003).

Coding is a crucial part of any research project (Bazeley, 2013). The approach to coding that was taken involved a mixture of codes generated from collected data and cross-referenced with wider themes commonplace in the literature. Arguably, researchers begin coding at the start of the project and do not stop until the very end of it (Gibbs, 2002). Each transcript was thoroughly read several times and key themes were identified and noted in the margins of the text. Then, having read all of the transcripts, initial overarching themes were recognised. Among these were: adventure/curiosity; economic reasons; education; friends/familial networks in home and host country; following partners; gendered expectations; lack of direction; '*Matka Polka*'; perception of limited opportunities; the welfare state. Throughout the course of the project, I had in mind several general themes (e.g. work – paid/unpaid; work/life balance; gender roles in Poland/UK; general quality of life in Poland/UK). Later, those themes were broken down into more easily manageable codes and contrasted with the interview data. Then the themes, which had their reflection in the interview data, were described, explored further and contextualised in the wider literature in the empirical chapters. However, the analysis was influenced by the ideas and concepts relating to the reviewed literature and the research questions (an example of a full interview transcript can be found in Appendix VII).

5.11 Potential research limitations

For reasons outlined above, only women took part in this research. It is however, recognised that including men would extend the scope of the research and help to gain a fuller understanding of the themes under exploration in regard to both women and men. Whilst research concerning Polish men and their experiences of life-work balance is gaining recognition (e.g. Kilkey, 2010a; 2010b); it would be interesting to incorporate men's views on the issues considered here. Due to limited time and resources and the somewhat sensitive nature of the topic, I decided against it. I also recognise that men talking about their work/household responsibilities with a female researcher may not be as truthful as they perhaps would be with a male interviewer. This may be related to trying to impress and intentionally showing themselves in a more positive light. However, it is recognised that such research is needed.

Another limitation is related to the choice of research methods. I recognise that it would be worth conducting one or two focus groups to investigate these matters in a group setting as participants could then discuss their views among one another. This would enable comparison of data obtained through different means and perhaps result in relatively 'richer' data.

Moreover, the two interviews conducted via the internet with no camera in place proved to be extremely challenging. In regard to those interviews, no eye contact could be maintained; therefore, non-verbal data could not be gathered. It is recognised that whilst internet interviews may seem ideal, great care is needed to ensure that both parties are clear what these involve and that they are prepared to participate. In regard to snowball sampling, which may contribute to the inclusion of participants that are alike, I made sure I had a range of starting points to the chain (e.g. through my voluntary work and previous contacts in Poland).

The challenges that relate to carrying out comparative cross-national research are also worth noting. A considerable amount of planning is involved in studies that encompass more than one country as field work needs to be well coordinated in both countries. Additionally, this poses more practical issues with regards to time and resources that need to be invested in data collection, particularly in relation to the country that is not where the researcher is based. Another potential limitation may be linked to bilingual research. As acknowledged above, equivalence is sometimes impossible to ensure, thus some meaning may be lost when research is undertaken across two languages. However, I feel I have done all I could to prevent this from happening.

5.12 Conclusion

This research could be considered unique as it focused on recent Polish migrant women to the UK and their gendered lives post migration/return migration. It can be asserted that studies considering women, Polish migrant women and gender in particular, are still rather rare, as argued in the previous chapters and evident in the literature. In this bilingual cross-national and comparative research internet interviews were employed which may be seen as more innovative than standard interviews. Although initially they were adopted for pragmatic reasons, arguably, they increased the level of innovation with regards to this research.

This chapter provided an explanation of matters related to the chosen methodology and an exploration of any issues that may be relevant to this qualitative research study. In the first section philosophical assumptions underpinning the research were outlined. Then the chosen methodology and methods of data collection were discussed. After that the research questions, the pilot study and ethical considerations were explained. In the following section the process of fieldwork was described. Lastly, the approach to data analysis was explored and potential

research limitations considered. The following three chapters focus upon the issues that emerged from the analysis of the interview data.

CHAPTER SIX: Making a move: Polish women's motivations for migration to the UK

6.1 Introduction

Discussions in this chapter centre on what motivated women to leave their country of origin and move (often initially temporarily) to the UK. Women's motivations are framed in the context of certain structural opportunities, that are linked to the EU citizenship status for instance, which were explored in chapter one (cf. Ackers, 1998; Grabowska-Lusińska, 2012). Various push and pull factors are examined here. In addition, migration theories are applied to recent Polish migrants to the UK and their usefulness is assessed.

As mobile European citizens, many migrants wished to improve their lives and remit money home as a result of wage disparities and the comparatively low unemployment rate in the UK. The wider structural opportunities facilitated an 'escape' from relatively limited prospects back in Poland (Akhurst *et al.*, 2014) (cf. migration as an escape plan, White, 2010) at the time when "the British economy was undergoing considerable economic growth" (Trevena, 2009, p. 6). It can be asserted that the EU not only aided but was the necessary precondition for Polish migrant women's moves. In that respect, the research participants showed 'proactive' engagement with their EU social citizenship rights (cf. Ellison, 2000; Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012). Thus, migrants' agency was framed within wider structural factors that encouraged the decision to migrate (Morawska, 2001).

This chapter demonstrates how Polish migrant women made sense of opportunities and constraints and how they arrived at the decision to migrate. Firstly, women's motivations are compared and contrasted with some of the classic migration theories and other relevant studies. Then specific motivating factors are examined in the following order: economic reasons, and what is linked to this, a better quality of life in the UK, the influence of wider social/family networks, and certain opportunities through migration.

6.2 The influence of push and pull factors in Polish women's migratory decisions

Migration theories were previously explained in chapter four. Of those, the push-pull theory of migration is particularly relevant here (Lee, 1966). For the interviewed women, certain push

and pull factors seemed to matter greatly. In regard to the push factors, women mentioned limited opportunities in Poland such as a relatively high level of unemployment, limited availability of part time positions, low-paid jobs and more general social migratory trends – the ‘*exodus*’ (cf. White, 2014) of friends to the UK post 2004 which resulted (for some) in the loss, or perhaps a greater spread, of networks (cf. Trevena, 2009). Among the pull factors behind the reasons why Polish migrant women chose the UK as their destination country were: the fact that the UK was one of only three countries that allowed free movement from the ‘new’ Member States; the country’s geographical proximity; English language is widely taught in Polish schools from an early age. Moreover, the previous post-war Polish diaspora in the UK could, to a certain extent, ease such a move (e.g. links/support networks)^{xxxvii}. English language skills seem to have had a lot of influence on the direction of women’s migration flows. Several women came to the UK as a result of utilising these. Some of the women considered a move to the USA or Australia but due to geographical distance, the costs of migration to those countries would have been significantly higher. Therefore, they settled for the UK, mainly due to its closer geographical location. It could be asserted that those various push and pull factors constitute structural conditions that enable and/or constrain women’s actions.

Many respondents’ decisions to migrate were largely based on their undesirable financial situation back in Poland and their existing social networks (Ryan, 2009; Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). A lot of the interviewees were made aware of the potential for migration to improve their lives through contacts in networks abroad. The two intertwined motives, financial factors and networks, seemed to be the most commonplace and translate into structural opportunities. In support of other studies’ findings (White & Ryan, 2008), heavy reliance on social networks was emphasised by an overwhelming number of interviewees (see the next section) (cf. Massey & Espana, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Ryan, 2009, 2011). Many women explained they would not have moved if it was not for the contacts they had in the UK (cf. ‘chain migration’, MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964). Limited opportunities in Poland (e.g. high unemployment rate) at the time eased the decision to migrate in search of a better life (cf. lifestyle migration).

With regard to Julia, quoted below, there were several reasons why she chose to come to the UK. Her financial situation was one of the motivating factors as she lost her job in Poland. Julia’s partner’s social networks proved useful in identifying a contact person in Manchester who could assist with their move. Julia also explained that she was infatuated with her partner and wanted to join him in the venture for a better life (cf. ‘lifestyle migration’, Benson & O’Reilly, 2009; Torkington, 2012; Ahmed, 2013). It seems as though her strong feelings for him affected her decision-making as she later regretted her decision (cf. ‘trailing spouses’,

‘trailing wives’; Bruegel, 1996; Cooke, 2001; see section 6.2.2.1). This may suggest the enduring usefulness of classic migration theories to understand contemporary forms of migration.

JULIA (return migrant^{xxxviii}, aged 26): It looked as though I’d lose my job here in Poland. You know, the issue was that my boyfriend didn’t have a job either, right, he also, they made him redundant too yeah so we wondered what to do. Are we going to work for 1,000PLN [approx. 200GBP/month]? Do we look for another job or should we definitely go [abroad]? Yeah, and basically he came up with the idea of leaving, we’d been together for two years by then so we had some plans that we’d be together and it turned out that my boyfriend remembered that he knew someone in Manchester. Yeah, so he called him and [he-the friend] took care of everything for us. So we had an easy beginning, very easy, because basically, we had everything ready, we even had a job taken care of because this friend found us work and a week later we went to work...^{xxxix}

Several interviewees decided to migrate to the UK immediately after they finished their studies. They explained that, at the time, it was difficult to find a job and many of their friends were ‘fleeing’ towards the British Isles. They perceived migration as a good opportunity, especially since many already had friends in the UK who could assist with their move, thus the emphasis here is on the importance of networks in migration. The main reasons behind many women’s migrations seemed to be their already existing English language skills, the fact that they were made aware (by their networks) of the availability of work in the UK, and the perceived lack of prospects in Poland (i.e. relatively high unemployment; increased competition among graduates). Similarly to Julia’s, with regard to Anna’s decision-making, both networks and financial reasons seemed to play a part (cf. Ryan, 2009, 2011; White, 2014).

ANNA (return migrant, 31): My husband and I finished our degrees in Poland in 2005 and the situation in Poland was what it was really tough to find work and loads of our friends, acquaintances, family, everyone left for the UK. It was basically an exodus, and we decided that we didn’t even want to give it a go in Poland. We thought it will do us good in terms of the language, we might learn something and, as it happened, we had a close friend from university who went [to the UK] in 2004, I think. And it happened really quickly. We had two or three phone conversations and said we’d finished university and we don’t want to stay in Poland. She said ‘of course, no problem, I live with some people at the moment but I can live with you. I’ll rent us a flat. And she told

us more or less how much money we had to bring with us, what we need to bring and err basically we got on the bus...

Some migrant women like Ewa, quoted below, could be considered circular migrants in the sense that they moved between different countries (not including their country of origin) more than twice. They seem to be 'settled in mobility' (Morokvasic, 2004) as they moved away from Poland when they were very young and never attempted to pursue a career or find work there. Therefore, they may be now accustomed to migrating as a survival strategy rather than it being complementary to their earnings (*ibid.*). This suggests that migrating is perceived as escaping the struggle to make ends meet as it brings higher returns and is more 'familiar' than work in the home country. 'Migration culture', coined by White (2011, p. 36), appears to adequately reflect this situation in respect of migration being "an expected part of everyday life" in the region where migrants are from (often the countryside, particularly in the eastern part of Poland). Some women come from villages which may further limit their opportunities as Ewa described. What may be applicable here is the 'crowding out' trend: the post 2004 emigration from Poland of the 'economically redundant' moving to regions with high demand for labour (Anacka & Fihel, 2012). This, in consequence, contributes to the 'washing-out' of certain categories of the Polish labour force, most notably those from rural areas and with secondary education (*ibid.*).

EWA (circular migrant^{xl}, 25): It was like this, I'd been with my boyfriend in Germany before. Work there was really good but we left because the season finished. And so we were jobless, we more or less looked for something [in Poland] but I lived in the countryside and it was hard for us to start work in a city because you need more money for two people and you can't find work straight away, especially since I hadn't been in Poland for some time so all 'the doors were closed' so I didn't really know [anyone]. You've also got to find a place to live, a job, transport, and in terms of a car I couldn't really afford one because I didn't have that much money but I lived in the middle of nowhere and there wasn't even a bus.

Similarly to Temple's (2011b) findings, many respondents appear to recognise their travels as temporary and seem to assume that in the end they will (eventually) go back to Poland. However, 'along the way' many encounter potential 'complications' to their return. Gradually, a lot of migrants develop further associations with the UK, e.g. secure a job, start a relationship, bear children, and make friends. In consequence, their return seems to be continually delayed

and thus acquires the status of a 'myth of return' whereby migrants plan to eventually return but often do not know themselves if/when this may occur (Anwar, 1979; Gmelch, 1980; Sinatti, 2011; cf. 'myth of no return'; Sarna, 1981) (motivations to stay and/or return are explored in the next chapter). This section aimed to offer a general discussion and an introduction of push and pull factors that influenced the respondents. The following sections of this chapter are devoted to the various motivations for migration discussed one at a time; however, it should be noted that separating motivating factors proved to be extremely difficult as in most cases (if not all) a complex set of motives seemed to play a part. Thus, it can be asserted that push and pull factors cannot be entirely separated but remain intertwined.

6.2.1 Financial reasons

As widely documented, financial motives are the most common reasons for Polish migrants to come to the UK (cf. Düvell & Garapich, 2011; Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). Arguably, the UK remained an attractive destination for migrants due to relatively low unemployment, labour shortages and generally high economic performance, especially when compared to Central and Eastern Europe (Morokvasic, 2004; Currie, 2008). As argued in chapter two, migrating to the UK was considerably more viable in the aftermath of 2004 when 1 GBP cost around 7-8 PLN, while today it costs approximately 5 PLN (Bank of England, 2015). Nevertheless, migrants' willingness to fill the vacancies unwanted by the British, with relatively higher earnings (with greater spending power) even when undertaking basic jobs, still makes the UK an attractive destination (Trevena, 2009). It is noteworthy that this has changed in the aftermath of the global economic crisis of 2008. However, the unemployment rate for instance, for end of year 2013 was 7.2 per cent in the UK (BBC, 2014; ONS, 2014) and almost twice that, 13.4 per cent, in Poland (GUS, 2014). Hence, it is no surprise that many women talked about economic motivations behind their migratory decisions. However, these were often just one of the motivating factors as shown above and will be argued below. It can be asserted that financial reasons are the most common among Polish migrants; nonetheless they appear to be often intertwined with other motives. The most common goals which seem to be in keeping with other studies' findings (Burrell, 2007; Akhurst *et al.*, 2014; White, 2014) were to save up for a variety of purposes. For example, accumulating financial resources for further education or studies; to remit money in order to support family in Poland or the UK or both; to settle debts; to finance another trip abroad or a holiday; or to build or buy a house in Poland as is illustrated in the following quotation by Faustyna:

FAUSTYNA (return migrant, 30): You could say it was due to economic reasons; we wanted to save up for a house. We were supposed to go to my husband's family and friends first. I was going to go first, but when I was waiting for my flight, my husband found a job in the UK on the internet, I didn't know exactly where we'd go at the time but knowing that he had a job and accommodation we chose this option with a job sorted and didn't bother our friends. Then he left as I was still finishing my internship here in Poland, then I joined him and was looking for work and after about a week I got some job too.

According to transnationalism (which was noted in chapter four) the rapid development of transport and communication technologies (e.g. the internet, inexpensive air travel) enables migrants to maintain links between their home and host countries. Thus, migrants' networks can develop even more quickly and facilitate additional flows of people. In these circumstances, temporary and/or circular migration becomes easy to pursue and may be very beneficial to migrants (Ryan *et al.*, 2009). Faustyna clearly benefitted from these as her partner found a job via the internet and the inexpensive plane fares enabled her to join him in the UK.

Kornelia is another circular migrant who lived and worked in countries other than Poland or the UK. What is different about her in comparison to some of the other interviewees is that she actually engaged in paid employment in Poland before she decided to leave. Kornelia explained that there was '*nothing to keep me in Poland*'. At the time, she was single and so she preferred to come to the UK and receive higher wages rather than remain in Poland and struggle to make ends meet (cf. Akhurst *et al.*, 2014; White, 2014). Hence, the socio-economic situation in Poland was a push factor and translated into structural constraints, while the situation in the UK was a pull factor and part of structural opportunities. Moreover, it was Kornelia's dream to see what life is like in the UK. This was because her relatives lived in the UK and regularly offered financial support to Kornelia's family, especially at Christmas time. She described her surprise when she observed that the expenses related to Christmas were not an issue for the relatives living in the UK, while her family usually struggled during that time. Kornelia also seemed to have a sense of responsibility towards her parents; she felt the duty to financially support her parents (more on this in chapter eight). In this case, as NELM theory postulates, it can be said that migration is beneficial for both parties – the migrant and the family left behind (Stark & Bloom, 1985). However, sending remittances often depends on the disparity in life quality and level of earnings between the countries under exploration. Arguably, sending remittances is another way of 'long distance caregiving' (Aranda, 2003, p. 621) and thus can be recognised as

a gendered activity. Even though remittances are also sent by male migrants, they can be considered a way of providing care which is traditionally and stereotypically a feminine activity (more on this in the last empirical chapter) (cf. Boyle, 2013).

KORNELIA (circular migrant, 35): I decided that, I was single back then actually, I didn't have anyone. I decided that since I was on my own anyway, that I preferred to go abroad and make more money rather than stay in Poland. ...my sister convinced me to go to the UK ...she said, "come here, we'll find you a job and you'll have a proper job and a normal life," and she convinced me. And I came but I came because I wanted to come to the UK anyway at some stage because that was my dream, to see the UK.

Several interviewees admitted that they regularly send parcels to family and friends in Poland. These seem to contain mostly clothes. One of the interviewed women, Maja, admitted that when she kept circulating between Poland where she lived and studied and the UK, where she worked, she often stocked up on certain items from the UK, (e.g. clothing) which she perceived to be less costly and of better quality. This is an illustration of a 'dual-location household' (Smith, 2011) and opposite to what Dustman and Weiss (2007) argued – that migrants prefer consumption in the home country. Maja could be considered a 'partial migrant' as she retained links to both countries (Ackers, 2013). Hence, due to Maja's transnational links, she could be seen as a 'transmigrant' (White & Ryan, 2008). Despite the aforementioned economic factors behind post-accession migrants' movements, which are widely acknowledged (cf. Düvell & Garapich, 2011), there is "a multiplicity of motives other than purely economic ones" (Lutz, 2010, p. 1659). Lutz has previously argued that economic reductionism in migration theories should be overcome (*ibid.*). In line with what she postulated, some of the other motivating factors that mattered to the research participants are explored below. The next section, devoted to the quality of life in the UK, is tied up with financial motivations for migration as it mostly refers to relatively higher earnings and the comparatively more extensive welfare state in the UK which could be seen as structural influences that frame individual agency.

Iglicka, a Polish demographer, argued that Poland has to deal with a 'lost generation' which is characterised by a lack of direction (Iglicka, 2010). This, she explained, is partly a consequence of the saturated Polish labour market, which leads to many young people leaving the country for the UK. This has been previously reported as 'brain overflow', whereby young Polish graduates decide to move away from Poland as they could not secure, or did not attempt to find,

employment in Poland (White, 2011). A similar, rather pessimistic account was given by Gabryisia:

GABRYISIA (return migrant, 26): well, what do you expect, in this city there's no work, there's nothing, everyone escapes [laughs].

The lack of direction seemed to be evident among some of the interviewees. Many of the women talked of uncertainty in regard to their future after graduating from university. This uncertainty seemed to be related to perceived limited opportunities in Poland and not knowing how to secure the future. Ariela, quoted below, was unsure what university degree to take up. Thus, a trip to the UK to first save financial resources for her future studies seemed appealing, especially since it was "*popular*", as she explained, to migrate at the time.

ARIELA (return migrant, 26): I finished further education and, together with a friend, wasn't sure what degree to do and we still weren't sure so we decided to go to the UK and make some money for university.

EDM: And why did you choose the UK in particular?

ARIELA: Err, I think it was the easiest at the time.

EDM: How was it the easiest?

ARIELA: Err, yeah at the time it was very popular to go and it was clear it was the easiest place to find work and make some money and we hoped to save up some money too.

The lack of direction that appeared to be experienced by several interviewees is arguably due to the fact that there were at the time many university graduates in Poland; thus, there was an increased competition with regard to jobs. Moreover, by observing or hearing of others who struggle to live a decent life, future migrants weigh up their chances and often decide to move away. As many explained, the English language basics acquired at school, relative geographical proximity and wage disparities make the UK the most likely destination; similar reasons make the move not very risky at all, as those who are unsuccessful can relatively easily return home (cf. White, 2014). What also comes into the equation is the fact that while more people migrate

and migration chains develop, more people have friends/acquaintances who engage in migration (cf. MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964). In consequence more people are likely to migrate themselves as they observe others make that choice and/or are themselves ‘pulled in’ (White, 2011). However, it can be asserted that Poland “has by now to a large extent exported its pool of surplus labour” (Trevena, 2009, p. 9).

6.2.1.1 Better quality of life in the UK

It appears that people prefer to come to the UK and work in low-paid and low-skilled jobs which may be below their qualifications but render comparatively higher returns than remain in Poland and work in their profession for wages that ensure bare survival (Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). The findings seem to support trends mentioned in previous studies whereby migrants give up their jobs in Poland in order to engage in temporary work abroad (Fihel & Grabowska-Lusińska, 2014). Several of the interviewed women left their jobs in Poland; they initially took extended unpaid leave from work with the intention of going back to their jobs once they had accumulated more financial resources (cf. ‘myth of return’, Anwar, 1979; Gmelch, 1980). However, in the end some of them remained in the UK and seemed to be unsure about the length of their stay. Wiktoria, quoted below, explained her rationale for remaining in the UK (which is further discussed in the next chapter). She said that “*unfortunately life is better here*” in the UK. This perhaps suggests ‘homesickness’ (Gosh, 2000) and the feeling of nostalgia in relation to the home country. Wiktoria admitted with sadness that one is able to attain a better quality of life in the UK and appeared to wish that this was possible in Poland. It seems that Wiktoria thought that in order to attain the UK quality of life when a person has one job, that same person has to work three shifts in Poland. Wiktoria seemed to have acknowledged the relatively more accessible paid labour market in the UK.

WIKTORIA (circular migrant, 48): It turned out that, relatively speaking, it was tough in Poland to get work. The situation was hard so I didn’t stay. I didn’t really have anyone to stay for... I had a few things going on in Poland, I had a few bar jobs mostly, but I also had a lot of jobs in factories and the factories, basically shut down and that was it for me too ...yeah and, unfortunately, life is better here yeah, and basically, in my opinion work is much better. Of course it’s not easy in terms of work, it’s not easy err ‘cos we worked in packing for 12 hours, 5 days a week for 12 hours, that was a lot, it’s not easy to stand in one place for 12 hours it’s not easy. But despite everything, you

make money and somehow here [UK], for that kind of money you can live normally, not like in Poland. In Poland, I wasn't short of money; I wasn't short of money because I had three jobs.

Barbara was very unfortunate with regard to her previous experiences in Poland. She indicated that she was ashamed to be Polish; she mentioned that she was angry with Poland for the lack of support that she encountered during her life there. Barbara was a victim of many tragic events back in Poland. She lost her parents very early on, was placed in an abusive foster family, one of her children passed away in an accident. Another child of hers was diagnosed with autism and the cost of treatment was too high for Barbara to settle whilst living in the Polish countryside. This is why her husband migrated to remit money to Barbara and their children (cf. 'long-distance caregiving'; Aranda, 2003). However, for emotional and practical reasons (some of which are illustrated in the quotation below), she eventually decided to sell all their possessions and join him in the UK as upkeep of a 'dual-location household' (Smith, 2011) proved to be troublesome.

BARBARA (migrant^{xli}, 38): Life wasn't great for me in Poland from the start. (...) when I got back on my feet [recovered from an accident] I got pregnant with my third daughter, it turned out that she had autism, the next kick in the teeth, the next pain (...). At that point my second husband went abroad to the UK to make some money for her treatment because her treatment cost 3,500PLN a month [approx. 690GBP]. And, yeah, it was really tough because I had three children then, right? And I was overloaded with an autistic child right? (...) I was worn out and then phoned my husband and decided, listen, I sold everything, we don't have anywhere to sleep, I sold the house, the furniture and on 22nd July you're picking us up from the airport, if you don't come we'll be sleeping at the bus station because that's the state we were in. There was no other way because the cost of treatment for the child was so high that... he wasn't able here [in the UK] to save anything because he kept sending us everything and especially since life in Poland was yeah the way it was...

Barbara and her husband separated in rather unfortunate circumstances; nonetheless she remained in the UK. In fact, family breakdown was previously noted as a potential negative consequence of migration due to the level of stress that can be experienced post initial migration (Cooke, 2001; Smith, 2011). Barbara appears to have exchanged being financially dependent on her husband with being dependent on the British welfare state. She appeared to be amazed by the extent of support she received in the UK in comparison to her country of origin and

seemed to be very grateful for it. Thus, the relatively better life standard she was able to attain due to various structures (i.e. support for disabled children) present in the UK influenced her decision to remain there. In Barbara's case family-related migration (Kofman, 2004) did perhaps lead to permanent settlement (cf. White, 2011) as the extent of support she received in the UK appears to be incomparable to that in Poland. Noteworthy is the fact that the relatively more generous British welfare state was (directly, but mostly indirectly) acknowledged by many respondents. Several women seemed to appreciate it as one of the factors that encouraged them to remain for a longer period of time than initially planned. However, this may not be the 'lavish' British welfare state but rather the comparatively meagre Polish welfare system that mattered. Arguably, and as already noted (in chapter three), the Polish state offers inadequate support (Płomień, 2009). Thus, the British welfare system is part of the structure of opportunities from which migrants can draw.

The respondents' perceptions of Poland were often very negative. Many women seemed to have a very pessimistic view of their prospects in Poland. This was previously highlighted by White (2013b). It can be asserted that this attitude is a reflection of what those women observed and experienced in (Poland and) the UK. In the event of migration, they were exposed to a new socio-economic setting which is comparatively more attractive. Therefore, they became harsher in their judgement of their country of origin. A similar trend was noted by Ahmed (2010) whereby British migrants to Spain, while justifying their migration decisions, were 'demonising' the UK whilst 'idealising' Spain. This, however, may point to the participants' rationalisations of the choices they have made. In conclusion, it is very difficult to identify one single reason behind Polish migrant women's migrations. As stated earlier, various combinations of reasons are more viable in explaining the complex decision-making that potential migrants undertake. People's motivations are more complex and do not neatly match predefined single factors as people's agency is framed within wider structural context.

6.2.2 The influence of wider social/familial networks

The shift from push and pull factors of migration towards the study of the importance of networks is widely acknowledged (cf. Temple, 1999; Ryan, 2009, 2011; Sumption, 2009; Gill & Bialski, 2011). Arguably, migration networks can serve as pull and push factors all at the same time. Indeed, social networks could be considered as structures (O'Reilly, 2012). In regard to several interviewees, their close family members proved to be 'pushing' them out of Poland but then 'pulled' them back in. However, migration networks are often studied in a gender

neutral way (Ryan, 2009). Women migrants are often assumed to be 'trailing wives' hence 'tied movers' (Bruegel, 1996; Cooke, 2001) and followers of men; however they constitute a large and growing proportion of migrants (Zlotnik, 2003; Lutz, 2010; Caritas, 2011).

Recent research has confirmed the still widespread usage of social networks among Polish migrants (White & Ryan, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2011; White, 2011; Isański, Mleczko & Seredyńska-Abou Eid, 2014). This study is in line with previous research with respect to the great importance of networks in Polish migrants' lives. This is intriguing, especially in light of the previously noted mistrust towards fellow countrymen (Garapich, 2008b; Temple, 2011b). This is arguably "a hangover from the communist times" (Garapich, 2014, p.112) when distrust was commonplace (cf. Heinen, 1997). However, familial networks seemed to be a significant push and pull factor for many women in this study. These can also be considered as structures that provide opportunities and act as constraints on individual agency (Hoang, 2011).

According to the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory (which was discussed in chapter four), migratory decisions are not made solely by individual social actors but often in association with their wider families (Taylor, 1999). The data collected appears to confirm this, to a certain extent, which is in line with what Ryan and colleagues found (2009). Ryan *et al.* (*ibid.*) confirmed the great importance of wider familial circumstances that influence migration decisions and family members' involvement in the latter. Many women have been 'pulled in' (White, 2011, p. 19) by their Polish friends and/or acquaintances who facilitated migration by taking care of accommodation and often employment too (just like Anna described above). The rapid advancement of new technologies (e.g. inexpensive air travel and means of communication) aid Polish employers and/or households in recruiting new workers within days (Düvell & Garapich, 2011). At the same time, these new technologies aid migrants in their pursuit of a better life (cf. lifestyle migration). However, it is noteworthy that the findings seem to suggest that migrants' networks are mostly limited to their fellow countrymen and family members and other migrants rather than British friends. It appears that among the Polish women that were interviewed only a handful managed to develop meaningful relationships with the host population. This seems to confirm previous studies' findings that argued that migrants tend to remain on the 'periphery' (often due to a language barrier) of the host population and stay active mainly within other circles of migrant networks (Trevena, 2009). This may suggest that they are 'bonding' well among other similar individuals, whilst 'bridging' social capital across various culturally diverse communities is limited (Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008). Nevertheless, Polish migrants appear to be aware of the importance of developing friendships

with British friends especially in the event of their permanent settlement (Scullion & Pemberton, 2010). This was evidenced in the interviewed women's accounts; they certainly, as the following quotation illustrates, appreciate the multicultural setting and diverse range of individuals that can be met.

MARIA (migrant, 33): They said that it's very interesting [in the UK], it's multicultural, greater variety, lots of different people, cultures and cuisine. The UK is an immigration country and so there's more happening and there's this diversity. Poland is mono-cultural, that bored me, I wanted to experience a setting that is more diverse so maybe that's why I came here [UK].

In line with the NELM theory, Ryan (2009) previously looked into the role of the family in migrants' migratory decisions. She argued that families can serve as 'magnets', 'repellents' or 'anchors'. In case of some of the research participants, families seemed to act as 'repellents' as women explained that they wanted to get away from their control or simply start fending for themselves. Some women treated migration as an 'escape' from an unhappy relationship (cf. White, 2010). Other families served as 'magnets', like in the case of Gabrysia who already had several relatives in the UK who facilitated her circular migrations (i.e. repeated circular migratory journeys back and forth; Vertovec, 2007) which, this way, proved to be inexpensive and very beneficial. At the same time, some interviewees' families acted as 'anchors'. Magda and Ola for instance, were both 'pulled back in' by their families. They maintained close transnational relations with their relatives while in the UK (which could be considered as 'anchoring') and had no doubts about their return to Poland. Indeed, Magda noted that in her view '*it is unfair on your family to settle in a different country*'. This, perhaps, is an illustration of the kind of strong familial ties and the feeling of obligation to their families that some Polish women possess (cf. Ryan *et al.*, 2009; Keryk, 2010; Temple, 2011b; Temple & Judd, 2011). These strong familial ties could act as structural constraints to women's agency. However, even though both of these women appeared to be very close to their families, they also emphasised the more practical side of their migrations. Both explained that studies in the UK seemed to be a good idea, especially since this way they could move out from the family home and start living on their own.

EDM^{xlii}: so why did you want to go abroad to study?

OLA (return migrant, 29): because I heard that it's a great adventure, good idea to move out of the [parents'] house. Because I studied in the same city where I lived so if it wasn't for uni course I probably wouldn't have moved out because I couldn't afford it

and there was no other good reason. And this way I could try it on my own, fend for myself, without the parents.

Aleks talked about how controlling her family was and that she previously wanted to 'escape' and lived for a while in a nearby city (cf. Kindler & Napierała, 2010). Aleks identified a chance in undertaking an international migration which would take her 'beyond the reach' of her family. Here, Aleks's family seem to have acted as 'repellents' (Ryan, 2009) and this was perhaps the dominant push factor whilst her sister 'pulled' her in (White, 2011). In her actions, Aleks went against the commonly perceived family values as Polish people's priority (cf. Cieślík, 2012).

ALEKS (migrant, 30): I didn't want my parents to control me because I was already old enough err and, at first, I just wanted to run away [to city], my older brother was also living there so I tried to go and live with him. But there was always something that meant I had to keep going back home, and also, basically, I saw an opportunity when my sister suggested coming here [to the UK] from there yeah? We won't be under our mum's thumb she said and you wouldn't have to keep going home because it'd be too hard and silly right? So she basically wanted to take me away.

Marianna and Monika's stories seem to further emphasise the importance of family networks in Polish migrants' lives (cf. White & Ryan, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; Trevena, 2009). Marianna is Monika's mother who was initially invited to the UK by Monika's friend's family, thus networks acted here as structural opportunities. She was attracted by the promise of higher wages and needed a break from her husband who was an alcoholic (cf. Ryan *et al.*, 2009; Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). However, Marianna had no English language skills and this obstructed her integration into the British labour market. Monika, on the other hand, appeared to have seen no other way but to join her mother in the UK due to unplanned pregnancy at age 17-18 and presumed she would not be able to provide for her child in Poland, perhaps especially without her mother's help. This may seem to be related purely to financial reasons but is most probably linked to more pragmatic and emotional motives too (cf. Keryk, 2010). Arguably, when women migrants cannot move to offer or obtain care, they organise for the caregiver or receiver to join them (Aranda, 2003). In this case, Marianna arranged for Monika to join her in the UK partially in order to be able to assist her with childcare (cf. Ryan *et al.*, 2009). Thus, Monika's migration could be recognised as part of a family migration trend which was previously noted by Smith (2011) whereby parents join their adult children, except that the reverse occurred here. The quotation below illustrates Marianna's motivations and the significance of networks.

MARIANNA (migrant, 48): Err, so my daughter has a friend who came here with her family, 2 years before I was invited over. My daughter came on holiday for a month, later, their daughter came to stay with us on holiday and so I met her parents on Skype, we chatted and they invited me over to work, that there would definitely be work here, good money etc. Yeah, so basically I came here in January, I just finished the tax year in Poland so I took a year's unpaid leave so that if, for whatever reason, if it didn't work out here, I could go back to Poland to my old job. 'Cos you could say I didn't have it that bad in Poland but I wanted to give it a go because it was supposed to be better here.

From Marianna's migration story one could assume she regrets the move to the UK. Marianna's decision to remain in the UK in order to be able to assist her daughter with childcare is a good example of 'self-sacrifice' (Morawska, 2001; White, 2011). It can be asserted that Polish women feel pressurized to live up to their assigned and highly gendered roles as '*Matka Polka*' (cf. Titkow, 2012) (for further exploration see chapter eight). However, on the other hand, Finch and Mason (1993) argue that women generally are more likely to undertake familial responsibilities which are fluid and affected by many factors (Finch, 1989). It can be asserted that familial networks with gendered 'responsibilities' attached to them act as structures that curtail women's agency (cf. Hoang, 2011). Marianna seemed to be in a difficult situation, on the one hand wanting to work on her marriage in Poland and on the other feeling the need to help out her daughter in the UK. She seemed somewhat 'trapped' in familial 'responsibilities' operating transnationally. This perhaps suggests that women migrants can be somewhat entangled in familial ties, torn between Poland and the UK, with often contradictory gendered expectations in both locations (see chapter eight for more on this) (cf. Aranda, 2003; Keryk, 2010; 'the sandwich generation', Ben-Galim & Silim, 2013). This is due to the fact that family networks become divided transnationally post migration, and since women are more likely to engage in those, for them migration may result in "double caring responsibilities" and "transnational caring roles" (Ryan *et al.*, 2009, p. 75). At the same time Monika appeared to be settling well in the UK and even though at the beginning she had some reservations, later she considered staying permanently. In the case of both women, predominantly financial reasons made them leave Poland; however, it can be asserted that without the network of friends their moves could not have been possible (cf. Massey & Espana, 1987; Boyd, 1989). Here, again the intertwining of various pull and push factors is evident. Marianna was made to believe that she will be able to secure a well-paid job and, as she explained, she wanted to "*give it a go because it was supposed to be better*" in the UK. It is evident that Monika was also informed of the

differences between the two countries and was made aware of the education system as well as the welfare state in the UK.

MONIKA (migrant, 20): I was at technical college in Poland yeah, but I met a guy, I got pregnant and I decided that I couldn't manage and bring up a child in Poland right? And study at technical college as well? Yeah and my mum was here [UK] so I decided to come here because I knew it would be easier for me to finish college because the level of education here isn't like it is in Poland yeah and generally you get a lot of help from the state right? Financially, I knew I could manage and that I wouldn't end up on the streets or whatever. Yeah so I came just like that but I wasn't optimistic, I didn't like the weather here, but I've got used to it now, I've been here for 3 years so I think, you know, I want to stay here I guess [laughs].

It is uncommon for women as young as Monika was to become pregnant in Poland, especially whilst not in a stable (often marital) relationship. Moreover, at the time, Marianna was already in the UK thus Monika had first-hand information in regard to the quality of life in the UK from her mother and her friend who moved to the UK before. Therefore, it seemed logical (possibly even 'natural') for Monika to join her mother in the UK. Perhaps, gendered expectations played a part here, whereby Monika joined Marianna to be able to rely on her support with childcare which is commonly assumed as the responsibility of the family in Poland as aforementioned (Keryk, 2010). It is noteworthy that the relatively more extensive British welfare state, which is explored in later sections, seems to play a part too (cf. Płomień, 2009). Bernadetta, quoted below, was originally 'pulled in' to the UK by a friend of hers who needed Bernadetta to temporarily take over her job looking after a Polish post-war migrant whilst she recovered from a broken leg. Bernadetta, similarly to Marianna, took the maximum period of paid leave she could take and decided to come for a couple of months. In the end she stayed for longer due to financial, among other, reasons. Similarly to Marianna, Bernadetta's networks appeared to be the 'trigger' for her migration, which then was sustained by economic factors that she perhaps was not aware of before. It is noteworthy that Bernadetta's story confirms the previously acknowledged demand for carers from Poland to look after members of the post-war Polish diaspora (Düvell & Garapich, 2011). This is perhaps linked to the wider phenomena of 'care deficit', 'care gap' and 'global care chains' (cf. Orloff, 2009; Williams, 2010; Kilkey, 2010a, 2010b; Lutz, 2011) and the outsourcing of care work onto migrant women, as previously argued in chapter three (Lutz, 2011) (and migrant men for that matter, Kilkey, 2010a, 2010b; Kilkey, Plomien & Perrons, 2013).

BERNADETTA (migrant, 57): Well, Wiktoria [friend with whom she now works] broke her leg and they needed a second person to help because she was here to look after an older man so she basically phoned me and ask me if I could come, even for a month, she actually wanted me to come for two months, so I decided to go for just two months because I worked in commerce in Poland and there was no way I'd get paid leave, but I could take holiday and come here.

What is particularly interesting about Oliwia's story is the fact that she came to the UK because a friend of hers seemed to feel lonely after her relationship breakdown. This again demonstrates the significance of migrants' transnational networks in both the home and host country (White & Ryan, 2008; Ryan, 2009; 2011). As she explained, her friend made all the necessary arrangements for Oliwia to join her in the UK. This supports the view of the importance of migrants' wider social networks and perhaps provides an explanation behind migrants wanting to be joined by their countrymen – loneliness. What is noteworthy here is the fact that Oliwia came to the UK reasonably early, at the beginning of 2005, which gives an insight into how migrants' social networks developed over time, since as White (2011) suggests they take time to grow. This can provide an explanation of the 'ghettoisation' of migrants (Hunt, Steele & Condie, 2008) who crave familiarity upon arrival in the new country and in consequence 'invite' or 'pull in' others. However, it can be argued that routinely new migrants tend to be attracted to the areas that experienced high numbers of other or the same migrant group (cf. Trevena, 2009). As a result, certain Polish migrants may contribute to the creation of 'parallel societies' that remain largely separated, from one another and the host society, with their own different lifestyles and languages (Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008). Grzymała-Kazłowska (2005) coined the term 'little Poland' to characterise the divergence between different immigrant communities and the host population and certain migrants' reluctance to 'invest themselves' (cf. Temple, 2011b).

OLIWIA (migrant, 37): It was a kind of coincidence because I had a friend here, who'd been here [in the UK] for a year and a half, we worked together at one point [in Poland]. She decided that we were good friends so she got me to come because she felt pretty lonely here. She was with a guy here, and that relationship went south so she basically felt lonely and as a result she basically made me come because she phoned me and said she'll give me four months because she'd bought me a ticket [for a plane] and that I'd come on this and this date. She gave me four months and then hung up.

Gabrysia's migration story suggests that she is a circular migrant or a 'stork' in that she continued to circulate between Poland and the UK with the aim of accumulating finances (rather than supplementing income) that would enable her to continue her studies in Poland (cf. Düvell & Garapich, 2011). Between 2006 and 2011 she made three trips to the UK that altogether add up to around 3.5 years that she spent in the UK. Her circular migrations (cf. section 4.5.1) were facilitated by the fact that she already had a number of family members in the UK which could suggest a 'migration culture' (White, 2011). Evidently, Gabrysia's migration decision-making was influenced by a combination of economic motives and the influence of networks. The first time, Gabrysia came to work in the UK for a period of several months as she wanted to start a university course in Poland and needed to save up for the fees. The second time, Gabrysia had already started her studies in Poland and she came to the UK for the summer holidays only, as again she wanted to save up for university costs. The third time, she had already finished her Bachelor's degree and needed to improve her financial situation in order to be able to support herself in job seeking in Poland. Gabrysia's story may be a good illustration of exercising agency in the context of wider structural opportunities (e.g. the EU; familial networks) (Morawska, 2001; Morokvasic, 2004). While a vast literature of structure versus agency with regard to migrants should be acknowledged (cf. Morawska, 2001; Bakewell, 2010), in most instances, agency takes place in the context of wider structural opportunities (cf. theory of structuration by Giddens, 1984; practice theory by O'Reilly, 2012). It was previously highlighted that with regards to the post-accession migration of Polish nationals to the UK, the 'opportunity structure' relating mostly to the EU open labour market eased people's movements (Grabowska-Lusińska, 2012, p. 30). Gabrysia demonstrated a proactive engagement of her European citizenship status (cf. Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012) while the presence of familial networks facilitated the circularity of her moves. Like many other interviewees, Gabrysia tends to demonstrate 'unintentional unpredictability' (as opposed to 'intentional unpredictability' coined by Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2006) with regard to her plans for the future. Whilst she seems to be happy to remain in Poland for the time being, she explained she would consider returning to the UK in the event of being unable to secure a satisfactory job in Poland.

GABRYZIA (return migrant, 26): Earlier I had a plan to go abroad somewhere, (...). Yeah actually err my sister and some of the family were in Manchester so I didn't have a problem, I wasn't alone and I had the opportunity to go there and work. Yeah so I planned to go for a short period, for a few months and actually it ended up being eighteen

months because I also planned to study, I'm kind of an indecisive person so later I decided that I'd rather be in Poland after all.

As already acknowledged, a lot of the women admitted that their migratory moves were eased considerably by their friends/acquaintances who assisted them (often at a distance) with the search for accommodation and employment, therefore contributing to a 'migration chain' (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964; Garapich, 2006). In several cases the interviewees arrived in the UK knowing that these had already been arranged for them. It could be asserted that most of those networks were characterised by 'weak ties', thus exposing the somewhat contradictory strength of them (Ryan, 2011). Then, once in the UK, they observed the differences between the two countries and considered the opportunities in both locations (Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). This appears to acknowledge that wider social networks are pertinent and not only facilitate, but often initiate, migratory moves (White & Ryan, 2008; Ryan, 2009; Temple & Judd, 2011). In fact, the term 'migration industry' was coined to reflect the extent and significance of networks in migrants' lives (Garapich, 2008b). However, a 'migration industry' routinely comprises a number of profit-driven private companies (e.g. lawyers, recruiters, healthcare professionals), which arguably was created to mirror the kind of 'services' migrant networks often provide on an *ad hoc* voluntary basis. Women's networks, in comparison to men's, appeared to be related to childrearing (e.g. mother/toddler groups, nurseries, schools, etc.), which is in line with previous research (Ryan *et al.*, 2009). However, while this was the case with regard to migrant mothers, child-free women migrants' networks often comprised work colleagues. Several women from this study secured paid employment in the UK via the internet through international recruitment agencies while they were still in their home country (cf. Findlay & Wahba, 2013). It has been suggested that "reliance on social networks is likely to indicate poor integration among individuals who face barriers to accessing formal recruitment channels, for example due to language difficulties or a poor understanding of the local labour market" (Sumption, 2009, p. 5). Furthermore, it can be asserted that migrants' networks impact on how transformative migration may be. Perhaps the more British contacts migrants possess the more integrated they may become. This, however, requires a communicative level of English language skills (White, 2011). Consequently, solely Polish networks of friends may limit the potentially transformative effect of migration and impede migrants' integration (however, the latter is beyond the scope of this research).

6.2.2.1 Migrating 'for love' or female migrant followers?

It appears that many of the interviewed women migrated 'for love' (cf. Donato *et al.*, 2006). They came to the UK to join their partners often not realising the consequences of such a move. It seems as if some women had not considered what their migratory decisions may entail which may be the consequence of following their hearts rather than their rational decisions. Certain women appear to regret the fact that they ever came to the UK, even though they have since returned to Poland. Migration for love could be considered as part of wider social/familial networks; and in relation to the participants of this research, following the loved ones was, in some cases, the primary reason behind their migrations. This can be linked to more traditional migration patterns whereby a woman follows her male counterpart (cf. Massey *et al.*, 1993). The quotation below illustrates well the intersecting motives for migration. Even though Klaudia followed her partner, he migrated for financial reasons while she managed to notice the general trend of going abroad among her friends. It is evident that numerous structural factors influenced her decision to move. However, it should be acknowledged that later Klaudia exercised agency and left her partner and the UK.

KLAUDIA (return migrant, 26): I went for love... I finished further education and immediately left with my boyfriend, he went two months earlier and I went to be with him. (...) he was the kind of person who don't [sic] like to study, right, and he left for money. On top of that it was the kind of time when everyone was going [to the UK], all of his friends and that had left too ...I also didn't see myself at uni at the time, I was 19.

According to the classic migration theories, migrant women are often considered followers of male pioneer migrants (Morokvasic, 1983; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Ackers, 1998). Some of the interviewed women indeed followed their male partners. Yet, many of the respondents were primary migrants in their own right. Thus, it cannot be taken as a given that women migrants are either followers or pioneers. Migratory decisions are more intricate than this simple dichotomy. What seems to be clear from the interviews is that some women saw themselves as somewhat 'blinded' by love for their partners. The women interviewed seemed to feel their love to be stronger than their other desires and did not want to miss what could have been the love of their lives. They prioritised their relationships above all else. Kinga, like many others, initially thought of remaining in the UK for a limited time but due to the development of personal ties (i.e. having children in the UK) and the fact that her husband wished to stay, she

remained and seems to be disappointed and uncertain about her future. Thus, she could be seen as a 'trailing wife' and a 'tied mover' (Bruegel, 1996; Cooke, 2001).

KINGA (migrant, 25): I was working in Poland but I went to my boyfriend at the time. He's my husband now. Err and I didn't think I'd be here [UK] for very long, but somehow it turned out that unfortunately I stayed. But he was only supposed to finish uni and I was supposed to stay and wait for a year and work [in the meantime].

Dorota, similarly to Kinga, appeared to be torn between the two locations: Poland and the UK. She chose to join her partner and the father of her child in the UK rather than remain in Poland where her family members and relatives reside. She appeared to have been convinced by the prospect of a better life there reuniting the family (cf. Borkert *et al.*, 2006).

DOROTA (return migrant, 36): Yeah, [I went] for a better life, you know. For my partner err the father of my youngest son and, yeah, it was supposed to be better than in Poland.

However, it seems that reconciling gendered expectations, particularly across two locations, often proves difficult for women migrants as is argued in the following chapters (cf. Aranda, 2003; Ryan *et al.*, 2009). When Dorota's relationship broke down, she did not hesitate to return to Poland where she could rely on her family for emotional and financial support. Here again, the importance of networks together with economic reasons is emphasised. The two factors seem to be almost inseparable.

Kasia's story is somewhat unusual as it goes against the male breadwinner model and shows her own initiative to take care of the family and earn a living by utilising her skills. Kasia, as opposed to the other women quoted above, did not follow a male migrant, she was the pioneer. It can be considered uncommon for the woman to take charge of the breadwinning responsibilities, especially when she has a young child to care for too. In light of traditional gender roles being prevalent in Poland (cf. Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Graff, 2014), it was surprising for Kasia to take on the role of the breadwinner and engage in 'transnational motherhood' (Lutz, 2011, p. 111). This was illustrated by the fact that she was ostracised by the wider community for her decision to 'abandon' her husband and young child and migrate

to the UK (cf. 'Euro-orphans', White, 2011). As Kasia explained, some found it difficult to believe in her genuine intentions and speculated about what she may be doing so far away from home. In the end, Kasia made the decision to move and to work in the UK in order to be able to better financially support her family. Kasia, rather than her husband, migrated as she possessed English language skills. Thus, she also migrated 'for love' or perhaps out of love for her family. Kasia originally intended to remain in the UK for a limited time, until she settled her family debts. However, when she realised she and her family can attain a comparatively better quality of life in the UK, she convinced her husband and her child to join her in the UK.

KASIA (migrant, 33): I didn't finish uni in Poland, I couldn't, I had a small child in Poland. I taught a bit of English, I had more and more debts, especially since I didn't get any support from my parents, right. My husband also comes from the countryside and he also didn't have much money, of course his family helped us, eggs, potatoes etc. my husband's sister was just great, you know? She really helped, but how long can you live on someone else's hand-outs? And then at some point, completely out of the blue, we came home together by car and she said, 'I don't know why you're still here, you teach English, you speak English really well, the borders are all open now, your best friend lives in the UK, you could go and make a bit of money and pay off some debts.'

This is perhaps an example of the reverse of the traditional economic migration theories, whereby the woman 'pulls in' her partner and child. Family migration, where the whole of the family migrates together, previously researched by White (2011) for instance, was not observed in this research. Although, many of the interviewed women joined or were joined by their family members, a case where the whole family migrated together was not recorded. In several cases one partner emigrated first and was then eventually joined by other family members, which could be considered a type of family migration (cf. Boyd, 1989; Smith, 2011). It is noteworthy that family migration or reunification tends to lead to permanent settlement (White, 2011), and that "the decision to migrate is seldom the product of individual decision making; its timing is closely related to the family life cycle and major events in the lifecourse (...), and not necessarily understood as a direct response to labour market opportunities" (Kofman, 2004, p. 248-249).

For many women the combination of economic necessity and the existence of links to other Polish migrants in the UK (i.e. transnational networks) were key factors that influenced their migratory moves and thus these are most notable structural forces that influence migrants'

intentions. Sometimes, other factors, alongside the two, mattered. As stated earlier, separating different motivating factors proved to be a difficult task. In Julia's view for instance, the perceived limited opportunities in Poland (limited employment possibilities, low-paid jobs) played a part too.

JULIA (return migrant, 26): It turned out that there was no work here in Poland and no opportunities here in Poland, especially for my boyfriend because he also had some issues or something with money and credit he'd had at some point. And, yeah he decided that he wasn't going to work for 1,000PLN [approx. 200GBP/month] so, yeah, you know, I loved him and I went with him, I regret it now, that was my big mistake.

It is quite interesting that a number of women seem to have made the decision to migrate based almost entirely on their friends' (and/or partners') persuasion. This perhaps confirms the significance of migrant networks as illustrated in this and previous sections. Several women simply left for the UK, they had not looked for job opportunities in Poland but seem to have trusted their friends and believed that it is difficult to make your own living there. It may be that young graduates can be more easily persuaded to migrate in their search for jobs as opposed to being tied down to one location (cf. Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). However, this does not explain why older migrants, with a long work history, who have jobs in Poland, appear to be influenced just as easily. They seem to exercise their agency simply because they can and the context of wider structural opportunities (e.g. the EU; migrant networks; economic disparity between the UK and Poland) is perceived as a facilitator of such moves. With regard to those without a university degree, migration may be a 'livelihood strategy' (White, 2011). They are perhaps more likely to secure only low-skilled and low-paid employment in Poland (which is often the norm for Polish migrants in the UK despite their level of education, cf. Trevena, 2009), thus it becomes more financially viable to move to the UK where such jobs pay comparatively more.

6.2.3 Opportunities gained through migration

Some of the interviewed women migrated in order "to gain a transferable experience that can be of use anywhere they may subsequently decide to live" (Bielewska, 2011, p. 101). It can be asserted that they undertook a 'brain training' in the UK (Szewczyk, 2012). Several women moved to the UK for a certain predetermined period of time in order to study at a British

university and gain a British diploma. The factors that mattered to them revolved around personal development. They talked about the opportunity to improve their English language skills, gain experience and try living on their own. Their migration can be understood in terms of 'brain gain' whereby they exercised their right to free movement to increase their employability in Poland, or for that matter any other country (Ackers & Gill, 2008, p. 155). Thus, they 'gained' transferable skills that can be utilised later. This process is sometimes considered as 'brain circulation' (Szewczyk, 2012). The findings appear to support the trends signalled in earlier studies of "migration as an empowerment strategy and well planned development of their [migrants'] knowledge, education and skills" (Isański, Mleczko & Sereżyńska-Abou Eid, 2014, p. 15). "The Project: ME strategy" (*ibid.*), involves thorough planning of the migration 'project' and conscious decisions in respect of personal growth (e.g. qualifications, work experience, language skills, etc.).

Some interviewees admitted that studying in the UK enabled them to not only gain some important transferable skills but also, as aforementioned, to move out of the family home which they could not afford to do otherwise because they had studied in the same place they came from. Their familial networks seem to have acted as push factors or 'repellents' (Ryan, 2009) with regard to their initial move to the UK. However, after they finished their university courses, their families 'pulled them in' again (White, 2011); thus acted as 'anchors' (Ryan, 2009). In the case of the participants in this research, the opportunity to study in the UK was incorporated in their university degree and they thought it was a good occasion to obtain a British diploma which could later help in securing a better job in Poland as it is recognised by some as more prestigious. Magda, quoted below, also emphasised coming to the UK to study as "*another interesting experience*" which is likely to lead to increased chances of securing a better job in the future.

MAGDA (return migrant, 30): I had the pleasure of studying in [city] in a field where you could study in English and the course also included the Socrates programme. And I went to Norway in my third year of a five-year programme and I enjoyed it so much when I was there that when the opportunity arose to err to do a combined degree in the UK... apart from that, I speak English really well and I always wanted to spend time in an English-speaking country err so I think that yes, partly due to the experience on the Socrates programme and partly because I could do a combined degree and partly it was a personal thing for me to have another interesting experience.

Ola justified her decision to take up the opportunity to study in the UK as an ideal occasion to move away from her family home and start living on her own. She also thought it would be an adventure to try living in a different country. After she finished her studies she stayed in the UK to take advantage of the opportunity to see “*what life is like in there*”. This can be referred to as initially ‘brain drain’ (Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski, 2008) as Ola moved away from Poland but then ‘brain training’ in the UK (Szewczyk, 2012) and consequently ‘brain re-gain’ when she returned to Poland (Ackers, 2013). Magda and Ola were planning on returning to Poland after their course had finished. Perhaps because they were aware of the end date of their ‘migration project’ (Isański, Mleczko & Seredyńska-Abou Eid, 2014) they did not ‘invest’ themselves as much as was needed for full integration as they seemed to have planned to return to Poland (Temple, 2011b). It can be asserted that in consequence of ‘brain training’ in the UK (Szewczyk, 2012) ‘migration-induced knowledge-based development’ occurred (Klagge *et al.*, 2007).

OLA (return migrant, 29): I always wanted to go on a Socrates programme as part of my degree, and the opportunity arose to go on a Socrates for a year and a half to the UK and I really liked the idea because I knew that in the UK it would be easier because I already knew the language so I didn’t even think about it. As soon as the option was there I filled in the paperwork and stayed for a year and a half to study and then we decided to stay a little longer and see how things were with work, what life’s like.

In the case of those who migrate for educational reasons, they are often characterised by knowing exactly how long they need to remain in the UK. Whether they actually adhere to that plan is another issue. This is arguably a matter of ‘unintentional unpredictability’ rather than ‘intentional unpredictability’ as suggested by Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2006). What potentially differentiates them from other migrants is the extent to which they are ‘invested’ in the new setting (cf. Temple, 2011a). Notably, as they know the time they intend to spend in the UK, they may not be willing to take the trouble to integrate and get accustomed to ‘the British way of life’. In consequence, they may maintain closer transnational links with their relatives in Poland and perhaps be less integrated in the host society as there is little reason to be so (cf. Ryan *et al.*, 2009). It was, in fact, previously noted that “migration actually heightens the meanings of kinship and family that may have been taken for granted before migration” (Aranda, 2003, p. 623). On the other hand, Garapich (2008b, p. 738) argued that “integration into the host society is not contradictory to sustaining transnational networks”. Similarly, White

(2014) after Vertovec (2007) argues that transnationalism enables migrants to maintain those close links to both home and host country. However, it can be asserted that not troubling with integration requires considerably less energy and can be validated by the fact of knowing the end date of the 'migration project' (Isański, Mleczko & Seredyńska-Abou Eid, 2014). Still, it is noteworthy that Polish migrants who come to the UK to study may have the occasion to mix and develop more contacts with individuals who are outside their ethnic group. Thus, they may have more opportunities for 'bridging' rather than 'bonding' (Ryan *et al.*, 2009; Ryan, 2011). However, this was not confirmed by the research participants who, in the majority, did not express the desire to invest themselves as they planned to return to Poland immediately after the end of their studies (cf. Temple, 2011a).

Curiosity seems to be one of the other important 'supporting' factors that motivate people to become migrants. However, curiosity does not work 'in a vacuum' and it often seems to be an additional (rather than sole) motivator in migrants' migration decisions. Arguably, the primary motives are often financial and the move is frequently facilitated by migrants' networks, or as discussed above, education may attract people to the UK and curiosity make them follow through. Migration provides a chance to experience a new social and cultural setting and gain an understanding of the new location and its mechanisms (Aranda, 2003). It offers a different way to spend a summer holiday. Paulina, quoted below, seems to be one of few people who migrated to the UK mainly out of curiosity. At the time, she was still studying at a university in Poland and was looking for a good idea to spend her summer break. Paulina came to the UK because she had links with people who were already there, which emphasises the significance of migrant networks once more (cf. White & Ryan, 2008; Ryan, 2011). Like many others, Paulina explained that if those friends had been in a different country, she would probably have migrated there.

PAULINA (return migrant, 30): I had the option to go with friends, to see something, to visit places yeah, and it was something new, right? I could come back at any time if I didn't like it, right? So that was kind of the aim, to have a different kind of holiday than I'd had for the past 3 years because I only went after my fourth year [at university].

Similar findings were previously published by Cieřlik (2012) whereby young women become mobile in order to seek adventure and 'have fun' before they settle down (Kindler & Napierała, 2010). It can be asserted that in Paulina's case, even though she emphasised adventure as the

primary reason behind her migration, similarly to other women, a number of factors played a role. Most notably, Paulina's wider social networks proved invaluable in 'pulling her in' and supporting her in the new setting. At the same time she knew she could always return at any time in the event of being dissatisfied with the experience. The next quotation illustrates well how women make sense of the opportunities, or the lack thereof, presented to them. Similarly to other Polish migrant women, due to already having (at least) basic English language skills and the geographical proximity of the UK, Nikita's migration seemed to involve little risk. She appeared to lack the motivation to look for work after she finished her degree which may be linked to a lack of direction or the desire to have one last adventure before she settles down, secures employment and starts a family. Nikita explained she needed a break, an adventure (Akhurst *et al.*, 2014). At the same time she did not feel comfortable in doing so alone so she persuaded a friend of hers to join her.

NIKITA (return migrant, 32): Well, those were really personal reasons, I broke up with my boyfriend and I needed let's call it to get away, have a break. I mean I finished my BA err and I had the opportunity to go somewhere and so I convinced my best friend who travelled before. We decided to go away for a year, somewhere close, so we decided London was a good place err work on our English language skills, we had a year for it, escape, I don't know, an adventure. And so we went for a year to London as au-pair.

It is perhaps quite clear that the different motives behind women's migrations crosscut one another, therefore it is difficult to explore one at a time as most of the time there are at least a couple of reasons for migration. Thus, they intersect one another and hence, an 'intersection of motivations' may be relevant here. In Nikita's case, the desire to seek adventure and improve her English language skills, together with the influence of her networks and perhaps a lack of direction played a role. It could be asserted that if her friend refused Nikita's offer to go abroad, she would not have gone by herself. Moreover, if Nikita looked for a job immediately after finishing her degree and managed to secure one, this perhaps would have stopped her from migrating elsewhere. Therefore, it is apparent that often a complex combination of reasons, not one factor, stands behind migration decisions.

6.3 Conclusion

With regard to the research findings, what is perhaps evident is that there is a complex set of reasons behind the research participants' migratory decisions. The two motives behind their migrations that were often reported were the influence of networks and financial reasons. Thus, this research emphasises the applicability of economic migration theories and the social network approach which seem to be intertwined with other explanations. For the majority of women in this study reasons behind their migrations were multifaceted. It is worth noting that the agency of migrants is framed within various structural factors relating to the socio-economic situation in both Poland and the UK, economic opportunities, the welfare state, migrant networks, gender roles and the EU rights. Financial reasons seem to be the key reason why many of the respondents chose to move abroad and thus, they were a key motivating factor in migratory moves. Then the existence of transnational networks (i.e. friends/family members who had already made a move to the UK) became an enabling mechanism (structure) which supported or made possible their agency (i.e. international movement). Other factors such as love, adventure, escaping family seemed to play a part in some women's migrations. Arguably, there are two levels to the structures that enable movement here. At a macro level there is the enlargement of the EU and the extension of EU citizenship to Polish people which grants them legal right to movement and work in the UK. At the more personal or micro level transnational networks of Polish migrants who have already migrated to the UK facilitate the flows of their co-ethnics. The first opens up new opportunities the second helps facilitate them and thus enables individual agency in migration.

Networks and finances were the most recurrent themes that seemed to play a (larger or smaller) part in every interviewed woman's migratory journey. Those reasons often related to the desire to accumulate financial resources that can be later invested in university fees, building/buying a house, a trip abroad or a move to a different country, providing financial support to their families or settling debts. Many women mentioned limited opportunities with regard to the Polish paid labour market and securing a decent future in Poland and they emphasised the desire to escape these. Some interviewees highlighted a lack of direction in regard to their future and a trip abroad seemed a reasonable 'escape plan' (cf. White 2010). What appears to be apparent from the interview data is that the various motivations for migration cannot be easily separated; hence, as noted above, an 'intersection of motivations' may be applicable here. The motivating factors appear to be contingent and self-perpetuating.

Many women migrated because of wider family reasons. Some followed their partners, joined their families in the UK or migrated, in their view, out of necessity in order to be able to provide for their families; thus taking on the role of the breadwinner. Several women perceived

migration as a strategy for individual development, as an empowerment strategy, to better themselves. This included women who migrated to study in the UK, who took advantage of the international and transnational opportunities that were linked to such exchange programmes as 'Erasmus' and 'Socrates'. They were driven by improving their English language skills and receiving an international diploma as an investment in their future career (cf. Ackers & Gill, 2008; Szewczyk, 2012). Some women were motivated by being able to leave their family home which would be difficult to afford had they not moved abroad and earned their own living. Several interviewees mentioned curiosity about 'the British way of life', the cultural diversity in the UK and the desire to have an adventure as the motivating factors behind their migrations.

A number of the interviewees seemed to appreciate greater state support in the UK. They compared the relatively more generous British welfare state with that in Poland. In consequence of the above, they observed there would be less pressure to make ends meet in the UK in comparison with Poland. Thus it appears that the relatively more extensive British welfare state in a way enables migrant women to make choices with regard to their gender roles (further discussion on this can be found in chapter eight). It is noteworthy that for some women from this study, migration seemed to be about traditional gender roles and following their male counterparts. For others however, migration proved to be the opportunity to leave those unwanted gendered 'responsibilities' behind and in light of the new setting and new gender roles adopt a new gender ideology. In some cases this meant that dependence on men was removed as women became financially independent; in others however, this dependence was exchanged for dependence on the British welfare state. Whilst migration has the potential to be transformative, this is not true for all migrants as is acknowledged in the last empirical chapter. Arguably, simply being somewhere does not mean that change follows (cf. Temple, 1999, 2009; Valentine, 2008).

It can be asserted that the factors outlined above are predominantly economic, thus the Polish women that participated in this study are mostly economic migrants. However, it is noteworthy that many of those migratory moves would perhaps not have happened if it had not been for wider networks and the assistance of pioneer migrants who 'pulled' others in to the UK. Whilst financial motives were commonplace, some women migrated to join their family, partners or friends. Others came to the UK to study. However, economic factors and migrants' networks were involved in almost all of the interviewed women's migratory journeys.

Arguably, Polish migrants exercising their newly acquired rights to free movement act as active EU citizens (cf. Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012). Many of them, by moving between Poland and

the UK ensure their own and their families' wellbeing. Their migration patterns are often circular, which may prove to be even more beneficial to them. They appear to actively engage with and take advantage of the opportunities linked to their status as EU citizens (Ackers, 2013). Thus they make use of the resources available in both countries. Polish migrants moving between the UK and Poland could be seen as active agents making the most of their newly-granted EU citizenship in the sense of choosing the structural setting that is most attractive to them. Whilst this chapter dealt with Polish women migrants' motivations for migration, the following chapter explores motives behind migrants' desire to remain in the UK or return to Poland.

It should be noted that despite the fact that this chapter has perhaps painted a rosy picture in regard to the UK and the high quality of life there, the reader should remember that this is based on a comparison with one of the Central European countries – Poland. Moreover, since the global economic crisis of 2008, the life quality of the average resident of the British Isles has in fact worsened considerably (Mould, 2014) and the availability of jobs is more limited (BBC News, 2014). Also, since the Coalition government came to power in 2010, there have been more reforms implemented, perhaps the most important being the far-reaching budget cuts and austerity measures (Monaghan, 2014). It needs to be acknowledged that the findings reflect a particular context which is ever-changing. However, it appears as though, despite all these changes, the UK remains an attractive destination for Polish migrants. One can only assume that the UK still ensures, regardless of the recent developments, a higher standard of living.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Should I stay or should I go? An exploration of Polish women's motivations to remain in the UK or return 'home'

7.1 Introduction

Although there has been much written on migrants' motivations for migration, there is still rather limited literature on factors that motivate migrants to remain in the host country or those that influence a return to their country of origin. The previous chapter focused on Polish migrant women's motivations for migration, whilst the present one explores women's motivations to remain in the UK or return to Poland. It is shown here how women's motives change over time. Post 2004, Polish migrants migrated to the UK in unprecedented numbers as demonstrated in chapter two. Moreover, circular migratory moves appear to be common among Polish migrants to the UK, which is often due to wage disparities and the relatively inexpensive air travel between both countries which constitute structural context (cf. mobility; transnationalism). It has, however, been ten years since Poland was granted accession to the EU (on the 1st May 2004). Thus, some Polish migrants to the UK may have been living there for as long as a decade. Whilst defining a 'migrant' is relatively straightforward, the definition of a 'return migrant' may be trickier. In what was referred to as the age of 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007) people's migration patterns seem to be a lot more unpredictable (Wallace, 2010; Faist, 2013). Thus, migrants' return to their country of origin may not be the end of their migration project (Isański, Mleczko & Seredyńska-Abou Eid, 2014) which is no longer as straightforward as a movement from point A to point B.

This chapter aims to explore the respondents' motivations to remain in the UK, and their motivations to return to their country of origin. The following section focuses on the motives to remain in the UK, among them matters related to 'putting down roots'. The one after that is devoted to women's motivations to return to Poland with attention paid to certain difficulties in adjusting to the new environment. The penultimate section explores women's gendered expectations and how these may affect women's lives, especially when they are migrant women who may have responsibilities in more than one geographical location. After that concluding remarks are provided.

7.2 '*It all depends... for now I'm here*': why women remain in the UK

With regard to the interviewed women a complex set of reasons seemed to play part in their decisions to remain in the UK. Similarly to motivations for migration, it was not possible to identify one reason that made women stay as these seem to intersect with one another. It was often a combination of different factors, some of which are outlined below. Thus, this research shows more fluid patterns of migration. Whilst migration theories appear to still be relevant, the study participants have shown a diverse range of intersecting motives that do not neatly fall under just one theory; less fixed patterns are evident. Therefore, an 'intersection of motivations' may be applicable here (cf. 'intersectionality', Crenshaw, 1989; chapter three, section 3.3.4).

As was shown in the previous chapter, the impact of migrants' social or family networks is significant (cf. Massey & Espana, 1987; Boyd, 1989). The wider networks appear to have facilitated many women's moves to the UK and in many cases seem to contribute to their prolonged stay. A number of the interviewed women, over time, developed further links with the host country, e.g. found a partner, got married, and/or had children. Some of them established meaningful associations with individuals from other than their own nationalities which somewhat hinders their possible return to the home country (e.g. having a British partner). Thus, social networks could be recognised as structures enabling and constraining agency (cf. Palloni *et al.*, 2001; chapter four, section 4.3.4). It can be said that some women simply 'set roots' in the UK. Several interviewees appeared to appreciate British multicultural society which could not be enjoyed in Poland as Poland is rather homogeneous in that respect (cf. Graff, 2014).

With regard to those who started relationships, families or marriages with British partners, which is not uncommon particularly for Polish women (Janta, 2013), return migration was particularly problematic. What is more, those women who had children in the UK seemed to be 'torn' between the two locations and the desire to secure a decent life for their offspring. On the one hand, they appeared to wish to raise their children near their grandparents and other relatives in Poland. On the other hand, they seemed to believe they perhaps will not be able to secure as high standard of living as they enjoy in the UK. Moreover, for those Polish women who had children in the UK with British partners, the possibility of return was perhaps even more distant. Some women expressed their fears that their children raised in the UK will not possess the same cultural heritage as those brought up in Poland. On the other hand, those children who are of mixed race would perhaps prosper better in the UK. Michalina, quoted below, explained her doubts and fears about her and her son's future.

MICHALINA (migrant, 33): I don't think I'd want to stay here [UK] for the rest of my life, because I'm Polish and I will always miss Poland. The situation there isn't great but I hope it'll change in a few years [laughs] and that it'll be ok to go back. I don't know when, now I have a child that was born here, whose first language is English although, of course, he speaks Polish too, his father is British so I don't know if he'd like to go to Poland when he is a teenager (...). Besides he is of mixed race and there's racism in Poland. That's still a problem, and I wouldn't want him to be exposed to that and that's why I think it'll be a very difficult decision for me. If he, for example, would want to stay here, start family here, and I'd go back to Poland on my own. I don't know, no idea. Maybe I'll find a Polish partner and could go back with him, when my son is an adult, and I could have my second youth...

Michalina seemed to be waiting for the situation in Poland, which she clearly perceived as undesirable and inhibiting return, to change, which would make her consider a return. At the time of the interview, she appeared to think that she would not be able to secure a decent living there, especially not in comparison to the life she attained in the UK. Therefore, she seemed to have postponed her plans to return to Poland until then. Hence, a 'myth of return' may be applicable here (Anwar, 1979; Gmelch, 1980). As stated earlier, some women expressed their disappointment with Poland and the perceived inability to remain and/or return there. In line with other studies' findings, many women highlighted the perceived very negative state of affairs in Poland which results in their unwillingness to return (White, 2013). Thus, the structural context (cf. the historical-structural approach to migration as explained in chapter four) seems to serve as a 'push' factor that pushes migrants out of Poland. This mostly seems to relate to the supposed lack of state support (or relatively meagre welfare state) and generally difficult financial situation. Similar findings were previously outlined by White (2013). However, as asserted in the earlier chapter, those negative views of Poland may have been intensified after migration in the process of which migrants compared the two countries and now judge their country of origin in light of what they have seen in the destination country (cf. Ahmed, 2010).

Many interviewees were uncertain about the length of time they intend to remain in the UK. Perhaps transnational ties make it easier for individuals to be linked to both countries (UK and Poland) and remain migrants (cf. Vertovec, 2007; White, 2014). Thus, they do not have to make a decision whether to stay or leave as migrations have become easier to undertake. Consequently, it may be difficult to set roots when migrants experience constant 'pulling' (family in Poland/high quality of life in the UK) and 'pushing' (lack of family in the UK/financial difficulties of friends in Poland) forces from both locations. One respondent

stated: “*you have really one foot here and one foot there*”, which perhaps further contributes to the feeling of uncertainty. Many women demonstrate ‘unintentional unpredictability’ – many admit to having doubts about the future which seems to depend on the wider socio-economic situation in both countries. There is a clear reference here to what was previously coined as ‘intentional unpredictability’ (Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich, 2006) in respect of the amount of time Polish migrants wish to remain in the UK. It was found by Eade and colleagues that Polish migrants to the UK often do not specify how long they may stay in the host country. However, in regard to the research participants, the unpredictability of their situation seems to be more often unintended as opposed to being deliberate. Thus, ‘unintentional unpredictability’ is more applicable here. Those who came with a clear goal seemed to think it would only be a matter of time (several months, perhaps a year) before, having achieved their goals, they would return to Poland (for more on this see the next section on motivations for return). Migrants’ life stage is vital here (Ryan *et al.*, 2009). It is noteworthy that the majority of Polish migrant women in the UK are “at a stage of their lives where people form relationships and have children” (Trevena, 2009, p. 13) which will inevitably affect their estimates of their length of stay in the UK. Julia for instance, when talking of her return to Poland, seemed to be certain she would move back permanently. However, after the initial quick reply, she appears to be no longer sure about it.

JULIA (return migrant, 26): we’re going to stay permanently... I mean for a few years and we’ll see what will happen then...

This quotation illustrates the sort of attitude that many of the respondents have towards the thought of a permanent stay. To start with, Julia asserted that she will stay permanently but after a moment of hesitation she added that this means the next few years. It is perhaps difficult to make plans for the future when one is waiting to see how ‘things will play out’. This illuminates fluidity of migration patterns and processes.

What is perhaps particularly important in regard to migrants’ motives to stay in the UK is the context and composition of their networks. It can be asserted that migrants’ human capital plays a pivotal role with regards to their plans for the future (cf. ‘social capital’, Ryan, 2011). Whilst ‘bonding’ can make them attached to a particular migrant community (e.g. Polish), ‘bridging’ may influence their decision to stay as it increases the feelings of being ‘at home’ (cf. Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008). Arguably, unless migrants are bridging human

capital and develop meaningful relationships with the host population, they will not feel settled, perhaps not to the extent that is required for their integration. As said in the previous chapter, Polish migrants to the UK realise the value of having British friends (cf. Scullion & Pemberton, 2010). One of the interviewed women noted: “*but you can never feel at home when you’re abroad*”. This statement may perhaps reflect the respondent’s limited level of integration and community cohesion or less fixed forms of belonging. Those migrants who tend to live on the ‘peripheries’ of the host society (cf. Hunt, Steele & Condie, 2008) are perhaps more likely to eventually return whilst those who managed to bridge social capital and develop meaningful relationships with a wider group of people (and among the host population) are more likely to stay. It is noteworthy that, as noted in the previous chapter, only some of the research participants managed to develop close friendships with British people. It is worth noting that more of the women migrants talked about meaningful associations with British people than the return migrants. This may be an illustration of the return migrants’ unwillingness to invest themselves (Temple, 2011a), hence their disinterest in developing those connections, which in consequence made them even more reluctant to remain in the UK.

A number of the research participants remained in the UK, as they unanimously noted “*for the time being*”, because they “*have nothing to go back to*”. Perhaps they lost touch with their social networks in the country of origin and would have to ‘start from scratch’ upon their return. However, in the era of transnational communities (cf. Vertovec, 2007), migrants may perhaps maintain their links with both the host and home country and preserve networks in these two countries (White, 2014). As noted in the previous chapter, migrants’ integration can be achieved while transnational networks are retained (Vertovec, 2007; Garapich, 2008b). In regard to those who migrated at a very young age, which is not uncommon (as demonstrated in chapter two, the majority of Polish migrants in the UK are between 18 and 35 years of age; UKBA, 2005; Trevena, 2009), because of the fact that they never attempted to seek or secure a job in Poland, they did not start their adult life until they came to the UK (Trevena, 2009). Therefore, they would be likely to experience difficulties with reintegration in a society that once was their home. This could be due to the fact that their country has undergone some changes while they were away, and that they themselves somewhat changed through the experience of migration. Some may seem to be ‘trapped’ in the UK in spite of appearing to not be fully integrated in the UK because due to time spent there; they had lost friends and contacts in Poland. Thus, they do not fit neatly in either of the two countries hence their opportunities are somewhat limited (cf. ‘double marginalisation’, Iglicka, 2010).

7.2.1 Putting down roots?

Many of the respondents seemed to be able to attain a life they could only aspire to in Poland and were perhaps afraid to lose it. They noticed wage disparities and in consequence quality of life there (e.g. able to afford to go on holiday/visit family in Poland/go out to dine in restaurants/etc.), and so they were prepared to tolerate other relative disadvantages (e.g. lack of family/the weather/unfamiliar cultural norms) of their stay in the UK. However, the longer they stay, the more attached they may become to the UK (job/family/partner/friends). The quotation below illustrates how some migrants came to the UK and stayed there somewhat by coincidence.

Michalina's migration story seems to be quite common when compared to others in the sample. She did not plan to come to the UK, nor did she wish to stay in the UK permanently. However, she became increasingly more attached to the UK and entangled in various relationships. Even though her original intention was to come to the UK just to save money for a trip to the USA, she met someone there and soon became pregnant with a child who is of mixed race. Michalina expressed her intention to return to Poland but seemed to be worried that this would not be the right decision which is based on her previous trips to visit family in Poland and the negative remarks people made with regard to her son. Therefore, it can be assumed that she was somewhat 'trapped' between contradicting desires.

MICHALINA (migrant, 33): I didn't even plan to come here. I didn't want to stay in Poland anymore and I'd been to the States before, and I had a boyfriend there so I decided to go to the States. But the financial situation wasn't the best even though I had two jobs in Poland and my own place so I didn't have to rent. So I decided that I couldn't afford to put that much money aside to go back to the States and I thought that since so many Poles had emigrated to the UK and I speak the language so I thought I'd come here for a few months and work a bit and, basically, save some money and then go back to the States. So that's how my journey to the UK started, I didn't plan to come here to live at all.

Similarly to Michalina, Ksenia was also motivated by financial reasons and did not intend to settle in the UK but also started a relationship with a British man (who is now her ex-partner) and stayed in the UK to be with him. After a while, Ksenia became accustomed to her new life in the UK, got integrated into the paid labour market and developed further links with the host

country. Consequently, she stayed in the UK (*“for the time being”* as is often stated). The situation when Polish migrant women come to the UK ‘just to try their luck’, often for a limited period of time and with no intention of settling, appears to be commonplace. Then as time goes by, they become increasingly attached to their host country which is likely to make the decision to return more problematic for them. Even though Ksenia seemed to be very certain that economic reasons were the deciding factor behind her movement, it is evident that her wider social networks also had an influence. It is noteworthy that like many others, Ksenia originally intended to remain in the UK for three months, which she admitted became four years, yet she continued to live in the UK and (at the time of the interview) seemed to have no intention of going back to Poland. However, Ksenia was clear that she does not know what may happen and that she would be tempted to move somewhere else if that presented a good opportunity for personal growth (e.g. finances, lifestyle, work). Thus, from being an economic migrant Ksenia could become a ‘lifestyle migrant’ (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009; Ahmed, 2011; Torkington, 2012). This perhaps illustrates how the distinctions between the different types of migration and migrants blur.

KSENIA (migrant, 32): I came to Manchester to make money and no other reason, to make some money for three months. It was when I’d finished studying and a friend asked if I’d like to go with her, to come just for three months to make some money in Manchester. At the time I didn’t have a job in Poland and it seemed to me to be a good idea so I went. 3 months turned into 4 years because I met someone in Manchester, a British guy, who is now my ex.

It is perhaps evident that many respondents, similarly to Ksenia, were originally brought to the UK for a different reason to the one that made them stay. It is interesting that even though Ksenia’s relationship with her British partner broke down, she remained in the UK. As she explained, by that time, she *“had started something here [UK]”*. By which she meant her professional career and her attachment and relative satisfaction with the paid labour market in the UK. Arguably, she started to ‘put down roots’ and did not want to begin afresh again. It appears that the most common motives to remain, similarly to motivations for migration (see chapter six), in the UK are linked to the quality of life that can be maintained in the UK. This entails relatively better paid jobs that can be secured more easily whilst the spending power is comparatively higher as the UK is perceived to be less expensive in comparison to Poland (e.g. prices of food, clothes, electronic items in relation to average earnings) (cf. Morokvasic, 2004;

Trevena, 2009; Düvell & Garapich, 2011). It seems that many of the interviewed women based their decision to stay in the UK on what they observed in regard to the standard of living they can attain in both countries. They often talked about the pressures related to making ends meet in Poland even when holding two or three jobs. They compared this with what they perceived to be a relatively more relaxed attitude in the UK where one average wage ensures a 'comfortable' life. Some of them seemed to be torn between the prospect of family life in the countryside in Poland and the generally better quality of life in the UK. Arguably, this is a matter of priorities. According to the historical-structural approach, migration is caused by an unequal distribution of political and economic power and other resources between different countries' economies (cf. Castles & Kosack, 1973; Piore, 1979; Sassen, 1988). Thus, it can be applied here because the UK seems to be perceived as a more economically developed Western country, while Poland is not (for more on this theory see chapter four).

Arguably, after the initial fascination with the new setting (i.e. the UK) and settling in, migrants appear to strive to achieve more. They are no longer satisfied with what they have and desire an even better quality of life. This can be contrasted with 'lifestyle migration' (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Ahmed, 2013), in the process of which migrants move in order to secure a better life quality abroad. However, as noted earlier, this type of migration refers to more affluent individuals who seek to secure more luxurious lifestyle (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), which does not have a reflection in this research. Arguably, 'lifestyle migration' is more applicable to senior migrants, perhaps retirees (cf. Ahmed, 2013); however, it can be asserted that migration for economic reasons results in an improvement in life quality too.

Bernadetta, quoted below, explained that the reasons why she remained in the UK were mostly economic but she also felt 'accepted', at ease with her new surroundings, people and the type of work. Bernadetta, for a while, seemed to play the role of a transmigrant who retains active links to both countries – that of origin and destination (cf. Vertovec, 2007; White, 2014). Then, eventually, she decided to stay in the UK (*"for the time being"*). It appears almost as if some research participants were somewhat afraid to commit and state that they are in the UK permanently. It is as if this word could not then be taken back (cf. Temple, 2011a).

BERNADETТА (migrant, 57): I stayed firstly because I liked it here and secondly because I was accepted. So, well, here I thought people liked me so I stayed here and, above all, the money because I could never earn that much in Poland ...so that all kept me here, I went to Poland later and quit my job. I came here and sorted everything out legally – a job. So here I am and how long I'll stay is hard to say. I think that, especially

since I don't have long to go to retirement, that how long I'll stay depends on the health of the older person, the grandfather [for whom she cares], so we'll see ...but I think I'll stay to the end of his days, you know, but I intend to stay longer.

Many of the respondents seemed to realise that the relatively more extensive British welfare state provides a 'safety net' which contributes to the feeling of being at ease as acknowledged in the previous chapter. Perhaps women recognise that instead of being dependent on the male partner in Poland, they can rely on the welfare state in the UK. However, it is important to note that many of the interviewees appeared to be unaware of their rights and entitlements with regard to social assistance, which is in support of previous findings (cf. Scullion, 2010; Scullion & Morris, 2010; Scullion & Pemberton, 2010). It seems that it is not until they arrive in the UK and reside there for some time that they become aware of those practicalities. However, it can be argued that the comparatively more developed welfare system in the UK aids women in accomplishing their various roles, most notably that of a paid worker and unpaid familial carer (more comprehensive discussion on this can be found in the next chapter).

Amelia, for instance, did not plan to stay in the UK. She and her husband came to the UK to visit Amelia's sister-in-law. At the time, they were at university and planned to spend their summer holiday working in the UK but they took a gap year '*just in case*'. Here, again the significance of migrant networks is emphasised as already argued in chapter six (cf. Ryan, 2009, 2011).

AMELIA (migrant, 29): Err my husband's sister at the time lived here [UK] and we came here basically to visit her, it was a holiday. We took a break in our degrees, we were going to do a gap year and see what happens yeah, you know, and we came here and never went back.

Amelia and her husband intended to go back to Poland to finish their degrees but soon after arriving in the UK, Amelia became pregnant with their first child. At the time of the interview they had two children, both born in the UK. Amelia seemed to regret never finishing her studies. Even though there appeared to be some amount of uncertainty with regard to the future, Amelia initially migrated for a pre-defined amount of time. Her plans were renegotiated and adjusted to the new situation. This seems to suggest that the comparatively higher quality of life that Amelia and her husband were able to secure in the UK rooted them in their new host country.

The 'myth of no return' perhaps reflects well Amelia's migratory journey (cf. Sarna, 1981). At the time of her departure from Poland, Amelia never considered staying in the UK long-term, let alone permanently. However, due to the development of further personal ties in the UK (i.e. having children), she was somewhat 'made' to stay. The perceived greater opportunities in the UK for Amelia and her family are contrasted with sentiment for Poland and more family-orientated life in the home country.

AMELIA (migrant, 29): My grandma has 16 grandchildren, you know. And it's nice like that, my parents live with my grandma, they have a big house, maybe 7 rooms, you know how it is in the countryside, there are big houses. It's nice, it's different, because the kids have somewhere to run around and play, and here [UK] what do they have? In these four walls, I don't know, here it's good because the state helps you a lot, but in Poland there's good weather and you're close to the family...

7.3 '*It's unfair on your family to move abroad*': why women return to Poland

Arguably, return migrants can be perceived as agents of innovation that convey valuable human capital in the form of financial and social remittances to the home country (Fihel & Górny, 2013). This could also prove to be problematic as new norms may be destabilising. It can be asserted that, following the typology of Cerase (1974), all types of returns were observed in regard to the respondents: 'returns of failure', 'returns of conservatism', 'returns of retirements' and 'returns of innovation' (these were explored in chapter two; cf. Iglicka, 2002). As already noted, traditional definitions of return migration presumed a certain amount of permanency. However, today such permanency cannot be as easily assumed (Fihel & Górny, 2013). Thus, it may be difficult to differentiate return migrants from circular migrants or 'transmigrants' (White & Ryan, 2008). Moreover, the distinction between 'migration' and 'mobility' suggests further complications in differentiating between migrants, return migrants and mobile individuals (Wallace, 2002; Faist, 2013). Similarly, some of the research participants expressed interest in further migration after their initial return to the home country (cf. White, 2014). Thus, issues around definition and mutually agreed factors that allow for the identification of return migrants may prove problematic. For the purpose of this study, a return migrant is defined as someone who identifies herself as such due to returning to their home country.

As stated earlier and similarly to the motivations to stay, no one reason behind the research participants' decisions to return to Poland could be identified. In most cases it was a complex

set of reasons that mattered (cf. 'an intersection of motivations'). It can be asserted that the majority of Polish women in this study returned as a result of the pressure brought to bear on them as women (often a combination of some of the reasons outlined below). Hence, it could be said that their gender role expectations acted as structural constraints on their agency (cf. Hoang, 2011). These are linked to the wider influence of migrants' social networks, which matter greatly (as noted in the previous chapter). Similarly to motivations for migration, gendered expectations seemed to have affected women's future plans (more on this in the chapter that follows). The need to provide or receive care to or from family in Poland was one of the motives for return (cf. Aranda, 2003; Keryk, 2010). As will be highlighted in the next chapter, many Polish migrant women seem to feel responsible for the family they left behind. They often feel obligated to eventually return to be able to provide care and support that they think they perhaps owe to their close family members (cf. family as 'anchors', Ryan, 2009). This frequently applies to the parents of migrant women. In other cases it is due to missing relatives and the desire to bring up children near their grandparents. Sometimes, women returned in order to live closer to their family and be able to both receive and provide care (if/when necessary). The care they often seek is linked to having their own children looked after whilst they engage in other activities (e.g. paid work, studies). This way, they are able to avoid the high prices of childcare in the UK (Cooke, 2012) and balance childcare with paid work. At the same time their children enjoy more time with their relatives learning about the Polish culture and tradition. However, for some Polish migrant women who do not have a family of their own, it may mean that they are the ones who are perhaps expected to provide care to their parents. It appears that the obligations are mostly felt by the women rather than implied by their families. This is in support of the 'strong motherhood ideology' in Poland which was noted earlier (Lutz, 2010; Temple, 2011b). It also seems that those women who have a family of their own are left out of this arrangement. Having children appears to somewhat cancel this gendered expectation in most cases but this is dependent on the circumstances and family composition (i.e. having siblings). It is evident here that migrants' networks may act as facilitating and constraining forces, on the one hand fostering moves to the UK, and on the other encouraging them to return to Poland. As Ryan (2009) notes, many recent Polish migrants rationalise their migratory decisions taking into account other family members' plans and aspirations (most notably their children's and parents' future) (Ryan *et al.*, 2009).

In some cases, as outlined in other research, women simply achieved the intended aim and returned to Poland as this was always the plan (cf. White, 2014). Motivations for migration were explored in chapter six; among these were studies or saving up for a house in Poland.

Several of the respondents reached these goals, finished their degree or accumulated a desirable amount of financial resources, and went back to the home country. It can be argued that those women, who returned due to accomplishing their plans, were perhaps less prepared to invest their time and energy in getting to know their host country and its customs and develop friendships with British people or acquire English language skills (cf. Temple, 2011a). They were perhaps less integrated as this was not their intention while they had their mind set on accomplishing their original goal. However, as previously emphasised, people's movements can create "migration-induced knowledge-based development" (Klagge *et al.*, 2007, p. 2); this could be the case in regard to highly-skilled return migration (cf. Ackers, 2013). It has previously been named 'migration-return-development-nexus' (Ammassari, 2004). With regard to those who came to the UK to acquire a degree from a British university and subsequently went back, this may be true. In their cases the original 'brain drain' (experienced in Poland) (cf. Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski, 2008) then 'brain gain' (experienced in the UK) shifted into 'brain re-gain' for Poland (cf. Ackers, 2013), as argued in the previous chapter (cf. Table 2 and return migrants characteristics in chapter five, section 5.6).

7.3.1 Difficulties adjusting?

Several women explained that their return was due to the various cultural differences that they did not perceive to be positive. Cerase's (1974) typology of migrants' returns included returns of conservatism which may be applicable here. In those cases, women left the UK mostly because they did not see it as a desirable place in which to live. Simply put, it appears that they could not (or did not want to) adjust to the differences in culture and language between the two countries. Consequently this may have impeded their integration and the possibility of permanent settlement. Lena, quoted below, seemed to be unhappy about the fact that she could not utilise her skills and qualifications as she experienced 'de-skilling' and consequently, 'brain waste' (Iglicka, 2009).

LENA (return migrant, 28): We [Lena and her partner] got back because I just couldn't adjust there.

EDM: What does that mean?

LENA: Well, basically, first of all we went to a crappy place, a town that was an industrial town. And work there was mainly in factories, it was difficult to find anything else. That's one thing; another was the language, for me. I don't know if you heard of the dialect from that area. (...) And that was difficult for me, to switch, because you learn [English] at school for so long and go there [UK] and it turns out it's no use anyway [because you can't understand the different accents]. (...) That surprised me and that those people, there's this mentality, so simple, people are simple (...). They don't need to grow, develop, go to college or university. No one there goes to university. Everyone focuses on work and earning and partying at the weekend.

Some of the women, Lena among them, perceived British culture as unattractive due to lacking moral values. Whilst most of the interviewees seemed to appreciate the company of British people, several women expressed their rather negative views on British society. Those were linked to British people being perceived as lazy, racist and deficient in moral values. Those views would of course have been affected by various factors, namely their place of residence and employment and their level of integration, as Lena explained. Arguably, local environment is likely to influence migrants' experiences. As evidenced above, women migrants who live in less affluent areas are likely to encounter different individuals to those encountered by women who live in a city centre, for instance. The same can be said about individuals who arrive in small industrial towns in rural areas as opposed to large cities in urban areas. Moreover, migrants with English language proficiency are more likely to be better integrated and have friends of various nationalities and greater understanding of different cultures (cf. White, 2011). However, for some (e.g. Lena) the different regional dialects proved to be problematic; even those who acquired English language proficiency at school in Poland seemed to struggle with specific British accents. It can be asserted that those migrants who live on the more multicultural estates and encounter (and make friends with) people from different backgrounds may be more open and consequently perhaps not as harsh in their judgement of others (cf. 'contact hypothesis'; Valentine, 2008; Temple, 2009).

OLIWIA (migrant, 37): There are interesting people here, that changed me in a way. I'm richer now, that broadened my horizons because there are here many different minorities. I've never met Arabs, or black people, etc.. And here in one church you have everyone so you have easy access to those different cultures, religions, and that broadens horizons. You don't have to travel to those places to get to know their culture, just have a chat, invite for a cup of tea and talk.

Many women expressed their concern about their children being raised in what seems to be perceived as an unfamiliar setting often far away from their grandparents and other relatives. Women's parents and other family members could also prove to be helpful with regard to childcare, which was mentioned by several interviewees. Some, therefore, decided to return to Poland in order to be able to bring up their children near their other family members and draw on their help with it too. This often meant whole families returning together or the woman with child/ren leaving first and then being joined by the male partner. Even though it had been previously acknowledged that family migration often leads to permanent settlement (White, 2011), family return migration may not, as the findings seem to suggest. Marta, who lived in the UK for four and a half years and had a child in the UK with her Polish fiancé, decided to return to Poland in order to raise their son there, close to her parents. She seemed to be also motivated by the possibility of her parents' help with looking after her son. She agreed with her parents that she and her fiancé would return and help with looking after a family business. Marta and her partner and child stayed in Poland for about eight months after which they decided to come back to the UK. Hence, Marta could be classed as a 'double return migrant' as she initially moved to the UK, then decided to return to Poland but then again moved back to the UK (White, 2014). Thus, Marta's return to Poland could be identified as a 'return to explore' (Iglicka, 2009), in the sense that she thought it to be a permanent return but then made an informed decision to come back to the UK. What seemed to influence their decision to re-emigrate was the comparatively higher quality of life that they got accustomed to in the UK and some minor complications related to living with parents again. Another negative aspect of their return to Poland was the fact that Marta could not rely on the Polish state for support. After her return to Poland, Marta applied for social security benefits which were meant to support her in job seeking. However, after a lengthy correspondence, the local authorities decided that Marta's "centre of interest" was in the UK (despite the fact that Marta and her partner previously bought a flat in Poland), thus they could not approve her application. Marta seemed to be very disappointed with this decision; it almost appeared that she felt betrayed. Perhaps she felt let down because her home country to which she finally decided to return did not welcome her the way she expected.

MARTA (re-returnee, UK based, 28): We planned to have a baby and we were slowly planning our return to Poland. We wanted to take over my parents' business, a bar, shop, B&B but... Oh yes one of the most important reasons that made us want to go back was that we wanted our child to grow up in a complete family, in this big happy family, multigenerational family. So that when we want to go out somewhere, then grandma

steps in and looks after the child... And it was this happy family idyll that I had in mind and this was one of the main reasons why we decided to leave everything here [UK], me work, my partner his job and chase our Polish dream [laughs].

With regards to some of the interviewed women, the ‘myth of return’ may be applicable as they appeared to be certain of their eventual return to Poland (cf. Anwar, 1979; Gmelch, 1980; Bolognani, 2007; Sinatti, 2011). Several interviewees explained that they would like to, “*at some point*”, go back to their country of origin. A number of them mentioned returning to Poland as retirees in order to be able to spend their retirement close to their relatives (cf. ‘retirement migration’, Hall, 2011; Hall & Hardill, 2015). Perhaps ‘returns of retirements’ adequately reflect some of the interviewees’ intentions (Cerase, 1974). Others appear to desire to go back earlier than that but almost seem not to believe in the fulfilment of this plan, as if it had already acquired the status of a sentimental dream. Only one of the research participants could be classed as a ‘re-returnee’ or a ‘double return migrant’ (cf. White, 2014) – Marta, quoted above. This may suggest that it is difficult to successfully reintegrate in the home country after acquiring a comparatively higher standard of living in another. Moreover, it can be asserted that a migrant returning to her/his country of origin may no longer feel ‘at home’ there either (Andreouli & Howarth, 2012). This may be due to the various social changes that affected the home country during this time. On the other hand, the return migrant has, most likely, also undergone change as a result of the different experiences acquired outside of their country of origin and therefore is not the same person that decided to leave in the first place. Consequently, a return migrant has to balance her/his sometimes contradictory preconceptions with regard to their home country. Hence, ‘double marginalisation’ can be experienced by some migrants, while others may fall into a ‘migration trap’ as noted in the literature review (Iglicka, 2010).

As mentioned earlier, for the majority of the women in the sample, it was a combination of some of the factors mentioned above that influenced their decisions to remain in the UK or return to Poland. Nonetheless, some of the women who, at the time of the interview, lived in the UK expressed a desire to go back to Poland in the future. However, in most cases they were uncertain about when this may be or whether it will happen at all (cf. ‘myth of return’; Anwar, 1979; Gmelch, 1980). Some of the interviewed women, similarly to Kornelia who is quoted below, explained they will almost definitely return at some point in order to provide care to their parents. Those women seemed to almost put their own plans ‘on hold’ and enjoy their life in the UK while they could because sooner or later their parents would need them back in Poland (cf. Aranda, 2003; ‘networks as magnets’, Ryan, 2009). With regards to some

respondents, this vision of having to go back seemed to be unwanted and somewhat disheartening as is illustrated in Kornelia's account:

KORNELIA (migrant, 35): I'd like to find someone and just live here [UK], stay here. But I'm most worried about my parents because they live alone err well they won't get any younger but older, and it's just that I worry about, because we actually have a big house in Poland, you need to burn wood [in the wood-burning stove], carry the coal. And it's just this one thing that worries me, because they will only get older. That's why my plans here that I want to stay here for good, this is what I want, but what will happen and what I will have to do, only time will tell.

EDM: So the way I understand it is that you think you might have to go back?

KORNELIA: I think there might be this issue.

Several of the interviewed women, Faustyna (quoted below) for example, returned to Poland as this was their partners' wish (cf. families as 'magnets' or 'anchors', Ryan, 2009). Similarly to motivations for migration, some respondents followed their male counterparts in their return migration, thus the classic migration theories could be applied here (cf. Massey *et al.*, 1993) (cf. 'training wives', 'tied movers', Bruegel, 1996, Cooke, 2001 as explored in chapter six). Some women, perhaps unsurprisingly, seemed to value their relationships more than their desire to remain in the UK. A number of women explained that it was a conscious decision made together between them and their male counterparts. However, some of the interviewees, similarly to Faustyna, also noted that they would have been happy to stay for longer but their partners did not feel as comfortable living in the UK. This may relate to a comparatively higher level of integration enjoyed by the women and can result from the different nature of their employment in the UK. Certain scholars argued that Polish men to the UK tend to be concentrated in the construction sector and factory work whilst Polish women are more often employed in the service sector (e.g. hotels, banks, restaurants) (Scullion & Morris, 2009). This could potentially create a disparity with regards to the level of English language proficiency and in consequence integration. Arguably, those working in the service sector have more contact with society at large; hence they practise their language skills more often which, in the long run, may positively affect their integration. Whereas the construction sector and factory work do not require the employees to engage in conversations as often (or as a matter of fact, in English). In certain factories Polish and/or other Central and Eastern European workers are so common that they can often communicate in their native language so that acquiring English

language skills becomes unnecessary. In fact, there has been a case of a British factory that advertised a job for Polish speakers (*The Telegraph*, 2009). Moreover, those who wish to improve their English language skills may face some difficulties in doing so while they work irregular unsocial hours in factories, for instance. On the other hand, however, those migrants who work in more diverse environments can find it difficult to adjust and be able to develop equally meaningful relationships with non-co-ethnics (cf. ‘bridging’ vs. ‘bonding’, Nannastad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008; Ryan, 2011), as was the case with Faustyna’s husband:

FAUSTYNA (return migrant, 30): [my husband] had a good job [in Poland] but we thought that we would be able to save up more if we leave [to the UK]. (...) as I say, my husband felt uncomfortable, despite the fact that he became close with his co-workers and worked there [in the company in the UK] as the only Polish person and hmm what else, well, the upbringing, in the future, of the children, this too made us want to come back [to Poland].

It is worth noting that Hoang (2011) identifies gender and marital status as the most significant aspects influencing women’s and men’s migration experiences. She argues that gender roles promote particular behaviour with regards to migration decision-making. Thus, it could be asserted that women migrants follow their gender roles in the way they act in household/relationship decision-making. Further, as noted in chapter three, women’s gender roles are structures enabling and constraining individual agency. Following on from that, women’s traditional gender ideology may limit their agentic powers.

A number of the interviewed women appeared to follow general social trends, just like in the case of their original emigration (see chapter six). Some, following their observation of an ‘exodus’ of Polish nationals to the British Isles, then noticed a similar trend of return migration to Poland. After spending a certain period of time in the UK, many women observed an increasing number of their friends returning to Poland and other countries which perhaps made them wonder what prompted their friends’ moves and whether they should consider a return. Anna for instance, explained that after three years of living in the UK, she felt it was time to make a decision whether to go back to Poland or stay in the UK and look for a better job. Her family and friends seemed to be ‘pulling’ her back to Poland, thus acted as ‘magnets’ (Ryan, 2009), while a chance to earn a better living was one of the advantages of remaining in the UK. It is noteworthy that the ‘deskilling’ that Anna experienced also played a role (Iglicka, 2009). In the end, Anna decided to try living in Poland again. However, it should be noted that she

made appropriate arrangements with her employer to take her back in the event of her unsuccessful return to Poland which may suggest that she was uncertain of the outcome of her return migration.

ANNA (return migrant, 31): Well, you see, three years went by and we thought that we need to make our minds up about whether we stay there [UK] and buy a flat and look for a better job or maybe start a university course or something, or we go back to Poland. Because during those three years you have really one foot here and one foot there, you often go back to Poland, your family often comes to visit too, Christmas or Easter you spend in Poland, of course. And this whole time you don't know whether here or there, you know that it's easier in the UK because of, I don't know, the earnings and the quality of life, but on the other hand you have loads of your friends in Poland, and family, your mum who keeps crying that you go there with your level of education to work at some reception desk and all that. And we decided, if it's no good, we'll come back [to the UK], I actually had my employer's word that if something happens then I can come back, so if we're not successful here [Poland] then we'll just go back and that's it.

As was demonstrated in chapter two, among consequences of economic migration on the migrants themselves are financial (e.g. savings; remittances) and social (e.g. work/life experience; language skills; new ideas/identity) gains linked to the differences between the countries between which migrants move (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). However, as acknowledged above, the latter can also add to the difficulty of re-integration since it is most probable that the home country would have changed in the migrants' absence; while the migrant is somewhat changed too (Andreouli & Howarth, 2012). Migrants' social capital (Ryan, 2011) or human capital as some prefer to refer to it (e.g. newly acquired skills and attitudes) (Klagge *et al.*, 2007), emphasises that returnees can be innovators who could potentially bring change to their country of origin in light of what they experienced in the host country (King, 1986; Lisiak, 2014) (see next chapter for more on this). Moreover, 'migration-specific capital' (Vertovec, 2007) presents the experience of migration as beneficial to migrants who wish to make subsequent migratory decisions (e.g. knowledge; social networks; previous experience). Hence, it can be asserted that those who once migrated are more likely to repeat it and by doing so may fall into a 'migration trap' (Iglicka, 2010). Indeed, some of the interviewed women admitted they were planning or had considered further migrations. Among the negative migration consequences on the migrants themselves is 'brain waste' in the case of those who cannot appropriately utilise their skills and qualifications ('de-skilling' or 'employment gap trap'; Iglicka, 2009). Looking at the respondents' demographic profiles it could be asserted that

those Polish migrant women who returned, did so precisely in order to avoid 'brain waste' and 'de-skilling'. The sampled return migrants, on average, seem to have a higher level of education and therefore may have felt that they would be able to better utilise their skills in their country of origin.

7.4 Gendered expectations across borders

It can be asserted that women experience migration differently to men:

Migration is not a gender-neutral phenomenon (...) from the very moment they decide to migrate, women's experience as migrants differs from those of men (Caritas, 2011, p. 2).

Arguably, traditional gendered expectations, as exist in Poland, make women's migrations more problematic. Gendered 'responsibilities' in regard to work and care may make it more challenging for migrant women to balance their roles and exert individualism. Therefore, migration of women is perceived as more problematic than that of men (*ibid.*), and can lead to 'transnational motherhood', for instance (Lutz, 2011; Cieřlik, 2012) (and 'Euro-orphans', White, 2011). The term 'sandwich generation' was coined by the Institute for Public Policy Research (Ben-Galim & Silim, 2013) to reflect the recent changes with regard to people having to care for their children and their parents all at the same time. It is noteworthy that in regard to Polish migrant women (and men for that matter, not considered in this research) in the UK, geographical location comes into the equation. As a matter of fact, a number of the interviewed women talked of being 'torn' between wanting to provide support to their older parents in Poland and at the same time wishing to remain in the UK for other reasons (e.g. children in the UK; the UK life quality). Even though migration is often presented as individualistic, family networks play a crucial role in many migrants' migratory decisions, as demonstrated in the previous chapters and as NELM theory postulates (Ryan, 2009, 2011; White, 2011). In regard to the interviewees, gendered expectations often appeared to be a strain as women felt obligated to consider a return to Poland to look after their older family members (cf. Finch & Mason, 1993). At the same time they wished to stay in the UK to ensure their children's higher quality of life and to remain with their children's father. They faced the need to balance care priorities in two locations at one time (cf. 'double caring responsibilities', Ryan *et al.*, 2009). Thus, expectations related to care provision make female migration problematic. Arguably, gender

roles as well as women's familial networks can translate into structures that inhibit women's agency (cf. Hoang, 2011).

It has previously been acknowledged that family is one of the most important aspects in Polish people's lives (cf. Keryk, 2010; Irek, 2011; Temple, 2011b; Temple & Judd, 2011; White, 2011; Cieřlik, 2012). This research appears to support the assertion of the great importance of families and close familial ties in interviewees' lives. In fact, some scholars refer to Poland as a country with a "strong motherhood ideology – meaning the general conviction that a child cannot grow up healthily without being cared for by its biological mother" (Lutz, 2010, p. 1653). The findings seem to confirm this to a certain extent. Some respondents talked of a 'glorification' of motherhood in Poland and being ostracised for leaving their young offspring in the hands of their grandmothers while their mothers participate in social events (e.g. Anna, Kasia). 'Strong motherhood ideology' in Poland (*ibid.*) is part of women's rather tricky situation (i.e. the structural context) that involves somewhat conflicting roles and juggling competing responsibilities in two locations with a great distance between them. Moreover, it appears that the interviewees felt 'entangled' in their familial ties so strongly that their return to Poland, in many cases, was somewhat unwanted but almost inevitable. This was the case with Nikita, who felt obligated to go back to look after her mother following the death of her father. Nikita explained that this occurred when she stopped thinking of ever going back. She would not have returned if it was not for the need to provide care. Arguably, "compulsory caregiving, the expectation that it was her duty, to take responsibility for her parents, conflicted with her newfound independence" in the UK (Aranda, 2003, p. 622).

NIKITA (return migrant, 32): Well, I stopped planning on ever coming back... In my family well a tragedy has happened, my father died suddenly... so err I packed my stuff and I was in Poland the next day. Of course, I left everything in the UK and it wasn't a problem at work and I went back after a month err after a month of being here [PL] I went back to the UK and I just decided I need to go back to my country, especially because my mum wasn't well. She couldn't handle it, she was seeing a psychiatrist, got some strange medication, which I told her not to take and I wanted to look after her... so I came back, I left everything, I found a job and I'm still here and everything somehow got sorted.

Olga, similarly to Nikita, was not planning on returning to Poland when certain external factors made her quite literally abandon her plans and join her parents in her home country. It seems as though Olga felt that she had no choice but to accept the suggestion to return. At the same

time, as she explained, there were other factors that contributed to her thinking of leaving the UK. Yet, the other reasons that Olga gave could have been a simple validation exercise that she subconsciously undertook in order to convince herself that a return was the right choice. However, it can be argued that the deciding factor was with regard to her grandfather falling ill. Thus, it can be asserted that in regard to both women, “adhering to gendered expectations came at the expense of her [their] professional career[s]” (Aranda, 2003, p. 622). They both abandoned their plans for further development in the UK and returned to Poland on the request (direct or implied) of their families.

OLGA (return migrant, 28): I mean there were just so many factors, work for one... the second err lots of my friends had gone back ...the majority had gone back home ...and that made me think, hell why are they all going back? And the next thing was that my grandfather was ill and my grandmother couldn't cope, my parents worked yeah, and you could tell that it was my grandfather's final year yeah (...). So it was kind of like that, that kind of also played a role. On the other hand, my mum also always said, 'you know we're getting older every day,' [laughs] and so on, so I decided to call it an adventure, my trip there yeah... When I came back, the first 3 months were terrible, it was basically awful. If someone had given me a ticket back [to the UK] I wouldn't even have stopped to pack [laughs] I'd have just gone.

Perhaps in the case of both women quoted above, they felt settled in the UK but were somewhat 'forced' to abandon their plans due to unforeseen circumstances. Perhaps they conformed to gendered expectations of them as women. It seems that with regard to some respondents, family obligations supersede reasons for migrating in the first place. This relates more generally to the way family responsibilities seem to be negotiated by Polish migrant women. Finch and Mason (1993) previously researched this area in regard to British families. Whilst they found there was no clear consensus among British families in respect of the extent and nature of familial responsibilities, it can be argued that Polish women are faced with a relatively larger burden. This may be due to comparatively closer familial ties reported in Poland (and confirmed by many participants) or the way Polish women were socialised to match the image of '*Matka Polka*' (cf. Titkow, 2012) (for more on '*Matka Polka*' see section 8.2). Finch (1989) argued that assisting family cannot be assumed to be done solely out of a sense of duty; there is a more complex combination of motives (e.g. love, want, obedience, etc.) of which duty may be one.

Kinga for instance, was 'pulled in' to the UK by her boyfriend at the time (now husband and father of her two children) who acted as a 'magnet' (Ryan, 2009; White, 2011). Thus, she may

be considered a 'tied mover' or 'trailing wife' (or rather a 'trailing girlfriend/partner') (Bruegel, 1996; Cooke, 2001). She admitted that she was satisfied with her life in Poland but was drawn to the UK by her partner. As time went by, Kinga got married and gave birth to her two daughters, all in the UK. She confessed that she never wanted to move away from Poland and that she wishes she had not done so. Kinga is now faced with a dilemma: take her children away from their country of birth, leave her husband and return to Poland, or stay in the UK. Kinga seems to think she will eventually return to Poland, in line with the 'myth of return' (cf. Anwar, 1979; Gmelch, 1980; Sinatti, 2011). Arguably, gendered expectations prevented Kinga from going back to Poland. As a mother and a wife, she may feel obligated to remain with the father of her children and her husband.

KINGA (migrant, 25): Honestly, I wouldn't be [in the UK] but my children go to school here now and I wouldn't want to disturb them and take them back [to Poland] because that would be really tough.

EDM: But you say that you would like to go back.

KINGA: Yes, of course, but when the children are a little older...

Marianna, among other reasons, came to the UK to get away from her husband. She was hoping he would appreciate her more on her return. However, while Marianna was in the UK, her teenage daughter (around 17-18 years of age at the time) became pregnant (as already outlined in the previous chapter). The daughter joined Marianna in the UK and she has been helping the daughter ever since then. Even though Marianna seems to want to return to Poland she admitted she needs to remain in the UK to help out her daughter and young grandson. This perhaps proves how 'the strong motherhood ideology' influences Polish migrant women and somewhat disrupts their plans for return. Some women migrants appear to be 'sandwiched' between contradicting gendered expectations that operate transnationally, proving particularly difficult to reconcile (cf. 'the sandwich generation', Ben-Galim & Silim, 2013).

MARIANNA (migrant, 48): I'm here now because she [my daughter] couldn't cope on her own, right? ... Basically, on the one hand I've got to help me [sic] daughter, she needs it, because the little one [grandson], well, you know, kids right? She also doesn't see herself here either; you know she doesn't have her life set up here actually. She's got her partner, or friend, boyfriend or whatever, but that's just kind of for now, you know, you don't know if it'll last, and now I see back home [in Poland], well, unfortunately, my husband has gone back to his old ways, he's got his mates and he drinks, yeah? There's no place for me now, maybe that's why I think I don't have anything to go back to at the moment.

In regard to close family members, the respondents appeared to have a very strong sense of responsibility and felt obligated to return to Poland (or plan to) if or when needed. This seemed to occur especially when the women in question do not have children of their own to care for. The interviewed women sometimes seemed to remain somewhat 'trapped' in familial ties. On occasion however, migration appears to have enabled them to be liberated from some of their familial 'obligations'. Amelia, quoted below, who also has children, already started to think of what may happen when her parents, still today in good health, get older. She explained that she predominantly thinks of her children on the one hand and her parents on the other. This may be a good illustration of her being 'sandwiched' between somewhat conflicting gendered 'responsibilities'. The sandwich generation (Ben-Galim & Silim, 2013), when applied to migrant women proves to be particularly difficult to reconcile since in their case there are two geographical locations to be managed.

AMELIA (migrant, 29): I feel, I'd like for example to be with my parents, but I think not right now, they're still young so they can still take care of themselves [laughs]. You know, 50 isn't old. You know, now I don't look at things for me, I just would like it for my children, because I know that we didn't have great prospects... But, for example, I wouldn't want my children to go abroad for money, just to survive, yeah?

Julia, similarly to Amelia, had concerns about her mother. She explained that even though she has older siblings, they are unlikely to provide care when such a need arises as they have families of their own. Therefore, Julia appeared to have a very strong need and a sense of duty to keep her mother company, especially since otherwise she would live on her own. Therefore, the strong familial ties, explored in the previous chapters, appear to make gendered expectations particularly problematic for the Polish migrant women involved in this study. Arguably, Polish women are often socialised to meet those various gendered expectations which may later prove to be difficult to reconcile (cf. Watson, 1992; Lister *et al.*, 2007; Erel, 2011).

JULIA (return migrant, 26): I kind of, yes felt, that I should stay because I'd never forgive myself if something happened, you know she is still on her feet, she's only just 60 yeah, and you know she gets about everything but, God if something happened, loneliness is the worst, right? ...err [I'm still in Poland] because of my mum I think, I was worried about her you know, she brought up three children you know and yeah now she's alone..

The empirical findings seem to support the assertion that Polish migrant women feel obligated to provide assistance to their families when such a need arises. This appears to be a considerable

constraint on their individual agency. Micro-structures, such as families, restrict women's agentic powers (cf. Morawska, 2001; Bakewell, 2010). Arguably, gender identity and consequently gender roles can act as structures (Hoang, 2011). It has been noted that women are generally more likely to give relatives practical and personal support than are men (Finch & Mason, 1993). However, it appears as though Polish women have been socialised in a way that makes them ignore their personal desires in the situation when their families need assistance. What the researcher is trying to argue here, is that whilst it is understandable that perhaps most people value family and would not hesitate to support a relative, in Poland family values so deeply shape women's priorities that they can sometimes undermine their own personal happiness (cf. Keryk, 2010; Temple, 2011b; Temple & Judd, 2011; Lutz, 2011; Cieřlik, 2012). In spite of the way Polish women rationalise their thinking, from their accounts it seems to be evident that some have quite literally 'sacrificed' their own lives in order to attend to their families' needs (cf. White, 2011). The next section provides conclusions drawn from the chapter.

7.5 Conclusion

With regard to the women involved in this research, a complex set of reasons was behind their decisions to remain in the UK (*'for the time being'*). Although, the unpredictability of Polish migrants' migratory intentions has been widely acknowledged (cf. Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich, 2006; Scullion & Pemberton, 2010) and seems to be supported in this research, some general trends emerge from this analysis. It is perhaps not a surprise that a single reason to remain or return could not be recognised. In both cases, Polish migrant women demonstrated a complex set of motives that led them to remain in the UK or return to Poland. Additionally, gendered expectations of them as women mattered greatly. Sometimes, women's families made those expectations explicit; other times, women themselves felt compelled to follow what could be classed as their gender roles. With regard to migrants' motivations to stay in the UK, economic reasons (similarly to the reasons behind their original migrations – see chapter six) seemed to play a major part. The ability to afford a decent life even when earning the British national minimum wage was mentioned on many occasions. Those who left their jobs in Poland appeared to prefer higher earnings (even in elementary jobs) than the work in their home country (even when holding a permanent position). This seems to be because when working in Poland, they cannot afford the same standard of living (e.g. a holiday) whereas in the UK they are able to do so. Financial motives appeared to be one of the most significant factors that make

Polish migrant women stay in the UK. This seemed to be particularly true when there was nothing else 'pulling' them back to Poland (e.g. parents, extended family, etc.). They preferred to stay in the UK and lead a more relaxed life with regard to their financial situation rather than enjoy a more family-orientated life in Poland. Economic advantages seemed to outweigh the disadvantages related to having to acquire and speak a foreign language and the rainy weather, for instance.

It appears that many Polish women migrants are active participants in family-orientated migration strategies and their conscious weighing up their chances is a confirmation of women's active agency within a wider structural context. Many Polish migrant women seemed to become 'entangled' in further relationships or have developed other personal attachments which consequently prevented them from returning to their 'home' country. This may refer to being in a relationship with a British partner or a partner other than Polish who resides in the UK, or this may relate to having children in the UK with a non-Polish partner. These are perhaps the sort of connections that are difficult to overcome for migrants and migrant women in particular, since it is they who still undertake the lion's share of the domestic and care work (Boyle, 2013; and with regards to Polish women: CBOS, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). It can be asserted that the longer a migrant remains in the host country, the more attachments s/he develops. For some respondents remaining in the UK was appealing as they seemed to have nothing to return to in Poland. This may be because they left Poland at an early age and in consequence lost touch with friends or family there. As they never sought or secured a job in Poland, they perhaps would not feel very confident going back after, in many cases, a considerable period of time and trying to make their living there. This last motivation may be linked to a lack of direction (which may have brought them to the UK in the first place, as explored in the previous chapter) and being uncertain about what to do in Poland. Those migrants who are unsure about their future in Poland may have been in the UK for a long time and in consequence already have some attachments to this country (e.g. a job, friends, partner, etc.) which perhaps makes it easier to remain in the country rather than start afresh in another.

Last but not least, those Polish women who simply enjoyed their life in the UK need to be mentioned here. A number of the interviewed women emphasised some of the positive characteristics of the UK that they enjoyed. Among these were: a comparatively more diverse and multicultural setting; greater gender equality in the UK in comparison to Poland; a relatively more generous welfare state; better opportunities to prosper, mainly linked to the paid labour market and relatively higher earnings. Those who highlighted these advantages of living in the UK did not seem to even consider ever going back to Poland. Some of them, when asked

of their future plans and whether they take into account a return to Poland, appeared to be almost amused and surprised all at once, by this question. This may suggest that they thought it unreasonable to return to a country which does not offer as high a living standard as the one in which they currently reside.

With regard to motivations for return, there was rarely one reason behind these and more often a complex set of motives, perhaps similar to migrants' motivations for migration (discussed in the previous chapter). It seems that some migrants eventually felt unable or unwilling to put up with the kind of physical work and daily routine they established in the UK. They may have become overwhelmed with work in the UK, especially as many were overqualified and experienced 'de-skilling' and 'brain waste' (cf. Iglicka, 2009, 2010). They perhaps felt 'stuck' in the manual jobs that were once perceived as desired, with limited possibility for progression to a higher and better paid position as their English language skills were limited. As the case may be, the longer migrants stay in the UK, the more expectant they may become.

Several of the interviewed women appeared to miss 'familiarity' (i.e. the Polish culture, tradition, language, etc.) and their family and friends who remained in Poland (cf. 'homesickness', Gosh, 2000). Others expressed their negative views on the British culture, society as a whole and its people. The weather was also often mentioned as something that is undesirable and worse in comparison to Poland. Whilst some respondents seemed to perceive the British relaxed attitude as a positive feature, others recognised it as a lack of moral values. Perhaps this depends on the original intention behind migrants' migratory decisions, not to mention their morals and personal attitudes. Arguably, those who come to the UK for financial reasons only and plan to return to Poland immediately after achieving their goals will be less 'invested' in the new social setting, thus less open to the new people and surroundings, which in consequence will reflect their attitude towards them.

Some of the interviewees' motivations to return to Poland were related to having met their goals that brought them to the UK in the first place (cf. White, 2014). A number of women simply achieved their aim (e.g. accumulated financial resources, finished studies) and as originally planned, returned to Poland. Some of the respondents followed their partners back to Poland, in a similar way to those who came to the UK following their male counterparts, as classic migration theories postulate (see chapter six) (cf. Massey *et al.*, 1993). With regard to some of the interviewed women, certain external factors 'pulled' them back to Poland serving as 'magnets' (Ryan, 2009). These were often impossible to predict and referred to a family member in need of care. Another 'supporting' factor in women's return migrations was the

general social trend of people they know who decided to move back to their countries of origin, the 'exodus' of their networks. This perhaps acted as 'food for thought' for the women in the sample to consider a return migration too. This may support the view that individual social actors are, after all, hugely affected by their surroundings (agency vs. structure). It appears that theory is useful in explaining women's migration experiences; however it cannot be applied unproblematically. This and the previous chapter focused on motivations for migration, motives to remain in the host country or return to 'home' country, whilst the next chapter explores Polish women migrants' gendered lives and the influence of migration on them.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Rethinking gender roles? Gender in migration in Polish migrant women's lives

8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the way Polish women experienced gender roles in Poland in contrast to what they observed and experienced in the UK. The chapter also considers how this may bring about a change in gender role expectations. The aim of the chapter is to explore how Polish migrant women make sense of their gendered lives, and in particular how women understand and negotiate gendered 'responsibilities' in the UK and Poland. Migrant women's attitudes towards their gender roles are also compared with those of return migrants. The migratory process is explored as a possible catalyst for change in women's gender roles as indicated in chapter four (cf. Kosack, 1976; Ho, 2006; Siara, 2009; Caritas, 2011). In this chapter, the two areas of paid work and unpaid familial care work are considered as reflecting the two spaces where women's gendered 'responsibilities' are constantly being negotiated. It is depicted how Polish migrant women managed (or not) to balance their various gender roles. It is shown how women were affected (if at all) by the migratory process in regard to their gender roles in both private and public spheres. As already established, "gender is not just one aspect in the study of people on the move" (Lutz, 2010, p. 1651) but it is one of the main organising principles in society and the world (Mahler & Pessar, 2006). As argued by Kindler and Napierała (2010), the majority of Polish studies of migration do not recognise gender as an important factor in the migratory process. Although previous research by Temple (1999) somewhat addressed this gap, Temple did not look at more recent Polish migrants to the UK. This study, however, has been undertaken from a gendered perspective (see chapter one) as it is acknowledged that women's migrations are affected by and have an effect on women's gender roles (in regard to paid work and unpaid familial care work).

This chapter begins with the image of '*Matka Polka*' as it was referred to by virtually every research participant. Then a discussion of traditional gender roles in Poland is provided. The next section is devoted to the exploration of gender roles prevalent in the UK. After that, the 'caring face' of the UK is examined by looking at how women make sense of the UK particularly with regard to the welfare state. The following section offers a debate on balancing work and care in the UK. The next section focuses on a comparison between Poland and the UK and how both countries 'look after' women in the public and private spheres. Then the

process of migration as a potential contributor to change in women's roles as paid workers and informal familial care workers is scrutinised. The chapter closes with conclusions.

8.2 The image of '*Matka Polka*' – 'Mother Hen'

The majority of the interviewees talked of the nationalistic symbol of '*Matka Polka*' when referring to women in Poland. These conversations about '*Matka Polka*' emerged from the respondents without prompting from the researcher which may be indicative of the deep-seated influence and effect of this gendered nationalistic construct on the interviewees' lives. In the literature, there is a clear patriotic aspect to this 'icon' (cf. Titkow, 2012). As noted in chapter three, the term '*Matka Polka*' was here translated into 'Mother Hen' to reflect the meaning the respondents placed on this phrase (PL: *matka*; Eng: mother; PL: *polka*; Eng: Polish woman). Arguably, the symbol of '*Matka Polka*' that is rooted in religion, history and tradition is part of the structural context that influences, perhaps mostly constrains, Polish women's agency. The interviewees referred to '*Matka Polka*' in a way that emphasised a woman who puts the needs of others, especially other family members, before her own needs. The research participants seemed to have given this term mostly negative connotations, although some perceive it as part of Polish culture and tradition. It appears to be almost synonymous with a woman who agreed to take on the role of a 'martyr', who cares for the needs of others whilst forgetting her own (cf. Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012). This attitude, often linked to Poland being perceived as a patriarchal country, was reported in previous research by Siara (2009). In her research, Siara examined the way Polish migrants' gender may be negotiated in cyberspace. She found that "patriarchal understandings of gender" are prevalent among Polish migrant men while women are more critical of this approach and are against "these specific cultural expectations of how women should look and behave" (*ibid.*, p. 180). The quotations below illustrate what the respondents mean when referring to '*Matka Polka*'. Oliwia's account seems to demonstrate that '*Matka Polka*' is a martyr who is there to help when needed and does not ask for anything in return. Oliwia emphasised that this term does not relate to a 'woman' but to a 'mother'. It seems that for Oliwia, '*Matka Polka*', as the name suggests is more applicable to women who are mothers, yet other respondents implied that this is not always the case.

OLIWIA (migrant, 37): '*Matka Polka*' is basically a woman who err... basically there are no Polish women, only Polish mothers, in other words she gives, gives, she takes care of things, she doesn't even expect thanks. ...Yeah ...here [UK] the [gender roles]

are more even than in Poland for sure. ...yeah, guys are more helpful here, and at least if [a guy] comes home he doesn't just mess about in his house clothes [tracksuit], you know, I mean that image of the boss who just sits in front of the telly [which is more common in Poland].

Anna for instance, described some of the physical characteristics that she associates with 'Mother Hens'. Anna stressed that for a 'mother hen', her appearance is not a priority. Quite the contrary, 'mother hen' is the mother who forgets about herself as she has a more important purpose to fulfil (cf. Titkow, Duch-Krzystoszek & Budrowska, 2004). Anna appears to believe that the role of the mother is very firmly embedded in Polish women's lives, even today. It is noteworthy that it is most certainly not only men, but other women too, that reinforce gendered expectations. Women seem to police one another and pass judgements about each other's actions, which can be viewed as a confirmation of the 'strong motherhood ideology' prevalent in Poland (Lutz, 2011).

ANNA (return migrant, 31): Oh the 'Mother Hen' is a lass in a tracksuit, no makeup, hair not done, and just the kids. You know, and she and the kids and basically I'm shocked. Actually one of my friends who was at ours for New Year's Eve, she left her kid with her mum so she could go out on New Year's Eve with her friends, so she stayed for one night and the next day I took her home. The kid's two years old now and one of her 'smart' [female] friends said to her, 'I don't understand how you can do that, how you can be that kind of mother,' you get me? But there are those kinds of women, she's also got kids and she'd never in her life do anything like that, like 'abandon' her kids with someone.

Aleks talked about 'Mother Hen' being able to sacrifice for her family to such an extent, that she gives up her private life – anything she did for her own pleasure – in order to 'serve' her family. However, it should be noted that to start with, Aleks mentioned a woman who can take care of everything, which could be seen positively, as someone who is resourceful in her approach to everyday tasks (cf. Titkow, 2012). Nevertheless, it seems to be clear from Aleks's account that this resourcefulness is desirable only when exercised freely and not imposed.

ALEKS (migrant, 30): It's a kind of woman who, in my opinion, it's a woman who does everything, she can do anything, she manages to do all the family stuff, that '*Matka*

Polka' image is here because she loves her whole family, the husband and the children and she's able to do everything for the family to the point that she doesn't have a private life, she works because she has to make money but the rest of the time she spends with her family that's a Polish mother hen to me.

In the view of many respondents, Aniela, quoted below is among them, '*Matka Polka*' is a woman who has forgotten about her own needs. It is a woman who predominantly cares about her husband's (or partner's) and her children's needs and always puts them before her own. It is a woman who somewhat lost her identity as she is determined to put her family first. This is someone whose priorities were redefined to incorporate caring for the family unit as the most important role in women's lives. It is noteworthy that, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, there is no similar term with comparable connotations and history that would apply to Polish men or fathers.

ANIELA (migrant, 32): Those are women who, for me, have forgotten about themselves, who... live I guess with some kind of psychological mechanism, then it turns out that they, in a way, ran away from themselves and concentrated on their husbands and on their children etc yeah. Yeah, cos well I think that if someone doesn't need time to themselves then... Generally, they kinda lost themselves, lost, neglected, stopped thinking about 'what I want for myself'...

Whilst the majority of the interviewees spoke negatively about 'mother hen' (sometimes with nostalgia), Kasia appeared to actively embrace '*Matka Polka*' and what comes with it. Kasia emphasised the significance of this term which she recognises as an important and enduring symbol in Poland and part of Polish tradition (cf. Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012). According to Kasia, it applies to a Polish mother who is clearly good at multitasking. A woman who approves her different roles as a mother, cleaner, cook, lover and paid worker and manages them well (cf. 'intersectionality' in chapter three). Arguably, those are the expectations of a woman in Poland; ideally, it is expected of her to focus on being a wife and mother with no need to have a professional career (Siara, 2009). Whilst many Polish women engage in the paid labour market, this is arguably seen as merely complementing the male breadwinner's wage; a career is not necessary as women have other roles to fulfil (Siara, 2009). However, assuming the role of a breadwinner does not mean being relieved of care responsibilities (Keryk, 2010; Lutz, 2011). Although, it is not apparent from the quotation below that Kasia is at ease with those

different responsibilities, later in the interview she explained that she is happy to take on the various roles traditionally assigned to women. In fact, Kasia seemed to be proud to be brought up in a tradition that 'entitles' women to take on a variety of roles in which they are indispensable (cf. Titkow, 2012). Here, women's identities other than gender, namely that of a mother, wife and domestic worker are emphasised. They intersect one another in women's everyday lives and depending on a particular situation one or the other may be 'pushed forward' (cf. Lykke, 2006; Davies, 2008).

KASIA (migrant, 33): '*Matka Polka*' is an icon in Poland, every woman should have children and a husband, not on her own, and on top of having children, she has to be a washer and a cleaner and a cook and a lover and even better if she also had a [paid] job. ...in Poland, I'm a mother hen, here [UK] I'm Kasia, I'm Ewa, I'm Monika, I'm Gosia and I'm getting somewhere. A lot of women who come to our advice service, they call themselves 'mum', or 'wife' err they're not identified as an individual err especially those who come here [UK] with their families, not those who got married here when they were already living here, but those who came here like that...

Kasia also highlighted the issue of self-portrayal. She observed an interesting pattern in Polish women's way of talking of themselves. Kasia explained that Polish women often refer to themselves as mothers, wives and not as individuals, separate from their families, social actors. It should be noted that Kasia works in an advice service thus has regular contact with the wider public on a daily basis (especially with clients of Polish origin). Kasia seems to believe that this way of self-portrayal is specific to Polish women as in her view, this does not occur in the UK. She made a distinction between women who come to the UK with their families and those who start relationships whilst in the UK, suggesting that the latter seem to be more liberated while the former appear to be more rooted in the Polish patriarchal culture. Kasia's perception is that in the UK women can be 'themselves'; they are individuals with their own needs, wants and the ability to achieve their goals. She contrasted this with women in Poland being seen solely as mothers or potential mothers.

It is noteworthy that expecting women to be perfect mothers (and paid workers) is in direct contradiction with the reality. Recent Polish research found that one in two women in Poland could not afford to have a child, whereas one third would face work-family conflict if they became pregnant (CBOS, 2013c). This same study demonstrated that one in three Polish women had to give up work due to caring responsibilities and one in ten women were made redundant

on their return from maternity leave (*ibid.*). This section perhaps painted a rather negative picture but what happens when women evidently influenced by the icon of ‘*Matka Polka*’ leave Poland? The next sections explore this.

8.3 ‘I’m also entitled to be tired’: traditional gender roles in Poland

As already argued in chapter three, in Poland traditional gender roles are prevalent (Pascall & Lewis, 2004; Pascall & Kwak, 2005; White, 2011; CBOS, 2009, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). In Poland and other countries in Central-Eastern Europe communism contributed to the strengthening of the former traditional patriarchal system (Łobodzińska, 1996; Keryk, 2010). Recent Polish research found that the majority of Polish nationals prefer a partnership, yet in most Polish families domestic chores, such as ironing, washing, cooking, washing up and general cleaning are undertaken by women (Keryk, 2010; CBOS, 2013b). It is noteworthy that both countries under exploration officially adhere to the adult worker model as acknowledged in the theoretical chapters (Williams & Brennan, 2012). However, in Poland post 1989 ‘retraditionalisation’ took place whereby women retreated to the private sphere while their male partners earn a living (Pascall & Manning, 2000; Pascall & Lewis, 2004). Poland has previously been characterized as an example of a ‘post-communist conservative corporatist’ state with ‘implicit familialism’, where:

The withdrawal of state support for working mothers clashes with preferences for a partnership model of the family in sharing of paid and unpaid labour (Płomień, 2009, p. 137 & 146).

In regard to the majority of the respondents, traditional families were commonplace. Moreover, in line with recent research, women tended to understand domestic work as solely their responsibility (CBOS, 2006, 2009, 2013b). The Polish traditional patriarchal family is routinely characterised by the man acting as the main breadwinner and the woman the main caregiver (cf. Siara, 2009). However, partially due to the communist past and partially out of necessity, women in Poland often engage in the paid labour market too. In consequence, women are often faced with ‘double burden’ whereby they actually undertake two shifts of work, one in the paid labour market and the other at home (cf. Hochschild & Machung, 1989). This ‘constant role

conflict' between attempting to manage paid work and informal familial unpaid work leaves women in a disadvantaged position as noted in chapter three (Łobodzińska, 1996; Keryk, 2010). Moreover, "the Polish State, in general, does not promote policies that would enhance women's situation in the labour market" (Cieślik, 2012, p. 18). The affordable childcare services available during communism were withdrawn post 1989 consequently contributing to 'refamilialisation' (Szelewa & Polakowski, 2008, p. 115). Thus, it seems as though a 'partnership' for the research participants equates to any relationship that is different from the aforementioned norm.

Wiktoria's story illustrated well the 'double burden' that Polish women seem to experience. She said that even though she engaged in the paid labour market, just as her husband, she would come home and had to take care of the housework and care work. In Wiktoria's view, Polish men do not partake in domestic responsibilities as much as they should. She emphasised the unfair division of domestic labour at home and explained that there should be greater equality in the sharing of those duties. It is interesting to see how deeply ingrained gender roles seem to be in Wiktoria's perception. She talked of 'the rule' as if it is an incontestable truth that women simply 'have to do' all the various tasks that are socially and traditionally considered their responsibility. Wiktoria explained that women, not men, are capable of undertaking these numerous activities which results in a sexual division of labour. It appears as though, because women have shown that they can handle their different roles, it is now very difficult to change the *status quo*. The notion of intersectionality should be mentioned here as it can be argued that with regard to gender norms, gender intersects with other individual characteristics (Crenshaw, 1989; Davies, 2008; McCann & Kim, 2010). Those perhaps most notable for this research are: nationality, age, education, occupation. Thus, women's understandings of gendered expectations will almost certainly depend on these. Wiktoria, quoted below, is one of the older research participants; however, as is illustrated below, younger women from the sample share a similar view.

WIKTORIA: (migrant, 48) I'd come home from [paid] work and I'd have to do the housework [laughs] and look after the kids and everything, so the majority [of men], it's like that, that still they do a lot less of the [house] work, because they think that they work and so they should just sit, come back and sit and lie around on their backsides, right? ...they should do everything together, basically, you know, do everything together ...yeah why does she want to [do the housework] yeah? Because evidently that's the rule, right? Because, you know, a guy isn't like someone who's going to cook, clean, wash and take care of everything and go and do the shopping. There are typically

feminine jobs and those for men; of course I'm not going to be a locksmith [laughs] or a bricklayer because I can't do that right?

Gabrysia referred to the fact that Polish women are deprived of their identity as individuals, as women. In her view, when women get married they become wives, when they bear children they become mothers, thus various 'axes of difference' intersect one another (McCann & Kim, 2010). As mothers they seem to be defined predominantly in relation to their children and how well they can look after them. Yet, it is arguably not gender as a social construct (as was explored in chapter three), but the fact that women bear children, that is the reason for their discrimination (cf. CBOS, 2006). However, there has been a significant increase in the total number of births to Polish mothers in the UK (Janta, 2013). This may reflect the following: the majority of Polish migrant women in the UK are young and reach the highly reproductive age post migration (Trevena, 2009); the UK offers a more attractive environment in which to start a family (welfare state); the majority of children born to Polish mothers have a British father (Janta, 2013). Thus, some Polish mothers in the UK no longer seem to be confined to the comparatively more rigid gender roles prevalent in Poland, whilst others still do (see sections that follow). It is noteworthy however, that the process of migration can prove to be an opportunity to alter one's gender ideology (more on this in the following sections). Women in Poland in contrast to those in the UK, in Gabrysia's perception, seem to be discriminated against by employers; this was previously acknowledged by Heinen (1997).

GABRYSIA (circular migrant/returnee, 26): Yeah, back home in Poland, women are still err seen by their employers as just mothers, so in general, if they want a career, their employer is afraid to give any kind of good job to a woman who's going to get pregnant, so they prefer to give it to a man who'll never have kids, I mean, he won't get pregnant right? Err, in the UK, what I've noticed is that there, women definitely have a better chance of it, in general you can't discriminate against people from what I remember.

Recent research found that Polish nationals (mostly women) do not believe that the Polish state has implemented adequate policies that would contribute to, let alone achieve, gender equality (CBOS, 2013a). Many interviewees perceived the UK to be more egalitarian for women. It should, however, be noted that under the EU directives, both Poland and the UK are expected to follow the same rules and regulations with regard to gender equality (cf. Coyle, 2007). Anna for instance, described Poland as a particularly conservative country, where religion, the church

and the family have a major influence on people's lives. This was emphasised by many of the interviewees and has previously been highlighted in other research (e.g. Temple & Judd, 2011; Cieřlik, 2012). Arguably, the Catholic Church, especially in the communist period, reinforced traditional gender roles whereby women are perceived principally as mothers and ought not to question this arrangement (Siara, 2009; Graff, 2014). This perhaps would have affected older women more substantially, but younger women, like Anna, still noticed the gendered division of domestic labour. Furthermore, through strong familial ties these norms are 'kept in the family' which may potentially impede change.

ANNA (return migrant, 31): Religion still has a lot of influence [in Poland], honestly the church has a hell of a lot to say in the country and makes a hell of a lot out of it. Also, family is really important there, there are a lot of very tight relationships between the close and wider family, girls still get married very young, right after university or even when they're still at uni. It's sick, and mum chooses their wedding dress and mum is more involved in their lives than their husbands, it seems to me that we're really conservative.

It appears that the majority of the respondents recognised particular duties that are women's 'responsibility'. The interviewed women acknowledged the struggle Polish women are faced with in regard to their various roles (cf. Keryk, 2010). Some interviewees explained that they were brought up to think there are specific responsibilities that apply to women. They seem to have been taught that a woman should simply accept certain duties. Marianna for instance, realised that when her husband got accustomed to the way they divided (or in fact did not) their domestic responsibilities, it was already too late to expect him to partake in these. Here again a double (or triple) burden is emphasised. Interestingly, Marianna, even though unsatisfied about this, did not seem to know how, or for that matter if, this could be changed.

MARIANNA (migrant, 48): I was basically brought up at home to think that women do certain things and men do certain things. And I didn't bring any sort of changes or new things into my relationship because I thought women should be able to do everything, to cope, to clean the house and bake cakes and wash the kids. And my husband comes home at 15.00, dinner on the table and I came from that kind of set up, and after that my husband got used to it and it couldn't change. You know, I'd come home from work and be tired but I'd have to do those things because he's got used to it.

The interviewees appeared to perceive Polish women's gendered responsibilities as a fact. Among those, the interviewed women mentioned shopping, cleaning, housework and care work. Despite the fact that Monika is the youngest woman in the sample (cf. the intersection of gender and age) her description of a typical Polish woman corresponds with the views of others. Particularly intriguing is the way Monika described a typical Polish man. When he finishes work, he relaxes with a beverage in front of the television set. This perhaps illustrates the interviewees' perception of the sexual division of labour in Poland.

MONIKA (migrant, 20): Yeah usually, in Poland yeah, you know, a woman does the shopping, cleaning, works at home, kids yeah [laughs] and the guy just drinks beer, watches the telly [laughs] and goes to [paid] work. Yeah I think that's normal, yeah it's like, like that I think, because a woman always, like my mum, she got up and she made breakfast, went to [paid] work, came home and made dinner, went to do the shopping and my dad came home [from work], sat down with a beer and the telly. Err yeah and I think it's still like that everywhere [in Poland] today.

Some respondents experienced discriminatory treatment as children in Poland. Maria, for instance, explained that it was not socially acceptable for her, as a girl, to have certain interests that were stereotypically associated with boys and men. It is noteworthy that this took place over twenty years ago; however, Maria claimed that she learned from her friends in Poland that such norms still persist today. New research has revealed that Polish women feel they are being discriminated against particularly with regard to the world of paid work (CBOS, 2013a). This predominantly relates to the gender pay gap, 'glass ceiling' and discriminatory treatment against young women seen as potential mothers. However, men's views differ considerably from those of women. Men, as was found, do not notice major deficiencies in Polish legislation concerning women (*ibid.*). It is noteworthy that the discriminatory measures mentioned above operate in the UK too (cf. Boyle, 2013), however, they do not seem to be as much of a barrier or have not been noticed by the interviewees. Maria perceived substantial differences between Poland and the UK and the way these two countries' policies treat women. She talked of a different sort of 'pressure' on men and women but seemed to think that there is considerably more of it on women to follow certain patterns of behaviour. Maria spoke of women being pressurised into starting a family at an early age which can, of course, have a negative impact on women's future career attainment (cf. Titkow, Duch-Krzystoszek & Budrowska, 2004). In her view, it is expected of a woman to 'find' a husband before she is thirty years of age. After

finding a husband, she is expected to start a family and devote herself to the family life, ideally on a full time basis. Maria's views may seem fairly radical and somewhat extreme; however, they find a reflection in other interviewees' accounts. Maria did not notice comparable divides in the UK which she viewed positively (more on this later in the chapter). Similar observations were made before; the patriarchal expectations in regard to Polish women's roles were described by Polish men as a 'cultural myth' (Siara, 2009).

MARIA (circular migrant, 33): When I was young I was really into physics but everyone basically said "'cos it's not for little girls'." (...). If boys are interested in dolls in nursery they are teased or if a girl picks up a tank then there's a scream because she shouldn't because it's a toy for boys.

EDM: I see, now in what way, if any, does being a woman differ in the UK and Poland?

MARIA: Oh God, diametrically. It's really different, completely, it's like life here and life on Mars – it's basically a completely different atmosphere. In Poland there is a real pressure, I think there is also a different pressure on men and women, but the pressure on women is bigger in terms of the fact that you have to have children. And in Poland I think you have to have children before you're 30 as afterwards that's it, life's over and nothing else will happen in your life that's the perception of life after 30. Generally, that's the perception for women, that you have your twenties and your student life yeah, go to university and then find yourself a husband and if you don't it's a problem because now you've only got 5 years to find one before you're 30 and you're only attractive until you're 30 and after that you're too old, you're menopausal already.

It should be acknowledged that class structure is likely to be disrupted by migration as initially migrants may experience downward mobility with regards to their socio-economic positions (Ryan, 2011). Migrants' class position may be further complicated by the level of their English language skills, occupation and future aspirations (Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich, 2006; Temple, 2010). This may be true particularly for economic migrants whose goals are related to accumulating financial resources and who therefore may take up positions that do not match their qualifications or experience (cf. Iglicka, 2009, 2010). However, it is believed that the class of Polish women would not necessarily influence their views on gender roles. This is confirmed by the interview data, and whilst a wide range of individuals took part in the research, the majority of them were brought up in accordance with traditional gender roles.

8.4 'It's good that women in the UK can drive buses': the perception of flexible gender roles in the UK

Many of the interviewed migrant women seemed to recognise that gender divisions function in the UK too, yet gender roles were seen as less rigid when compared to Poland (cf. White, 2011). It is perceived that gender roles in the UK cannot be distinguished as easily and domestic tasks are not as clearly divided between partners as they are in Poland. Women's perceptions are that in Poland it is expected of women that they do the care and domestic work, whereas in the UK it seems that this depends on partners achieving a balance and agreement in respect of their shared responsibilities (cf. Siara, 2009). The cultural expectations seem to leave Polish women's 'responsibilities' rarely negotiable while British women appear to be freer to equally share them. Kornelia for instance, talked with passion about how unfair she perceived the sexual division of labour to be between her family members when she was a child. She explained how she never understood why it operated in a way that women had their hands full at all times whilst men did not seem to face the same expectations. She wanted to question this arrangement but felt not in a position to argue about it. This may be linked to the relatively stronger familial ties in Poland and 'knowing your place' within this hierarchical unit (cf. Cieřlik, 2012).

KORNELIA (circular migrant, 35): I never understood when I was young, why the roles are so separate and that my dad could put his feet up, sit there and watch telly and my mum would basically work all night and do everything at home. I never understood it when the whole family would come round and my granddad and my dad would sit there and drink vodka and my mum and grandma basically, from morning 'til night, would take care of the cleaning, the cooking, getting lots of things ready for Christmas when they [the men] only had to light the fire, I didn't understand it, I rebelled against it.

Kornelia showed some initiative and enquired about how British people divide their responsibilities at home. She quizzed her colleagues about this. She explained that she was astonished with what she heard. She was surprised to hear that British men help out with the cooking for instance, and do not feel embarrassed about their involvement in those tasks traditionally perceived as feminine. A similar observation was made by Siara (2009) whose participants acknowledged that Polish men seem to be more 'primitive' and controlling with regard to women, whilst British men are more egalitarian (cf. Temple, 2011b).

KORNELIA (circular migrant, 35): I see here in the UK that it's different; there aren't those roles, 'cos I've spoken to British people [men] at work. I asked them about different things, one's got a girlfriend, the other's married and I'd ask: "so what do you do at home?" "Well, when I come home from work I cook dinner", and I'd always blink and say: "you cook dinner?" "Every day?", the same with a lot of different chores, like cleaning or whatever. ...that they made cakes and cooked, and they weren't at all embarrassed, they didn't say that they thought it was unmanly or whatever. ...err those are I guess big differences between British men and Polish men.

It appears that a number of respondents considered British men to be more helpful and supportive when compared to Polish men (cf. Siara, 2009). Arguably, observing such differences, may help facilitate more equal division of responsibilities. Kornelia tried to compare the way domestic responsibilities are dealt with in both countries and perceives gendered roles as not as firmly adhered to in the UK when compared to Poland. She may perhaps now feel free to make a choice with regards to what roles she would welcome in her future relationship (for more on this see the following sections). Generally speaking, the interviewees seem to agree with Kornelia in regard to the less rigid gender roles in the UK as this quotation by Maja suggests:

MAJA (return migrant, 29): ...when you asked me about the division of roles in the UK, yeah, there wasn't this kind of thing where you'd hear, 'you do this and that and the other,' from what I remember they [British people] split everything yeah. Maybe they didn't cook this meal or that meal 'cos they get takeaways or whatever but generally they did everything together...

Michalina explained further the way the two countries under consideration differ in her view. She recognised the UK to be more liberal in respect of cohabiting, whilst in Poland she noticed more pressure on couples to formalise their relationships. Single mothers in Poland are often ostracised and even blamed for their situation, whereas in the UK there are no such negative sanctions in Michalina's view. Moreover, she perceived women in the UK to feel more confident to leave their partner as they can rely on the state for support as the comparatively more extensive welfare state comprises various agencies that serve women specifically. At the same time Polish women seem to have no similar alternative but to remain with their partners as otherwise they could not afford to support themselves and their children. Michalina seemed to be rather negative about lone parenthood in the UK but at the same time appeared to also

positively evaluate this in comparison to Poland. It is noteworthy that the relatively more extensive British welfare state plays a crucial part in women's negotiation of work and care and arguably it enables them to achieve a better balance between the two. On the other hand, the media attention, especially in the aftermath of the global economic crisis of 2008, makes acknowledging this somewhat problematic.

MICHALINA (migrant, 33): Here [the UK] you see, formal relationships are much rarer than in Poland and here, I've noticed that a lot of women basically are single mothers so generally it's messed up in a way, but in Poland err there's more pressure to get married, then have children etc. so it's formalised and legalised. However, here nobody cares about that at all (...) So it seems to me that it's completely different here to back home, firstly people don't care about marriage, then women have two, three, four or even seven kids or whatever and each with a different man but nobody pays her any mind on the street and nobody says bad things about her but, for sure, they would if that happened in Poland and here err what I'm saying is women feel more sure of themselves...

It is very interesting that many of the respondents had what could be perceived as quite extreme views with regard to British women. This has perhaps its reflection in the type of sources of information they rely on (e.g. migrant networks; friends; colleagues; the media). Moreover, as already noted, only a few of the interviewees had British networks of friends. Many interviewees mentioned that in the UK women are not as much discriminated against as they are in Poland, which may not be true (but is outside of the scope of this research). It is important to acknowledge that this relates to the way women perceive the two countries under consideration and may not fully reflect the reality. Interviewees seemed to think that the UK has a comparably better legal system in place that can prevent such incidents from happening. Some women appear to believe that whilst it is illegal to treat women differently in the UK, in Poland such laws do not exist, or perhaps do not reflect the reality or are not enforced to the same extent. This may simply be due to the more liberal cultural norms observed in the UK (cf. Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Siara, 2009). Arguably, this is due to history and Poland being a post-communist country as opposed to the UK, a post-imperial country as explained in the theoretical chapters. Some interviewees, Barbara for example, talked about 'blurred' boundaries between what were traditionally recognised as women's and men's responsibilities. The interviewed women seem to believe that there are no such divisions in the UK any more.

BARBARA (migrant, 38): I couldn't believe my eyes, here [UK], it's equal, there's no kind of division between men and women. Err here I've met, not just British people yeah, but I've met lots of other people, Slovaks, Arabs, Czechs, and from what I picked up, because I look after the house myself, I'm alone with my children, but in marriages there's no such thing as 'get me this or that from the kitchen,' yeah? They do everything together, you know I had a boyfriend here for a year and it was like, 'listen, I'll do this and you do that,' or something ...not like, 'you clean up,' and 'you change the tyre,' or whatever [laughs] no. It's not like that at all and I like that actually.

In line with research by Erel (2011), respondents observed relatively looser familial ties in the UK when compared to Poland. Many perceive that British family members are not as close as Polish family members. A number of respondents share the view that British teenagers leave the family home relatively earlier and British parents do not interfere in their children's lives as much as Polish parents who often insist on being involved in their children's everyday lives. However, it currently seems to be common for adult children to return to the family home as they are struggling or unable to support themselves financially (Williams, 2005). Marianna, quoted below, observed many differences with regard to family life in both countries. Although, she seems to perceive British family ties negatively and seems to be in favour of closer Polish family relationships, this is an illustration of Polish women being exposed to different, unfamiliar norms that often influence their perception.

MARIANNA (migrant, 48): From what I see here [UK], it's actually not like in Poland. In Poland we help our children and here actually you've got 16 or 18 [years of age] with their own kids or their boyfriend and they're off on their own, have their own home, live totally separately. There's no help whatsoever from the parents, like we want to help our children at all costs, and British people basically live by themselves, they only even see each other sporadically, apart from Christmas, well that's how I see it.

As illustrated above, a number of respondents pointed to the positive differences between Poland and the UK in respect of gendered roles. Several women talked with jealousy about some British women not being burdened to the same extent by more traditional gendered expectations. Kinga, similarly to many other interviewees, seemed to consider domestic work (i.e. washing, cleaning, and cooking, etc.) as traditionally women's responsibility in Poland which is supported by the research of others (Keryk, 2010, CBOS, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c). It appears to be evident that Kinga (as other research revealed cf. Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Siara,

2009; White, 2011) perceived the UK to be more equal in respect of the division of gendered roles in regard to paid work and unpaid care between partners in a relationship. Kinga also drew attention to some negative cultural stereotypes that are prevalent in Poland. She seemed to believe that a woman undertaking certain activities (e.g. driving buses; fixing a boiler) would attract unnecessary attention and would be laughed at in Poland. At the same time, in a similar situation such a woman in the UK would not be paid any attention.

KINGA: (migrant, 25) I think it's good that women here in the UK can drive buses, they're not discriminated against, not like in Poland where women just can't do things, 'a woman behind the wheel' is just terrible in Poland right? But here women drive buses and it's nothing strange, right? Women can do things really in different situations, fixing a boiler in a building, honestly there are few of them yeah, but in every field women are doing things. And I think that it's good actually that there's no discrimination, that they can do tough jobs the same as men. I see that lots of Brits, which is actually quite strange for me, I see a lot of men with pushchairs, for the woman to have a break at home, he takes the kid out and goes out and for me it's really shocking. For example, I've got a Polish husband and I don't remember when he just took our kid in the pram and went out to the park. The majority of roles, in terms of Polish culture are mine, I do the washing, the cleaning, the cooking and if there was [paid] work I'd go to work and I'd still do all the house work plus the kids on top of that, but here there's more of a [equal] division of responsibilities [in the UK] I think.

As indicated in chapter three, previous research found that 'British mothering styles' are perceived as *laissez-faire* and are characterised by relatively looser familial ties whilst the 'Polish mothering style' is comparatively more strict (Erel, 2011, p. 701). These have their reflections in the wider context comprising history, tradition, religion and constitute structural opportunities and/or constraints depending on the point of view and individual agency. The research participants signalled very similar views and, while some perceived this negatively, others considered it as an overall positive development, particularly with regard to looser familial ties and less interference from parents in their adult children's lives. It can be said that the majority of the respondents seem to appreciate the sometimes perhaps subtle differences in gender ideology between Poland and the UK. It is evident that many interviewees seem to prefer the British gender order; the reasons behind this are explained in the next few sections.

8.5 Balancing work and care in the UK

It can be argued that women in Poland may struggle to manage their different gendered 'responsibilities', namely paid work and informal familial care work.

While the socialist system maintained full employment and the dual-earner model was the norm, after the fall of socialism measures enabling the combination of work and care have been withdrawn with implications for choices surrounding work and care (Płomień, 2009, p. 138).

Although Polish women's employment rates are on average higher than those in other EU countries and they tend to be better educated than their male counterparts, their earnings are still about one-quarter lower and they often remain unemployed for longer than men (Kalinowska-Nawrotek, 2006). What is more, "in Poland the provision of public childcare services is very poor, and the state also does not offer much financial help for parents caring for the small child" (Szelewa & Polakowski, 2008, p. 129). Moreover, care work is seen as a private responsibility in Poland (Watson, 1992; Keryk, 2010). Therefore, it is no surprise that women faced with a choice between work and care, often choose work, as was already acknowledged in the theoretical chapters (Płomień, 2009). Arguably, "the position of women within different welfare regimes revolves around two related issues, the valuing of unpaid work and the sharing of it" (Lewis, 1992, p. 170). These two issues are central to women's disadvantaged position as argued in chapter three.

The empirical findings seem to indicate that women considered the UK to be considerably more supportive in respect of women's gendered 'responsibilities'. However, "... gender equality is still rather controversial, especially in former Communist and traditionally Catholic countries such as Poland" (Lister *et al.*, 2007, p. 81). Ewa, quoted below, perceived the UK as a relatively better place to have a child. For her, the comparatively more stable financial situation and general attitudes towards mothers make it a better place to bring up offspring. Several research participants indirectly brought up the topic of the British welfare state but some of the women appeared to have a rather idealistic view of it. Arguably, their opinion of it could be based on a word of mouth and/or be influenced by mass media. Most importantly though, this is context-specific and is compared with a relatively meagre support from the state in Poland. "Dual frame

of reference” (Waldinger & Lichter, 2003, p. 9) may be applicable here as migrants often compare their home and host countries. Hence, it can be asserted that Polish women appear to appreciate the state support available in the UK. Indeed, recent statistical data confirms that Poland was the most common country of birth for non-UK born mothers in 2012 (ONS, 2012), which suggests that others share Ewa’s views. Additionally, the increase in Polish women’s birth rate in the UK is perhaps a reflection of large numbers of migrants that moved to the UK post 2004. This quotation also reflects cultural differences and the stigma of being a lone mother in Poland.

EWA (migrant, 25): It’s better to have kids here [UK] because there’s better maternity support than in Poland. Here, you can be a single mother but in Poland, it’s awful, you know it’s crazy, ‘oh look she’s only 17 and has a kid and there’s no father and blah blah.’ You know if I had to be a single mother I’d choose the UK over Poland because I’d get a house and support and I’d somehow be able to take care of the child and nobody here would bother me because I’m a single mother...

Another structural factor is related to the support from the state. A number of women mentioned the UK welfare state and its importance in Polish migrant women’s decisions to start a family as the quotation below by Olga illustrates. In fact, several interviewees stated that they would not have decided to have a child if it was not for the support from the British state. They admitted that they would almost certainly not have a child if they were in Poland. What seemed to matter in their decision to start a family, were the relatively better employment market and more generous social security benefits serving as a ‘safety net’. Arguably, these enable women to better manage paid work and caring responsibilities. On the one hand, women are better supported in their roles as mothers because they receive certain social security benefits. On the other hand, they can still participate in the paid labour market due to the availability of part time and flexible work. That said, this research did not find evidence of so-called ‘benefit tourism’ (Casciani, 2013). For the women mentioned here it was not simply a matter of choosing to come to the UK so they can take advantage of the benefit system. It seemed to involve a significantly more complex set of reasons. What appeared to happen was that after coming to the UK usually to work, they settled here, met someone and then considered starting a family after observing that it is perhaps a comparatively more supportive country of new families. It needs to be acknowledged that similar social security benefits are available in Poland (e.g. child benefit, unemployment benefit) but these seem to be considerably lower in relative terms.

OLGA (return migrant, 28): I think it's easier in the UK... in the UK because of the whole social thing you have some things made easier. Even the decision whether or not to have kids err I think it's easier there [UK] because of that... I have a German friend who said that she liked it here [Poland] but they're leaving with her husband because they want to start a family and they can't afford to do it here...

Many respondents emphasised (mostly indirectly) that the UK welfare state provides invaluable support as previously noted. Maja for instance, described a variety of support services available in the UK through the National Health Service (NHS) and other agencies. The relatively more extensive welfare services make a considerable difference in Maja's view. She compared the services she accessed in the UK with what is available in Poland. She perceived the UK to be more supportive of new mothers who are offered a range of services immediately after the birth of their child. Maja's perception is that the UK supports women and whole families better whilst Poland has a lot to live up to in respect of pro-family policies and practise (cf. Płomień, 2009). This is in line with recent research by Daly (2013) which revealed that England has relatively more extensive parenting support services when compared to other European countries. Thus, here again structural opportunities intersect with peoples' agency.

MAJA (return migrant, 29): In terms of being a woman and a mother, there's a lot more sort of organised things, so that the mum can get out with the child and learn to feed it, what products to use, when to introduce fruit or vegetables or meat. And you can meet with other mums, and have a coffee, you don't have to be shut away alone like here [in Poland] I reckon, mum's here are shut away at home with their children.

Maja's account is perhaps a very good illustration of what barriers new mothers may face in Poland. It is noteworthy that Maja had first-hand experience of being a new mother in the UK and Poland. She lived in the UK for 5 years and had her son there. However, she moved back to Poland when her son was still young hence was able to observe the very interesting differences between the two countries in regard to service provision, the extent of support in place and general social attitudes towards mothers. In Maja's view, the UK is far more supportive of new mothers when compared to Poland. As examples of the different services offered in the UK which seem to be unavailable or inadequate in Poland, she gave: mum and toddler groups; baby massage; and regular visits of midwives after the birth.

MAJA (return migrant, 29): when you have a child [in Poland] you're supposed to give up on your own life and you can't go out anymore but there [UK], it [living in the UK]

taught me a lot, I think, just because you have a child doesn't mean you have to shut yourself away.

Michalina mentioned a very important issue of domestic abuse. She perceived that the UK offers greater support and assistance in such cases in comparison to Poland. This, it can be asserted, empowers women to let go of a failed relationship and start afresh (cf. Morokvasic, 2004). Michalina explained that women in a similar situation in Poland cannot count on equally good support, which then impedes the possibility of them leaving their abusive partners. This seems to be yet another confirmation that in the UK women are better supported in balancing their different roles as mothers and workers. Hence, it can be asserted that the British structural context better reflects Polish women's agency.

MICHALINA (migrant, 33): Here [in UK] a woman is more sure of herself in respect of, I mean look how many women in Poland are married 'cos they couldn't manage financially on their own 'cos there's no institution for them to go and discuss their problems or even if there was, who can help them? I mean, in terms of domestic violence for example, here [UK] you go and declare domestic violence and the next day they'll find you an emergency bed and then somewhere to live and they want to look after you and then after a while you get a council house and somehow basically you can function, as a single mother I mean. Here, women are treated equally to men...

Some interviewees seemed to believe that being a single mother is comparably more difficult in Poland. Arguably, it is so as the limited support from the state makes it difficult for women to acquire sufficient funds to be able to provide for the children. On the other hand, women observed relatively more support available to mothers in the UK (e.g. social security benefits serving as a safety net). The interviewed women perceived Poland to be substantially less supportive in regard to women and their various roles which seems to be the case in relation to women in Poland more generally (CBOS, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c). What appears to be particularly helpful is the availability of relatively more flexible working hours. This is an important issue, especially for mothers. The accessibility of part time work, perhaps unsurprisingly, seems to be invaluable to women who have caring responsibilities. Monika explained that in the UK she can have flexible part time working hours and still have the time to provide care to her young son. Monika appeared to think she would not be able to reconcile her different roles in Poland, namely that of a paid worker and informal carer to her child. She perceived the UK to be more family-orientated in respect of policy and practice. In other words, structural opportunities related to the welfare state in the UK seem to outweigh longing for

familiarity and missing Poland. However, these views and attitudes will perhaps reflect certain cultural differences between the two countries.

MONIKA (migrant, 20): In Poland, women don't have a lot of time to look after their children, right? Because they work all day to support themselves and the child, and everything, but here [UK] a woman can just work a few hours, yeah? Like today, I came home at 9 [a.m.] and I've got the whole day with my child, I can take care of him, yeah? Even if I were a teacher in Poland I'd be coming home at 6 in the evening and I practically wouldn't see my child so obviously it's different here, the country really does take care of its children. That makes me happy, it's really good for kids here, everything is really good.

Several interviewees brought up the issue of relatively limited availability or a lack of part time and/or flexible working hours in Poland. Dorota is a single mother with two children (7 and 16 years old). She returned to Poland after her relationship with a Polish partner who lives in the UK broke down. On her return, Dorota found herself in a difficult financial situation. She had been trying to secure paid work but found it impossible to balance childcare with full time employment, while part time work was inaccessible. Dorota perceived that part time work is far more commonplace in the UK, which in her view better supports women who are single mothers, who this way are able to regain some independence.

DOROTA (return migrant, 36): I always thought it was easier when I was there [UK]. Even if only one person works and the other stays at home they can afford to eat, to do stuff, right? So, because of that life's easier, right? I think you can cope, if I had to work and look after the kids, and just having a small child means you can have a few hours' work, but here [Poland] you can't do that, balance this...

Similarly to Dorota, Maria mentioned the strain on mothers in Poland. Maria also talked about Polish single mothers who manage to secure a decent living standard in the UK. She seemed to recognise that women in the UK are not afraid to become mothers even when they are not in a long-term relationship. Maria attempted to compare the possibilities of balancing women's different responsibilities and appears to have concluded that it is achieved more easily in the UK in comparison with Poland. She did not seem to be able to identify one reason for this but, in her view, it appears to be linked to wage disparities and the comparatively more extensive welfare system.

MARIA (circular migrant, 33): Maybe the politics [in Poland] is terrible, yeah I don't know, you can't afford stuff, here for example, I know Polish women who are single mothers but in Poland it's really tough... Here [UK] women aren't afraid if they don't have a partner but want to have children. I know some cases, they have children and they don't have a problem, they manage, with work, with everything, it's possible here to do that, but in Poland, I don't know a lot but I hear it isn't easy.

It has been acknowledged that Polish migrant women have previously moved away from Poland to avoid its patriarchal structures (Kindler & Napierała, 2010). These relate to previously noted structural factors related to tradition, religion, history, and persistence of '*Matka Polka*' as an enduring role model. Arguably, migration to the UK enables Polish women to achieve a better work-family balance. However, perhaps due to patriarchal values prevalent in Poland, Polish men appear to be considerably less supportive in regard to sharing responsibilities with women than British men. Considering that both men and women are expected to undertake paid work (Lister *et al.*, 2007), women are more likely to reconcile flexible working lives (Pascall & Lewis, 2004), and it seems as though, for a number of reasons that are outlined below, women can manage their working lives more effectively in the UK than they do in Poland. Many interviewees appeared to be quite certain that the UK is more supportive of women's various roles. Monika explained it in relation to social security assistance and child benefit in particular.

EDM: And isn't similar support [child benefit] available in Poland?

MONIKA (migrant, 20): Oh no. In Poland, the support is maybe 50PLN [approx. 10GBP] a month so you know you could maybe buy nappies for a week for that. No, the support isn't there because that's the country it is and that's it.

Arguably, migration to the UK may contribute to a transformation in gender role expectations which is perhaps due to the various structures present in the UK that offer relatively greater support, hence migrant women are in a position to either become full time home-makers or waged workers or balance the two. Even though both countries currently adhere to the adult worker model (Williams & Brennan, 2012), it can be asserted that in Poland it is more of a necessity for both partners to be in paid employment compared to the UK. The UK is relatively less expensive in regard to the spending power of one's earnings paralleled with the cost of living compared to Poland (Morokvasic, 2004). The interviewed women recognised the importance of differences in earnings compared to the cost of living in both countries. The

wealth gap and wage differentials between Poland and the UK are still considerable. This means that Polish women could earn the equivalent of one month's salary or even two or three times that during one stay in the UK (cf. Morokvasic, 2004). Moreover, "men are increasingly unable to fulfil their traditional roles as economic providers to their families, and the demand for female caregivers continues to rise" (UN-INSTRAW, 2007, p. 1; Kilkey, Plomien & Perrons, 2013). This, in consequence, pressurises women into two shifts work and may create a 'double burden' (Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Doucet, 2011). Still, as argued before, when faced with a choice between work and care, women choose the former which may be due to purely pragmatic reasons (Płomień, 2009).

Oliwia's account appears to expose a more emancipatory effect that migration to the UK may have on Polish women (more on this in the next section). When asked to compare the experiences of living in Poland and the UK, Oliwia responded that in the UK, "*women can be themselves*". She was perhaps referring to the fact that in Poland there may be comparatively stricter gender roles. Moreover, comparatively tighter family ties in Poland mean that relatives are often involved in daily decision making (cf. Erel, 2011; Temple & Judd, 2011; Cieślík, 2012). On the other hand, in the UK, according to Oliwia, Polish women are not judged as much and what comes with it, have more opportunities to excel. They are somewhat freed from the negative stereotypes that can impede their success. Oliwia also mentioned a lack of resources as limiting people's opportunities; however in the UK this is not as much of a problem as it seems to be in Poland.

OLIWIA (migrant, 37): We're here [UK] and we're not afraid, you know here basically we don't look at what the family says and so on err or the neighbours because here, my neighbour doesn't give a damn, you can be yourself here and ...how can I say this? You're not judged, you're free, you've got broad horizons, you've got a different perception, and there [Poland] basically finances are such a major factor you have to be more narrow and here you know, you can afford to go to the theatre or go to a concert, or you can afford to go to a restaurant...

The UK seemed to make the respondents more confident about achieving work-life balance (cf. Sweet, 2014). Arguably, relatively more liberal social attitudes contribute to more relaxed behaviour (cultural norms are part of structural context). The interviewed women appeared to feel relatively more supported in both of their roles: as paid workers due to the availability of flexible part time working hours, for instance; and as informal familial care workers due to the state's support and recognition of their contribution in the form of social security benefits.

Moreover, because of the British labour market where jobs pay comparatively more (and earnings offer higher spending power), families can acquire a decent living standard with only one partner working full time. The research participants also highlighted what they perceive to be comparatively less rigid gender roles in the UK, as argued in the previous section, which seem to encourage greater equality between partners in a relationship. There was a general perception among the interviewees that the UK is more equal in regard to women's possibilities, particularly those outside of the family home. Thus, by exercising their agency within structural opportunities, women increased their prospects for the future. Kasia, quoted below, seemed to think that in Poland women can never simply be themselves. A woman in Poland is first a child, then a girl, a teenager, a student (optional and dependent on resources) and then a wife and a mother. Those different roles seem to symbolise the various responsibilities that are linked to them. In the UK, Kasia explained that she felt and recognised herself as a woman. In her view being a mother in the UK does not impede a woman from realising herself in a different area neither does it limit her career attainment.

KASIA (migrant, 33): Here [UK], it doesn't matter if you're a girl, a teenager or a mother, or a career woman or an older woman, you're a woman. I have to say, talking about myself that I feel like a woman, I see my own worth, not that, you know, I'm weak but that I'm at the same level as a man and I can get the same. ...err in [the UK] being a mother doesn't stop you doing something else as well...

The findings of this research seem to suggest that migration to the UK enabled women to choose between more traditional and more egalitarian division of responsibilities in the home. The structural context related to EU citizenship and the wider British (and Polish) 'environment' (cultural/political) intersects with women's agency as migrants and identity as women (further differentiated by age, family situation, occupation). On the one hand, familial relations are shaped by those structures, and on the other hand, they shape individual agency. The relatively more extensive UK welfare state seems to better support women in their roles as mothers and/or full time home-makers. At the same time, more fluid gender roles in the UK (cf. Pascall & Kwak, 2005; Siara, 2009; Temple, 2011b; White, 2011) appear to allow women to pursue a career with relatively less stigma attached to leaving young children in nurseries or choosing not to have children at all. "Everywhere, women are likely to be primary carers and manage flexible working lives" (Pascall & Lewis, 2004, p. 383); however, it can be argued that the UK allows women to manage their working lives considerably more flexibly without having to choose between work and care. The UK seems to enable women to more effectively balance

the two. Some women appear to have taken advantage of the opportunity to be liberated from traditional roles whilst some seem to remain 'trapped' in familial ties. On the other hand, some women proudly embrace their gendered 'responsibilities' as was shown above.

8.6 Migration as a contributor to change in gender role expectations

The quotations below present the complex process through which Polish migrant women perceive the way they have in fact changed through their migrations. As argued by others and somewhat confirmed through this research, Polish migrant women to the UK and their gender norms are undergoing change which is perhaps a result of the different multicultural setting and more liberal attitudes towards gender roles that are prevalent in the UK (cf. Siara, 2009). Barbara for instance, talked more generally about becoming more experienced as time goes by. However, it can be argued that because Barbara was exposed to the 'British way of life' and its practicalities (social security, labour market, diverse cultural setting, etc.) she realised the potential to change her view on the division of gendered responsibilities. It is noteworthy that migrants contribute to the exchange of ideas between the countries they move between (Temple & Judd, 2011). A number of respondents mentioned that relationships in Poland are undergoing change. This may be due to general social change and learning by example, learning from parents' mistakes. However, it may be also linked to people's experiences of migration as it has been acknowledged that: "...migration may reinforce as well as disrupt traditional gender roles" as previously explored in chapter four (Ho, 2006, p.68). The research findings seem to support the view that migration may facilitate the opportunity to reinvent oneself and renegotiate gendered roles in the new setting. The "decision to migrate [may be] stemmed from the desire to defy the rigid social norms that require women to have children soon after marriage" (Cieřlik 2012, p. 12). Migrants are presented with the chance to project themselves in a different light. They can leave the gender roles they dislike and adopt changes in light of the new gender order in the host community. Thus, migration may be seen as a possible catalyst for change (cf. Kosack, 1976; Castles, 2010). Barbara for example, explained how her views with regards to familial and household responsibilities changed and that she realised that her partner is equally responsible for those:

BARBARA (migrant, 38): After a few years I started to open my eyes and then I wonder why I put up with this, and everything, and how it ended up like that, why so many tears,

why my back hurts, why the heart attack? No, sorry, he also has two hands, two feet and one head...

Maja, quoted below, talked about her friend noticing a change in her. She explained that when she lived in the UK, she took an overwhelming amount of domestic responsibilities on her shoulders. Arguably, this was due to a lack of any other purpose or activity, while in Poland Maja devoted herself to studies hence had less free time or energy. A 'feminisation of women's roles' may be applicable here in the process of which women assume greater responsibilities post-migration (Ho, 2006). Later however, this changed. As Maja explained, after she moved back to Poland and started getting involved in different activities (e.g. studies) other than the paid work she did in the UK, she realised that the domestic responsibilities should be shared more equally. This may suggest that Polish migrant women may be innovators whereby they bring their new gender order to Poland, thus contributing to a general change in attitudes (cf. Lisiak, 2014). The change in Polish women post migration to the UK has been somewhat acknowledged by Siara's (2009) research of internet forums, where the Polish men active on those forums recognised that Polish women become more liberal as a result of their stay in the UK. Ever since her return to Poland, Maja explained that she expects and receives a greater input from her husband.

MAJA (return migrant, 29): God, there was such a scene, when my friend told me, 'I think you've grown up Maja,' because I mean, in the UK, I mean, if I could've made his sandwiches I'd have taken them to work, I mean not sandwiches because I did make them but if I could've made him like even a warm lunch, I'd have brought that to him at work if I didn't have to go to work myself, because I was so stupid I would've done that and taken him a warm lunch, you know?

Aniela also found herself 'at the service' of her brother back in Poland. She too felt the somewhat 'in-built' duty to look after others which seems to be deeply embedded, perhaps as the result of the 'strong motherhood ideology' in Poland (or the icon of '*Matka Polka*') whereby nurturing is expected to come naturally to women (Lutz, 2010). Aniela, when telling this story, seemed to be quite astonished herself that she was prepared to race back from university because she felt compelled to make dinner for her brother. In her view, Polish women do indeed change in the UK, precisely because of their observations of other people's ways of life and the fact that they witness other means of managing responsibilities in households. Perhaps being away from structural cultural/religious/traditional constraints translates into exercising their agency more freely. This then carries the potential to change their gendered roles (cf. Datta,

2009; White, 2011). It was, in fact, found before that the change of place (migration) changes those undertaking such moves and inevitably affects their value systems (Temple, 1999, 2009).

ANIELA (migrant, 32): I kinda also remember how I used to run around, when I still lived with my brother at uni [in Poland], I used to run back from school to make his tea, cos I knew he'd be back and he'd be hungry and I ran quickly, cos he'll be there, oh my god, you know it was like that, I was kind of 'forced' almost. Everything changes here [in UK].

Many interviewees when asked about the process of change from being exposed to mostly traditional gender roles in the family home to the desire to share responsibilities equally, which was the aim of almost every interviewee, could not give one definite answer. Several respondents, similarly to Aniela, mentioned the influence of being around people from other cultures who follow various lifestyles that differ from the one they were taught (cf. Datta, 2009, Temple, 2009). Observing others may make women reconsider their current arrangements and may lead to a renegotiation of the existing preconceptions. Making comparisons can make women realise that what they were taught is not necessarily the only or the best way forward. Based on this, they perhaps became free to make a choice with regards to what gender roles they would welcome in their future relationship. This can result in the development of a new gender order that comprises a mixture of the desirable norms. Below, Aniela explains how, in her opinion, the process of change unfolds with time.

ANIELA (migrant, 32): ...I think it's kinda all a big ball, I think the first year is kind of too short for anything to happen, a few years is too much though, in terms of how long you stay. I think after a year, maybe two, but of course the confrontation with another culture and seeing that British girls don't do this or that or the other, it also doesn't mean that I'm gonna do everything, but yeah it could also be that way yeah... And that's why we [Polish women] have, why we change. But definitely definitely being foreign or whatever and with people and confronting those other styles [matters].

Ksenia described her rather traditional family home with a breadwinning father and caregiving mother. It should be emphasised that this type of family was commonplace in Poland and among the research participants as stated before (cf. Pascall & Kwak, 2005). This has perhaps not changed much, except that it is now expected of women that they also engage in the paid labour

market. Ksenia gave details of how her travels changed her attitude towards her roles as a woman. She explained how leaving Poland and moving to a different country empowered her. From her account it seems to be evident that the newly achieved freedom and, perhaps more importantly, earning a living, having to look after herself, somewhat liberated her from those traditional gendered roles prevalent in Poland (cf. Morokvasic, 2004). Some argue that Polish women tend to migrate quite early in their lives in order to delay childrearing and as a consequence they often feel empowered by their professional success (Cieřlik, 2012). Encountering other people from various backgrounds seems to have challenged Ksenia's beliefs and value systems that 'travelled' with her across transnational spaces (cf. Datta, 2009). Therefore, contrary to previous research recognising women migrants as the 'victims' of the migration process (cf. Lutz, 2010), it can be asserted that they can also be the 'victors' of it (Lisiak, 2014).

KSENIA (migrant, 32): ... it's deeply rooted inside me, I grew up in a Polish family where there were those roles, a mum who didn't work and who took care of the house and a dad who worked and made money and he was the breadwinner. And my mum was brought up to cook; I grew up in that kind of home yeah and I had that kind of image. But I left, I started migration at age 19 and was responsible for myself, so I was the woman and the man for myself, so I had to make money myself, look after myself, cook for myself, and I and only I was totally responsible for myself.

For Anna, the way women are portrayed, defined and brought up in Poland is an issue. Anna's perception is that the role of a mother in Poland is unnecessarily glorified. Thus, it is expected of every woman to become a mother. This may be why in Poland there is relatively more stigma attached to childless women. Sometimes this is even perceived as a failure in women's primary role as a mother (cf. Lutz, 2011). Similar results were previously published by Aranda (2003, p. 616), where "having children [is seen] as the accomplishment of gender for women". In that respect, migration clashes with traditional gender ideologies (*ibid.*). Anna, similarly to a number of other respondents, explained that from what she observed in the UK there is more of a social acceptance of women balancing different roles, mainly that of a paid worker and familial carer/domestic worker. Therefore, through migration women may become empowered to change the *status quo* (cf. Kosack, 1976).

ANNA (return migrant, 31): I think they're just different people to us. There isn't that kind of family tie like we have [in Poland] so maybe that's why. And, secondly, I don't know, maybe women there tried for a longer time than us in Poland you know, to do other roles, basically the role of the mother is glorified, like there's nothing more important in life, just have a child and change their nappies, and I think that there [UK] a woman can succeed in other spheres too and I think she would have more opportunities, right? And I think she could go into any profession and be a mother and a wife...

It can be argued that the process (or processes, cf. Ackers & Gill, 2008) of migration provide women with the opportunity to question and potentially redefine their gender roles (Ryan *et al.*, 2009). "The decision to leave is [may be] interpreted as the woman's conscious move towards empowerment" (Cieřlik, 2012, p. 13). Migration can be viewed as an opportunity to re-evaluate women's gendered responsibilities in respect of paid work and unpaid familial care work. Through migration, women are exposed to diverse social settings with often different gendered roles (cf. Datta, 2009), just as in the case of Polish migrant women to the UK. As discussed by other scholars, migration has the potential to open up a different way of perceiving the world (cf. Isański & Luczys, 2011). Migration can give a certain amount of freedom in respect of gender roles as the available options become greater and the migrant finds herself free to choose between the norms from the home and host countries. Arguably, "migration is in direct opposition" to women's gender roles as care providers (Aranda, 2003, p. 624). This can be said particularly with regard to economic migration in the process of which women often become economically independent and consequently may delay their other, more traditional, roles (e.g. motherhood). Therefore, migration has the potential to free women from their still commonly accepted 'responsibilities' as primary care givers and home makers. In fact, as argued by Kindler and Napierała (2010), Polish women have previously exercised their right to free movement in order to escape oppressive patriarchal structures in Poland. Thus, they used their agency to flee certain structural constraints (cf. Morawska, 2001; Bakewell, 2010). Moreover, research undertaken by Siara (2009), confirmed the fact that Polish women who migrated to the UK were given the chance to be liberated from their traditional gender roles. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume a similar effect with regards to the Polish women from this study.

8.7 Conclusion

As people travel they widen their horizons while they learn from others they encounter on their way (Temple, 1999, 2009; Temple & Judd, 2011). This of course, applies to the Polish migrant women from this study too. It was argued here that migration constitutes an opportunity to reinvent oneself in respect of gender role expectations, among other things. Arguably, “migration to the UK has given them [Polish women] an opportunity to start the process of reworking their values and norms in relation to gender issues” (Siara, 2009, p. 181). In regard to the interviewed women, some of them appear to have undergone a considerable change. In this study, the researcher was interested in the impact of the migratory process between Poland and the UK on Polish women’s gender roles. Whilst it is impossible to identify one uniform effect, the study participants have been affected in various ways. It is evident from the research, that the migratory process has the potential to liberate women from their gendered roles. This is the case especially when the women in question move between a traditionally patriarchal country to a highly developed western country which is more liberal, and earn a living which in consequence improves their self-esteem and may empower them to demand changes (cf. Siara, 2009). This should be viewed as a positive finding as, in the long run, it may contribute to greater gender equality between sexes. Contrary to some of the previous findings that stated that recent Polish migrants are hesitant to engage with the native population (Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2012), “the desire to understand the English way of life” seems to have been confirmed in this study (Datta, 2009, p. 18). Although, few of the interviewed women possessed British networks, many seemed to wish to develop them. Arguably, this desire is “a necessary condition of survival” as migrants realise the need to adapt and be open to new skills, ideas and cultures in the new setting (*ibid.*, p. 20). Polish migrant women appear to be free agents but still somewhat constrained by their traditional gender roles brought from Poland even when they experienced more relaxed gender roles in the UK.

The research findings seem to indicate that in respect of gender roles, Poland is perceived to be relatively more traditional and patriarchal whereas the UK is considered more egalitarian and liberal. Therefore, as women migrated and observed those differences between the two countries they have become aware of different value systems prevalent in the UK. Consequently, they have been offered a choice between the ways those two countries deal with gendered ‘responsibilities’ and now they are freer to alter their gender ideology accordingly. It is noteworthy that “the issue underlying work-family balance is that of the gendered divisions of paid and unpaid work, which has also long been a fundamental source of gender inequalities” (Lewis, 2009, p. 1). This research however, focuses solely on women, but a similar study including men would be very welcome. It is recognised that migration and any change that may

follow from it does not occur in a 'vacuum' thus men are affected too. This is worthy of exploration to complement this research and could constitute a future research agenda (see next chapter, section 9.6).

Moreover, some of the interviewed women appeared to be 'trapped' ('sandwiched') in familial ties and somewhat constrained by gendered expectations operating transnationally. Many women talked of missing their families and wanting their children to grow up close to their grandparents and extended families. A number of women talked of feeling a moral duty to look after the older family members as well as young children or seemed to feel morally obligated to remain with the fathers of their children. A further burden was placed upon them, hence the process of migration did not simply emancipate them, but contributed to somewhat greater opportunities while, at the same time, problematising their choices. The interviewees perceived that gender roles are less rigid in the UK in comparison to Poland. In fact, they sometimes seemed astonished by what they observed in the UK. The most commonly acknowledged differences were around partners sharing responsibilities; men taking care of the children; men cooking, baking, and cleaning. The interviewees admitted that the sexual division of labour has been undergoing change in Poland and that male partners help out more often, whilst women sometimes are the main breadwinners; however, in their view, it may take another generation for this to have a profound effect. More generally speaking, women seem to recognise Poland as a relatively more traditional, patriarchal and conservative country in comparison to the UK. At the same time the UK is perceived as more equal in regard to gender equality in theory and practice and people's general social attitudes. Many interviewed women experienced a traditional division of responsibilities in their family homes but now they either aim for or actually have equally (more or less) shared responsibilities in their current relationships. Perhaps as a result of their migrations to the UK, some Polish migrant women appear to be liberated from certain undesirable gender norms. At the same time, other women seem to proudly embrace the various traditionally feminine roles. What is noteworthy, however, is the fact that the process of migration carries with it the potential for change. As argued by others and outlined in the previous chapters, wider social networks of family and/or friends often serve as support systems (cf. Aranda, 2003; Ryan *et al.*, 2009). With regard to migrants who may lack or have only limited family networks in the destination country, the relatively more developed British welfare state may act as a sufficient support system that enables them to balance paid work and unpaid care. Despite the fact that the UK welfare state facilitated the shift from private to public patriarchy (cf. Walby 1994) the relatively more developed British

welfare state is a patriarchal structure that nonetheless enabled a degree of agency for some of the women.

This chapter examined how women, in light of limited support, reconcile their various gendered roles post migration. It concentrated on the exploration of women's gendered roles in Poland and the UK. A discussion of Polish women's migration to the UK as an opportunity to choose between their different roles was presented. Whilst it seems impossible to outline one uniform effect of the migratory process on Polish migrant women's gender roles, the process of migrating appears to serve as an excellent opportunity to change the present gender order (when it is unsatisfactory). It is concluded that the migratory process may indeed influence women's understanding of gendered 'responsibilities', and it often has a positive effect, especially when moves occur between Poland and the UK.

CHAPTER NINE: Conclusions: changed lives?

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to contribute to the knowledge about migration and gender by looking at the influence of migration on Polish women's perceptions of their gender roles. The literature review found that Polish women's gender roles are relatively unexplored, with migrants frequently portrayed as genderless. This thesis was concerned with the factors that are influential in motivating stay or return migrations. It also explored the influence of migration to the UK on women's gendered perceptions of their roles in respect of paid work and informal familial care work. Additionally, women migrants' agency was framed within certain structural factors, most notably in relation to EU citizenship, social networks and gender roles as influenced by the icon of '*Matka Polka*'.

This concluding chapter to the thesis offers some final thoughts on what was found and argued throughout each of the earlier chapters. Discussions move on to consider the unique contribution to knowledge that this research makes. These are divided into two sections: theoretical implications and empirical contributions; and methodological contributions. The subsequent sections are ordered as follows: first, theoretical implications and empirical findings are outlined; second, methodological contributions are described; third, policy implications are drawn; lastly, a further research agenda is proposed. The overall aim and objectives of the thesis together with specific research questions are also revisited.

Research objectives:

1. Examine women's motivations for migration and return migration and motives behind their stay in the destination country.
2. Consider the extent to which migration may be a catalyst for change in Polish women's (often traditional) perception of gender roles.
3. Explore how Polish migrant women negotiate their formal rights and informal responsibilities in respect of paid work and informal familial care work.
4. Compare and contrast the differences, if any, vis-à-vis gender role expectations between Polish migrant women living in the UK and those who have returned to Poland.
5. Add new empirical knowledge and contribute to theory development with regard to international migration and gender, and more specifically to Polish women migrants and gender role expectations.

Research questions:

The research aims to explore and unpack the following research questions:

6. How does gender influence Polish migrant women's lives?
7. How does migration shape Polish migrant women's gender role expectations?
8. How do Polish migrant women manage their roles over time and space (post migration/return migration)?
9. How, if at all, do gender roles differ between the UK and Poland?
10. How do Polish migrant women experience and negotiate their gender roles in respect of work and care ('formal' paid work vs. 'informal' familial care work)?

9.2 Theoretical implications and empirical contributions

This thesis began by proposing migration as a strategy to improve one's life or wellbeing (cf. Borkert *et al.*, 2006). Its overall aim was to explore the influence of the migratory experience on Polish women's lives and the way they negotiate their gender role expectations while they move between Poland and the UK (post migration/return migration). For some of the women, migration indeed enabled them to attain a higher standard of living. Many of the women remained in the UK for this very reason. Others returned as they preferred to be close to their wider families or because they were simply not satisfied with their lives in the UK. However, the majority of the interviewed women were found to struggle with certain gendered 'responsibilities' that either 'rooted them' in the UK or 'pulled' them back to Poland or, in many cases, they experienced both. It is evident that migration influences women migrants in various ways. For some of the interviewed women it enabled them to rethink undesirable gender role expectations and adopt changes in the light of a new, apparently more equal, setting. Others resisted change and proudly embraced their gendered 'responsibilities' traditionally assigned to '*Matka Polka*', while some of the women seemed to exchange being dependent on their male partner with relying on the British welfare state. Indeed, the majority of the women were found to appreciate the relatively more extensive British welfare system and emphasised the way it aided the accomplishment of their traditional gender roles.

One of the objectives of this thesis was to examine Polish women's motivations for migration and their motives to remain in the UK or return to their 'home' country. Chapter six and seven are the two chapters that focused specifically on these issues. Chapter six was devoted to

motivations for migration where different push and pull factors were explored in relation to Polish women migrants to the UK and what brought them here. Economic motives, social networks, and opportunities gained through migration (e.g. education, adventure, freedom) were found to be most significant. A number of women were seeking greater freedom from gendered cultural expectations and/or their families. Thus, this research builds on the idea of migration as an 'escape route' (Morokvasic, 1983, 2004; Slany, 2008; White, 2010). The classic moving for financial benefit and the gendered 'following the man' were also confirmed. However, it needs to be noted that the economic motives and social networks prevailed and at least one of them played a part in all of the interviewed women's migration decisions. Indeed, the role of networks in migration should be emphasised as they seemed to influence all of the interviewees' migration journeys. Thus, it was found that motivations for migration are inextricably linked to migrant networks. Despite the fact that distrust among Polish nationals was previously reported (Garapich, 2008b), this thesis has shown (in line with other research; cf. White & Ryan, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009) that they draw heavily on contacts which often consist solely of their co-ethnics. Certain structures, namely migrants' networks and the EU enlargement were found to enable women to pursue their more specific goals.

While much attention has been given to motivations for migration in the wider literature, motives to remain or return are relatively unexplored and this thesis seeks to rectify this omission. Chapter seven dealt with the factors that mattered to the women who expressed a desire to remain in the UK on the one hand, and those who returned to their 'home' country, on the other hand. Here again, mostly social networks were found as the factors that constitute the 'pulling forces' that either attract women to return to their country of origin, or entice them to remain in their destination country. Migrants' networks proved to be 'pulling' as well as 'pushing'; on the one hand, they drew women to return to their home country and, on the other, made them remain in their host country. The intertwining of push and pull factors is evident here. Thus, this research further develops the push and pull migration theory and builds on Ryan's (2009) conceptualisation of networks as 'magnets', 'anchors' and 'repellents'. It was also argued that migrant women may find themselves 'trapped' in their familial networks. It was found that the constant push and pull factors (often coming from migrant networks) are interlinked and prove troublesome particularly to women while they try to negotiate transnational gender role expectations.

Unsurprisingly, economic factors also mattered and this was confirmed by many women referring to the high quality of life that they were able to secure in the UK. This was mostly

linked to a more desirable work situation or the relatively more extensive protection from the state. The most common reasons to remain in the host country were linked to having developed some sort of a personal and meaningful 'bond' with the UK. This often referred to being in a relationship with someone who may not be a co-ethnic, or having a child in the UK and considering what would be best for the child. Often, the women acknowledged that they have nothing to go back to in Poland whereas they "*started something here*". This frequently referred to their engagement in the paid labour market and starting a career which often translated into economic independence and greater opportunities. These, all together, were found to considerably impede migrants' return to the 'home' country. However, whilst these constitute pull factors linked to the host country, they seem to be often entangled with pull factors in relation to the migrants' home country. These were often related to women's parents and wider family voicing their desire to have them nearby. Indeed, a number of respondents acknowledged the fact that they will eventually have to return to provide care to their relatives/parents. Additionally, some women's families were found to act as push factors. The return migrants were found to be also motivated by their social networks. Their families and friends who remained or earlier returned to the 'home' country played a significant role in pulling them back there. In many cases women migrants were found to feel obligated to return in order to be able to provide care and support to the older family members. As already acknowledged, women migrants can find themselves 'trapped' in familial ties as their feelings of obligation may be stronger than their desires to pursue their personal goals (cf. Finch & Mason, 1993).

In this research it was found that return migrants had a relatively higher level of education than those who stayed in the UK. This could be explained by the fact that they perhaps hoped for higher returns in their country of origin compared to the destination country. Given the typical starting job of a Polish national in the UK it is possible that they simply felt it was below their expectations and qualifications. Thus, a return to Poland, where their degrees could be more easily utilised and where the language barrier is not an issue seemed more appealing. On the other hand, those migrant women who possessed a comparatively lower level of education did not perhaps have as high aspirations as the other group, hence employment in low skilled positions was not perceived as undesirable, especially when paralleled with relatively higher earnings in the destination country. Moreover, the majority of the return migrants originated from larger urban areas while most of the migrants, who at the time of the interview were based in the UK, came from smaller rural places. This can provide a further explanation of the fact that the latter group had higher expectations, whereas the former had lower hopes. It can also be asserted that those who originated from more rural areas had fewer opportunities with regard

to work, studies, leisure, etc. in the home country. Thus, by coming to the UK those opportunities expanded considerably, which may constitute a viable reason to want to remain there.

It was found that the migrant women who returned to Poland were on average marginally younger than those who stayed in the UK and fewer of them had children. This can indicate that the stage of life is significant in women's migration decision-making. It is an interesting finding that older potential interviewees could not be easily found. Arguably, this is a reflection of the recently-arrived Polish community in the UK. As noted in chapter five, the majority of the interviewees were between the age of 25 and 38, and of the three oldest participants two were 48 and one 57. Having been younger and at this crucial stage in their lives when they have not yet started families, they decided to return to Poland after perhaps accumulating a desirable amount of finances. It could be that those who remained in the UK, having tried to settle in Poland, left for the UK as they were unsuccessful in securing a desirable job there. Some had gone through a relationship break up from which migration was an 'escape route' (cf. Morokvasic, 1983, 2004; Slany, 2008; White, 2010). It is perhaps understandable that individuals move to places where they believe they are able to achieve their goals which are in line with their personal priorities.

This thesis aimed to make an original contribution to knowledge with regard to women migrants; Polish migration to the UK; perceptions of gender roles and how these are negotiated in new contexts; and comparative cross-national social policy. In chapter three, it was argued that women are still considered second-class citizens with regard to the world of paid work and unpaid care, with the latter still perceived as women's 'responsibility' in both countries under exploration. While gender roles remain a complex issue, particularly for women, women who are migrants are likely to be faced with a considerably larger burden of reconciling their gendered 'responsibilities' across transnational spaces and often in two locations at one time. This research draws on Ryan *et al.*'s (2009) concept of 'double caring responsibilities' as an illustration of gendered expectations that cross national borders. It demonstrates the need to balance care priorities in two geographical locations which confirms the gendered nature of migration and the problematic character of women's migrations. There are differences between migrant men and women and how they experience the process of migrating which evidently is a gendered activity. Those who become mobile and who also bear certain gendered 'responsibilities' will encounter different, in many cases more complex, difficulties in their pursuit of a better life abroad. 'Double caring responsibilities' may refer to, on the one hand,

care responsibilities that relate to a newly started family in the host country, on the other hand, to relatives who remained in the home country. This was found to be the case in relation to some participants.

The last empirical chapter provided an exploration of women migrants' gendered lives with special attention paid to the influence of migration. In this chapter it was examined how Polish migrant women (often struggle to) reconcile the various gendered 'responsibilities' that cross transnational spaces. The icon of '*Matka Polka*' was scrutinised here. Although, as noted before, there are some limited references to this term (predominantly) in the Polish literature, this study has shown various meanings that respondents assigned to it. This thesis adds to the theoretical developments in relation to '*Matka Polka*' as despite the fact that certain scholars (Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012) argued the end of this myth, it was found to be vivid in women's accounts. Due to the communist regime in Poland, the nationalistic symbol of '*Matka Polka*' was reinforced by the Catholic Church. Although references to this term are scarce in the literature, this thesis emphasised its importance to Polish women, even those who left the country and live abroad. This thesis developed the concept of '*Matka Polka*' as a cultural symbol which so far has not been given sufficient attention in academic literature but is present in Polish women's accounts.

Arguably, when women become mobile and change their place of residence, they may choose to present themselves in a different 'light' and abandon or re-evaluate their attitudes towards gender roles. Some migrants may forgo certain traditional gender role expectations which are deemed unsatisfactory while others may embrace them even more strongly. Mostly, however, the process of migrating was found to be a valuable opportunity to re-evaluate existing attitudes and values. When crossing international borders women gain confidence and respect, particularly when they become involved in the paid labour market abroad. While abroad, women observe more or less subtle differences between their home and host countries which could influence their views and attitudes. What is more, because the male breadwinner model has become obsolete and the adult worker model (or the universal breadwinner model) prevails (Fraser, 2000, 2013; Williams & Brennan, 2012), there is more pressure on women to fulfil various roles, namely that of a paid worker and unpaid carer. Further, if the women in question are migrant women, those gender role expectations become more difficult to reconcile across transnational spaces as was evidenced in the empirical chapters. Also, accomplishment of the adult worker model was further complicated for Polish women due to the icon of '*Matka Polka*' which reflects traditional patriarchal standards as was shown in the last chapter.

Throughout the findings chapters it was shown how much of a barrier women's gendered 'responsibilities' are, more so when the women in question become mobile and are faced with the need to balance these across international borders (cf. 'transnational caring responsibilities', Ryan *et al.*, 2009). The last of the empirical chapters, chapter eight, focused on this issue in more detail. In it, the idea of migration as a contributor to change in gender roles was depicted. It was found that with regard to the respondents this is indeed conceivable. In this thesis, it is argued that migrant women should be seen as active decision makers and that migration can be considered as an opportunity to bring about change in relation to gender role expectations as it presents a chance to re-evaluate the existing gender roles in the light of a new country, new experiences and new social norms. Some of the women were empowered by what they observed in the UK to modify their current gender role arrangements. Other women were somewhat attracted to follow the 'British ways' but seemed compelled to their old gender ideology that 'migrated' with them. There were also women who actively rejected gender equality as they proudly embraced their various roles and wanted to be recognised as a '*Matka Polka*' (i.e. 'Mother Hen'; 'Mother Poland').

For some of the interviewed women, migration proved an opportunity to reconsider their current arrangements and amend them (as they were unsatisfactory) in light of what they observed in the new social setting of the host country. Some of the women, although initially seemed willing to adopt changes to their gender ideology, maintained an unsatisfactory traditional gender order that they were taught in their country of origin. This reluctance to implement any changes even in the event of them being perceived as desirable may be due to the existing norms that are so deeply ingrained and long-lasting that the individual in question is simply too anxious to leave them behind. It was found that for some women the traditional gender roles learnt in the family home were very difficult to overcome (cf. Hoang, 2011). Some Polish women may have felt compelled to exercise what they perceived as their 'Polishness' when away from Poland. In their cases, the structural context in the form of the British welfare state enabled them to follow a traditional division of labour. What was often seen as a relatively more extensive welfare state meant that they were able to remain in the home assuming the role of a homemaker and caregiver. Perhaps this was a strategy developed in order to compensate for the lost proximity to 'home'. Post migration, in the event of living in a foreign country with foreign values, some women may feel obliged to carry on certain traditions, especially those of which they are particularly proud. Lastly, it is noteworthy that some of the women did not feel migration made any difference to the way they perceive their gendered 'responsibilities'.

It was found that some of the women were satisfied with the gender order they employ in their current relationships. It needs to be said though, that the women who fell into this category often viewed their present household arrangements as equally sharing responsibilities. However, when prompted for details, it became clear that they were not. Many women wished to share and imagined that they did. In many cases, they did appear to share more equally than the majority but were often still responsible for most of the domestic and care work. It is perhaps particularly interesting to point that some of those women described their current arrangements with pride and mentioned that their friends were envious and wondered how they managed to achieve this. This is intriguing but it may be that those women were perhaps satisfied with this arrangement as it matched their gender ideology and did not feel the need to request further changes and achieve full equality, especially when, in comparison to their friends, they seemed to have it better.

Some women migrants were found to retain connections between the two countries: home and destination place; thus they could be seen as transmigrants (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton Blanc, 1994; Vertovec, 2007). As was previously argued (see chapter four), rapidly developing new communication technologies and inexpensive air travel make this easy. However, this 'interconnectedness' may translate into leaving certain gendered 'responsibilities' in the home country whilst developing new ones in the host country (cf. 'double caring responsibilities', Ryan *et al.*, 2009). Therefore, it may be particularly challenging to reconcile those two areas, paid work in the public and care work in the private sphere, in more than one country at the same time. Still, the UK was perceived by the majority of the interviewees as offering a comparatively better environment to achieve balance between those gendered 'responsibilities'. This is mostly due to the perception of relatively more fluid gender roles and comparatively more extensive support from the British welfare state. Many respondents, predominantly those who were mothers, mentioned the relatively more generous British welfare state as invaluable when it comes to balancing women's various roles, namely that of a paid worker and unpaid carer. Thus, the welfare state should be seen as a part of structural opportunities that enable the agentic properties of women. It was acknowledged that the relatively more generous social security system provides a valuable 'safety net', especially for those women migrants who need to reconcile paid work with familial care work. Many women emphasised their appreciation of this, in their view, more family-friendly setting. Some women, in consequence of the welfare state, were able to exchange their dependence on their male counterparts to dependence on the welfare system (which could empower them to end unsatisfactory relationships). It seems

plausible that a person who receives recognition for who she is, for example, by recognising her different needs and input, contributes to her gaining confidence in both public and private life. This confidence, later, may trigger higher expectations with regard to the gendered division of labour at home.

As was shown in the findings chapters, most of the interviewed women either aimed for or, in their view, equally shared responsibilities with their male partners. This, it should be acknowledged, may be a response to the process of being interviewed, during which the women were prompted about their current and desirable arrangement and were asked to consider these. This, in consequence, may have made them reflect on and analyse those issues, which then could have influenced their perception of their gender roles. However, it needs to be stressed that most of both migrant women and return migrants seemed to appreciate the diverse UK environment in the way it shaped their attitudes to gender roles. Although, some of the women did not perceive it as a desirable place to live or bring up their children, and even felt reluctant to admit that it had any kind of influence on them, the interview data points to the contrary. It was found that most of the respondents managed to observe quite distinct differences between the two countries under exploration. Moreover, they noticed discrepancies in the way the gender order is maintained. The most significant dissimilarities referred to the type of familial ties and relations prevalent in both countries. The respondents observed that families in the UK maintain relatively looser familial ties with less interference from parents. It was also recognised that it is more common for young adults to move out of the family house and undertake paid work while they study for a degree.

Many women perceived that gender roles are not as clear-cut as they are in Poland. Some interviewees expressed their surprise when they saw men carrying out what have been traditionally and stereotypically seen as women's roles (e.g. cooking, looking after children). The respondents' Polish partners and/or male family members appeared to be comparatively less involved, hence making women's 'responsibilities' more difficult to reconcile. Certain women deduced that women in the UK do not take on as many different duties as Polish women. Some of the women asserted that British women are simply indolent and that perhaps they should act alike and refuse to take up certain roles. Hence, it is apparent that the research participants made comparisons between themselves, their country of origin and the host population and its workings. Thus, they could be considered as active agents navigating through an array of structures. It is argued here that being exposed to a different gender order, even when those differences may seem only minor, influences women. This however, is true

particularly when women change their place of residence from a post-communist state to a comparatively more developed post-imperial country. This is context-specific. Perhaps more importantly for this study, migrants can gain new insights and ideas in relation to the host population which can then be contrasted with the home country. These can result in adopting new views/attitudes, concerning gender role expectations for instance. This, in consequence, may empower them to request a change in their current arrangement regarding gender roles or in the future seek a partner who would be willing to equally share responsibilities.

This thesis sought to apply debates around structure and agency to the 'recent' Polish migration to the UK. A part of the structural context, EU citizenship, which was explored in the theoretical chapters, should again be emphasised here as it is pivotal to this research. It can be asserted that Polish migrants to the UK can be considered proactive agents who actively engage with their rights as EU citizens and this way take advantage of opportunities linked to the countries between which they move. Thus, this research builds on the work of Ellison (2000) and Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2012) around 'proactive engagement' with citizenship rights. What became evident was that Polish women seem to exercise their agency merely because they can. Additionally, the wider structural opportunities related to the EU, networks, the UK job market, serve as facilitators of their migrations. In chapter one EU citizenship was considered as a vital structural context to the recent Polish migration to the UK. It was argued that the EU enlargement in 2004 fostered migration from Poland which could not occur on such a large scale if it had not been for the EU and the accession of ten new Member States, among them Poland. This research utilises Lister's (2003) distinction between citizenship as a status and as a practice, the former could be applied to the EU citizenship status while the latter to the practice of exercising rights as EU citizens. Throughout this thesis, EU citizenship was understood as a part of structural context to individual agency. Indeed, there are two levels to the structures that enabled Polish migration to the UK. At a macro level there is the EU enlargement and the granting of legal rights to free movement. At a micro level there are social networks of migrants that 'operate' transnationally. Other structures that were considered relate to gender ideology and the welfare state in both Poland and the UK. The nationalistic symbol of '*Matka Polka*' is one such structure. Hence, gender may be seen as mediating structure and agency. On the one hand, gender ideology constitutes a part of the structural context with its roots in history, tradition and religion. On the other hand, by undertaking migration women act as active agents with a chance to re-evaluate their gendered 'responsibilities'.

In the literature review it was found that in migration theories and literature a male bias persists. In this thesis however, migration theories were applied to 'recent' Polish migrants and women migrants in particular, hence in this work the imbalance was redressed. This thesis further develops the understanding of push and pull factors in relation to recent flows of Polish economic migration to the UK (cf. neoclassical theory, Ranis & Fei, 1961; Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969). Indeed, this research builds on the push/pull migration theory by emphasising the influence of migrant networks and thus it further develops social network approach (cf. Boyd, 1989; Palloni *et al.*, 2001). Economic reasons together with social and family networks and opportunities through migration were here emphasised. It is worth noting that both push and pull factors can be considered as structures and may serve as opportunities and constraints. Despite the fact that post accession Polish migration to the UK has proved to be a popular topic, there still seem to be limited studies that concern only women. Thus, this thesis seeks to redress this imbalance. Additionally, in this thesis the researcher aimed to pull together classic theories of migration through the lens of gender. A gendered approach to theorisation was adopted. The way gender mediates migration was scrutinised. Women's perspectives were sought and it is believed that women's voices were heard. The researcher uses the notion of gender as a 'lens' through which other phenomena (economic migration, gendered 'responsibilities') are explored. Following feminist thinkers, one of the aims of this research was to give women the opportunity to voice their opinions and be heard.

This research underlines the enduring usefulness of theory in understanding new forms of migration. However, the relatively positivistic assumptions behind classic migration theories should be read with caution as this thesis found that push and pull factors cannot be entirely separated implying convergence of theory. In this research, the economically focused migration theories (e.g. neoclassical theory, historical-structural approach) come together with the social network approach and transnationalism. Moreover, this research has shown migration motivations other than economic which contributes to eliminating economic determinism in migration theories. Whilst women migrants have traditionally been recognised as followers of men, this research recognises them as active decision makers who make rational decisions regarding migrating. Although some participants could be considered 'trailing spouses' (Bruegel, 1996, Cooke, 2001), they still showed a certain amount of agency in their migration decisions. In this research the blurring of boundaries between different types of migration was found with less fixed patterns that do not neatly fit the current theories and types. Moreover, the different motivations for migration and/or return migration appear to be almost inseparable, and thus the concept of intersectionality could be applied. Building on the concept of

intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) an 'intersection of motivations' may be better suited to explain these as they, similarly to individual characteristics, cross one another and together influence women's decision-making. This can be recognised as a contribution to the conceptualisation of new forms of migration that blur different types, showing that theory cannot be applied unproblematically.

Summarising, this thesis contributed new and unique evidence to the debates surrounding migration and gender. Through this thesis new knowledge has been generated with regard to women's negotiation of their 'responsibilities' tied to both the public and private spheres. It is believed that the researcher has made an original contribution to knowledge around work-life balance, and added to the debates around gender equality. New knowledge was also collected in relation to European citizenship as a structural context that facilitated Polish migration to the UK post 2004. Novel insights were gathered in relation to the 'myth' of '*Matka Polka*' which, as was found, remains commonly held and can act as structure that constrains individual agency. New knowledge was collected in regard to comparative social policy and women's perceptions of gender roles in Poland and the UK.

9.3 Methodological contributions

While contributing to the literature in a range of disciplines, in this research several significant issues involving methods were raised. First, internet interviews were employed which, although increasingly more popular, could be considered innovative tools for generating new data. That said, when employing this research method, the researcher should be particularly cautious about the equipment available to both the researcher and the research participant. Despite the fact that this method may be perceived as particularly practical and perhaps easily employed, especially when widely dispersed respondents may be an issue, care is needed to make sure that both parties are clear about what it involves. Thus, a critical evaluation of internet-based interviews (see chapter five) provides an important contribution to research methods literature. Additionally, a qualitative methodology that was employed in this research proved useful in explaining migration which, in theory, has often been based on positivistic assumptions.

Second, this thesis aimed to contribute to discussions around reflexivity in qualitative research. It added to debates around researchers' positionality in research and the notions of insider and

outsider in fieldwork. Although in this study the researcher researched Polish migrant women as one of them, this did not make her an unproblematic cultural insider. Indeed, belonging to the same nation was found to be problematic at times as assumed commonalities were not always easy to work out. Thus, the relationship between the research partners, namely the researcher and the researched, is crucial to consider with regard to how specific similarities and differences may affect the research process. It was argued that the researcher will always remain an outsider in some respects while in others s/he may be perceived as an insider. It can be asserted that any interview situation involves a constant negotiation of commonalities and differences between these two parties. Hence, this needs to be acknowledged and carefully considered as part of reflexive writing.

Third, this study was conducted across two languages in which an ecological approach to translation was adopted (Jagosh & Boudreau, 2009) (cf. chapter five, section 5.9.2). According to this approach, nontransferability of language is an important finding. When undertaking research across two languages, the researcher needs to take into consideration matters relating to the use of a professional translator or a bilingual researcher or undertake these themselves. Additionally, the time and cost that are involved need to be taken into account. Indeed, a substantial amount of reflexivity should be involved around how the research outputs may be affected by the presence of this third party. Moreover, equivalence between languages needs to be considered and any discrepancies between meanings should be treated as research findings (cf. Temple, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2009).

Lastly, this research was carried out across two countries and comparative social policy issues were explored. As asserted in the theoretical chapters, such research is needed and this thesis seeks to contribute to this. However, cross-national research poses additional challenges with regard to practical issues (e.g. time, resources) and theoretical comparative perspectives that need to be employed. Moreover, lived citizenship experience is somewhat missing in the literature which this thesis aims to remedy as recent Polish women migrants to the UK could be considered active EU citizens exercising their rights to free movement. This also further emphasises the intertwining of agency and structure.

9.4 Policy implications

This study emphasised the disparity between the image of an economic migrant in popular debates and the experiences of women migrants. This thesis has suggested a general lack of consideration for the needs of women and rather gender-neutral immigration policies. It was identified that there is a need for policy makers to take into account the specific needs of women, as well as acknowledge diversity among them. This research has highlighted the need to overcome the somewhat one-dimensional perception of economic migrants and their influence on host and home countries. It was shown that women are not just care givers but paid workers with various skills and qualifications which may not be fully utilised or appreciated. Contrary to some negative perceptions and misinformation about the reasons people move to the UK, access to financial support from the state was not confirmed. However, increasingly more restrictions are being imposed on migrants from within Europe (cf. the Immigration Act 2014) and certain British politicians propose that the UK leaves the EU. Additionally, changing welfare regimes with increasingly more conditional access to welfare should also be noted (cf. Dwyer, 2010; Pemberton & Scullion, 2013). This research emphasises the necessity to re-evaluate (and eventually redefine) certain policies with the aim of greater gender equality. There is a need for further exploration of whether social policies are well suited to these new assumptions underlying contemporary work-life balance in migration (cf. Sweet, 2014).

The theoretical perspective adopted in this thesis and the empirical findings suggest a number of policy implications which diverge from current practice, namely around the work-life balance (or work-life conflict as some scholars prefer to refer to it, cf. Płomień, 2009; Kilkey, 2010) as it is experienced differently by women migrants. Moreover, this research uncovered complex strategies that migrants employ in order to gain higher returns. It has shown that women migrants are often intertwined in conflicting gendered expectations arising from the two locations – the home and host countries. Thus, it should be acknowledged that economic migrants too, are entangled in multifaceted familial and other relationships that may make it more difficult for them to stay mobile or remain outside their country of origin. Various motives to remain in the UK or return to Poland were discussed in chapter six and seven; therefore it is argued that the UK authorities need to recognise that simply further limiting migrants' rights will not necessarily put a stop to their influx. It is likely that this would increase the number of migrants who work in the grey economy and remain unprotected and who are therefore particularly prone to becoming victims of unlawful acts and exploitation. It is argued here that migration theorists should acknowledge women as migrants in their own right (with agentic properties) and consider their gendered 'responsibilities' which may migrate with them.

Moreover, the British authorities should recognise the vital roles migrants, and women migrants in particular, play in the British economy. The fiscal benefits of EU migrants have been considered elsewhere (e.g. Dustman & Frattini, 2013); however, it is crucial to acknowledge migrant women's roles in 'topping up' the birth and fertility rates; by doing so they contribute to the prevention of an ageing society (cf. ONS, 2012). Therefore, it could be considered that further restrictions on welfare entitlements and benefit sanctions will likely impede this process, increasing the probability of a demographic crisis and accelerating the ageing process. On the other hand, the Polish authorities should recognise that the outflow of vast numbers of mostly young and well educated people is undoubtedly linked to their perception of Poland as a comparatively less attractive country and to the relatively limited support from the Polish state. The interviewed women often acknowledged that they would not be able to afford to have a child if it was not for the fact that they reside in the UK. Many women bluntly said that they would probably not start a family if they stayed in Poland as it does not provide a desirable environment. Thus, it could be asserted that more family-friendly policies are needed in Poland. The importance of this should not be dismissed in light of Poland's decreasing birth and fertility rates (GUS, 2007; White, 2014). The Scandinavian countries, Sweden in particular, could serve as examples of resolving issues around work-life balance.

It is believed that this research, in the long run, can contribute to debates around gender equality. We have moved away from the male breadwinner model to an adult worker model but women still do the majority (if not all) of the informal familial care work and many of them are faced with a choice between work and care and tend to choose the former. Thus, more effective social policies concerning the world of work and family life are needed in order for women to be able to effectively balance these two spheres (although it is acknowledged that men also struggle to reconcile these, cf. Kilkey, 2010a, 2010b). It has become very clear that tackling the 'double burden' effectively requires policy makers, practitioners and communities themselves to understand more about the links between these issues. Thus, there is a need to develop and implement more effective policies around parental leave (paternity leave especially), and flexible working hours for those who have caring responsibilities. Social attitudes towards men sharing the 'second shift' should be tackled. As well as this, the negative stereotypes concerning young women who are yet to become mothers need to be overcome so that potential employers view women as equal workers who also bear and rear the future generations of citizens, parents and workers.

9.5 Future directions

This research has shown multiple effects of migration on women's perceptions of their gender roles. Arguably, this is the first comprehensive empirical study that demonstrates Polish women's gendered migrations and the way gender role expectations are negotiated through the migratory process. While this research contributes to key debates in social policy, migration studies and gendered research, a few significant areas require further exploration. It was explained in chapter five and emphasised on a number of occasions that this research focused solely on women. In this study the researcher decided to research Polish migrant women as one of them. Men were considered but through the women's accounts of their experiences, the researcher didn't focus on men. However, it would be interesting to learn men's perspectives on gender roles post migration to the UK. It would also be worthwhile exploring migrant women's partners' views on the influence of migration on their female counterparts. It is recognised that this research was not conducted in a 'vacuum' and that together with women migrants their wider 'environments' would have been affected too. Therefore, it is acknowledged that future research could take men into account and explore similar matters with them. What would be also worthwhile researching is the return migrants' attitudes to gender roles after some time of residing back in their country of origin. It would be interesting to attempt to observe any alterations or return to previous gender roles that may follow in the aftermath of a return migration.

Another area that warrants further research is linked to triangulation. It can be asserted that further research utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods could be of value here. In particular, a number of hypotheses hinted at by this qualitative study would benefit from testing with the use of systematic, large-scale quantitative data. These include matters relating to perceptions of gender roles in both Poland and the UK. It would be interesting to find out the results of a large-scale survey data on both women's and men's perceptions of their gender roles in Poland and in the UK.

Overall, this thesis offered Polish women migrants' perspectives on motivations for migration, motives to remain in the UK and to return to Poland and the influence of migration on gender roles. This was scrutinised in the context of migratory flows between Poland and the UK which have previously been recognised as a significant phenomenon. It is hoped that this research will contribute to the areas of migration and gender by providing a nuanced analysis of women migrants' renegotiation of gender role expectations. Hopefully, this thesis will be recognised as

a distinctive contribution to knowledge especially since it was conducted in what can be seen as difficult times with increasing hostility to the impacts of migration and raised concerns around the future of the European Union.

APPENDICES:

Appendix I – Search strategies/Key search terms

Key search terms (a combination of the terms given was used): Accession 8^{xliii} (A8); Central and Eastern Europeans (CEE); Polish; migrant women; EU enlargement; UK; women; migrants; migration; migrant worker; gender; gender roles. The following journals (among others) were searched: International Migration; Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies; Journal of Social Policy; Journal of Gender Studies; Migration Studies; Social Policy & Administration; Social Policy & Society; Studia Migracyjne - Przegląd Polonijny; Problemy Polityki Społecznej. The following databases were searched: ASSIA; JSTOR; Science Direct; Social Policy Digest; Sociological Abstracts; SwetsWise; USIR.

Appendix II – Ph.D. timescale

This 3-year Ph.D. project proceeded through 3 phases which are equal to the 3 years (please see the table below). In year 1, extensive literature review took place; however, literature have been continuously reviewed throughout the whole 3-year period. In year 1, the research design and methodology was decided, ethical issues considered and fieldwork planned (i.e. interview topic guide, etc.). Application for ethical approval was submitted and approval gained on the 5th October 2012. In year 2, fieldwork and data collection through semi-structured in-depth interviews with Polish migrant women and data transcription were carried out. In year 3, thematic data analysis and the writing-up of the final publication, the thesis, was undertaken.

Ph.D. Project (full-time, 3 years + 1 writing up year):		
Year 1 (Oct 2011 – Sept 2012)	Year 2 (Oct 2012 – Sept 2013)	Year 3 (Oct 2013 – Sept 2014)
Literature review		
Research design Ethical approval	Fieldwork Data collection Transcription	Analysis Writing up of the findings

Appendix III – A) Ethics forms:

1 Participant invitation letter,

I would like to invite you to be part of my Ph.D. research project focusing on migration of Polish women to the UK

I am interested in hearing about your experiences as a Polish migrant woman living in the North West of England. The information you share with me will help to gain a better understanding of migrant women's experiences of migration. I aim to give Polish migrant women a voice and the opportunity to put their opinions across.

I am interested in your migratory experience and the way you understand your different roles in and outside of the home. The discussion would be about your overall experience of migration.

Attached to this invitation is a Participant Information Sheet. This will provide you with further information about the interview and who to contact if you have any questions. If you are happy to participate after reading this information, please contact me on 0161 295 2486 or email E.A.Duda-Mikulin@edu.salford.ac.uk. I will then contact you to arrange an interview time and location to suit you.

I value your insights and I hope that you will consider sharing your experience.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Ewa Duda-Mikulin

E.A.Duda-Mikulin@edu.salford.ac.uk

Tel: 0161 295 2486

2 Participant information sheet,

Study Title

Citizenship, Migration and Gender: Polish Migrant Women in the UK and Poland.

Invitation paragraph

Thank you for agreeing to consider participating in this research project. Before you decide if you wish to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done. I would be grateful if you could take time to read the following information carefully. Please feel free to ask questions if anything you read is not clear or you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study is being undertaken in order to fill a gap in knowledge in relation to Polish migrant women and the impact of the migratory process on their gender roles.

Why is this study important?

The importance of a study on migrant women and gender roles is crucial in times of ageing populations and declining fertility rates. As women have become more active in the paid labour market, they are less likely to be able to undertake informal caring roles in the home. It can be argued that through migrating, women are constantly exposed to new social and cultural norms and different lifestyles which may affect their views on the values they were taught in their home country. All of this may have positive consequences when it comes to gender equality in their country of origin.

Why have I been invited?

I am asking you to take part because you are a Polish woman who fits the criteria of the study. As a woman living in the North West of England, I hope to gain some insight into your experience as a migrant woman and learn how you combine your different roles – paid work and/or unpaid caring in the home in particular.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. Should this happen, all data and information you have given will be deleted.

What will happen if I decide to take part?

If you decide to take part, you will be asked to participate in an interview conducted by the researcher – Ewa Duda-Mikulin which should take around 1 hour. The interview location will be a place of your convenience. The interview will be digitally audio recorded but your details will be kept confidential. If you decide against being digitally audio recorded, detailed notes will be taken by the researcher.

What if there is a problem (at any point during the research process)?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher who will do her best to answer your questions. If you remain unhappy, in the first instance, please contact Professor Peter Dwyer (contact details can be found at the end of this document) who will respond to your query. If the issue cannot be resolved he will refer you to the appropriate person at the University.

What are the benefits of taking part?

By taking part in this research you are contributing towards acquiring new knowledge and as a result progress in social sciences. As a thank you, you will receive a small amount in appreciation for your contribution.

Are there any risks associated with taking part in the study?

The researcher does not foresee any direct risks linked to the study but the absence of risk cannot be guaranteed.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential, and any information about you which leaves the University will have your name, and any other personal details, removed so that you cannot be recognised. The exception to confidentiality will be revealing of any illegal activities on your part, which the researcher will be duty bound to report. If you withdraw from the study all the information and data collected from you, to date, will be destroyed and your name removed from all the study files.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this study will be published as a Ph.D. thesis. They will also be published in international and/or national academic journals. If you would like a copy, please inform the researcher.

Who is organising or sponsoring the research?

The study is financed by a scholarship from the University of Salford and a research grant from the Jagiellonian University in Poland.

Further information and contact details:

Ewa Duda-Mikulin, Tel: 0161 295 2486, Email: E.A.Duda-Mikulin@edu.salford.ac.uk

Research supervisors:

Prof. Peter Dwyer, Tel: 0161 295 2812, Email: P.J.Dwyer@salford.ac.uk

Dr Lisa Scullion, Email: L.Scullion@salford.ac.uk

3 Informed consent form,



Research Participant Consent Form

**Title of the project: Citizenship, Migration and Gender:
Polish migrant women in the UK and Poland**

Please tick the appropriate boxes

Yes No

I confirm that the purpose of the project has been explained to me, that I have been given written information about the project and have had opportunity to ask questions.

☐ ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.

☐ ☐

I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be personally identifiable and any research outputs will be anonymised.

☐ ☐

I agree for the anonymised data I provide to be archived.

☐ ☐

I give permission for the researcher to record the interview onto a digital voice recorder (If declined, detailed notes will be taken).

☐ ☐

I agree to take part in this research.

☐ ☐

Name of participant [printed]

Signature

Date

Researcher [printed]

Signature

Date

Project contact details for further information:

Ewa Duda-Mikulin, Tel: 0161 295 2486, Email: E.A.Duda-Mikulin@edu.salford.ac.uk.

4 Interview topic guide;

INTRODUCTION (Before the interview begins)

- a. Introduce myself and my roles as an academic and a researcher and fellow PL migrant woman.
- b. Explain how the interview will be conducted, how long it will take (approx. 60min) and what will be done with the information they provide.
- c. Go through the informed consent form and get it signed. Stress anonymity and confidentiality.
- d. Check if OK to record for transcription – can send a copy of the interview once transcribed to ensure that they are happy with the content of the interview; then check the digital voice recorder.
- e. Emphasise that THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.
- f. Complete the demographic information sheet, (respondent pseudonym; date, location and duration of interview (record start time); age and current marital status (with/out child/ren); current household composition (family size/country of origin/residence/etc.); education / occupation; how long in the UK / where from in Poland).

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:

1. Examine women's motivations for migration and return migration and motives behind their stay in the destination country.
2. Consider the extent to which migration may be a catalyst for change in Polish women's (often traditional) perception of gender roles.
3. Explore how Polish migrant women negotiate their formal rights and informal responsibilities in respect of paid work and informal familial care work.
4. Compare and contrast the differences, if any, vis-à-vis gender role expectations between Polish migrant women living in the UK and those who have returned to Poland.
5. Add new empirical knowledge and contribute to theory development with regard to international migration and gender, and more specifically to Polish women migrants and gender role expectations.

1. Migration history

Can I start by asking you to outline how you came to be here in the UK (or back in Poland as appropriate)?

Or

Can you start by giving me an outline of the key dates in your migration history?

How long have you been here?

When did you first arrive?

When did you return?

Have you migrated anywhere else in between?

2. Influential factors in initial migratory decisions to come to UK

What were the key reasons underpinning your (initial) decision to move to the UK?

Or

Why did you choose to move to the UK?

Can you tell me a bit more about the place you're from in Poland? Positive/negative memories?

Has anyone else in your family migrated, moved to any other country?

Why did you choose to come to the UK in particular?

Lack or availability of work in one location or another/ better pay and conditions

Availability/ possibility to train/work in the UK following 2004 expansion

Comparable quality of work/training in UK/Poland

Wish to see the wider world/Adventure

Personal issues: escape an abusive partner, a new start following relationship breakdown, free to be who you want to be ?

Followed a partner who had migrated

Better working conditions or pay in UK

Established links with the UK e.g. family/friends who had previously migrated to the UK for various reasons

Came as a student to study and stayed

Improve language

Access to benefits /escape poverty

Did you consider any other options as alternative locations?

How long you originally intended to stay? Has this changed? What were the important factors in changing your mind (to stay OR to go back to Poland)?

Lack of work in UK now compared to then

Poverty in UK

Economic situation back in Poland

New partner in UK

Family joiners

Distance between family members missing children

Care chains – need to go back to care for children or ascendant relatives etc.

3. Subsequent decisions to return to Poland or remain in the UK

For those who have chosen to remain in the UK

Why have you chosen to remain in the UK (for longer) rather than return to Poland or move elsewhere?

Availability of appropriate work where you live / generally better quality of life

Lack of work opportunities in Poland

New partner in UK

Personal reason: e.g. Met someone and settled down/ partnered with someone in UK, children in schools etc.

For returnees who subsequently returned to Poland

What underpinned your decision to subsequently return to Poland after a period in the UK?

Are you here for good?

Lack of work in UK now compared to then

New opportunities or better pay and conditions in Poland?

Homesick

Care responsibilities back home

Poverty in UK

Economic situation back in Poland

Family joiners /Distance between family members missing children

Care chains – need to go back to care for children or ascendant relatives etc.

4. Gender (as opposed to sex, explain differences)

To what extent has the fact that you are a woman impacted on your decisions in respect of migration and work and care?

Or

Has being a woman influenced your decisions about where you live, work, and care?

Could you tell me about your work and any other responsibilities that you may have at home (life/work balance)?

Or

Could you tell me about your average day?

Paid/unpaid work – who does what?

Domestic tasks – cleaning/cooking/shopping/looking after children/elderly, etc

How do you manage to combine paid work with unpaid work at home (if applicable)?

Who would you say is the main provider for your family (if applicable)?

How do you manage to achieve a balance between your paid work and unpaid domestic responsibilities?

Did things change for you once you partnered/ started a family? In what sense? Why?

Or

Do you think this will change when you meet someone/start a family?

Does the career of one partner or another take precedence? If so whose?

How does informal care of children and/or ascendant relatives feature in your decisions re work and migration

To what extent are equal opportunities/lack of discrimination/fairer opportunities for women and men a feature of your migratory decisions

what about

Has migration impacted on you and your life? If so, in what ways?

Positively/ negatively? Why?

Seeing other cultures/ traditions/lifestyles

Sense of identity, more space, different in respect of gender and/or cultural space

How, if at all, does being a woman/ mother/in the UK and Poland differ?

Better or worse, no difference? Why? Example?

Poland more traditional, patriarchal?

Britain more liberal – more partnerships?

5. Looking forward

What are your plans for the future?

Do you plan to stay here/ migrate again or return to Poland in the future?

Where to, when, why might you relocate/return to Poland?

If not, why not, what is stopping you from returning home or holding you here?

Work reasons: better pay, prospects

Family matter: partner, children, parents

Family reasons etc.

Welfare reasons: access to benefits

END OF INTERVIEW

- Would you like to add anything else before we finish? Any questions for me?
- Remind them about the transcribed interview and get an address for forwarding, if applicable.
- ➔ Do you have any friends who [PL: similarly to you] lived in the UK for some time (min 6 months) and then returned to Poland? Could I contact them please??
- ➔ INCENTIVES
 - THANK YOU!

B) Ethics forms – Polish versions/wersje po Polsku:

1 Zaproszenie do udziału w wywiadzie,

**Chciałabym serdecznie zaprosić do wzięcia udziału
w badaniu do pracy doktorskiej na temat migracji Polek do UK.**

Jestem zainteresowana doświadczeniami Polskich migrantek które zamieszkują Północno-Zachodnią Anglię, jak i tych Polek które po dłuższym pobycie w Anglii wróciły do Polski. Informacje które uzyskam pozwolą na lepsze zrozumienie zagadnienia migracji kobiet i ich doświadczeń. Ja również, jak się pewnie domyślasz, jestem emigrantką z Polski, mieszkającą na stałe w UK.

Jestem zainteresowana Twoimi doświadczeniami migracyjnymi oraz tym jak rozumiesz swoje miejsce w i poza domem. Wszelkie informacje którymi zechcesz się ze mną podzielić będą anonimizowane.

Dołączam szczegółowe informacje dotyczące badania. Jeśli masz jakieś pytania chętnie na nie odpowiem. Jeśli zgadzasz się na wzięcie udziału, proszę o kontakt na numer 0161 295 2486 albo email E.A.Duda-Mikulin@edu.salford.ac.uk. Proszę o podanie imienia i numeru kontaktowego, a ja chętnie oddzwonię.

Doceniam Twoje uwagi i Twój wkład i mam nadzieję że zechcesz się ze mną nimi podzielić.

Dziękuję.

Pozdrawiam,

Ewa Duda-Mikulin

E.A.Duda-Mikulin@edu.salford.ac.uk

Tel: (0044) 161 295 2486

2 Arkusz informacyjny,

Tytuł pracy doktorskiej Obywatelstwo, Migracje i Gender: Polskie migrantki w UK i w Polsce

Wstęp

Dziękuję za rozpatrywanie wzięcia udziału w niniejszych badaniach. Zanim zdecydujesz czy chcesz wziąć udział, proszę zapoznaj się z poniższymi informacjami. Ważne jest abyś przeczytała te informacje uważnie i wiedziała na czym te badania polegają. W razie wszelkich pytań lub niejasności, służę pomocą.

Jaki jest cel tych badań?

Badania te są przeprowadzane w celu wypełnienia luki w wiedzy na temat polskich migrantek i wpływu procesu migracyjnego na ich role społeczne, a dokładniej ich role płci.

Dlaczego są to ważne badania?

Badania na temat migracji kobiet są ważne szczególnie w odniesieniu do starzejących się społeczeństw oraz obniżających się wskaźników płodności w Europie. Wraz z momentem kiedy kobiety stały się bardziej aktywne na rynku pracy, zmniejszył się ich udział w opiece nad domem i jego członkami. Można wywnioskować iż poprzez migracje, kobiety są w stanie doświadczać innych społecznych i kulturowych norm oraz odmiennych stylów życia, a wszystko to może mieć wpływ na to jak postrzegają one świat oraz to czego zostały nauczone w domu rodzinnym. Wszystko to razem wzięte, może mieć pozytywny wpływ na równość płci w ich kraju pochodzenia.

Dlaczego zostałam zaproszona?

Proszę Cię o wzięcie udziału ponieważ jesteś Polką mieszkającą w Północno-Zachodniej Anglii i mam nadzieję na uzyskanie informacji na temat Twoich doświadczeń w UK oraz tego jak, jako kobieta, radzisz sobie z różnymi rolami – pracą na etacie oraz opieką nad domem w szczególności.

Czy muszę wziąć udział?

Wzięcie udziału jest całkowicie dobrowolne. Jeśli zdecydujesz się na udział w badaniu, poproszę Cię o podpisanie zgody. Oczywiście możesz się wycofać z badania w każdym jego

momencie bez podania przyczyny. Jeżeli zdecydujesz się zrezygnować z udziału w badaniach, wszelkie informacje o Tobie będą usunięte.

Co się stanie jeśli zdecyduję się na wzięcie udziału?

Jeśli zdecydujesz się na wzięcie udziału w wywiadzie, nie powinien on potrwać więcej niż godzinę, w zależności od Twoich odpowiedzi. Miejsce spotkania będzie zależało od Ciebie i tego gdzie czujesz się najwygodniej. Rozmowa będzie nagrana na dyktafon, ale Twoje dane kontaktowe będą zatajone i nikt oprócz badaczki nie będzie odsłuchiwał nagrania. Jeżeli nie wyrazisz zgody na użycie dyktafonu, szczegółowe notatki będą robione przed badaczkę podczas trwania wywiadu.

Co jeśli wystąpi problem (w jakimkolwiek momencie badań)?

Jeżeli masz wątpliwości w odniesieniu do jakiegokolwiek kwestii dotyczącej badania, nie wachaj się zadawać pytań. Badaczka zrobi wszystko co w jej mocy aby wyczerpująco na nie odpowiedzieć. Jeżeli będziesz niezadowolona, masz prawo złożyć oficjalną skargę do Salford University, aby tak postąpić, w pierwszym rzędzie skontaktuj się z Profesorem Peter Dwyer (dane kontaktowe znajdziesz na końcu tego dokumentu), który pokieruje Cię do odpowiedniej osoby.

Jakie są korzyści z brania udziału w tych badaniach?

Poprzez wzięcie udziału przyczyniasz się do nabycia nowej wiedzy i tym samym rozwoju w naukach społecznych. W ramach podziękowania przyznana zostanie niewielka suma pieniężna.

Czy jest jakieś ryzyko związane z badaniami?

Badaczka nie może dać gwarancji, ale nie widzi żadnych bezpośrednich zagrożeń związanych z braniem udziału w badaniach.

Czy moje dane będą chronione?

Wszystkie zebrane informacje o Tobie oraz innych uczestniczkach badania będą traktowane jako poufne, a wszelkie materiały do publikacji, nie będą zawierały imienia, ani innych danych osobowych, tak by nikt nie był w stanie Cię rozpoznać. Jeżeli zaś poinformujesz o nielegalnych czynnościach, badaczka będzie zobowiązana przekazać te informacje do adekwatnych służb porządkowych. Jeżeli wycofasz się z badania, w jakimkolwiek jego momencie, wszystkie informacje o Tobie będą usunięte.

Co się stanie z wynikami badań?

Wyniki badania będą opublikowane w formie pracy doktorskiej. Będą one również opublikowane w międzynarodowych dziennikach akademickich oraz prezentowane podczas konferencji. Jeśli chciałabyś otrzymać kopię pracy doktorskiej, proszę zostaw mi swój adres emailowy lub korespondencyjny.

Kto jest sponsorem badań?

Studia doktorskie, jak i badania do pracy doktorskiej są finansowane przez stypendium z University of Salford, UK oraz stypendium z Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Polska.

Dane kontaktowe:

Ewa Duda-Mikulin, Tel: 0161 295 2486, Email: E.A.Duda-Mikulin@edu.salford.ac.uk

Promotorzy badań:

Prof. Peter Dwyer, Tel: 0161 295 2812, Email: P.J.Dwyer@salford.ac.uk

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3 Zgoda na udział w wywiadzie,



Research Participant Consent Form Wyrażenie zgody na wzięcie udziału w badaniu

**Tytuł: Obywatelstwo, Migracje i Gender:
Polskie migrantki w UK i w Polsce**

Proszę postawić parafkę przy każdym z poniższych punktów:

Tak Nie

Potwierdzam że zostałam zaznajomiona z celami badania, otrzymałam informacje na temat badania w formie pisemnej i miałam okazję zadać pytania.

☐ ☐

Rozumiem że branie udziału jest dobrowolne i że mogę się wycofać w każdym momencie bez podania powodu.

☐ ☐

Rozumiem że moje słowa mogą być cytowane w raporcie z badań i innych publikacjach. Rozumiem że wszystkie dane będą anonimizowane i że nikt nie będzie w stanie mnie osobiście rozpoznać.

☐ ☐

Zgadzam się na archiwizację informacji które omówimy.

☐ ☐

Zgadzam się na użycie dyktafonu.

☐ ☐

Zgadzam się na wzięcie udziału w badaniu.

☐ ☐

Imię respondentki [drukowane] Podpis _____ Data _____

Badaczka [drukowane] Podpis _____ Data _____

Dane kontaktowe:

Ewa Duda-Mikulin, Tel: 0161 295 2486, Email: E.A.Duda-Mikulin@edu.salford.ac.uk.

4 Lista pytań do wywiadu;

WSTĘP: Przed rozpoczęciem wywiadu:

- g. Przedstaw się – omów rolę – doktorantka, badaczka życia społecznego, Polka, migrantka,
- h. Wytlumacz przebieg wywiadu, jego czas i późniejsze wykorzystanie,
- i. Omów zgodę na wywiad, podkreśl anonimizację danych,
- j. Zapytaj czy jest zgoda na użycie dyktafonu, jeśli tak sprawdź jego działanie,
- k. Podkreśl że nie ma ani poprawnych ani nieprawidłowych odpowiedzi,
- l. Wypełnij informacje demograficzne (pseudonym respondentki; data, czas rozpoczęcia i miejsce wywiadu; wiek i stan cywilny respondentki (dzieci?); kompozycja rodziny (duża/mala/gdzie mieszka); poziom wykształcenia, wykonywany zawód; jak długo w UK / skąd w Polsce).

CELE BADAŃ:

1. Zbadanie motywacji migracyjnych migrantek (tj. migracji docelowych/powrotnych/innych) jak i motywacji do pozostania w kraju immigracji.
2. Zbadanie czy migracja jest katalizatorem zmian w tradycyjnym podziale ról społecznych.
3. Zbadanie jak polskie migrantki negocjują/widzą swoje formalne i nieformalne role w odniesieniu do obywatelstwa, pracy i podziału obowiązków w domu.
4. Porównanie i zestawienie ze sobą różnic, jeżeli takowe występują, w kwestii pracy i dobrobytu pomiędzy polskimi migrantkami mieszkającymi w UK i Polkami które po pobycie w UK wróciły do Polski.
5. Dokonać wkładu naukowego i przyczynić się do rozwoju teoretycznego w odniesieniu do międzynarodowych migracji i gender, a ściślej w odniesieniu do Polek migrantek i ról płci.

1. Historia migracji

Czy mogę zacząć od pytania jak to się stało że przyjechałaś/jesteś w UK (wróciłaś do Polski)?

Albo

Czy mogłabyś zacząć od podania głównych dat w Twojej historii migracji?

Jak długo już jesteś w UK?

Kiedy przyjechałaś po raz pierwszy?

Kiedy wróciłaś?

Czy wyemigrowałaś/mieszkałaś gdzieś indziej (poza UK i PL)?

2. Ważne czynniki które miały znaczenie w decyzji o przyjeździe do UK

Jakie były główne powody Twojego przyjazdu do UK? Dlaczego zdecydowałaś się przyjechać do UK?

Czy możesz mi powiedzieć coś więcej o miejscu z którego pochodzisz w Polsce?

Pozytywne/negatywne wspomnienia?

Czy inne osoby w Twojej rodzinie także wyjeżdżały/wyjechały za granicę?

Dlaczego zdecydowałaś się przyjechać akurat do UK, a nie do innego kraju?

Brak możliwości pracy/ lepsze warunki pracy itp

Możliwość podjęcia szkolenia/pracy po wejściu Polski do UE

Lepsza jakość szkolen/pracy w UK/Polsce

Chciałaś poznać świat/podrozować/doznać przygody

Osobiste kwestie: ucieczka od przemocy w rodzinie, nowy początek po rozpadzie wcześniejszego związku

Przyjechałaś za partnerem/chłopakiem

Lepsze warunki pracy i płacy w UK

Istniejące kontakty w UK e.g. rodzina/przyjaciele/znajomi którzy wcześniej tu przyjechali

Przyjechałaś jako studentka

Nauka języka angielskiego

Dostęp do świadczeń socjalnych/zasiłków/wyjście z biedy

Czy brałaś pod uwagę jakieś inne miejsca/kraje?

Jak długo zamierzałaś pozostać w UK? Czy to się zmieniło?

Co wpłynęło na zmianę Twojej decyzji (pozostać w UK/wrócić do Polski)?

Brak pracy w UK w porównaniu do wcześniej

Bieda w UK

Sytuacja ekonomiczna w Polsce

Nowy związek/partner w UK

Przyjazd rodziny

Odległość i tęsknota za rodziną/dziećmi

Lancuch opieki – konieczność powrotu i opieki nad dziećmi/ starszymi członkami rodziny

3. Dalsze decyzje o powrocie do Polski lub pozostaniu w UK

Dla tych które pozostały w UK

Dlaczego zdecydowałaś się pozostać w UK na stałe/na dłuższy czas (raczej niż powrócić do Polski lub wyjechać gdzieś indziej)?

Dostęp do odpowiedniej pracy / generalnie lepsza jakość życia

Brak możliwości w Polsce

Nowy partner/związek w UK

Osobiste względy: e.g. poznałaś kogoś i chcesz pozostać/ dzieci się przyzwyczaiły (szkoły)

Dla tych które wróciły do Polski

Co Cię skłoniło do powrotu do Polski po dłuższym czasie w UK? Myślisz że na stałe wróciłaś?

Brak pracy w porównaniu do wcześniej

Nowe możliwości lub lepsza płaca w Polsce

Tęsknota za domem/rodziną/etc

Konieczność opieki nad rodziną w Polsce

Bieda w UK

Sytuacja ekonomiczna w Polsce

Nowy związek/partner w UK

Przyjazd rodziny/ Odległość i tęsknota za rodziną/dziećmi

Lancuch opieki – konieczność powrotu i opieki nad dziećmi/ starszymi członkami rodziny

6. Płeć (gender- płeć społeczno-kulturowa)

Płeć kulturowa, płeć społeczna, ang. gender, identyfikacja jednostki z rolą płci wynikająca z uwarunkowań kulturowych i społecznych; płeć kulturowa ma charakter wyuczony; powstaje we wczesnym okresie socjalizacji (3.–6. rok życia), w czasie którego następuje uwewnętrznienie norm związanych z rolami płciowymi; jest przedmiotem interdyscyplinarnych studiów (gender studies). PWN

Płeć społeczno-kulturowa to różnice lub role społeczne przypisywane kobietom i mężczyznom, których uczymy się wraz z dorastaniem i które zmieniają się w czasie oraz uwarunkowane są kulturowo i zależą od pochodzenia etnicznego, religii, wykształcenia, klasy, a także środowiska geograficznego, gospodarczego, politycznego, w jakim żyjemy. Te modele zachowania wyznaczają standardy i wpływają na to, kim jesteśmy- niezależnie od naszej płci biologicznej. Płeć społeczno-kulturowa określa zatem zbiór zachowań, oczekiwanych przez społeczeństwo od mężczyzn i kobiet, oraz buduje ich tożsamość społeczną, która różni się w zależności od kultury i kształtuje w zróżnicowany sposób w poszczególnych okresach historii.

Czy fakt że jesteś kobietą w jakikolwiek sposób wpłynął na decyzje w kwestii wyjazdu, pracy (opieki nad domem)?

albo

Czy bycie kobietą wpłynęło na decyzje o tym gdzie mieszkasz, pracujesz, (kim/czym się opiekujesz, dbałość, pielęgnacja, utrzymanie, troska)?

Czy możesz mi opowiedzieć o swojej pracy zarobkowej i innych obowiązkach, jeśli takowe masz w domu (balans życia/pracy)?

albo

Czy możesz mi opowiedzieć jak wygląda Twój przeciętny dzień?

Praca zawodowa/praca niepłatna/wolontariat – kto co robi?

Obowiązki domowe – sprzątanie/gotowanie/zakupy/opieka nad dziećmi/starszymi, itp

Jak sobie radzisz z pracą zawodową i pracą nieodpłatną w domu?

Kto jest głównym chlebowodawcą?

Jak udaje ci się osiągnąć balans pomiędzy twoją pracą zawodową i wszelkimi obowiązkami w domu?

Czy coś się zmieniło gdy znalazłaś partnera/chłopaka/założyłaś rodzinę? W jakim sensie? Dlaczego?

albo

Czy myślisz, że coś się zmieni kiedy poznasz kogoś/znajdziesz partnera/założysz rodzinę?

Czy np. Kariera jednego z Was jest stawiana ponad karierę tej drugiej osoby? Jeśli tak, kogo?

Jak nieformalna opieka nad dziećmi/ starszymi wpływa na kwestie związane z pracą zarobkową?

Czy równouprawnienie/ brak dyskryminacji/ bardziej sprawiedliwe możliwości w odniesieniu do kobiet i mężczyzn wpłynęły w jakikolwiek sposób na Twoją decyzję o wyjeździe?

Czy migracja/przemieszczenie się z PL do UK w jakikolwiek sposób wpłynęła na Twoje życie? Jeśli tak, jak?

Pozytywnie/negatywnie, jak?

Other cultures/traditions/lifestyles

Poczucie tożsamości, więcej przestrzeni/tolerancji, kwestia równości płci i podziału obowiązków

W jaki sposób, jeśli w ogóle, bycie kobietą/matką, różni się pomiędzy Polską a UK?

Lepiej, gorzej, bez różnicy? Dlaczego? Przykład?

Polska bardziej tradycyjna, patriarchalna?

UK bardziej liberalna, więcej związków partnerskich?

5. Patrzenie w przyszłość

Jakie masz plany na przyszłość?

Zamierzasz pozostać w UK/ wyjechać gdzieś indziej/ wrócić do Polski?

Gdzie/ kiedy/ czemu miałabyś (nie)wrócić do Polski? A jeżeli nie, czemu nie, co Cię tutaj trzyma?

Powody związane z pracą: lepsza płaca, możliwości

Rodzinne kwestie: partner, dzieci, rodzice

Powody związane z państwem opiekuńczym: dostęp do zasiłków

ZAKOŃCZENIE

- Czy masz jakieś końcowe uwagi? Jakies pytania do mnie (na jakikolwiek temat)?
- Przypomnij o transkrypcji wywiadu – przesłać? Pracę doktorską przesłać? Jeśli tak – adres email.
- ➔ Czy znasz jakieś kobiety które [PL: podobnie do Ciebie] mieszkały w UK przez jakiś czas (min 6 m-cy) ale wróciły do Polski? Czy mogłabyś mnie z nimi skontaktować??
- ➔ INCENTIVES
 - DZIĘKUJĘ PIĘKNIE!

Appendix IV – Example of an interview transcript

1. Migration history

EDM: Why did you come/why are you in the UK?

Aniela: I mean I think that a lot of people plan that kind of trip, I don't know, saving money has a kind of effect, or something, so yeah it seems to me that some people plan it, I never planned anything, I didn't want to go anywhere at all 'cos I had been abroad in 2002, 2003 and I didn't want to go anywhere then, that was the case when one of my brothers left six months earlier, Christ I don't want to lie but I think around six months before me, maybe 7-8 months, my younger brother left, but it was clear that he only went for a few months and wouldn't stay permanently, yeah and they started saying, "maybe you should come here, or maybe go there or there". My younger brother travelled back to Poland all the time, for a week or two and they [my brothers] started to ask, basically, "what have you got here" and of course I didn't really have any kind of concrete, stable work, I didn't have any kind of you know steady income and I was always changing jobs, and with guys, basically, there was nothing so there was no kind of romance or anything to keep me there, because of course often another person can keep you somewhere... and that's all and when you say to yourself, "I've got nothing to lose" why not give it a try?

EDM: In 2002 you said you went somewhere earlier?

Aniela: Oh god when was that... yeah I was in Sweden, in Stockholm for around 9 months.

EDM: Ah, was that for work or just curiosity?

Aniela: Yes, at the time I planned to make some money for my masters, I made money and then came back and finished my masters. Then later I looked for work in my field.

EDM: Ok, so it was a money-making trip, and when you came to the UK did you come to Manchester straight away?

Aniela: I went to London first, Marek was in Manchester [now ex-partner], in the meantime really I resumed contact with Marek over the Internet and it turned out that he was in England too, in Manchester and maybe that had some kind of influence. So first I went to London, but I wasn't in London for very long 'cos he [Marek] wanted me to come to him, "since you're in England come be near me and not somewhere in London".

EDM: So at that point you were already in a relationship?

Aniela: I came here to Manchester to be with him and everything started in Manchester 'cos the month in London well...

EDM: So you didn't or you did look for work in London?

Aniela: I did and I found work, I got a job in a restaurant as a waitress, I even had 3 offers there in terms of work, there was no problem in terms of work even without English and mine was awful, I sat down with some books, went and prepared myself and could talk but in London they speak quite clearly, more clearly than here [Manchester] so there wasn't a problem, and if there were they weren't really barriers for me in order to communicate, at least to talk about work, what someone wants me to do or not what they expect, that was clear.

EDM: Good, so you went to London and then you resumed contact with...

Aniela: I mean when I was still in Poland I got back in touch with Marek, we were already in contact, yeah kind of online, on Skype or whatever.

EDM: So you didn't intend to stay in London?

Aniela: Yeah he kind of put me under pressure, "either come here to me and we'll give it a try or see you later"... so I kind of chose a relationship with this guy.

2. Important factors that had an impact on the decision to come to the UK

EDM: Can you tell me more about where you come from in Poland? Positive/negative memories?

Aniela: It's a tiny place, 15,000 inhabitants maximum, really tiny where there's nothing there and nothing going on so I never felt good there yeah 'cos as a young person there's nothing to do, nothing there... yeah we had maybe one cinema there, one gallery, but generally there's nothing happening, all the young people from there kind of, like when someone goes off to university to a bigger city they stay there or somewhere else, they don't come back 'cos they don't think there's anything to do.

EDM: So I understand then that you have negative memories?

Aniela: Err... I mean yeah, it's nice yeah 'cos it's safe right, everything's close, people kind of know each other, of course, they look after each other, neighbours keep an eye out for each other, always.

Everyone knows everyone in general right, and, and that's nice and it's got its advantages, however in terms of personal development and, I don't know, for example, following your passion like for example later I trained myself to do some things, earlier for example if I'd had that before for example then I'd have been very happy and I didn't know what to do with myself sort of thing, where to invest my energy, there was nothing outside school, no kind of activities,

I wanted to go to Bialystok to elementary school on a wider foreign language course but I couldn't 'cos my parents finances kind of blocked it 'cos I'd have had to stay in a dormitory and that costs money so they said that unfortunately I had to go to high school there, 'cos there was one high school [where I come from] in Dabrowa yeah and that's it so...

EDM: In that case do you think that that place restricted you in any way?

Aniela: Yeah here I was restricted, yeah 'cos definitively if I'd been in a bigger city then my path would have taken a different direction.

EDM: I get the impression that you feel negatively towards that place?

Aniela: No no... 'cos also as a child I started playing the piano, when I was 8 or 9, and later it turned out that the opportunity, well my teacher said that well, "I can't teach you here anymore" I was 13, "you have to go to music school in Bialystok". From my town to Bialystok it's 80km, and we went to Bialystok, yeah and I was 13, an impressionable teenager, a big school, Bialystok was a huge city for me then and it was linked to costs, I didn't have theory lessons then... it's a long story really, yeah it doesn't matter, anyway my parents decided for me not to, well I was young, too afraid, and also kind of, maybe if I kind of demanded that I wanted to go to that school then I suspect they would have tried somehow to get the money together but despite everything no, err it didn't work out.

EDM: And during your childhood, when you were growing up, did you live there the whole time [in Dabrowa]?

Aniela: I felt better when I left there, when I went to university oh yeah, in Bialystok, when I was kind of 18-19.

EDM: In what way did you feel better?

Aniela: I mean in terms of people, or something, 'cos you've got a group of people like that and no different and if you can't get on with them you're stuck if you want to find another friend [in my home town]. I kind of I never totally felt that, I kind of felt that I didn't fit in, like a round peg in a square hole, that I don't fit in here.

EDM: Why did you decide to come to the UK exactly and not to another country? Was it only because of your brother or did you intend to leave because you didn't fit in, because you were in Sweden before?

Aniela: No, Sweden was also kind of an accident, I also had an offer to go to France when I came back from Sweden but after my experience in Sweden, I decided not to leave again because it was two months after I got back and the offer was there and some friends, anyway to go and be with this child [i.e. to go to France and look after a child], however I didn't think about leaving at all so I didn't plan here 'cos like I can plan now 'cos for example with a British passport I can go to Canada if I wanted or to New Zealand, with a British passport my god the

world is open, you could just sit and plan where to go, but in fact I didn't plan, I really didn't plan it and that's it and why did it happen? Mostly by accident, if they [my brothers] had been in Germany then I'd have gone to Germany, 'cos of them too, yeah and Marek too, 'cos they, those people kind of pulled me away, yeah well and to have the feeling, yeah Marek helped me a lot, well yeah I guess everyone is kind of amazed when they come here, yeah here nobody's bold, nobody, you have to walk around and find work where you barely speak the language and if someone phones and asks how things are, how you're doing, if they can help then they're basically a guardian angel then yeah.

EDM: So if I understand you correctly, you didn't take other issues into consideration?

Aniela: Just the language, just English as it's kind of, at some point I learned a little at school kind of for example I really don't like German so I suspect I kind of felt that, and the language seemed ok to me, I'll go for a year, two and it'll be fine and the language was a kind of factor as English seemed to me to be, yeah, to learn, to learn it to grasp it.

EDM: So your brothers didn't persuade you to come for other reasons, e.g. finding work easily?

Aniela: They said I'd find work, that it's ok etc...

EDM: And in terms of quality of life?

Aniela: I mean when my brother came [to visit in Poland] and brought back a bag of clothes that were basically wow, and I was going around in rags I bought second hand or on sale or whatever, where I couldn't afford to buy anything I liked, I thought to myself "god, well at least I could make some money for basic things even if I don't stay, right, at least I can buy this kind of crap yeah". Yeah so I think that also had, yeah I think it was also a kind of motivating factor right, also that somewhere I'll be with them because at a certain age the family goes its separate ways, all of us somewhere were doing our own thing so we recently had the opportunity to go somewhere and I thought that it was the last chance for us to live together you know and kind of be together right.

EDM: How old are your brothers?

Aniela: One is a year older and the younger is 3 years younger [she is 32]. My younger brother went [went back to Poland], that's also a kind of paradox 'cos he also went back to Poland after a month yeah 'cos the work finished with this guy where he was working so he went back.

EDM: How long did you intend to stay in the UK? When you went to be with Marek, were you together then?

Aniela: At that point the relationship just started, we chatted on Skype only, yeah but it started to grow.

EDM: Yeah so when you went to your brother's in London you thought about how long you would stay, did you immediately plan a move to Manchester?

Aniela: I am more of a cautious person, more kind of a nester, and I thought to myself, I don't even know this guy, yes I know him from Poland, I have, we kind of were going out there a bit, we worked together but that wasn't enough to go and be with him, I thought that maybe later a bit, if I stay yeah well I don't know, six months or something in London, I can make some money and then I'll be kind of financially independent.

EDM: OK but if we can come back to the point when you first came to the UK, how long did you think you'd stay?

Aniela: I mean it's hard to say now, 'cos it was a while ago now and I don't really remember if I kind of built up an idea about how long I'd stay here, I was kind of overwhelmed by everything, my new surroundings where I found myself [in London] and really I could only count on myself because my brothers worked, there was no one there coming to me or telling me anything yeah and I had to go places by myself and look for a job and try and kind of for me the thought [about how long to stay] was already sort of relaxed, when I have a job then I'll work for a bit and then I'll think how long I can stay for, not at that point where I was though. I was totally focussed on getting work and basically starting work and making some money and that was it and not ending up with someone who's gonna kind of exploit me, pay me some crap money 'cos I talked to a few people and it was clear why they were looking for foreigners, yeah it was obvious err 'cos then there wasn't even the minimum [wage] so I totally wasn't dreaming up any plans, to find work and find some money and kind of get a grasp of English, I basically sat down and worked on my English the whole with these books everywhere and you know sort of...

EDM: OK and what happened after that, you mentioned that after a month you came to Manchester?

Aniela: I mean it was also not entirely my decision err I kind of ended up with this decent sort of guy...

EDM: You're referring to work now?

Aniela: Yes, there were already three Polish girls there, that was also great and he was really good, here really helped me a lot, explained stuff, put a lot of energy into it, also my training, I only worked for him for a week and he kind of got this feeling yeah and one day asked me, "Aniela, it's important to me, it's important for everyone how long you're gonna stay here 'cos I'm also giving you a lot of my time" and 'cos of the fact that he was so fair with me I spoke to him honestly too and told him I have a boyfriend in Manchester and I can't promise that I'll definitely stay here a year, in this restaurant right, I can't promise that, I can promise that six

or seven months or whatever, but I won't promise that I'll stay and he said, "sorry Aniela, I don't want that" you see, and that's why we said goodbye after a week. He paid me my wages after a week and of course he hoped, he said when we said goodbye, that, "I hope you'll come back to London". That's why it was so quick 'cos like I told you I planned to stay at least a couple of months and work but 'cos that happened and also I saw the opportunity to visit Marek 'cos I was supposed to work 6 days a week for 9 hours a day and I only had one day off, and he had weekends off so we weren't able to meet and even though we were fairly close, 'cos London Manchester but no, we weren't able to meet so I saw that it was impossible so then I had to choose, either work or a guy right.

EDM: OK and what happened after that?

Aniela: I came here [to Manchester] right.

EDM: So when you came to Manchester, had you planned to stay for a specific amount of time?

Aniela: I still wasn't specific right, Marek took a couple of days off at the time and went with me to register with these different agencies and, I don't know 2 or 3 weeks later they called me from Top Gear and said there was some kind of a job.

3. Subsequent decisions to return to Poland or remain in the UK

EDM: Have your plans changed? Do you think you'll stay here, will you go back to Poland, will you go somewhere else, what do you think? What are your plans?

Aniela: I mean it's definitely easier yeah, it's definitely a bit of an easier life in terms of err finance err kind of reaching even the lowest national you know, in terms of paying bills, affording this or that, but sometimes I feel kind of frustration that the pay is as it is and despite everything when you right, what is the most difficult decisions in your life and the biggest is the decision to make changes in your lifestyle, at least I yeah, I'd like to have a bit more yeah, not who knows how much but more than the minimum 'cos when I first came or whatever I thought to myself that I'm an agency worker and I'll make money but when I'm on a proper contract it'll be different and I've experienced proper contracts now and they're a bit better in terms that I've got a job yeah but that's it.

EDM: But what do you think, do you think you'll stay or will you go back to Poland, or will you see how it goes?

Aniela: No, I think it depends on the way I build my priorities here yeah. 'cos if I really think about the financial factor maybe, I mean here I don't know, maybe I'm just grumbling yeah, but maybe I dreamed some kind of vision or whatever about Canada or Australia or something

if I get a British passport. I dunno if err but I'll think yeah, it depends if something changes, if my situation changes or whatever in terms of finance and what I'll be doing 'cos also we're talking actually about the fact that I'm not doing what I want to do yeah, I do something to make money, I like it more or less but it's not entirely something that let's say I wanted to do back home, it's not that path.

EDM: Are you considering any other countries?

Aniela: I am yes. I'm not, I mean I'm definitely not gonna go back to Poland but I'm open to other opportunities.

EDM: Why won't you go back to Poland, why are you so sure?

Aniela: 'cos I'm in touch with friends, 'cos I see they're frustrated, 'cos I see the limited opportunities there, well there aren't any and how tough it is in comparison, yeah so, that's why I'm ruling it out as a possibility yeah 'cos also to go back to Poland I'd have to have I don't know how much money in my account, savings right, to last yeah, to do another course or whatever there or something and let's say be, like I thought at some point, be a dram [?] therapist, and for example do that yeah, I don't know whether it's realistic but yeah what... and even yeah if I had some sort of kind of in terms of income then you still can't buy a house, you can't buy the things, not in Poland, forget it. Yeah, yeah no.

I think now I'd err need time, 'cos I, yeah kind of I'd need time to adapt here, like when I try some things, sort of get rid of typical things 'cos I try, if I went back to Poland I'd need a few years to adapt again to the Polish mentality. It seems like that to me sometimes that it'd be difficult for me at the moment.

EDM: In what way?

Aniela: To the mentality of Polish people which is different, in the way they are, yeah to...

EDM: What is different exactly, the mentality – how do they differ?

Aniela: Err... at some point someone told me you can't fill up your glass to the top, you have to pour some out first, if here I can maybe err there is so much diversity of stimuli, so many different nationalities and ways of living and life yeah and basically there's so much of it that I can look for something, of course I can't take everything, but I can look for things, look for people who I like to listen to myself and choose for myself and I am enriched by something different, new, for example I'm learning to be more diplomatic 'cos we Poles or whatever live off our emotions err yeah like you used to say like you put your foot in it all the time, or whatever we don't have any control, sometimes we need it, we're missing a kind of tact and there's a kind of parochialism sometimes I get the impression at least, it's kind of primitive it is.

Young people maybe not, like, like, people who've been outside of Poland, I don't get the sense from that, you know like, but the generation of our parents and uncles etc. hmm.

4. Gender

EDM: Did the fact that you're a woman in any way influence your decision in terms of migration, travelling, work?

Aniela: ...

EDM: Did being a woman influence the decision about where you live, work who/what you look after?

Aniela: Did hmm I'm kind of trying to think, I think there was a kind of moment when I, 'cos I was 28 when I came over, when you know my friends already had children, got married and of course I asked myself because you see I was working, I was, I worked fulltime and I was renting a room yeah, so all in all kind of barely in terms of income I made ends meet and there was a moment when I was kind of asking myself that I don't have a family yet you know yeah, I don't have children and that, so when will I have them? Yeah and how will I pay for it? You know not to delude yourself and I'm 20 and I'll finish my degree and on top of that there's that naivety that it'll get better, there's a hope that it'll get better and a confrontation with reality at work that makes it clear it won't get better, there won't be more money, unless I get two jobs right. So there were these kind of thoughts that I will, will make enough to support my family, on top of that I already tried in Poland, or tried somewhere to do some modelling and I had fun and I opened myself up to other areas, not that I finished one area and I can only do something in that field, there was a point when I don't know, something to do with acting, I was open to other professions to see – maybe other fields will be better yeah, maybe it'll pay slightly better or it'll be easier for me.

EDM: Could you tell me now about your job and if you have obligations at home? Or if it's easier you could tell me what your average day is like.

Aniela: What here now?

EDM: Yes.

Aniela: I mean I'd have to divide it now between the time on my day off which is totally different I mean err.

I mean I work now in a kind of system that I don't demand too much of myself, I mean it's so hard for me this system of nights, the working system, i.e. 8, 9 days in a row or whatever so the priority for me is kind of... you know, some people at work or whatever, and for example I've slept for 3 hours, – I can't do that you know, I won't do that kind of damage to my body where

I sleep 3 hours 'cos I've gotta work or make tea right. The priority is to rest, to, this is kind of a thing I have so I don't get ill, 'cos I know I'm prone to viruses or not viruses etc. so to sleep properly yeah and then I'm left with for example 8-9 hours' sleep and I'm left with 3-4 hours before work or sometimes even 2 and I can't do a lot then really actually, I've forgotten that I might have to clean something, and actually I'm kind of trying to get a grip on my free time and also work on the skills that I do and that's it. If there's a bit more time then maybe I'll cook something but that's, that's more if I want – if I don't want then I won't 'cos I'm tired, I'm not gonna force myself that I've got to do something right. But also there's no... If there was a child then of course no, if there was a family then I'd function differently, but...

EDM: So how would you function if you had a family?

Well I'd definitely work less, I mean I definitely wouldn't have that kind of job right [croupier in a casino], not in that system yeah 'cos it automatically rules out family life, at least for me.

EDM: What is family life to you?

Aniela: Well I, my child, err basically goes to bed and I'd read fairy tales to it, I wouldn't imagine that I'd go to work in the evenings and not be able to do that right. 'cos when would I see it right? In the morning it'd go to school or wherever to nursery and I'd sleep right, how much would I see the child? An hour a day, two? So automatically at the moment basically I wouldn't have that kind of job.

EDM: OK, let's go back to obligations at home, do you have any obligations at home? Do you feel there are some things, obligations you have to do because they're your obligations?

Aniela: Well yeah exactly, I mean, in terms of yeah in the week there's no time and all the time goes, on my day off, then when I basically have to 'cos I know err no one else will do it otherwise.

I mean I was in a relationship, I mean yeah now I'm a flat mate [with my ex-partner] err, I know he won't do this or that right.

EDM: Could you give me an example?

Aniela: Yeah they are, well it's kind of stupid really, yeah silly not stupid, but you gotta clean up or whatever and cook or something and sometimes Marek will do something if he sees that I'm kinda however whatever, then he sees, you know, I'll tell him, "if you don't want to then don't cook, we will go and eat something in town", I won't say, "you have to do something" either right, for me it's...

EDM: And what do you have to do, is there something?

Aniela: I mean I'm just talking, I mean I'm a really disorganised person, oh god, but you know err well basically tidy some things, or whatever, recently we spent half the day defrosting 'cos

it needs doing every so often right, or whatever, tidy up you know, shelves and stuff, and you know the sort of day-to-day tidying, daily sort of work so the house looked, so it's basically you know, right?

EDM: And you feel that it's your responsibility?

Aniela: I mean I don't like it when it's you know, I mean it annoys me like that, it's my responsibility, I could not clean right, but then it annoys me that it's kinda you know you could just run a cloth over it or Hoover and it's done 'cos basically it annoys me [laughs] when you're falling over clothes or whatever or something like that... it's annoying.

EDM: So you do it for your own peace of mind, so you don't have to look at it?

Aniela: Yeah... yeah kind of... yeah... [Laughs] so it'd at least be ok.

EDM: Do you think if you met someone and started a relationship that your responsibilities would change?

Aniela: I mean I wouldn't make the same mistakes, the same, as in my previous relationship. You know I immediately went into the kitchen and showed him that "I'll do that darling" kind of thing, you know that I'd do it, I'll do everything nice and so on. No I'd, I'd err get my partner to cook for me and clean after me yeah. Err, "what do you prefer, the kitchen or the bathroom? If you prefer I'll do this and you do that and I'll dust you know?" I'll, in my next relationship, I'll do everything to get my partner to help me so that it was all down to me, 'cos to me I'm also comfortable you know and I also like to have a day off and spend it relaxing or whatever and not going around with a cloth and tidying up or whatever, that's not nice for me but those are things that you have to do or whatever, we're not gonna just sit in a whatever you know, you know so like I've got it in my head how much you can do and how much a person will want to do and what they won't... Well I dunno, if, you know I'm not gonna guess, I think it's about setting things out if you clear things up at the beginning.

EDM: How did it happen, as you say, that made that mistake earlier but now you'd prefer to be in a more equal relationship?

Aniela: I mean for me it's kind of uncomfortable yeah, I feel kinda overwhelmed with it and I need. And for me it's kind of really Polish, very Polish and I understood that whenever at work. I'll say to my friend, "look, help Janet carry that, it's heavy for her, all those cards, why don't you help her?" And he said something which for me which really showed us Poles really, he said "why do you expect me to do something just because I'm a bloke?" And to me that was like boom you know we think like that and I think it's kind of a natural characteristic for Poles and it's err 'cos I've got female friends too and they have the same thing, exactly the same thing right.

EDM: The same thing?

Aniela: In terms of the role of a woman, that some of them managed to get some kind of compromise with their guy and he cooks something or whatever, I dunno, or helps out and stuff, but the majority of their work is you know cooking, cleaning, washing, they do it on their own.

EDM: Are you talking about Polish women or British women who are with Polish men?

Aniela: Yes, yes, Polish women. I'm also talking about friends who are also in Poland, who are also with Polish guys, yeah. And I kinda also remember how I used to run around, when I still lived with my brother at uni, I used to run back from school to make his tea, 'cos I knew he'd be back and he'd be hungry and I ran quickly, 'cos he'll be there, oh my god, you know it was like that... I was kind of forced almost. Everything changes here yeah, it's kinda... But yeah.

EDM: But what are thinking about when you say everything changes here? Here, where here? You're talking about the UK?

Aniela: [Laughs] yes, I'm talking about the UK. I... basically I'm breaking away from that role err...

EDM: But why, why here all of a sudden?

Aniela: Err... I remember like when I was still working in a factory, Marek picked me up from work, I'd been at work for 12 hours right, so I'd got up at 4 and gone straight to work, I got back and it's 11, I don't remember what my shift or whatever was, but I'd been there all day right, and I'm basically dead and he says to me that I've got to do the washing, I've gotta do something, make soup or something... What!? I'm off to bed [I said], What!? [He says] You're off to bed?! I'm going to be! Oh there was an argument, an argument. An argument when we're still in the car and it just occurred to me that either we respect each other sort of thing and you know it's comfortable and whatever, like if I need to rest 'cos the other person... there's no limit, unless you set it basically you'll be turned into a machine. And that too... Yeah...

EDM: What led to this change? How did it happen?

Aniela: ...I think it's kinda all a big ball, I kinda think, I think the first year is kind of too short for anything to happen, a few years is too much though, in terms of how long you stay, I think after a year, maybe two, I dunno how long it took to sink in or whatever, but of course the confrontation with another culture and saying that English girls don't do this or that or the other, it also doesn't mean that I'm gonna do everything, but yeah it could also be that yeah, and that's why we have, why we change and turn into mother hens and say I've got to do something, but it could be different right. Yeah and also the pace of life, the pace of life, you know I spent, I was at school fulltime and at work fulltime yeah – when was that? But definitely err definitely being foreign or whatever and with people and confronting those other styles.

EDM: In what way, if at all, does being a woman/a mother differ in Poland and the UK?

Aniela: Oh god I don't know how much... 'cos I'm not a mother...

EDM: OK so in what way, if at all, does being a woman differ in Poland and the UK? I mean what have you noticed from your own experience, your friends here and in Poland, do you see any differences or not?

Aniela: I mean specifically in terms of the role... of women?

EDM: I mean generally, because you mentioned that there may be more opportunities in the UK, that you can afford more, that the living standard is improved, but you also mentioned mother hens in relation to Polish women, so I get the impression that you think that there isn't such a thing in the UK, is that what you think?

Aniela: It's difficult to say right, not really hanging out with English women err I think that definitely, I'm thinking now of the example of my teacher, I think that you can find examples sort of, kind of women here who have to raise children, I have to do something, I reckon you can find them here in the UK too, you can't say there aren't but, for sure, I mean I think that if I was here 'cos of that too that here my kind of specific idea, not going back to Poland 'cos also err, when you have children, you lose your job but you feel safe because you're in a country that cares right, err you'll have something to live off, it's not like you've got no way out or whatever – oh god, how will I feed my children or whatever, and I think that this too this feeling sort of of safety and comfort. Err, so definitely, here in terms of mother, I dunno.

EDM: So what is a mother hen in that case?

Aniela: Those are women who, for me, have forgotten about themselves, who... I mean that too, to live I guess with some kind of psychological mechanism then sure it turns out that they, in a way, ran away from themselves and concentrated on their husbands and on their children etc yeah. Yeah, 'cos well I think that if someone doesn't need time to themselves then... yeah but let's leave that, these mechanisms. Generally, here they kinda lost themselves, lost, neglected, stopped thinking about what I want for myself right...

EDM: Do you think that life is better for women in Poland or in the UK?

Aniela: I mean when you get to a level where you acclimatise [laughs] yeah, adapt you know, which not everyone does, not everyone, sometimes people go back 'cos they're not able to acclimatise themselves, 'cos whatever there are various factors but that's another topic right? Err it's definitely easier...

EDM: Where? Here?

Aniela: Yes, here, from my perspective err yes, 'cos it's even easier in terms of getting a flat or getting... generally in terms of wellbeing err yes.

EDM: And the relationships, because you mentioned it was difficult to compare because you don't hang out with British women everyday, if I understand you correctly?

Aniela: I mean in terms of that I never had kind of British friends really, friends like we know each other and...

EDM: I wanted to ask about your relationships, I'm not talking only about British women or Polish women, but generally any relationships in the UK, what is it like here in terms of relationships in comparison to relationships in Poland?

Aniela: Very generally... I mean it's hard for me to say, I can talk about my example, but it's tough for me to talk about someone's relationship. I don't know.

EDM: Would you say that Poland is a patriarchal country?

Aniela: What does patriarchal mean?

EDM: It relates to male domination in relationships, that men are superior, they take the more important roles, they have control, they are the breadwinners while women are responsible for home and family.

Aniela: ...You mean like a guy is kind of dominant to? [EDM nods]... I mean I wouldn't say, not necessarily, I mean sure there are families that work like that but you can't also say that the majority of society definitely works that way, especially the younger generations, I think it's changing a lot, where women too, I think that... 'cos I've also got friend who did two uni courses or whatever and it seemed to me that their husbands will kinda be err the kind of people, like when I was still at uni, that will make money and be breadwinners but now it seems that this guy doesn't really have a profession and she's got three right, and she's still studying and still pushing herself yeah, 'cos here there's no work so what do you do? Well now you've gotta learn this or that to do whatever or something or whatever. I'm basically under the impression that they, they're kinda flexible I wouldn't want to study so much, no way. And in terms of my friends, my family in terms of my parents' generation, my uncle right, a guy or whatever might be more, but in terms of my friends it's definitely both, both people, they both try there's no... I mean that's why I always stress, in terms of my friends, whatever, I don't see any difference or something like...

EDM: You mentioned family, could you briefly tell me what your family life was like? Do you have a large family? Who worked, who made the money? You mentioned for example that you ran back from school to make food for your brother, do you think then that you picked up this behaviour at home?

Aniela: Of course yes, but I don't spend the time in the kitchen that my mum does, she could stay there non-stop for sure.

EDM: She never worked?

Aniela: She worked, but she'd come back from work and then pancakes, potato cakes, dumplings, basically yeah also when we were small I guess we were always hungry and were

outside and she didn't understand yeah how you can give a bun to a child or whatever, yeah she was kind of a housewife, she worked all the time of course, she didn't work when she was on maternity or whatever, but yeah she worked all the time.

EDM: And your dad worked too?

Aniela: We had a farm so that took up a lot of time and it was also related to the fact that we [the children] also helped our parents, kind of every weekend, holiday, break and then we had a kind of small shop and that took up the whole family. In my mum's case it was kind of a, kind of an extra job for her, extra duties, she'd come back from work and let's say we go out there to pick strawberries to sell and my mum would be back from work yeah, and where's the rest? And in the meantime she's cooking tea right. So for me that was too much, I'd never agree to so much to kind of take on so much or whatever like.

EDM: And your dad didn't do anything, didn't help?

Aniela: I mean he had his "things" but he didn't help at home, no, not in the home no...

5. Looking to the future

EDM: What are your plans for the future? We already looked at the issue when I asked if you intend to stay permanently, go somewhere some day or go back and I know you won't go back to Poland...

Aniela: I think I've already mentioned the cruises, so think about that, quite often or whatever, I got the information at work who it was, what it's like, you know all the time advantages and disadvantages so I also hear that sometimes you can work for 14 hours, yeah for me I know that it would be pretty hard in terms of my concentration levels at that but I think about it and whatever err yeah I need yeah I dunno, I need a kinda new stimulus, new people, something that'll whatever kinda be a change like for me and stuff, yeah 'cos here, I really want to develop, you know constantly fill up my cup, right, to, you know not to fall into some kind of old way, routines, to basically change and that's why I need these places, new stimuli and here I have a kind of pressure to do that. 'cos the work to, yeah now I'm learning, new things, it's all new and that but in 6 months I'll already have a routine and stuff like, it'll be the same everyday, nothing going on, I'm still learning for sure, new customers but it won't be you know like, it won't be a challenge by then. Then I'll have to change something. If not the cruise then another casino, London, another part of England, I can right, 'cos this job sort of opens doors, if you want to go somewhere yeah, if you want to visit Wales, Scotland, then I can also go to a casino there, I can but don't have to but they could take me right.

Since I don't have a family, and I have to stress this that it's the last chance 'cos later I wouldn't leave my child or whatever, I'd never do that, so it's either now and if not now then later it'll be...

EDM: Yes but why? Why wouldn't you leave your child? I understand that you would want to stay at home and look after the child?

Aniela: [Laughs] Yeah, turn into a mother hen yeah [laughs]

I mean I would value my family above everything right, that's why for example I wouldn't leave my child, no matter what age and I wouldn't go off for 8 months on a cruise ship no, no, no, I'd never forgive myself, that's why yeah.

EDM: Do you have any final comments? Is there anything you'd like to add that you haven't said already?

Aniela: Yeah just one thing, to finish, when we did those events [NGO Europa, community events], when Poles came, I mean for me it's nice that we're changing here. That those Poles were kind of more tolerant, more open than back home in Poland, day to day there's no please or thank you that you get here, that we change a bit. Not just me a Polish woman but us, Poles.

EDM: And you think this is positive?

Aniela: Yes it's good, it's a bonus, a lot, and right away later you get in touch with these people 'cos we're different to those other Poles in Poland yeah.

EDM: But we're changing in what way – from contact with English people?

Aniela: Yes, of course, I think that it's mostly in terms of relationships that we change, we kinda get the idea to be like them... I also have the feeling that err there's a paradox in general for me that I feel more myself in a foreign country than in my own, I can kind of give myself more space and be more timid or sensitive, 'cos I know that it won't be looked down on here, that you have to be tough and strong there, like in Poland I mean, I don't know you have to be independent and it's better here... here there's a better space for that yeah. Yeah and that's it.

EDM: OK, we're right at the end now, do you have any questions to me? About anything?

Aniela: No, I don't think so.

Appendix V – Training undertaken

Semester 1 (2011/12)

10-11/11 – Teaching Essentials for Salford Staff (TESS) – 6 weeks compulsory course

06/10/11 - Doing Literature Review (School Training - ST)

12/10/11 – e-Submissions Staff Training (Turnitin) (Library)

20/10/11 – What does a Ph.D. thesis look like? (ST)

31/10/11 – met librarian Neil Donohue

10/11/11 – Gaining Ethical Approval (ST)

17/11/11 – Introduction to Endnote (Library)

24/11/11 – Introduction to Writing for Publication (ST)

21/11/11 – guest lecture on Feminism as part of the Ideological Approaches to Welfare module

Semester 2 (2011/12)

07/02/12 – Research Ethics (SPoRT)

08/02/12 – Abstract Writing (SPoRT)

09/02/12 – Phenomenology (ST)

29/02/12 – The Big Society: the good, the bad & the unequal? Conference, Bradford, JUST Yorkshire

01/03/12 – Conducting Qualitative Research Interviews (ST)

08/03/12 – Grounded Theory (ST)

14/03/12 – Perspectives on Polish Migration & Welfare Conference at University of Central Lancashire

15/03/12 – Fieldwork in Qualitative Research (ST)

22/03/12 – Online Copyright (SPoRT)

28/03/12 – Maximising Impact at Conferences (SPoRT)

29/03/12 – Analysing Qualitative Research (interviews) (ST)

02/05/12 – Write that article in 7 days! (Manchester University workshop by Dr Inger Mewburn from The Thesis Whisperer)

08/05/12 – Giving a Conference Presentation (SPoRT)

16/05/12 – Thinking Critically (Study Skills Week – ST)

16/05/12 – Writing academically (Study Skills Week – ST)

29-31/05/12 – Salford Postgraduate Annual Research Conference (SPARC)

31/05/12 – 15 minute presentation at SPARC

08/06/12 – Pathways (annual careers event for Ph.D. researchers and research staff) event at Manchester University

29/06/12 – Transforming Social Policy: an International Colloquium in Honour of the Work of Emeritus Professor Fiona Williams OBE, Leeds University

09/07/12 – Migration Research Seminar, Salford University & Manchester Metropolitan University

12/07/12 – Blackboard 9.1 Training

16-18/07/12 – SPA 2013 Conference, York University

16/07/12 – 20 minute presentation at the SPA 2012 Conference

Semester 1 (2012/13)

07/11/12 – Intellectual Property Rights (SPoRT)

22/11/12 – Your Ph.D. – What's next? (SPoRT)

29/11/12 – guest lecture on Central & Eastern Europe as part of the Comparative Welfare Regimes module

06/12/12 – talk at a meeting with other Ph.D. students at the School

07/12/12 – 20 minute presentation at the Celebrating Research event at the School

25/01/13 – presentation at the Greater Manchester Centre for Voluntary Organisations research network meeting

Semester 2 (2012/13)

31/01/13 – Structuring research findings (SPoRT)

06/02/13 – What are focus groups (SPoRT)

22-23/03/13 – 15 minute presentation at the Collective Identity and Practices of Citizenship in Postcommunism, the University of Wroclaw, Poland

05/03/13 – guest lecture on the Coalition government ‘Compassionate Conservatism’ as part of the Citizenship & Welfare module

6-7/03/13 – Nvivo software training (SPoRT)

11/03/13 – Associate editorial board member for Sociological Research Online

28/03/13 – Case study methodology (ST)

03/13 – served as reviewer of abstracts for SPARC 2013

09/04/13 – PGR Research in Progress: Reflecting on the Impact of Gender in Research, Liverpool University

18/04/13 – Analysing qualitative interviews (ST)

13/05/13 - An introduction to data available from the UK Data Service, Webinar

05/06/13 – served as chair for one of the paper sessions at SPARC 2013

3-4/07/13 - Morgan Centre conference: Encounters, Manchester University

8-10/07/13 – SPA 2013 Conference, Sheffield University

09/07/13 – 20 minute presentation at the SPA 2013 Conference

Semester 1 (2013/14)

30/09/13 – guest lecture on understanding ideologies as part of the Ideological Approaches to Welfare module

31/10/13 – NVivo training (SPORT)

20/11/13 – Global Citizens event at the Manchester Metropolitan University

20/11/13 – Englishness versus Britishness panel discussion organised by the IPPR

25/11/13 – guest lecture on feminism(s) as part of the Ideological Approaches to Welfare module

29/11/13 – Superdiversity, inequalities and the city: Manchester at Manchester University

02/12/13 – Global citizenship, public lecture at MMU

Semester 2 (2013/14)

13/02/14 – annual public lecture in global political economy – Prof. Nancy Fraser ‘Behind Marx’s ‘hidden abode’: toward an expanded conception of capitalism’, Manchester University

17/02/14 – ‘Philosophy and gender’ public lecture, Manchester Metropolitan University

25/02/14 – NVivo advanced skills training (Library)

11/03/14 – guest lecture on feminist approaches to citizenship as part of Citizenship & Welfare module

25/03/14 – guest lecture on immigration as part of Citizenship & Welfare module

08/04/14 – guest lecture on European and global citizenship as part of Citizenship & Welfare module

21/05/14 – Surviving the Viva (SPoRT)

24/06/14 – presentation at Superdiversity conference, Birmingham University

02/07/14 – presentation at Knowledge & Place Research Group seminar

Semester 1 (2014/15)

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Semester 2 (2014/15)

23/02/15 – Knowing through narrative research seminar

24/03/15 - Post-Ph.D. Life: researchers and careers (ST)

18/04/15 – presentation at Conference: Polish Migrants' Experience of Life in the UK since 2004, University College London

08/05/15 – preparing for the Viva training session (SPoRT)

Appendix VI – Grants received

External funding (Oct 2011 – to date):		
May 2012	£250	University of Salford Student Fund
Oct 2012	15.000 PLN (approx. £2,800)	The Jagiellonian University Polish Research Centre in London Fellowship award
March 2013	£461.30	The Fran Trust
March 2014	£370	The Fran Trust

Appendix VII – Dissemination of thesis to date

Conference (and other) presentations/publications:

- Duda-Mikulin, E.A. (2015). Reconstructing gendered lives post migration: challenging gender roles? Conference: Polish Migrants' Experience of Life in the UK since 2004, University College London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, April 2015.
- Duda-Mikulin, E.A. (2014). Presentation at the Knowledge and Place Research Group seminar. University of Salford, July 2014.
- Duda-Mikulin, E.A. (2014). Reconstructing gendered lives post migration: challenging gender roles? Paper presented at the world's first international, interdisciplinary conference on superdiversity organised by the Institute for Research into Superdiversity (IRiS), University of Birmingham, June 2014.
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Appendix VIII – Publications to date

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ⁱ In this thesis, the term ‘gender roles’ is used interchangeably with the following terms: ‘gender norms’; ‘gender ideology’; ‘gender order’; and sometimes also ‘gendered responsibilities’. It is defined in chapter three.

ⁱⁱ Forced migrants (e.g. asylum seekers, refugees) or third country nationals (TCN) are not considered in this thesis.

ⁱⁱⁱ EU15 refers to the 15 Member States of the EU prior to the accession of ten new states in 2004, these are: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.

^{iv} A8 (also called EU8) refers to eight out of the ten countries that joined the EU on the 1st May 2004, those are: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

^v It should be noted that arguably, there is no one reliable source of statistical information on the scale of Polish migration to the UK.

^{vi} Some scholars (e.g. Castles & Miller, 2009; Kilkey, Lutz & Palenga-Möllnbeck, 2010; Lutz, 2011) note that female migrants have been on the increase which is mainly due to women migrants undertaking domestic and/or care work in economically more prosperous countries. Others however (e.g. Zlotnik, 2003), argue that the number of women migrants has been rising steadily since the 1970s. What has been named a ‘feminisation of migration’ is nonetheless noteworthy as it brings attention to women migrants who are considered in this doctoral research.

^{vii} This section is concerned with intra-EU nationals - third country nationals (TCN) will not be considered here.

^{viii} It should be noted that the UK, at the time, was one of only three countries that opened their paid labour market to the new A8.

^{ix} Accession 8 (A8) migrants refers to the eight out of ten former Eastern Bloc states in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and their nationals that joined the European Union (EU) on the 1st of May 2004, those are: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.

^x The other two: Cyprus and Malta are beyond the focus of this research project; however there were no restrictions imposed on the nationals of those countries.

^{xi} The other two were Ireland and Sweden; both permitted immediate and unrestricted free movement of labour from the EU8.

^{xii} The EU15 comprised the following 15 countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and United Kingdom.

^{xiii} EU2 or A2 refers to Bulgaria and Romania which joined the EU on the 1st January 2007, but are outside the scope of this research.

^{xiv} In terms of practicalities, A8 migrant workers had 30 days from joining the paid labour market to register on the WRS. To register s/he was required to fill an application form, submit a letter from the employer confirming their employment status and pay the registration fee (the original fee in 2004 was £50 and increased to £90 in 2008), (Currie, 2008). Those who did not register were treated as illegally resident in the UK. The A8 workers had to complete a registration form for every job they had, if they held more than one. If they changed employment during the initial 12-month period, they had to re-register, and do so every time they changed work, until the 12 months continuous employment was reached. Afterwards, their residence was no longer dependent on employment and the need to register stopped (Currie, 2008). Some authors noted reluctance of A8 migrant workers to register on the WRS due to its high cost and the small probability of the authorities carrying out checks (Currie, 2008; UKBA, 2009). However, the lack of awareness of the rights of A8 nationals in the UK and the bureaucratic difficulties around their entitlements proved to be a major issue for the newly arrived migrants (Scullion & Morris, 2010). Evidence suggests that even the employers struggled with the complexity of the system and sometimes insisted that workers did not register (Currie, 2008).

^{xv} However, it needs to be stressed that those issues were still being debated at the time of writing this thesis.

^{xvi} There are several British sources of information that provide details on the highly problematic matter of statistical data regarding people’s in- and outflows. In regard to the post-accession migrants the following tools are relevant: the Worker Registration Scheme, National Insurance Number registrations (NINo), International Passenger Survey (IPS), and the Labour Force Survey (LFS) (Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008).

^{xvii} Laurie Penny - official website: <http://laurie-penny.com/>

^{xviii} Finn Mackay – personal website: <https://finnmackay.wordpress.com/>

^{xix} Everyday Sexism Project - official website: <http://everydaysexism.com/>

^{xx} No More Page Three campaign – official website: <http://nomorepage3.org/about/>

^{xxi} Reviewed 23 December 2014, official Sign the petition webpage: <https://www.change.org/p/david-dinsmore-take-the-bare-boobs-out-of-the-sun-nomorepage3>

^{xxii} The Women’s Room official website: <http://thewomensroom.org.uk/>

^{xxiii} The 4th Wave Feminist Manifesto website: <http://4th-wave-feminism.tumblr.com/>

^{xxiv} Channel 4 News 17/12/14 catch up: <http://www.channel4.com/news/catch-up/display/playlistref/171214>

^{xxv} The terms ‘communism’ and ‘socialism’ in relation to Central and Eastern Europe seem to be used interchangeably. However, the author of this thesis agrees with Anne White (2011, p. 27) and recognises that the terms ‘communism’ and ‘post-communist’ are more appropriate as the Polish political system of 1945-1989 was far from ‘socialist’.

^{xxvi} Croatia, which joined the EU on the 1st July 2013, has not yet been included.

^{xxvii} In contrast to the rest of the thesis, this chapter is written in the first person as it was felt that due to issues around reflexivity being raised that was more appropriate. However, the remaining chapters are written in the third person as the researcher feels this is a more suitable tone for a doctoral thesis.

^{xxviii} Europia is a community organisation based in Manchester; Europia works with and for Central and Eastern European (CEE) migrants with the aim to help them integrate into wider society, see www.europia.org.uk.

^{xxix} Facebook: one of the largest social networks in the world. See: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/webwise/guides/about-facebook>

^{xxx} This is reflected by the nature and character of the recent migration flows from Poland to the UK, namely circular and incomplete migration/mobility. Thus, it seemed fitting to interview those who have been in the UK for a minimum of 6 months rather than follow the standard 12 months as typical attribute of ‘migrants’.

^{xxxi} These are pseudonyms that the participants chose for themselves.

^{xxxii} Those women, whose relationship status is other than ‘single’, are or were in a relationship with Polish men. (S) – internet interview conducted with the use of Skype software

^{xxxiii} Each of the respondents was asked to choose a pseudonym for themselves. The only conditions were that it is a Polish feminine name. It is acknowledged that Nikita is a Slavic masculine name but the researcher felt it necessary not to impose on the interviewee’s willingness to be interviewed.

^{xxxiv} (S) - this symbol indicates that the interview was internet-based with the use of Skype software.

^{xxxv} The Social Policy Association Guidance on Research Ethics can be found here: http://www.social-policy.org.uk/downloads/SPA_code_ethics_jan09.pdf

^{xxxvi} Although, the non-verbal occurrences were not analysed per se, they provided a useful context with regard to the interviewees’ general attitudes and approaches to certain themes.

^{xxxvii} However, considerable tensions between the previous Polish diaspora and the new ‘wave’ of economic migrants have been highlighted (cf. Garapich, 2008a).

^{xxxviii} A *returnee* refers to a return migrant who having lived in the UK for a minimum of 6 months has subsequently moved back to Poland and at the time of the interview lived in Poland. Most of the interviews with return migrants were in fact conducted in Poland.

^{xxxix} All of the interviews were conducted in Polish but a professional translator was employed to supply English versions of the interview extracts.

^{xl} A *migrant* refers to someone who migrated to the UK post 2004 and at the time of the interview continued to live in the North West of the UK. The term *circular migrant* is used to emphasise the less fixed migration patterns of a person. Here, this term applies to someone who moved to and lived in more than two different countries (including their country of origin).

^{xli} A *migrant* refers to someone who migrated to the UK post 2004 and at the time of the interview continued to live in the North West of the UK.

^{xlii} EDM stands for Ewa Duda-Mikulín, the Ph.D. researcher who carried out all of the interviews.

^{xliii} EU8, the alternative term often used interchangeably with A8 was also taken into account.