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Parenting and 'home-making' in the new Polish diaspora in Britain

by

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Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research
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2019

83128 words

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all research participants who agreed to take part in my research, dedicated their time and shared their stories and experiences with me. Participation in this study was especially demanding as it involved multiple family visits, interviews as well as trips abroad to meet their significant others residing in Poland. Thanks to the participants' genuine willingness and kindness to be involved in this study, I was able to collect the empirical material, which this thesis draws upon.

I am most grateful to my supervisors Dr David Garbin and Prof. Ellie Lee whose thoughtful guidance, encouragement, and continuously supporting me over the last six years, shaped my academic progress and approach how to conduct a research. Thank you both for your invaluable advice, commenting on my work and feedback during the final write-up stage.

I also wish to acknowledge the helpful advice of prof. Chris Pickvance for his useful critiques, sharing ideas and enthusiasm throughout my research.

I am grateful to many colleagues who commented on conference presentations and collaborated with me on research projects throughout the years. I am particularly indebted to Lindsey Pays, Emel Coskun, Lucy Williams for their feedback and encouragements.

I am very grateful to my dear friends who offered to read, revise and comment on the drafts, as well as to my family whose support kept me going when times were tough.

Abstract

This thesis investigates ways of constructing parental roles and ethnic identities by Polish migrants in the UK. It is based on data obtained through a qualitative, small-scale study that used in-depth interviews in combination with participant observations. The research was carried out with Polish migrant parents living in the South East of England and in London, who moved to the UK after 2004.

The context for the research is the shift from communism to democracy in Poland in 1989. This changed the influence of a romantic paradigm that previously encouraged parents to transmit nationalistic and Catholic ideologies to children. This cultural shift prompted uncertainty about what it means to be a 'good mother or father' in Poland and in the Polish diaspora. My research concerns the ways the post EU accession cohort of Polish migrants raise their children. I consider this through exploring religious rituals, food practices and language use. I also explore how gendered parental roles are negotiated in this migration situation through everyday family practices. In taking child-rearing as the lens to explore the experience of migration, this research extends investigation of home-making in the diaspora. Home-making is understood here as practices through which migrants negotiate belonging. I explore religious rituals, language use and food practices to consider this process.

This investigation builds upon recent discussions within diaspora and transnationalism studies that consider how parents negotiate social norms and values around childrearing in the host country. It also draws on the debates within parenting culture studies highlighting new modes of 'intensive parenting' (Hays 1996; Lee 2008) and it makes use of investigations into the origins of national and religious discourses in Poland that consider how motherhood and fatherhood have been historically constructed in Poland and the transformation of gendered parental roles.

Following a discussion of methodology, I demonstrate across three analytical chapters the importance of diasporic resources and links with Poland for parents at various levels, including symbolic, financial and emotional. I highlight a plurality of meanings given to Polishness, which I illustrate by exploring religious rituals, language use and food practices. The improvement of their children, rather than advancement of the nation, emerges as the main concern for participants, which I address through attaching meaning through the Polish culture.

The argument advanced overall recognizes a need for acknowledging diversity in parenting practices among transnational families. This thesis demonstrates a range of decisions and negotiations that migrant parents abroad have to make during the childrearing process and recognizes a need for acknowledging diversity in parenting practices in research about contemporary transnational families.

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Introduction

Of course my Polish origins matter, how I raise my child in the UK. I believe that being fluent in Polish and in English can help my daughter in the future. It is also important because she can communicate with her grandparents in Poland. I cannot imagine telling my daughter our family stories in English. My parents would feel disappointed if I do not follow Polish rituals around Christmas, including preparing traditional dishes or participating in Polish mass at the Catholic church. However, we also eat international food at home, not only Polish, and we also attend mass at the English Catholic church.

Ada, a Polish mother (English husband)

The extract above is a quote from an interview with Ada - a Polish migrant mother living in Kent. I chose to start this thesis with it because it reveals the most important values and practices associated with 'Polishness' by the majority of the participants in my research. In her comments Ada emphasizes the significance of transmitting her mother tongue to her daughter, the value of eating Polish food, and the importance of following Catholic rituals. Ada elaborates on how her Polish origins shaped her parental identity and ways of raising her child in the UK, which is the main focus of this thesis. To be a 'good mother' includes teaching her child the native language and placing value on the family origins, Polish traditional dishes and Catholicism. Ada's story matters, because it suggests a sense of continuity: in a post-migration context, transmitting values and social practices from the homeland is of key significance.

Ada's account is notable for another reason. It reveals the plurality of meanings given by Polish migrant parents to belonging, cultural transmission and, ultimately, identity, which I found important and worth investigating. Engaging with this plurality is at the heart of what, in this thesis, I propose to term 'home-making'. Ada, like the rest of my interviewees, understands the values associated with 'Polishness' in terms of advancing her child's development and conveying a

sense of Polish heritage. In addition, she also gives value to bilingualism and exposing her daughter to cuisines from other cultures. In this thesis, I argue that what matters for migrant parents with Polish origins, when trying to carve out a place for diasporic Polish culture in the UK, is not so much to advance the idea of an 'essential nation' but it is about providing their children with a wide range of resources. Despite the distance with Poland, these diasporic resources and links with Poland are still important for them at various levels - in particular symbolic, financial and emotional levels. In the analytical chapters, by exploring the various social and emotional labours involved in transmitting Polish language, Catholic religion and 'traditional' food culture, I demonstrate the significance of 'Polishness' in the childrearing process and in shaping parental identities.

Migrant parents' identities, however, should not be considered as fixed constructs, and I want to show that the performance of religious, language or food cultures and identities is deeply situational. By problematising diasporic belonging in terms of both continuity and multiplicity/fluidity, one of the ambitions of this work is to contribute to the literature on diaspora and refine the conceptualization of home-making as heuristic tool. While the role of cross-border mobility and networks on parental roles is of particular interest in both academic as well as policy debates (Levitt 1998; Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011), ways of constructing parental roles and gendered identities as 'home-making' has been scantily researched.

What Ada's discourse further points to is the gendered character of rituals and practices regarding childrearing. In order to investigate further these areas at the micro level, linked to the ways of socializing children, this study examines how gendered parental roles are negotiated within the post EU accession cohort of Polish migrants¹. Drawing on the studies of Pessar (2001), Pessar and Mahler (2001), Fouron and Schiller (2001), Levitt (2001), a gender-sensitive perspective is adopted to distinguish the different meanings given by mothers and fathers to their cultural heritage and social experiences. In other words, the aim here is to

¹ Post accession cohort refers here to the migrants from eight post communist countries including Poland who joined the European Union in 2004.

research how parental identities are formed through childrearing practices and ideas in everyday family life, and in diasporic situation. Being sensitive to gender, especially when looking into religious, language and food practices, will advance our understanding of the different experiences of Polish migrant mothers and fathers in the construction of their parental identity. In this way, this thesis responds to Gardner and Grillo's call (2002) for more comparative research on the gendered character of rituals and ritualized practices performed by migrants in the domestic sphere.

This research is a snapshot of over two years in the lives of a group of eight families with Polish origins and their extended family members. Initially, my research interest broadly concerned family life in diaspora. Progressively, as I was exploring the literature on family life in a migration situation, I decided to concentrate more specifically on three categories of practice: religion, language and food. Through my fieldwork I also quickly realised that transmission of religion, language use and food practices were social areas charged with moral meanings but also tensions and contradictions. Both my Polish background, and personal experience as a migrant women who moved to the UK in 2007, shaped my decision to adopt such an empirical choice. The selection of sites for my fieldwork was undertaken from the beginning of my research. It was influenced by already established links within the Polish community in Kent and my own social location. Being recognized as a teacher within the Polish diasporic community who speaks the same language, participate in school and other community events - like Polish Sunday mass - shaped interactions with my research participants. This was especially crucial at the beginning of my fieldwork, when I tried to establish friendship relations and build trust.

The main focus of this thesis is on parenting and 'home-making' taking as a case study the new Polish diaspora in Britain. I call the 'new Polish diaspora' the population who moved from Poland to the UK after 2004. I decided to use 'home-making' as a heuristic lens to investigate a wider dimension of change regarding the social construction of identities and belonging of migrant parents with Polish origins. In doing so my analysis of home-making sheds some light on the

individualized strategies of parents aspiring to construct an home environment for children, which is shaped by a sense of continuity and Polishness. My thesis suggests that the experience of motherhood in Britain is very distinct from the experience in the homeland, which I found very interesting and worth exploring in detail. In addition, given that the socio political shift from communism to democracy diminished the significance of a once powerful Polish nationalist 'romantic paradigm' (Davies 1986), this thesis contrasts sharply with stereotypical representations of Polish parents whose main ambition is to raise children as 'good patriots and Catholics'. My study, by contrast shows how family life in diaspora is embedded in a transnational field comprising host country and homeland, where interactions with both 'locals' and co-ethnics shape ways of performing parenting practices (Brah 1996) and ways of transmitting values.

There have been many other studies exploring various aspects of migration of the cohort who moved from Poland to the UK after 2004, situated in urban setting (mainly in London). My research about Polish parents in Britain is based on fieldwork conducted mainly outside of London – in smaller towns or rural areas. This was for practical reasons but I hope this choice provides a beneficial contrast with research in London since there is a limited amount of scholarship on areas outside of the capital, the centre of the 'old Polish diaspora'. Anne White's (2009; 2016) work on Polish families migration strategies is a noticeable exception. White argues that in order to fully understand people's perspectives and their agency it is necessary that the research is more localized and place-situated. My study located mainly in the South of the UK, beyond urban settings builds on White's call to include a perspective of the "smaller towns' and 'transnationalism from below' (Smith and Guarnizo 1998), located in domestic places, which is not much explored. I found it especially fascinating how migrant parents with Polish origins negotiate their own heritage with the culture in the UK while performing parental roles and meanings given to their Polish belonging. This research contributes to the existing scholarship on diaspora and parenting culture studies by exploring ways of transmitting language, food and religious practices between generations.

Drawing on Yuval Davis (2011) I argue that it is not only ethnicity which shapes migrants' parent roles and identities: rather, I argue that we should take into account the intersection of ethnicity, gender, religion, class and geographical location. In doing so I concur with Holstein and Gubrium (1998) who refer to individual biographies and interpretive experiences as the 'rhetoric of everyday life'. By paying attention to some of these everyday rhetorics -religious practices, eating habits and language use - my research uncovers the ways my participants constructing their ethnic and gendered identities in diaspora situation. In a way, this study investigates how the intense socio-political transformations in Poland – transformations linked to the fall of communism in 1989 and the EU enlargement of 2004 – have been experienced at the everyday level of family life in migration and post-migration contexts.

The Polish diaspora in the UK

There are several reasons why this work is a timely and relevant project. Firstly, I decided to take Polish families, who moved to Britain after 2004, as a case study due to the significant scale of that migratory phenomenon. The dramatic and historic increase of migration from Poland to the UK between 2004 and 2010 was notable after the opening of the labour market to new EU members. The 2011 Census (ONS 2011) indicates that the Polish population since 2007 remains the single largest foreign national group resident in the UK (Pollard et al. 2008), with the most dynamic increase in population between 2001 and 2011 (0.5 million) making Poland the most common country of birth for non-UK born mothers since 2010.

Secondly, 2004 marks not only the beginning of a dramatic intensification of migration between Poland and the UK but also the emergence of processes of community formation and practices - 'dwelling strategies'. A rapidly developed Polish business and community structure in the UK indicates the creation of a diaspora, whose striking feature seems to be the strength of family institutions (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2009; Garapich 2007). However, the sphere of intimacy and the relations between parents and their children has remained

largely unexplored. How to be a 'good mother or father' emerges as a challenge in the developing organized society of the Polish diaspora. My thesis addresses this gap by focusing on private sphere in the Polish diaspora. I argue that the socio-political shift from communism to democracy diminished the significance of the Polish romantic paradigm, which centres on raising children as 'good patriots and Catholics' (Davies 1986). Traditionally, studies of Polish motherhood have focused on the experiences of the higher classes as a privileged group (Slany 2002, Charkiewicz 2009, Mizielinska 2012). The voices of disadvantaged groups including ethnic minorities or migrant mothers have been marginalized (Budrowska 2000). Drawing on Hryciuk and Korolczuk (2012), my study includes an examination of gender, social class, religion, ethnicity and geographical locality, challenging the normative character of interpretations, identifying the romantic, nationalistic figure of 'Matka Polka' ('Mother Pole') with the ideal of the 'good mother'.

My fieldwork finished in December 2015 (before Brexit referendum), and while notable, it maybe for this reason that racism and prejudice were not identified as the most distinctive aspects of parenthood experience among my participants in Britain and they were not the main focus of this study. It does not mean that other ethnic minorities in the UK including Polish migrants did not experience prejudice at all. Xenophobic reactions against Polish and other Eastern European migrants in the UK increased rapidly after the referendum in 2016 when Brexit was announced, which had a significant impact on decisions of many Polish families to go back to Poland. That requires more attention and future research, which is beyond this study.

In addition, considering that Poland is acknowledged as largely a White society by other authors (Cook et al. 2011; McDowell 2009), 'whiteness' seems to be a protective factor for Polish migrants in the UK against ethnic discrimination. Some scholars have argued that for migrants from the East and Central Europe moving to a diverse society like UK is often followed by gaining awareness of their whiteness as well as white privilege it confers (Lopez Rodriguez 2010; Ryan 2010a; van Riemsdijk 2010). It is due to the relative lack of such difference

in their home societies (Fox 2013; McDowell et al. 2009; Parutis 2011; Ryan 2010a). Considering that all Polish migrant parents are white, 'whiteness' was used as an advantage during the integration process. Whiteness seems to be regarded as 'normal', 'natural' and taken-for-granted (Alba 1990), which contrasts with experiences of other Black or Asian ethnic groups exposed to racism in America and the UK (Ignatiev 1995; Ryan 2007; Walter 2001). This has been recently described as the 'invisibility' of white (van Riemsdijk 2010). For Polish parents similar to other migrants 'whiteness' enabled them to 'fit in' into the British society, as Lopez-Rodriguez (2010) highlights, and subsequently it helped with their employability, career development and social mobility. For instance, Fox (2013) and van Riemsdijk (2010) show how some migrants used their ethnicity - 'whiteness' to secure their privileged position at labour markets in the UK and in Norway. Although they do not experience in the same way racism as Black or Asian migrants but it does not mean that the Polish parents in the UK do not suffer prejudice at all. Polish diaspora is acknowledged as a highly diverse group in terms of social class, education or language skills (Garapich 2007) but majority of the post 2004 cohort constitutes of labour migrants, who due to poor language skills work below their actual qualifications. Those vulnerable individuals have been reported to feel disadvantaged, devalued and deskilled in the UK (Currie 2008).

It takes into account that the transition from a planned economy to a market economy brought greater opportunities for social up-ward mobility through entering new job markets (often abroad), opening new businesses, and increasing access to new goods and resources. However, it also highlights that as the result of this political shift many individuals experienced also difficulties in adjusting their skills and knowledge to the new requirements. In addition, many also found that their former trust in a secure and egalitarian state employment during communist era has been challenged by an uncertain and competitive employment system in democratic Poland. The changing demands of the labour market had a direct impact on the parents' decisions and priorities where to raise their children in order to ensure good education and future job opportunities.

Situating the research

My key research questions revolved around the ways of socializing children, negotiating identities and the production of gendered roles through the performance of parenting practices. The process of raising children by migrants raises important questions about ways of transmitting social norms and values from the homeland: How do Polish migrant parents in Britain imagine Polish culture? How is the identity of Polish parents constructed through the performance of both religious and secular rituals? How important is it for Polish parents that their children learn the Polish language? What is the role of family stories, narratives of childhood, places of origin and collective genealogies?

A second strand of research questions concerns the process of socializing children and the negotiation of gendered parental roles: How are gendered parental roles negotiated through care giving and division of labour at the household level? What is the role of 'significant others' in the socializing of children? What are obstacles and challenges to 'good quality' parenting roles – motherhood and fatherhood? What is the role of transnational networks in shaping the transmission of social values and norms?

This research builds upon studies on parenthood, Polish diaspora and transnational families. Pustulka's work on experiences of Polish migrant parents in Germany, in the UK and in Norway (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017) along with Anne White's work (2009, 2011, 2016) on the migration of Polish families to the UK after 2004 give us a body of scholarship, with which we can contextualise and compare this research. In particular, my research is in line with Pustulka's work exploring educational strategies and culinary practices among Polish migrant parents in Norway and in the UK.

Content of the thesis

The thesis is organised into five chapters. In Chapter one, which is partly conceptual and partly historical, I review the literatures my study engages with and present the theoretical framework of the thesis. I also discuss how this research makes an original contribution to key debates within the fields of diaspora and transnationalism studies, parenting culture studies and Eastern European migration research. My research questions are structured around the influence of migration on ways of socializing children and constructing 'good mother and father' identities. However, to consider and explore these issues I found it important to take into consideration insights from other fields such as parenting culture studies. In particular, Hays' concept of 'intensive parenting' was helpful to understand migrant parents' concerns while raising their children away from the homeland and what is perceived as 'the culture of origin'. In the first chapter I also discuss the need to apply a gender sensitive approach in order to pay more attention to differences between mothers and fathers when negotiating parental roles.

In Chapter two, I discuss my methodology. I reflect on the difficulties encountered during my fieldwork and how they were addressed. I point to the importance of researching the intersection of different social categories - including gender, class, religion - in a broader transnational context - to overcome the risk of 'methodological nationalism'. In addition, I reflect on my own position as an 'insider-outsider' a migrant researcher studying her own community.

Chapters three, four and five constitute the empirical and analytical backbone of the thesis. My main argument here is that values associated with cultural heritage - Polish Catholicism, ethnic language and food - are perceived to be symbolic resources for strengthening intergenerational relations, advancing children's educational prospects and providing them with a sense of identity. In that view, these strategies can be contrasted with a grand narrative of the Polish national culture which sees the Catholic religion, Polish language and traditional food understood mainly in terms of reinforcing national identity.

The main focus of the third chapter is the relation between religious upbringing of children and the negotiation of parental roles as significant aspects of home-making. In this chapter I consider the plurality of meanings given to Catholicism, and how sacred places and religious rituals are experienced and perceived before looking at the division of gendered roles in the religious sphere. In chapter four, I explore how parents imagine 'Polishness' through the lens of family language practices. I examine the impact of the 'diaspora condition' (Brah 1996) on the use of Polish language and bilingual childrearing. By investigating the plurality of meanings associated with the native language, my analysis illustrates how parents construct 'good mother/father' identities in a post-migration context.

In chapter five, I turn to everyday food practices and rituals shaping familial experiences with a view to understanding the construction of belonging. I specifically explore the significance of materiality, ethnic food rituals and nostalgic feelings as significant factors shaping parents' sense of belonging in diaspora. The second part is focused on parents' aspirations to promote 'healthy food and eating habits' to their children as a key part of the socializing process. In addition, I also explore how food is used in order to maintain relationships between parents, children and grandparents. Lastly, in the Conclusion I bring my key empirical findings together and discuss my theoretical as well as methodological contributions before reflecting on policy implications and future directions.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a background for my study, which is partly conceptual and partly historical. To investigate the parenting practices and experiences of Polish migrants in Britain, the diaspora and transnationalism both form the main analytical frame of my study. These overlapping concepts enable us to understand how migrants with Polish origins negotiate gendered parental roles and identities in their host country. In addition, the diaspora and transnationalism shed light on how moral values and norms regarding raising children are transmitted from the homeland. They also expose how dominant norms in the host country influence migrants' parental roles. In this view, the current debates within diaspora and transnational studies are reviewed.

Another framework informing this research concerns 'parenting' and negotiating gendered parental roles in the Polish diaspora. Hays (1996) argues that representations of motherhood, fatherhood and images of childhood do not emerge from a vacuum. On the contrary, they are social constructs, which are produced and reproduced within historical processes. Their transmission is strongly influenced by a cultural context. The analysis of a historical discourse enables us to understand the diversity of parental experiences and the impact of ideologies in shaping representations of motherhood and fatherhood in the UK. Looking at the origins of national and religious discourse and how they evolved in the modern Polish state help us to understand the core values, which constitute the normative paradigm of 'good parenting' and the transformation of gendered parental roles.

In the first two sections, the rationale behind using the notions diaspora and transnationalism to investigate migrant parents' identities is explained. The importance of a home symbol for migrants is clarified as well as a definition of 'home-making'. I also describe different approaches within diaspora and transnational studies and how the concept 'little transnationalism' (Gardner and Grillo 2002) is operationalized to interpret family rituals, ritualized practices or significant family narratives. In the next section I elaborate on parenting as the main theme of home-making. In particular, I focus on religious practices,

language use and caregiving practices as these constitute emergent sensitive areas, which generate a moral dilemma for migrant parents raising children in Britain. I demonstrate how parents use religion, language and food as resources, which enable them to perform good mother or father roles and to mediate an intimacy between generations.

The following three sections give insight into how parenthood has been historically constructed in Poland. The importance of romanticism is highlighted, as is the cultural icon of the Mother Pole in shaping gendered parental roles. These were renegotiated in the context of socio-political transformations and current global culture. In addition, the impact of economic and political transformations in Poland at the end of 19th century is explored in terms of how this shaped gendered parental roles. Furthermore, analysis of recent parenting culture studies illustrates ways, in which new Polish migrant parents living in Britain are able to socialize their children. A dominance of the ideology of 'intensive motherhood' (Hays 1996) has been emphasized, which persists not only in Anglo-American countries but also in a global context.

Diaspora and transnationalism

Diaspora and transnationalism are key concepts used in my research to examine how Polish migrant parents' identities are constructed in the British context. I adopted the innovative approach of examining parenthood in migration situations through the lens of home making practices and rituals. Thinking about diaspora through the lens of parenting enables one to examine how gendered parental roles are negotiated and how the subjectivity of diasporic actors is expressed within historically contingent social, economical or political conditions. My research responds critically to the expansion of macro level analysis within diaspora and transnational studies with the view to challenging the limitations of dominant perspectives. Specifically, it sheds more light on the micro and meso levels concerning family everyday life in migration and post-migration situations. By examining the underexplored dimensions of migrants' experiences concerning ways of socializing children, this research will contribute

to diaspora and transnational studies.

Taken together, diaspora and transnationalism offer a broad understanding of the many forms and consequences that are connected to the global movements of people, circulations of technologies, images and financial capital in the modern world (Appaduraj 1986, 1990, 1996; Benson 2012; Hannerz 1996; Levitt 1998; Quayson and Daswani 2010). Thus, these two concepts provide an analytical framework to explain the impact of mobility on the development of multiple identities by migrant parents with Polish origins. In addition, these intersecting terms illuminate how parents negotiate ideas and norms around childrearing from both the new country of destination and their homeland, away from their familiar culture. Looking at religion, language and food practices through the lens of parenting helps to elicit the different meanings given by Polish migrants to their ethnicity, places of family origins or family narratives. The diversity of meanings assigned to 'Polishness' distinguishes the post accession cohort of Polish migrants from the previous waves of political refugees and from other diasporic groups in Britain.

Brahs's (1996) concept of 'diaspora space' is a good starting point to investigate markers of diasporic identities. Its fundamental feature seems to be 'relationality', shaped by fractured memories, symbols and multiple images of home. The idea of diaspora refers strongly to the experience of displacement, uprooting, detachment of dispersed populations (Hall 1990; Clifford 1994; Waterbury 2010). Recreating a culture of origin in a different cultural context through narratives of home gives a sense of belonging. Hall (1990) recognizes the power of diaspora in producing consistent imaginary and symbols derived from collective memories over changing representations. Schiller, Sasch and Blanc-Szanton (1992), Levitt (2001) claim that the state of 'being between' above and across borders' provides the strength to adjust to the new conditions in the country of destination. Furthermore, mobilization as an additional aspect of 'diasporic awareness' can also empower its members to engage in civic movements or different activities. Online forums for parents have become a significant platform for migrant mothers' social activism, visible in public spaces.

Thus, collective identity and its associated representations are based on shared imaginations, collective memories and history (Halbwachs 1992; Hannerz, 1992; Stock 2010). In addition, Quauson and Daswani (2010) highlight the significance of the myth of the homeland, which appears to be a key factor for a diaspora to emerge. Myth of home also plays a crucial role in producing diasporic identities of Polish parents. It reinforces different material and emotional investments within a process of idealization of the homeland. Furthermore, symbolic ties and nostalgia appear significant in creating 'diasporic condition' because they reproduce collective narratives and identities (Faist 2000). Drawing on Faist (2000), symbolic ties are understood here as bonds constructed through shared meanings, memories or representations, which integrate a group into an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983), distinctive from other ethnic groups.

According to Vertovec (2009), a distinctive feature of 'diasporic consciousness' is its 'paradoxical nature' and duality. Considering that diasporic populations are situated between two sources of power, a host country and a country of origin, some tensions emerge, which are linked with being between 'here' and 'there' (Gilroy 1991). In particular, Vertovec's (2009) interpretation of diaspora as a 'triadic relation' gives an insight into a process of negotiating their sense of belonging in the host country. A 'triadic relation' emphasizes the interactions of migrants with communities left behind in the homeland and with other ethnic groups in the new place. Connectivity and the strength of transnational networks between these groups influence the transmission of practices, cultural heritage and social norms regarding the socialization of children. In this view, the negotiation of gendered parental roles and identities needs to be considered with reference to both tangible and imagined communities (Anderson 1983).

In addition, considering that 'diasporic space' is inhabited not only by those who have moved but also by 'indigenous' populations (Brah 1996), it involves a range of social relationships and moral obligations that continuously restructure it. Subsequently, the awareness of multi-locality creates a need to link up with other members who have a similar heritage and who went through the same

journey or 'route'. A circulation of values, norms and ideas between the homeland and the host country may generate different attachments to the idea of a nation. The diasporic identities of parents with Polish origins in Britain must be understood not simply as fixed entities. They are historically constructed and shaped through cultural practices and rituals from both the homeland and the host country. The diaspora breaks with essentialism so that citizens living all over the world can be called Polish. Gilroy (1997) describes the advantages of using diaspora to examine identity as challenging the essentialist notions based on genealogy and geographic place. Shared history and experiences embedded in a time and place matter, but can not be considered as a basis for ethnic identity in a direct way. While collective identity appears crucial for diasporic formations, it is also a significant issue for individuals involved in transnational practices across borders.

Among a broad range of transnationalisms, the most useful in the investigation of parenting and home making practices is 'little transnationalism' (Gardner and Grillo 2002). It is 'little' as it draws attention to the transnational practices of migrant families on a micro scale, with household units. As Vertovec (2009) argues,² this is in contrast to operating at a macro level with states or global institutions. Moreover, the main focus of 'little transnationalism' is on the roles of social networks for the mobility of migrant families, gendered family rituals and practices performed in the domestic space (Gardner 1993; 2002). This thesis elaborates on the transnational dimensions of parenting and home-making through the analysis of meanings ascribed to performed religious rituals, language and food practices. In addition, the perspective from 'below' (Smith and Guarnizo 1998) is adopted here. Paying attention to the dynamics of transnational activities embedded into daily family rhythms and the life-course of family members allows understand transmission of norms and values associated with raising children. The perspective from below recognizes the impact of new ideas, which change cultural practices and norms among communities across borders – in the host country and in the homeland.

² On the contrary, 'transnationalism from above' (Smith and Guarnizo 1998) is related to the flow of global capital, information or global institutions.

To summarize, the concept of transnationalism illuminates the significant role of existing ethnic links with Poland, shaping the performance of language, religious and food practices. In addition, the idea of 'diasporic space' brings to the fore the importance of shared memories and narratives regarding the family's origins in Poland. Such stories create a sense of belonging and feeling of being at home in the migration situation. Conflicting ideas concerning 'Polishness', home or gendered parental roles between generations and various cohorts of Polish migrants in the UK are exposed in the next section.

Migrant families and parenthood

The findings of researchers discussing migration and family within international contexts (Carling et al. 2012; Levitt 2001; Menjívar 2002; Olwig 1999, 2007; Pustulka 2015) conclude that transnational families become 'vehicles' of ideological transformations. Levitt (2001), Parreñas (2005) or Jimenez Sedano (2013) illustrate that the transmission of social values in migration and post-migration situations is shaped by the cultural norms of both countries. Levitt's (2001) study on Caribbean families determines that new 'revolutionizing ideas' have a prominent influence upon the views of gender roles in the Caribbean community in both, the Caribbean and in the States. However, due to the dominance of cultural traditions or religious ideologies, the articulation of subjective ideas can become a struggle and can result in reinforcing conservative gender norms as Parreñas (2001, 2005, 2008) shows.

While migration can challenge traditional gender and family relations, the literature on migration and families recognizes migrant women's role as bearers in maintaining the culture of origin (Yuval-Davis 1997b, 1997c). In that sense migrant women, through home-making practices, ensure a sense of continuity and familiarity in the new country (Gedalof 2009). For instance Erel (2013) describes Kurdish migrant mothers' effort and emotional labour in order to transmit to their children Kurdish identity. The mothers' strategies included regularly visiting ethnic community centres, teaching children the language to

communicate with relatives back home or attending religious, political and other social events. Erel (2013) argues that cultural work is a way of enacting citizenship by Kurdish migrant mothers in London. By transmitting to their children a Kurdish identity, they equip them with resources for constructing new citizenship identities as British Kurds in London challenging the dominant narrative in the host country. Umut Erel shows (2013) how Kurdish migrant mothers challenge oppressive citizenship narratives in the UK exploring the mothering work of a group of Kurdish women in London. Erel (2013) highlights the importance for Kurdish mothers' to construct their children's diasporic citizenship as both British and Kurdish. That involves negotiations various aspects of Kurdish heritage in the host country. Erel (2013) argues that Kurdish migrant mothers' work does not aim re-producing nationalistic ideology. On contrary, she reveals that although mothers play a key role in constructing their children's ethnic identities and their acculturation process in the host country, they also embrace cultural change.

Erel and Reynolds (2017) argue, in an introduction to a special issue of "*Ethnic and Racial Studies*" dedicated to migrant mothers and racialized citizenship, that migrant women are often not recognized as legitimate citizens and portrayed as incompetent citizens. They are often demoted to low skilled jobs despite the fact that their labour plays a crucial role in reproducing the nations, through, for example, their economic labour in social care, teaching or domestic sectors (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). In particular caring and culture work, should be recognized as ways how migrant mothers can challenge social norms concerning citizenship in the host countries. Moreover, Dyck's (2017) work on Canadian immigrant mothers shows the significance of mothers' emotional labour, which enables their children to develop resilience in order to cope with racist exclusion and cross-cultural resources.

One of the key topics within the literature exploring family life in migration is mother-child separation with a extensive scholarship focused on the impact of maternal absence and gendered character child care provision when mothers are away. Two major issues appear the most 'problematic' within research

examining 'mothering from a distance'. The first is that separation in transnational context is emotionally distressing for mothers and children and second that care-giving from a distance contests the Western norms of mothering (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997; Parreñas 2005, 2010; Pratt 2012). Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila (1997) and Dreby (2006). For instance, Ehrenreich & Hochschild (2003) bring to the fore mothers' struggles with the self-perceptions in regard to mothering from distance. Pratt (2012) and Parreñas (2005a) discuss the consequences of separation from the children's perspective and consider practical dimensions of 'on-remote' parenting. Madianou & Miller's (2011) and Madianou's (2012) studies, drawing on ethnographic research with Filipina migrants in the UK, explore specifically the impact of using ICT media in order to reduce emotional costs. They suggest that using ICT media empowered mothers and it allowed them to reconstruct their role as parents. In contrast, their children were notably more ambivalent about the consequences of separation, transnational communication and mothering at the distance. The physical separation of family members appears fundamental to an 'exilic' experience (Vertovec 2009) constituting the diasporic condition.

My study draws particularly on Erel's study (2011) on Polish migrant mothers in the UK, which explores the ways that Polish mothers and their children construct complex belongings at local, national (UK and Polish) and transnational scales. Erel (2011) emphasizes that migrant mothers not just as outsiders to citizenship. She argues (2011) that the notion of 'competent mothering' is a key aspect constituting the migrant mothers' narratives of 'good citizenship'. Despite that citizenship rights are crucial, especially for migrants who formally are not citizens of the nation-states where they reside. Significantly, her approach takes a broader view of citizenship as a mode of belonging that transgresses state boundaries. Erel's (2011) study is very relevant to my research as it demonstrates how Polish mothers' narratives challenge the diminishing views of their mothering practices as migrants, negotiating not only national but also class and racialized identities. In addition, it shows how migrant mothers practises and narratives contest the view that rearing children 'naturally'

transmits homogeneous cultural practices to children, which is the basis for ethnic or national belonging.

Furthermore, caring articulates gender differences in sustaining intimate child-parent relations across borders in the situation of migration, primarily due to the use of ICT media (Baldassar 2007, 2008, 2011; Baldassar and Baldock 2000). The significance of newly emerging ICT media, while performing an intimacy at a distance is also emphasized by Metykova (2010). The roles of digital ICT media and travel technologies are investigated in subsequent chapters, discussing language use as a new way of negotiating intimacy and mediating values within the child-parent relationship. Despite both fathers and mothers maintaining bonds through regular communication (phone calls, internet, Skype, letters) or 'social remittance' (sending money), the expectations of mothers and fathers vary significantly. The requirements of mothers are much higher than those of fathers in terms of providing care and ensuring emotional support for their children and elderly parents (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Morokvasic, 2007). Carling's et al. (2012), Mahler & Pessar (2001) or Parreñas (2005) studies reveal gender inequality within transnational family units in which migrant mothers end up doing 'double jobs' – as breadwinners and carers.

Contrary to Parreñas (2005), Levitt's (2001) ethnography on Caribbean families shows that new ideas influence the views of gender roles at both sites. Innovative practices introduced by returning migrants, 'transnational villagers', transgress to some extent the conservative views of the traditionally organised community. Those 'revolutionizing ideas', which liberate gender roles in the domestic sphere, emerge as pertinent. For instance, a married woman, who goes out too much or who questions their husband publicly will be admonished. This is equally true of a husband hanging up laundry. The solution, invented by 'creative' husbands and wives, was to do chores inside the house where no one could see them.

Moreover, in the migration of Asian families to the United States the cooperative kinship ideology has been affected and challenged by the migration process.

Franklin Ng (1998) demonstrates how immigration policies set forth by the United States and the cultural practices from the homeland affected Asian d migrants' family life. For instance restrictive immigration laws before World War II resulted in a dominance of men versus women among the Chinese, Filipino, and Asian Indian communities. In some locations intermarriage was acceptable, therefore it resulted that Asian Indians married Mexican women in California, Filipinos married European immigrant women in Illinois, and Chinese married native women in Hawaii. The immigration difficulties also influenced dividing household families among some Chinese and Asian Indians. Furthermore, Remittances were sent by husbands across the ocean to support the wives and family members in the homeland. Japanese and Koreans male immigrants, in contrast, formed families by sending for picture brides.

Nazli Kibria (1993) shows how Vietnamese immigrant families in Philadelphia became the sites for the negotiation of traditional ideas and cultural values concerning gendered roles, generational relations or household economics. Her ethnographic study of Vietnamese immigrants in Philadelphia explores how household structure and family ideology play a crucial role in how the Vietnamese adapt economically in the new environment. Using family collectivism, the Vietnamese develop strategies by which they can share economic and social resources. Kibria highlights (1993) the diversity of the Vietnamese households in terms of age and gender composition, which translated into being more skilled at “patchworking” and cumulating a range of resources. This “patchworking” strategy enabled Vietnamese migrants to diminish the instability and scarcity of available resources. Kibiria argues that the economic situations of the Vietnamese migrant households are also influenced by the family collectivism — an ideology, that promotes sharing by individuals social and economic resources within the household and compromise common household goals.

Miri Song's study (1997) investigating children's labour participation in Chinese take-away family businesses in Britain also highlights the importance of family collectivism when running businesses. The main focus is on how children in

these families understand their experiences of participating in family businesses and how children's labour is negotiated in Chinese families over time. Children's role was emphasized as crucial for running the businesses, due to their participation in the labour, as well as due to the 'caring' aspect, which included English language mediation for their parents. When taking into account the importance of the mediator role performed by children for their parents, the contribution of children's labour becomes more complex.

Another strand of literature exploring family life in migration and post migration situations concerns the assimilation of second generation. Segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993) challenges the traditional assimilation theory by emphasizing the complexity of the process of integration of newcomers in the host country (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, p. 45). These theories emphasize that the outcomes of the assimilation of children of new immigrants are heterogenic. Their experience is different than the experience of post-Second World War immigrants and their children (from Ireland, Italy, Poland and Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe) who successfully entered the mainstream of western societies by being incorporated either into the middle or working classes in the new environment 'assimilating' the common values, practices and language of their new countries.

Empirical studies carried out in North America and in Western Europe show different trajectories of descendants and various level of integration in their new country of residence (see e.g. Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Alba and Nee 2003). The segmented assimilation theory acknowledges more vulnerable individuals being at risk of becoming 'underclass' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Portes, Fernandez-Kelly and Haller (2005) argue that one of the factors of 'downward assimilation' is linked with the immigrant background. The most common markers of the 'downward assimilation' include leaving school early, long term difficulties with employment, poverty, criminality and imprisonment.

The Polish diaspora

The idea of a Polish diaspora helps to unify people who are dispersed globally since it produces a sense of belonging. However, identifying with the Polish diasporic community does not mean the same for different individuals. The same ethnicity may not be sufficient reason to consider all migrant families with Polish origins as one homogenous collective. Parents' migratory experiences vary due to their different social locations and backgrounds. According to Anthias (1998) and Morawska (2011), the notion of diaspora needs to be considered 'beyond ethnic lenses' as heterogeneous, which shows a diversity of collective identifications.

Analogous with other studies on Polish, and more generally East and Central European migration (ECE), I emphasize that migrant parents' identities have changed in the context of a post-socialist transformation. Sztompka (2004) suggests that the accession of Poland to the EU triggered an ideological shift in ECE attitudes against the principles of socialism. Consequently, a pro-communist mentality has been replaced with pro-Western attitudes. These embrace a neo-liberal ideology of individualism, personal achievement, risk, engagement with the private sphere and a pluralistic and meritocratic society. These new principles apply also to Polish migrants in the UK and a generational divide between the established post war 'Polonia' and the newer cohort. Michał Garapich (2008) argues this to be a symptomatic feature of the Polish diaspora. He claims that this antagonism and their subsequent tensions have emerged in migrant communities in 1989. They are associated with the diverse images of home moral and class-based valuations across three generations, including post war, solidarity and the post-2004 wave.

Other researchers (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2009; Gabriella Elgenius 2009; 2015; Krotofil 2011, 2013) who investigate various aspects of politics of belonging emphasize emerged social divisions and tensions within different generations of migrants in the Polish diaspora. The lack of trust, hostility and criticism of fellow Poles (Eade et al. 2006) are identified as salient markers of inter-relationships within Polish diasporic communities, strongly shaped by political transformations (Burrell's 2009 and White 2011). Moreover, Tarkowska and Tarkowski (1991) have emphasized the existing competitions within various

types of migrant organizations. These divisions are visible through gossiping, as Galasinska's (2010) study on London population showed. Disagreements between diasporic cohorts over conceptualizing 'authentic Polishness' were also translated into methods to maintain Polish traditions, transmit Polish language or history, something that Garapich (2007) has termed 'discursive hostility'.

This thesis is also situated in line with gendered research into East European migration. Siara's (2009) work on on-line discussions reveals the gendered and racialised discourses of migrants' debates and shifting dynamics in chat-rooms, in particular the changing roles of women in Britain. Siara illustrates that the social relationships formed among recent migrants are not harmonious. Her research exploring social interaction reveals relatively high levels of suspicion among migrants of each other. My research is in line with rest of studies underlining the complexity of recent East European migrants' social interactions in the UK, whether 'virtual' or 'real', supportive or hostile.

In addition, other research considering the social lives of the migrants, has focused on the issues of belonging. The desire to 'feel at home' among the Polish and Lithuanians in London has been explored by Rabikowska and Burrell (2009), Parutis (2007) or Metykova (2007). Those studies show various 'coping strategies' invented by migrants with being in a new country by seeking and constructing familiarity in their immediate environments. Other research considers the materiality of migrants' lives more directly (see Datta, 2008). Rabikowska and Burrell (2009), for example, look at the phenomenal of Polish shops selling ethnic products across Britain. I concur with their argument, recognizing the significance of buying and cooking Polish food or having a designated Polish public space to visit, which recreates some aspects of home in Britain.

The importance of the opening of the UK labour market to accession migrants has been broadly acknowledged as the crucial factor in bringing so many new migrants to the country (Drinkwater et al., 2006; Pollard et al. 2008, Eade et al. 2007). The new post EU accession migrants, in contrast to the previous cohorts of political refugees, are much more diverse population, not entirely sure about

long term plans to stay (Drinkwater et al., 2006). While Fihel, Kaczmarczyk and Okolski (2006) emphasize difficulties in forecasting the longer-term intentions of these migrants due to their high mobility, White & Ryan (2008) and White (2009) investigate different strategies of migration and return. In their report examining the migration strategies Eade et al. (2007) divided their Polish respondents into four rational groups; storks (circular migrants), hamsters (those working to return with capital), searchers and stayers. Galasinska and Kozłowska (2009) suggest that these strategies should not be seen simply in economic terms but rather as the social and cultural capital of the migrants. In that light migration enables to live a 'normal life' and equips them with new abilities, including language skills, which they can use later in the UK or back home. Although the mobility of the post 2004 cohort has primarily been conceptualized in terms of economic factors, but often the decision to move is associated with their desire to have a 'normal' life. White (2009) especially highlights the importance of the wider quality of children's lives to these plans by using the concept of 'livelihood' to consider the Polish family strategies of migration.

Among other themes, work has been dominant in most of the research concerning post 2004 migration. New migrant workers have generally been defined primarily as mobile, young workers, predominantly single (Pollard et al. 2008, p. 30). Some studies have looked at the wider wellbeing of these migrants, focusing on migrants' living standards and quality of life (Spencer et al. 2007). In contrast, this thesis focused on family life and parenting shifts attention to life beyond the workplace, emphasizing the importance of private sphere for the new migrants.

Much of the research concentrated on experiences related to the work has used the perspective of the migrants themselves, reflecting for example on wage levels (Drinkwater et al. 2006). Pollard et al. (2008, p. 37) brought to the fore discrepancies between educational abilities and the nature of work undertaken in the UK highlighting opportunities for social mobility through employment. Eade et al. (2007), consider class issues in relation to migrant employment. They reveal broader opinions of highly educated Polish migrants. The groups called

'the searchers' view work not only as means to earn money, but also as an opportunity for a social mobility more generally. Janta's (2007) study emphasizes the exploitation encountered by Polish migrants working in the hospitality sector. She explores various strategies, such as on-line information fora, that the migrants use, in order to handle their work conditions and positions below their qualifications. Ryan et al.'s (2009) work comprises various risks that the new migrants have taken in order to find housing and work. The difficulties increase due to poor language skills and little understanding of life in Britain. Osipovic (2008) explains complexity of the legal position of A8 migrants, highlighting that many of them are not aware of they rights associated with the EU membership.

This thesis is embedded in the wider body of work analysing transnational practices of the post-accession migrants in the UK. While some researchers (Elrick and Lewandowska 2008) have investigated the economic aspects of transnationalism, for instance social implications of sending remittances, my analysis concentrates on transnational dimensions of family practices. It corresponds with Burrell (2008b) and Ryan, Sales, & Tilki (2009), Ryan (2010) who explore diversity of practices crossing international borders, whether for communication purposes or for family care-giving arrangements. By highlighting the importance of family rituals and narratives I concur especially with White (2009), whose approach moves beyond looking at transnationalism through the prism of nation states. She argues that locality, personal relationships ascribed to landscape play a crucial role in the processes of adaptation of Polish families to particular towns in England. In addition, my analysis develops further Burrell's (2008a) argument, recognizing the significance given to 'materiality' of the sites and spaces of travel used by Polish migrants shaping the embodied experiences of migrants.

While migration indisputably situates migrants in many vulnerable situations, various studies also highlight positive migrants experiences associated with moving out from a homogenous Polish society to diverse Britain. Spencer et al., (2007, p. 58) suggest that fulfilling social lives increases more the longer they stay and develop strong social networks with other migrants, often from the

same country. Garapich (2008) focuses in particular on the importance of the service sector in the Polish diaspora generating points of social interaction. My thesis develops further Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara's (2007; 2008), Pustulka (20014, 2015, 2018) or Ryan's et al. (2009) claims, which recognize the significance of strong and weak social ties in diaspora. I argue that especially affiliations with Catholic churches and help from extended family members equip the migrant parents with practical and emotional support in the UK. My analysis builds also on Lopez Rodriguez (2007), Ryan's et al. (2009) and White's (2009), who all give weight to the importance of family life for East European migrants. That body of literature provides an important antidote to the portrayal of the A8 migrant as being young and single. Moreover, it also demonstrates how developing social networks through attending parenting groups, school events or church meetings in Britain helps in particular mothers to integrate into their local areas more easily. Sales, Ryan, Lopez Rodriguez, and D'Angelo (2008) research explores the experiences of Polish children in London schools.

To summarize, diversity and social tensions appear as characteristic features of the Polish diaspora, which emerged in migrant communities in the UK after 1989. They are associated with the different images of home, moral and class-based valuations across three generations, including post war, solidarity and the post-2004 wave. Identifying with the Polish diasporic community does not mean the same for individuals. Thus, while examining the complexity of the migrant parents' experiences in the UK, I pay attention to intersecting categories, which include gender, class or generation. These seem to be the main markers dividing Polish diasporic communities in the UK.

Dimensions of home-making

The following section focuses on the significance of a symbol of home for migrants and explains how home-making is defined within this research. While transnational communities are maintained through cross-border practices, the diaspora is created through 'home-making' practices, collective and individual memories or narratives. The dialectic of 'crossing and dwelling' forms the notion

of 'diaspora', as emphasized by Clifford (1996), and a symbol of home, which occupies a central place in the diasporic imagination. Olwig (1999) argues that a symbol of 'home' combines both dimensions: materiality and metaphorical meanings. The first sense denotes a tangible place (a household) in which a family's intimate relations and everyday interactions take place. In this sense, home is denoted by distinctive images, sounds, smells and tastes. The second symbolic meaning of 'home' refers to 'feelings of belonging'. Relocation to a new 'home' is no longer associated with one geographical location (Gordon, 2008). It becomes fluid, imagined and internalized through narratives and symbolic forms, including religious rituals or language. Images of home linked with nostalgic memories constitute a 'diasporic condition' (Brah, 1996).

Within diaspora/transnationalism studies, more attention has been given to abstract meanings of the notion of 'home'. In this sense, home evokes a distant homeland, which generates an important source of diasporic identity (Appadurai 1996; Cohen 1998; Gilroy 1993; Hall 1998). The studies exploring the symbolic senses of 'home' attached to 'homeland', concentrate mainly on diasporic, ethnic organizations or other cultural forms. The focus is on networking and the variety of political, religious or economic engagement in the country of origin. In contrast, 'home' here means a concrete place of origin, to which migrants maintain connections. Scholars pay special attention to migrant activities in the public arena, such as political involvement, citizenship issues or economic activities (Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Kearney 1986, Levitt, 2001). Surprisingly, dimensions related to the organisation of family life in the diaspora at a household level appear underexamined. Migrant parents' activities and family practices in domestic and community spaces are the key to understanding the changing dimensions of 'home' in diaspora. This study therefore aims to explore this gap.

In my research, 'home-making' is defined firstly in terms of negotiating a sense of migrants' belonging. This is through family practices and religious rituals performed within the domestic space (Gardner and Grillo 2002). 'Ritual' is understood drawing on Al-Ali (2002) as not only religious practices, but also the

'everyday routinized activities' that map family hierarchies and gender relations. Furthermore, Gardner and Grillo (2002) and Al-Ali (2002) emphasize the importance of both types of rituals – sacred and secular in migrant families 'home-making'. Performed rituals are salient sites within the transnational social field, where status, boundaries of 'community', belongings and gender relations are marked and contested. The meanings attached to religious practices or 'everyday ritualized activities' (Al-Ali, 2002) within the domestic space inform 'images of home' (Gardner and Grillo 2002) at micro and meso levels. In addition, Gardner (2002) states that household rituals have gendered character and that migrant women, more often than men, carry them. In this way, migrant women become guardians of the moral order. Remarkably, within the current diaspora, transnational studies, or within the research on Polish migration, little attention has been given to gendered parenting and 'home-making' practices. Diminishing the importance of gender within the domestic sphere paints a limited picture of family life in a migratory situation. It also highlights the sense of belonging and the ways in which norms and values are negotiated within migrant families in the diaspora and within transnational contexts.

According to Olwig (1999), 'home-making' means a sense of belonging through maintaining family networks and relating to the places of origin. Olwig (2007) pays particular attention to the meanings given by migrants to the informal family networks and places of their childhood. Through narrating their migratory experiences, individuals situate themselves within a concrete locality such as a Caribbean island and to other family members dispersed globally. Building on Tweed (2006) and Levitt (2003), I argue that religion plays a constitutive role in constructing diasporic identities, bringing material culture to the fore. These studies demonstrate how engaging in religious rituals enable understanding of migration experience. Hence, analysis of religious tropes, rituals and material artifacts is crucial to understanding how gender and generational boundaries are marked within Polish migrant families in the diaspora. Additionally, an examination of the ways, in which religious rituals are performed, allows for a more comprehensive investigation of religious space in the transnational social field.

From home-making to global parenting

With reference to the previous discussion within the diaspora/transnationalism studies, more attention has been assigned to the abstract notion of 'home', evoking a distant homeland and migrant activities in the public arena (Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Kearney 1986, Levitt, 2001). Surprisingly, the meaning of home as linked with family practices and rituals performed in the domestic setting appears unexplored. In particular, the ways, in which gendered parental roles are performed within private spheres requires further investigation. These feature act as an important source of diasporic identities (Appadurai 1996; Cohen 1998; Gilroy 1993; Hall 1998). While these studies explore the public sphere and the construction of migrant identities at a meso level through community institutions, the focus of my analysis is at a micro level.

In the early stages of my research, 'home-making' was defined principally in terms of negotiating a sense of belonging through religious practices and rituals performed at a household level (Gardner and Grillo 2002). However, as my study progressed, I found that within the diaspora and transnational studies, language and care giving constitute equally significant aspects of the migrants' home-making. Transmission of the mother tongue, preparing food and the provision of health care emerge as salient gender practices, marking migrant parents' identities. Additionally, investigating the concept of home and its association with family life, parenting culture studies emphasize the importance of children's caregiving practices. These require specific skills, knowledge, and a level of expertise.

Sensitive areas, which pose a moral dilemma for migrant parents raising children in Britain, refer to food and health, which became the central theme explored further in the finding chapters. Rapidly developing family institutions in the Polish diaspora in the UK may indicate that migrant parents need extra support from professionals to ensure not only their children's health but also the intergenerational transmission of cultural heritage. These include Polish

Saturday schools, parenting playgroups, language interpreters, speech therapists or paediatricians (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2009; Garapich 2007). We can conclude that religion, language and caregiving constitute significant components in constructing migrants' sense of belonging. These three categories offer an innovative approach to examining the ways, in which parents with Polish origins negotiate their gendered roles and moral duties in the host country (Britain).

The significance of religion in migrants' home-making is measured on different scales. Tweed (2006) claims that religion is 'housework and home-making' in which 'religious bodies' mark the ritual calendar, enabling the interpretation of feast-day rituals. In this view, religion allows migrants to 'find their place' in the world. Religion as 'a watch and compass' (p. 81) plays an 'orientating' function for migrants. According to Tweed (2009), spatial and temporal religious dimensions interconnect the four chronotopes: 'the body, the home, the homeland, and the cosmos'. Religion situates bodies within the home, organizing the interior and ascribing practices for certain sites within the domestic space. Tweed (2009) suggests that religions are not only about being in a place but about moving across one. Subsequently, recreating this 'feeling of being at home' is a process, which engages a complex dialectic. Religion maps the cycle of annual seasons and the transitions in migrants' life cycles - from birth to death, as Tweed (2009) or Levitt (2003) highlight.

Arnold Van Gennep (2011) explains rituals using metaphors with societies and houses, where 'crossing thresholds (limen)' in the domestic space signifies movement from one social status to another social role. Van Gennep (2011) states that these transitional periods are marked through religious *les rites of passage*. Tweed (2009), building on Van Gennep's interpretation, argues that such transitions in life cycles are mapped through rituals and narratives, tropes and artifacts. My analysis elaborates further on the meanings given by participants to material objects and family stories marking parental religiosity. Underlining cultural processes, Tweed suggests that the initial function of 'religious bodies' is to give orientation. However, religious actors also construct

habitats and intimate spaces for dwelling. Religion mediates a figurative language of intimacy for migrant families and organizes everyday practices around food, sex, health, care, household work or leisure. Hence, considering the significance of religion for migrant communities, my study focusses on how parents use religion as a resource to enable them to perform good 'mother or father roles' and to mediate intimacy between generations.

A new language with its new taxonomy and different cognitive categories means a new home for migrants (Beswick 2010, Gunew 2003). Home-making is conceptualized in terms of language competency. Parents aspire to pass competency on to their children and this in turn marks migrant parents' ethnicity, class, and gender (Temple 2008, 2011; Temple and Koterba 2009). My analysis combines participant observations and narratives, exploring the meanings given to Polish language within child – parent interactions. Transmitting morality or emotions is associated with migrants' language of origin (Borland 2005; Bialystok 2001; Roxy 2006). Therefore, it is a crucial tool in shaping parents' subjective experiences during the process of socializing their children in the host country. This also appears to be an area which is under-researched. One must consider the impact of family settings (both Polish parents and mixed heritage units) and differentiate the process of adapting to the host country. This study explores the strategies invented by migrant parents to teach their children their mother tongues and to mediate intimacy within daily interactions. According to Gunew (2003), stammering, a different accent and pronunciation constitute a distinctive characteristic of displacement experiences. Thus, the analysis of how parents negotiate language use within domestic and public settings advances our understanding of the home making process in migration.

As I have previously mentioned, home-making is also understood in terms of caregiving practices. Within transnational family studies (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997, Dreby 2006, Nicholson 2006, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003) and research about global parenting, caregiving appears to be a key dilemma for all migrant mothers. Due to its broad scope, my study concentrates on less explored

subjects relating to food and health care provision. It outlines how Polish parents negotiate both roles – that of provider and that of bearer of culture. As literature suggests, migrant parents pay attention to ‘healthy diets’ recommended by paediatricians and policy makers in their host country. An equally important aspect of the food provided by migrant parents to their children is related to transmitting cultural heritage. Symbolic meanings are given to homemade dishes, products from the country of origin or products bought in ethnic food shops. ‘Proper ethnic dishes’, made according to family recipes, ensure children’s wellbeing and are perceived a significant aspect of childrearing in the host country. The impact of the ambiguous cultural symbol of ‘Matka Polka’ /Mother Pole/ (Titkow 2007; 2012) is further explored through the lens of food and material culture.

The significant role of material culture (Miller 2005) in maintaining links between diasporic groups and their homeland has been recognized in recent diaspora/transnational research (Crang 2013; Svasek 2010; Burrell 2012). Fedyuk (2012) observes that objects (family letters, photos, videos, souvenirs, religious artifacts) present in the domestic space, evoke ‘imaginaries of home’ and are linked with nostalgic feelings. Religious rituals and secular food practices in the diaspora, differentiate ‘familiarity’ from ‘foreignness’. This study recognizes that diasporic belongings are differently constructed and experienced and are embedded within material culture (Miller, 2005). In this sense, it reveals how religious rituals and tone of speech vary according to ethnic, geographical and historical locations. The salient role of objects and commodities marking parental religiosity or transmitting emotions and intimacy is further explored in the analytical chapter on religion.

To summarize, the diaspora, transnational studies and global parenting scholarship suggest that among others, religion, language and caregiving constitute the most significant markers of migrant parents’ identities. These markers involve conscious effort and emotional costs. Common to all of them is a sociological understanding of the notion of home as a spatial and normative experience, which mark some settings as more meaningful and affectively

involving than others.

Polish romanticism and the emergence of the 'Mother Pole' symbol

Having set up a conceptual framework in the previous sections I will now provide some historical background to my project. The purpose of this section is to examine how parenthood has been historically constructed in modern Poland and to investigate the dominant approaches within 'parenting culture' in the host country (Britain). Among others, the ambivalent symbol of 'Matka Polka' (Mother Pole) and its impact on gendered parental roles in a migration situation are explored. Furthermore, I explain how parenting culture studies helps us to understand the ways that Polish migrant parents socialize their children in the UK. The dominance of the ideology of 'intensive motherhood' (Hays 1996) is emphasized, which persists not only in Anglo-American countries but also in a global context. An analysis of the roots of Polish parenting, which originates in the 19th century, appears challenging. One must consider the fragmentation of Polish state structures and the internal stratification of Polish society, as emphasized by Davis (1996). Due to the disappearance of the Polish state from the official map of Europe, and frequent population relocations, the Polish nation did not exist as a unified entity with one dominant pattern of culture, ethnicity or class. The defragmented and multiethnic society of the old Republic ironically became a more homogeneous entity than ever before after 1945.

Reflections on modern Polish history, including political, economic and geographical transformations, reveal the importance of a romantic paradigm. This is paramount in order to develop a set of core national values, symbols and mythologies and establish the foundations of Polishness (Davies 1981; Janion 2011; Olszewska 2007). Building on Janion (2011) and Davies (1981), I argue that Polish romanticism, with its core ideologies grounded in nationalistic and Catholic discourses, shaped core moral values. Such values underpinned parental roles for the next generations in Poland until 1989. In the absence of a sovereign Polish state and being divided under three partitions, the Polish version of romantic ideas and successive parenting ideology sharply contrasted with

Western attitudes. Poles belong to an 'imagined community' as Anderson (1983) defines it. Its modern sense of nationalism is constructed by beliefs, which run counter to the official oppressive politics of the authoritarian states (Janion 2011; Davies 1996). Its foundations and logic are opposite to the Anglo-American sense of nationalism, where nationality refers to citizens of the country and the population lives in the territory of that state.

While social and economic subjects can scarcely be found in Polish romantic writings, the principal ideas underpinning Polish national mythology were focused on the 'national case' – the continuation of a national Polish identity and a restoration of national independence. Among the vital romantic tropes constituting modern 'Polish imagery', Janion (2011) identifies: national uprisings, the ethos of sacrifice and suffering and the Catholic religion enabling participation in universal dimension. Narratives of home, family and the figure of 'Matka Polka' (Mother-Pole) as sacred entities, play roles in Polish romantic symbolism, transgressing political borders. Home as a powerful and multi-dimensional symbol refers firstly to the physical place, in which a family's life is embedded. Secondly, it remains a fantasy, evoking the memories of childhood and the idyllic scenery of the Polish countryside as the lost homeland. These significant 'templates', as Janion notes (2011), were historically transmitted between generations through a number of family practices.

With a view to identifying distinctive markers in how Polish parenthood has been socially constructed, my study pays attention to religious, political and cultural affiliations. Such affiliations played a key role in shaping national and parental identities in the absence of state sovereignty. Until 1989, the moral responsibility of 'good Polish parents' was subordinate to the national cause: building nationhood and cultivating Christianity. Nationalism and Catholicism became the main doctrines supporting the moral norms and practices of modern Polish parenting. The principle was to develop Polish consciousness, which was implemented through the teaching of forbidden Polish literature and history. In particular, an education, which encompassed Polish language, Catholic religion and Polish history became 'moral tasks' for Polish parents until 1989,

determined by the specific historical condition of the Polish state. Mothers were responsible for transmitting patriotic attitudes and a heroic ethos to the younger generations through teachings around the Polish national mythology. Instilling the national cause in their children was both a highly important and private objective for parents.

The symbol of Mother-Pole

The loss of independence in 1795 marks a significant shift in public discourse around child rearing. Parenting stopped being a private domain and became a public issue. As a result, it remained a prime area, in which to educate young patriots, to uphold the moral responsibility of parents, and in particular to see mothers as guardians of national identity. Due to the complexity of Polish history in the 19th century, romantic literature created the Mother Pole as a heroic and tragic figure. She was seen as ready to sacrifice and suffer, a selfless figure who was focused on family and the national cause but not on herself (Hryciuk and Korolczuk 2010; Imbierowicz (2012). Titkow (2012) brings into the fore the connection of motherhood with the nation, embedded in the symbol of Mother Pole. Her heroic role is to bring up children as patriots, knowing they will have to sacrifice themselves and die fighting for the nation. Implicit is Mother Pole, representing women belonging and participating in the Polish national community (Walczewska, 1999).

Ostrowska (2004) identifies the main roots of the iconic figure of Mother-Pole as the culture of nobility, Catholicism and peasant culture. Moreover, the symbol of Mother Pole exists as a dominant cultural pattern or stereotype as well as a phantasm of Romanticism (Janion 1996; Tazbir 1991). The ethos of nobility as a privileged group in Poland, formed an idealistic model of noble women as archetypal of Mother Pole. Attributes such as virtuosity, modesty, religious beliefs, chastity, obedience and subordinated family, projected comparisons with the Virgin Mary.

Another dimension of the Mother-Pole evokes her multi-tasking role and vast

responsibility. Her role was managing the whole household and representing the whole family on behalf of her husband who was at war or involved in public roles or national politics (Titkow 2007). Noble wives and mothers were also known as businesswomen, and were involved in trade and small businesses. This noble ethos gave women a relatively high position in Polish society, as noted by Titkow (2012), which constituted the basis for individual attitudes and female independence or emancipation. However, the ethos of nobility defining the position of women, her status, role and practices as a mother, was applied to only about 10 percent of Polish women in the XIX century (Tazbir, 1978). Most Polish mothers (90%), were excluded and could not relate their roles to that patriotic paradigm. The process of emancipation - peasants, successive confiscations, imprisonment, and reprisal after each uprising - was followed by the loss of a privileged position for the noble family estates. By 1864, 80% of the noble class were *déclassé* and their names - a source of pride and identity, were eliminated from the noble list (Davies 1981). The complete abolition of noble estates took place in 1921 with the establishment of the March Constitution of the Second Republic.

Likewise, Titkow (2012) recognizes similarities between the romantic symbol of the Mother Pole and a social script shaping attitudes and behaviours, defined as the 'syndrome of a superwoman'. As a heroic figure, she can meet any requirements and challenges of social reality. In addition, as a 'superwoman' she is always ready to sacrifice her private aspirations for the sake of her family and nation. The concept of 'mild patriarchalism' (Pietrow-Ennker, 1992, s. 19) describes the ambivalent situation of noble women in Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This seemed to compromise equality and subordination at the same time. Viewing the nationalist representation of the fatherland as 'Polonia', the Catholic image of the Virgin Mary 'Matka Boska' and her practical skills allow the figure of Mother Pole to signify an ideal type of womanhood (Ostrowska 2004, Hryciuk and Korolczuk 2010, Imbierowicz 2012).

The symbol of Mother Pole became part of the Polish national identity and

spread in popular language and culture. It was also used in public and scholarly discourse. Considering the multidimensionality of this cultural script, its influence is not free from discrepancies. The Mother Pole symbol accounts for democracy and gender equality, but simultaneously it persists as a major obstacle '*on the road to European integration*' (Janion, 2011). It has been so often evoked that its meaning has become too wide and too general, changing depending on context. For instance Hryciuk and Korolczuk (2012) highlight the excluding character of the Mother Pole symbol, reinforcing social stratifications and existing power relations. Its normative character, identifying Mother Pole with the ideal of a 'good mother', excludes other important aspects where social class, sexuality, ethnicity or locality appear important. Additionally, Budrowska (2000) notes that through the centuries only the mainstream experiences of Polish parenting were explored. These focused mainly on nobility whilst marginalizing other disadvantaged groups such as ethnic minorities or mothers experiencing poverty. - Such groups were not incorporated into the symbol of Mother Pole (Slany 2002, Charkiewicz 2009, Mizielska 2012).

In Polish feminist literature concerning motherhood, researchers discuss the figure of Mother Pole mainly within the context of Polish nationalism and citizenship. They emphasize its conservative impact and reinforcement of traditional gender roles (Walczewska, 1999; Ostrowska 2004; Graff 2008). The major caveat of the feminist perspective, as emphasised by Hryciuk and Korolczuk (2010) is that it operates only on symbolic and discursive levels. Less attention was paid to its social and political dimensions, which my study explores. Additionally, it does not acknowledge multiple contexts, in which the myth of Mother Pole is evoked and to which a diversity of meanings are ascribed. Issues of body, sexuality or reproduction were absent in scholarly studies deconstructing meanings encompassed within the cultural script of Mother Pole.

A host of more novel, critical perspectives appeared in the more recent studies of Szpakowska (2003) and Korolczuk (2012). These shed more light on marginalized aspects of parenthood within the Polish context; poverty, sexuality, pregnancy, division of labour in the household or the 'naturalization' of

motherhood. Both analyses are grounded in biographical narratives through a lense of embodiment, bringing to the fore the ambiguity and multi-dimensionality of parental experiences. By paying attention to changing historical circumstances including political, economic, technological and material conditions, they deconstruct how motherhood and fatherhood in Poland historically evolved until the post 1989 transformation. Szpakowska's (2003) research into the transformations in Poland's customs after WWII demonstrates a significant shift in child-parent relations. They moved from family-centered in post war Poland to a currently dominant child-centered approach. Her analysis is based on letters and diaries sent by readers to popular mainstream newspapers and magazines between the 1960s and 1990s. Emergent partnership relations between parents and children appear to be *new* in the Polish context since the 1960s (Czerwinski 1969; Szpakowska 2003). Focusing on the experiences of 'new Polish migrant parents' through home-making practices, my study challenges the interpretations of the cultural script of 'Matka-Polka'. This is exposed solely on symbolic and discursive levels. It is a feminist reflection that this salient symbol is mostly discussed in the context of Polish nationalism and citizenship (Walczewska 1999; Ostrowska 2004; Graff 2008).

Gender and parenting in Poland in the post WWII period and in the 1990s.

The main aim of this section is to explore the impact of economic and political transformations in Poland at the end of 19th century. This centres on gendered parental roles and the division of labour within family units. The Polish population remained predominately rural³ through the modern period until WWII. Due to delays in the implementation of industrialization and urbanization, post WWII Poland had a high rate of families still living in the countryside (47%). Both parents and children were partly engaged in shared household and farming work (Turowski 1975). According to the peasant ethos, hierarchies within a family, gendered divisions of labour and parental roles were organized by

The urban population, estimated at 10% in 1795 increased to 18% by 1900, 27% by census in 1931 and by 31% by the first post war census in 1946 (Davies 1981).

religion, patriarchal order and the rhythm of work on the land (Markowska 1964, Tyszka, 1995).

The substantial influx of families from rural areas to cities and towns influenced parental roles and practices in post war Poland. According to Czerwinski (1969), during the sixties in a period called 'mala stabilizacja' ('small stabilization'), a significant transformation of family customs among the urban working class took place. The main factor, which accounted for this important shift was a change in the family model. This moved from a production to a consumer model that originated at the end of the 19th century. The traditional peasant family was mainly a productive entity. All functions and the division of gender roles were subordinated to joint work and the production of the household. Public institutions such as nurseries, schools or hospitals replaced a substantial part of parental caring duties and the educational functions of the family unit. However, social poverty after WWII - demolitions, poor incomes, difficulties with fulfilling basic needs, especially in urban areas like housing and food - meant children weren't necessarily situated at the centre of family life (Szpakowska 2003). Women's right to work or rather their 'obligations' were not questioned as their income contributed significantly to the family budget. Mothers were not expected to sacrifice all their time or work for their children.

Interestingly, the professional activism of women in Poland after 1945 had a controlled nature, since it was initiated not by women themselves but was reinforced by the political agenda of a communist ideology. Economic coercion towards women to undertake employment encompassed all social classes. Mass entry into the labour market after World War II enabled Polish women to gain relative and very limited personal and material independence. In addition, this marks a progressing social pressure, which did not rapidly change the traditional image of the Polish woman into a heroic figure. On the contrary, working mothers bore an even greater sacrifice, as work was understood as contributing to a family household and not an abstract state. The compulsory activism of women added one more task to an already established list of duties. However, this did not revolutionise traditional relations at the household level nor did it

accelerate the development of group solidarity amongst Polish women. Moreover, following the script of the heroic figure, women did not expect any gratification for their extra burdens. Remarkably, the mass entry of women into the labour market was accompanied by an uneven increase in education.

While the parent-child relations of generations born before WWII were principally established on the moral authority of parenthood (mild patriarchy), this was not the case for the post WWII generation (Szpakowska 2003). The family became a field for the negotiation of the social identities of its members. The central problem became the mutual recognition of the social identities of all family members, including relations outside the family. After 1945, parental authority and morality were shaped mainly through interactions between parent and child. Difficult economic and material conditions after 1945 led to the emergence of a specific phenomenon for communist states from Eastern Europe. This was the so called 'managerial matriarchate', sanctioning the sacrifice and heroism of wives and mothers for their families as a necessary dimension of a woman's condition (Szpakowska 2003). Mothers positioning themselves as irreplaceable managers of the household also took responsibility for most of the domestic tasks and the daily supplies of goods. Female managerial success resulted in the attainment of a 'dominant' position. However, as Titkow (2007, 2012) emphasizes, dominance had very limited character and did not undermine the financial control of men or alter the hierarchy within the political sphere. Firstly, society under a communist regime was disenfranchised. Ironically, although women's positions were redeemed with sacrifice, time, labour and tiredness when compared with men's social standing, women did not have much influence on crucial issues in the public domain. Furthermore, female dominance within the domestic sphere gave even more spare time to men, reinforcing traditional power relations.

Despite progression towards the democratization of rights and men 'doing domestic chores' during communist rule in Poland, household tasks were still perceived by both men and women as a woman's domain. Szpakowska (2003) outlines a different character of domestic chores; they appear as expressions of

personal involvement rather than social participation in the division of labour. In addition, Czerwinski (1969) comments about mothers who decided to stop working after giving birth. In an attempt later in life to bridge the gap in their career path, they did not protest against their position or lack of policies and social support from the State. Walczewska (1990) uses the term 'household matriarchate' to define women's power in communist Poland as restricted to the domestic sphere of the household.

Women's self-gratitude, derived from engaging in family activities, is valued the highest. This is aside from the satisfaction gained from a professional career or activism in public life. Pride and dignity derived from engaging in family life were the most coveted values for Polish women. They eclipsed the need for self-fulfillment, social standing, public recognition, respect, or financial independence. Such emotions compensated for the physical burdens placed upon women by the spheres of family and work. Notably, those who did not work reported equal levels of satisfaction in their lives. Both groups expressed similar values and desires regarding their children and marriage (Titkow 1982). Titkow (2007) describes this specific attribute of Polish society after 1945 as a 'mild patriarchalism'. It was defined through the professional activism of women as well as through the focus on family life and the private circles of friends.

Additionally, technological advances changed the nature of daily domestic chores in family life. The installation of gas and electricity supplies to households followed by the introduction of cookers, heaters, washing machines, and fridges reduced the amount of time needed to complete daily tasks. Czerwinski (1969) emphasized that the diminishing participation of the family at a macro level intensified the family roles as a microstructure. Previously broad family and neighbourly relations were replaced by relationships based on friendship or companionship. Devoid of a previous socializing dimension and practical roles, the emerging nuclear model of family concentrated on fulfilling the emotional needs of its members. Those highly emotional expectations underpinned the main functions of the family, shaping relations between generations and gender.

Parenthood in Poland after the political transformation of 1989 and global parenting

The aim of this section is to demonstrate how the political, economic and cultural transformations in Poland after 1989 and 2004 intersect with parenting politics in a global context. The reflexivity of social actors and the progressive emancipation of women in Poland since the sixties are crucial factors, which enable contestation of a division in traditional gendered roles, moral principles and ideologies. These processes indicate a transformation within child-parent relations and the emergence of a more egalitarian family model, enabling an expression of both the child and parent agency. Friendships were expected from parent-child relations rather than authoritarian respect and obedience.

The symbolic year of 1989, when communism collapsed, marks an important shift in the family realm within the Polish context. The political transition from a communist to liberal democracy followed by the opening of geographical borders and liberating markets posed questions concerning what 'good parenting' meant for mothers and fathers in a democratic Polish state. This focused in particular on how to perform mother and father roles living under these new economic and political conditions at both local and transnational levels. New challenges such as the dramatic level of unemployment in Poland⁴ after 1989 triggered a rapid increase in migration flow to European Union countries. After opening its labour market in 2004, many Poles flocked to Britain. Since 2010 Polish mothers have constituted the largest ethnic group among non-UK citizens. After 1989, the emancipation of Polish women did not occur as rapidly in democratic civil society as might have been expected. The lack of clarity regarding the role of the State and its relationship with Polish citizens after 1989 influenced the position of women within Polish society. This emerged as one of the most debated topics within public discourse. With the rise in popularity of the nationalist-Catholic parties, the tendency to reduce womanhood to reproductive functions became even more prevalent. The influence of conservative politics was evident in their discriminatory policy

⁴ In 2003 it reached over twenty percent.

against abortion from 1993. It demonstrates a subordination of female subjectivity in which the female body becomes a sphere of contestation and the manifestation of dominant power relations.

Titkow (2007, 2012) argues that this post-1989 transformation, including the democratization of public spaces and the liberalization of the economy, further exasperated the existing inequalities between men and women in Polish society. Moreover, political and economic changes led to the declining prestigious role played by women as guards of national identity and religion under the previous communist regime. Women became ascribed to the domestic sphere and assigned limited social roles as a mother, wife or carer. Socialism affected women's rapid entry into the labour market. Indeed, legal wages and the industrialization of the country formed an egalitarian character and included most women in spite of class, as noted by Szpakowska (2003). Despite the emergence of a cohort of women in employment, the dominant script of the heroic figure of 'Matka Polka', ready to sacrifice herself for family and nation, continued to dominate.

Taking into account the multidimensionality of the cultural script of 'Matka Polka' (Janion 2011), its ambiguous character develops a more democratic type of child-parent relation in the recent Polish state, recognizing the agency of both motherhood and fatherhood. An empowering experience for contemporary Polish mothers seems to be participating in 'new communities', online discussions on internet forums. Sikorska's (2009) and Olcoń-Kubicka's (2009) studies reveal a strong need by Polish mothers to share their experiences and to articulate their maternal identities through their narratives and online discussions. In this view, the reflexivity of mothers and their participation in discussions facilitated by this new ICT media form a gateway to expressing parental subjectivity. This challenges authoritarian expert driven knowledge within the privatized public sphere. To the contrary, debates on internet forums on subjects such as breastfeeding versus bottle feeding, or on childlessness (Młodawska 2012) reveal growing antagonisms between contemporary mothers (Zdrojewska-Żywiecka 2012) – local 'mommy wars' (Douglas and Michaels

2004). There is a danger of hostilities and the stigmatization of individual choice, feeling outside of mainstream accepted norms. Online discussions reflect ambiguities and contradictions of contemporary parent practices within the Polish context regarding morality or gendered parental roles. The voices of contemporary Polish mothers stand in stark contrast to the absence of Polish fathers' activism and a lack of fatherhood agency.

Hence, by paying attention to the social dimensions of parenthood within the migratory situation, my study will contribute to the scholarship around the meanings of the cultural symbol of Mother Pole. Recent studies grounded in biographical narratives by Korolczuk et al. (2012) bring to the fore the difficulties faced by parents in the contemporary Polish state. Such challenges include experiencing destitution and unemployment. They are linked with the processes of developing civic society in Poland and the activism of new types of community groups. Poverty, growing consumerism, the 'naturalization' of motherhood or reproduction technologies evoke tensions and disputes regarding acceptable moral norms in the contemporary neoliberal Polish state. The aim of my research is then to explore further how moral norms and methods of socializing children are negotiated by migrant parents with Polish origins in the host country and in the homeland.

Global parenting

Taking into account the global significance of 'parenting', it is essential to consider it within an analytical framework. One must also examine the ways in which new Polish migrants in the UK socialize their children. Firstly, the concept of 'intensive parenting' helps us to understand if there is a cultural clash. This is between the norms of raising children in a British culture and the core moral values of 'good parenthood' held by Polish migrants. Faircloth et al. (2013) argues that the concept of 'parenting' has become a salient new global trend across ethnographic and socio-economic localities. The extensive use of this memorable expression in global media indicates that 'parenting' has become one of the most prominent subjects within recent public debates, targeted by policy makers and state interventions (Faircloth and Lee 2010).

As a global trend intersecting with other global patterns, it reveals power inequalities concerning the organization of everyday family life in different geographical locations (Faircloth et al. 2013). Hays (1996) and Furedi (1997), authors of key theoretical texts within parenting culture studies, argue that parenting arises as a construct of ideological change between the state and the private sphere. A tendency to eliminate risks when raising children in modern 'risk societies' (Beck, 1992) by state interventions promotes a culture of 'paranoid parenting' (Furedi 2001) or 'attachment parenting' (Faircloth, 2011). These new modes of 'intensive parenting' (Hays 1996; Lee 2008) evoke tensions in how to compromise public and private spheres both at national and transnational levels. Furthermore, Faircloth et al. (2013) demonstrate that 'alternative' modes of parenting negotiated in different ethnic and geographical locations challenge the hegemony of 'intensive motherhood', dominant in Anglo-American contexts.

The studies of Berry (2013) or Jayses-Darr (2013) and their exploration of the experiences of undocumented Spanish migrants or Sudanese refugees living in United States pose questions about when 'good parenting' can be seen to merge with political and nationhood matters. Berry (2013) demonstrates how kinship obligations rather than expert led advocacy govern ways of socializing children by Spanish migrants. Power dynamics transgress the dominance of expert driven knowledge. While Berry's main focus is at a micro level, exploring how 'parenting' shapes everyday family practices, Jaysane-Darr's (2013) study examines kinship and the construction of a nation in diaspora. Her case study explores the attempts of Sudanese refugee parents to challenge a model of parenting based on expert-led knowledge, dominant in the host society. The author reveals an important dimension of parenting in a migratory situation. Parents are seen to transmit ideas of hospitality and respect to their children as significant aspects of Sudanese identity. The reflexivity of parents is emphasized, with an awareness that embodied practices shape the behaviour and language use of their children. Applying a cross cultural perspective when investigating the moral norms underpinning migrants' good parenthood enables investigation

into how the dominant discourse of 'intensive motherhood' intersects with parental discourses and practices in the Polish diaspora.

'Despite the significant historical differences regarding the political, economic and social conditions between Poland and Britain, gendered inequalities emerge as a striking parallel of recent modes of parenthood in both countries. This reinforces the dominance of the ideology of 'intensive motherhood' (Hays 1996). In Anglo-American countries as in in Poland, a child-centered approach has been the main mode of raising children since the nineties. Szpakowska (2003) highlights a significant shift in Poland regarding the child-parent relation. He observes a move from family-centered to child-centered, associated with the political and economic transformations in 1989.

Considering these noticeable similarities between Polish and British contexts after the nineties, this research explores further the impact of the socio-political changes associated with the accession of Poland to the EU. By focusing on religion, language and food practices in the following analytical chapters it investigates the construction of gendered parental roles and identities in the British context. Examining if Polish parenthood in the diaspora reinforces or transgresses gender power relations my study contributes to a growing body of parenting culture studies. In the light of the debates surrounding risk culture (Faircloth et al. 2013), it also appears crucial to clarify who plays the role of moral guardians for Polish parents raising their children in the UK. Given the significance of religious authorities in transmitting moralities to migrants (Tweed 2006) and the fact that 93% of the Polish population declare themselves Catholic (CBOS 2012), my study focusses specifically on the role of the Catholic church and grand parents during the process of socializing children in the host country.

Chapter 2. Methodologies and Ethics

Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for my ethnography and gives insight into the context of my study. I explain the design of my research and the rationale behind the chosen methodologies. The practical and ethical issues which emerged during my fieldwork, the challenges encountered, and how these further informed my data collection and analysis, are also described here.

The first two sections justify the rationale for choosing parenting as a main theme of home-making within the new Polish diaspora in the UK and outline the implications of applying the chosen methodology. I also discuss why I focused on religion, language, and caregiving within my research. The third section explains how I selected the sites. Here, I make comparisons between my ethnography of parenthood and other ethnographic studies as well as the approach applied to investigate child-parent relationships shaped by the migration experience. It also discusses the main methods used during my fieldwork; the challenges in obtaining relevant participants; the ways of overcoming difficulties in obtaining access to private homes; and the ethical and relationship concerns between the researcher and participants.

The principal focus of the fourth section is on my sample and its design. It introduces particular families by giving brief portraits; some biographical notes about selected families are included, background information about their socio-cultural characteristics and about migration journeys and living conditions in the UK and their places of origins in Poland. In the last section, the issues concerning the reflexivity of the researcher are brought to the fore. It sheds more light on the process of translation and the process of analysis of the data collected.

Ethnography and transnational parenting

Ethnography, with the fieldwork situated mainly in the host country, was applied here as the most relevant research method to elicit meanings given by participants to their parental roles and identities. Marcus (1995) and others (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, Falzon 2005) initiated the shift within the subject of ethnography. Ethnography is a form of writing about groups of people and inter-

relationships, which aims to elicit participants' subjective points of views (Marcus and Fischer, 1986). Moreover, ethnographers' intentions are to understand the meanings behind social actions and performed practices. Taking into account that it prioritizes a contextually rich type of data collection, ethnography provides the heuristic tools to examine cultural representations of gender parental roles in the Polish diaspora. The reason to choose an ethnography is to explore the impact of moving from Poland to the UK in shaping the subjective experiences of migrant mothers and fathers and informing their parenting styles. Sending and receiving societies appear equally important sites for ethnographers to study family life shaped by migration experiences. Glick Schiller (2003) argues:

Ethnographic studies have maintained a migrant point of view by making migrants' social field of relations the main empirical object of study. The notion of networks has been central in the conceptualization of these fields. (p. 8)

My ethnography builds on existing studies of transnational families (Levitt 2001, Olwig 2007, Parreñas 2005) giving insight into the private, intimate sphere of migrants' family life by combining two research methods. The main body of research relies on interviews and complementary participant observation. Regular visits to private family homes enabled me to capture interactions between parents, children and significant family members and observe family practices within these domestic settings. In addition, my ethnography is situated among studies, which recognize the significance of gender, family ties and place of origin as markers of belongings among transnational communities (Levitt 2001, Tweed 2009, Parreñas 2005). Two key studies for developing my methodological framework are Levitt's (2001) analysis of the transnational community of 'Miraflores villagers' and Olwig's (2007) ethnography of three family networks. Both highlight the important role of informal social networks connecting migrants and non-migrants left behind through kinship, friendship, and attachment to the place of origin. Departing from Olwig's (2007) study, which reveals symbolic meanings given by Caribbean families to their roots, the primary focus of my ethnographic research is on identifying meaningful sites for Polish migrant families in which the main interactions between children and

parents take place. The aim is to examine how parents reproduce places, which originate in Poland, from memories through performing religious practices, language use or care giving after moving to the host country. Olwig's study is based on narrative analysis of plots and biographical life stories. My ethnography similarly seeks to offer a detailed insight into the private sphere of migrant families.

The second key study informing my ethnography is Levitt's (2001) study examining transnational practices of a diasporic Caribbean community. It shows how involvement in both host country and homeland through 'social remittance' reshapes values in migrants and it also transforms sending communities. Levitt (2001) highlights the impact of social networks, materialized through public and community places and material culture, leading to the development of the transnational social field. Analysis of the interpersonal ties, performed practices and rituals of migrant parents, enabled me to identify significant community places in the new Polish diaspora, which became markers of their national and religious belonging. Those include Polish Saturday schools.

This analysis by using ethnography explores further the spatial and temporal aspects of home-making taking forward Massey's (2005) and Boccagni's (2016) studies. Such notions are strongly altered by mobility and global processes. Boccagni (2016) suggests that for migrant families it is not only the spatial dimension that matters when recreating a sense of belonging. Equally significant is time. Ahmed et al. (2003) emphasizes the importance of memory as a crucial aspect of migrant home-making. From nostalgic images of idealized childhood places, religious symbols and other family rituals, mythological plots emerge as salient markers of belongings, which are evoked by emotions:

Homing depends on the reclaiming and reprocessing of habits, objects, names and histories that have been uprooted in migration, displacement. (Ahmed et al. 2003, p. 9).

In that view making a home involves the (re)creation of meaningful habits,

objects, stories that Hoffman call '*soils of significance*' (Hoffman 1989, p. 278). Drawing on Boccagni (2016), Olwig (2007) or Parreñas (2005) my analysis aims to capture a spectrum of emotions indicating parents' moral commitments. Given that social life is continuously narrated (Somers and Gibson 1998), the analysis of parents' stories aims to elicit symbolic meanings. Such meanings are given to the places of family origins, circulating cultural images, material objects, rituals and so-called 'affective circuits' (Cole and Groes 2016), which mediate individual and collective memories. Through narration, individuals reflect on their environment, culture and the entire social context in which they are rooted. This contextualizes ways through which Polish migrant parents make meaningful places in their new British context.

Drawing on Olwig (1995; 2007) and Levitt (2001), I adopted an approach, which situates my field sites around interpersonal family ties rather than around geographical localities. However, throughout my fieldwork, I discovered that parents give symbolic and social meanings to geographical sites in Poland where their family members live. The significance of geographical locales is shown through parents undertaking regular journeys to the homeland with their children in order to participate in community events, to take part in family occasions or festivals with relatives or to improve children's language skills, despite the financial costs. In addition, certain objects - religious souvenirs, medication or food from Poland - were perceived by parents as 'healthier', able to stimulate healing or quicken recovery from all sorts of illnesses or to protect both children and parents from unfortunate events.

The approach developed here is different than conventionally understood multi-sited ethnography, represented by Levitt's (2001) study. Due to various constraints including time, financial factors or my work commitments I was not able to spend a fairly equal amount of time between both sites - Poland and the UK. Thus, data generated in Poland constitutes complimentary but equally important and rich source, which enhanced my understanding of participants' meaningful practices. As Marcus (1999) suggests, a non-obvious paradigm for multi-sited ethnography refers to the circulation of meanings or cultural

symbols, which inform social norms and the values given to gender parental roles.

According to transnational logic, social fields are situated at various locations dispersed over two or more nation-states (Faist & Özveren 2004; Pries 2001; Glick Schiller 2003). Transnationalism recognizes the significant role of interpersonal social ties facilitating the mobility of families across national borders (Appadurai, 1991; Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Hannerz, 1998; Vertovec, 1999). It constitutes not only the conceptual framework for my research but it also provides the most adequate research method to examine the division of ritualized space and time, structuring how migrant parents transmit rituals and other significant practices to their children. Transnational parenthood, where physical childcare is replaced by financial contribution, and supervision of children is performed from a distance, suggests that the household and family do not necessarily have to be defined by a physical presence alone. For Olwig (1999; 2007) 'home-making' constitutes a sense of belonging through maintaining family networks and relating to the places of origin. Her contextualized analysis of three family networks of Caribbean origin shows the significant role of economic contribution and the social involvement (maintaining caring duties from a distance) in sustaining the household unit and preserving family ties. My study takes further Olwig's (2007) and Levitt's (2001) transnational approach. It is an exploration of how Polish migrant parents transmit social norms and negotiate their moral commitments with its primary focus on parenting in post-migration situations after family reunions rather than a period of separation.

Initially, my fieldwork took place in locations within the UK, near to my participants' homes. However during the course of my research, I decided to also arrange visits to Poland, to the places of the families' origin. After my pilot interviews and home visits, Poland emerged as a salient place in the life of my participants, shaping their imaginations, practices and morality related to child-rearing. Taking into account the significant weight given to Poland, my initial intentions were to capture how gender parental roles are performed and

negotiated in the homeland and to conduct interviews with significant family members. Being aware of the time constraints, I did not expect that during my journeys to Poland I would observe many significant family events. Rather, my intention was to gather data enriching my understanding of parents' living conditions, material culture and the role of grandparents and other extended family members in the transmission of language, religion and care giving practices. Undertaking trips to Poland by following the journeys of parents to the places they come from gave me a better understanding of their migration experiences and the costs involved in maintaining their family ties. In addition, my fieldwork was conducted in the host country and in the homeland.

Highlighting the 'constructed' character of all social relations between participants, researcher and places, my study sheds more light on the ways in which kinship ties and relations with particular places of origin in Poland become 'markers' and 'transmitters'. These in turn display the cultural values and moral obligations associated with good motherhood and fatherhood. There is an emphasis upon the importance of an ethnographer's reflexivity and awareness of the impact of his social background, previous experiences and the context of the situation on his perceived interpretations. Combining the paradigm of transnationalism with an adjusted multi-sited approach, my methodology contributes to expanding ethnographic studies which examine the social fields of global parenting and transnational families. Recognizing multi-dimensions of space in the social constructions of migrants' 'home-making', my analysis sheds more light on the intimacy within migrant child-parent relationships.

Sampling

Characteristics of the sample

The sample was made up of eleven parents (seven mothers and four fathers) and their relatives residing in Poland (six grandmothers and one grandfather). I focus on migrants who had either arrived with their family or reunited with their

family at least a year prior to the interview. Inspired by Levitt's (2001) work, I used snowball and convenience samples to ask my respondents residing in one of the counties in the South of England to recommend friends who could participate in my study. In the end 8 families were included within my sample (see Table 1 in appendix and Table A below), representing various types including units with both Polish parents (three families), mixed-heritage families (four units), and a single parents (one mother).

Four out of eight families included in my sample were mixed heritage units. That high rate of mixed families differentiates the post EU accession cohort from the previous waves of Polish migrants in the UK and as I go on to show, it informed ways of negotiating family practices, shaped styles of parenting and family culture. Parents from mixed heritage units encouraged more combining both cultures when transmitting religion, language use and food practices, as I discuss later.

Family pseudonim	Participant pseudonym	Family type	Children: number age,	Moved to UK
1 Gorek family	Magda	both Polish parents	4 children: 2 sons and 2 daughters (23, 21, 20, 18)	2004
	Jan			2005
1 Baron family	Ada	Mixed (Polish mother, English father)	3 daughters (18, 8, 1)	2005
3 Irdysz family	Inga	Mixed (Polish-Hungarian mother, Middle East father)	2 daughters (5, 3)	2005
4 Chikanda family	Monika	Mixed (Polish mother, Black African father)	3 daughters (6, 4, 1)	2004
5 Wisniewski famil	Basia Pawel	both Polish parents	1 daughter (1)	2004
6 Nowak family	Slawek	Mixed (Polish father, English mother)	1 son (6)	2004
7 Abramska family	Ania	Single mother	1 daughter (11)	2004

8 Mazurek family	Grazyna Wlodek	both Polish parents	1 son (6)	2006
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Table A. Basic characteristics of the sample (by family type, children and arrival in the UK)

Name and relationship	Family pseudonym	Age	Gender	Type of interaction with grandparent	Grandparent education level
1. Maria (mother of Magda)	Gorek family	79	Female	Interview in Poland and participant observations	High school
2. Elzbieta (mother of Ada)	Baron family	77	Female	Interview in Poland and participant observation	Vocational
3. Tadeusz (father of Ada)	Baron family	82	Male	Interview in Poland and participant observation	University
4. Helena (mother of Monika)	Chikanda family	63	Female	Interview in the UK and participant observation in the UK	Vocational
5. Jadwiga (mother of Inga)	Irdysz family	59	Female	Interview in the UK and participant observation in the UK	High school
6. Hanna (mother of Ania)	Abramska family	64	Female	participant observation in the UK	Vocational
7. Monika (mother of Slawek)	Nowak family	57	Female	Interview in Poland and participant observation in the UK	High school

Table B Characteristics of grandparents

As Table A shows, the common shared feature across the sample was the year of arrival – all parents moved to the UK after 2004, a significant year when Poland joined the EU and all participants had Polish origins - were born in Poland. The selected eight families differed in size and in number of children. The smallest

family unit contained two people (mother and daughter), whereas the largest had 6 members (mother, father and four children).

Pseudonim	Age	Gender	Education Level	Work status in the UK	Work status in Poland
Ada	52	Female	University	Highly skilled	Highly skilled
Magda	55	Female	University	Low-skilled – Skilled	Skilled
Jan	58	Male	University	Low-skilled	Skilled
Inga	33	Female	University	Low-skilled – Skilled	Graduate
Monika	31	Female	University	Low-skilled- stay at home mother	Graduate
Basia	33	Female	High School	Low skilled	High School
Pawel	33	Male	Vocational	Low skilled	Low skilled
Slawek	38	Male	Vocational	Low-skilled	Low-skilled
Ania	32	Female	Vocational	Low-skilled, self employed	High School
Grazyna	33	Female	University	Low-skilled	Graduate
Wlodek	36	Male	Vocational	Low-skilled	Low-skilled

Table C. Characteristics of parents by education, employment,

The sample comprises participants with diversity of sociological backgrounds. As Table C illustrates, I ended up with parents across various age, occupations, and different educational or religious backgrounds, which had an impact on parenting styles. The influence of those social categories shaping transmission of religious practices, language use and food is investigated further in the analytical chapters. Overall, the respondents ranged from 31 to 58 years of age, but the

majority (eight parents) were in their thirties at the time of the interview. All participants were in heterosexual relationships, most were married (six units), one was in a partnership and one was a single mother. The respondents had children of various ages, including babies and toddlers under four (six children), school pupils and students (eight) and adults (three). Among the children, ten were born in the destination countries and six children were born in Poland. Three mothers had experiences of pregnancy and childbirth both in Poland and abroad.

Taking into account socio-economic characteristics, correlation was observed between participants' education level and their social mobility. While parents with higher level of education and with good command of English were able to change their jobs quicker, respondents with vocational trainings and who did not communicate in English stayed in the same jobs much longer. On average, fathers had fewer years of education than the mothers. Out of the eleven interview-parents, over half (six) had a university degree whilst one had an A-level diploma (*matura* exam in Polish) and the remaining four were in possession of vocational training. Despite their qualifications, the majority (six) were employed initially in the host country at a level below their qualifications. Additionally, two mothers changed their job status since they moved to the UK from low-skilled jobs in the initial period after arrival to skilled jobs after they had improved their language skills or after they had completed additional qualifications in the UK. Only one mother was a staying at home mother looking after her children, and one father was a staying at home father, however he was doing part time job (a few night shifts). Other participants were working full time.

Based on parents' memories of their childhoods and first job experiences, most parents in this study had experienced financial difficulties through their upbringing in the communist period, and low household income level. Notably, the transition from communism to democracy had had a destructive impact upon the employment situation in Poland, affecting my participants. Many of them lost their jobs, their financial security, or were forced to change their career pathway.

This profound historical event resulted in most parents' desire for financial security, and the decision to move to the UK, which offered better job opportunities.

In terms of the places of origin, the participants came from various regions in Poland. Such diversity reflected that which my literature review had highlighted regarding 'new Polish migrants': they came from vastly different regions of Poland - bigger cities, but also from smaller towns or villages, especially from regions which were severely affected by unemployment. Such regions in Poland have distinctive cultural and socioeconomic features, which were likely to shape parenting cultural practices and the transmission of religious rituals, language use or food. However, there was no identifiable pattern between participants' places of origin and places of residence in the UK.

Despite the events of 2004 and beyond, Polish migrants settled in numerous parts of England and yet the concentration of the Polish diaspora in London remains significant. The majority of qualitative studies examining the new Polish migrants in the UK tended to concentrate on the established Polish communities in urban setting populations (Ryan L., Sales R., Tilki M. & Siara B. (2008); Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M. and Siara, B., (2009); Garapich's (2008, 2012, 2016) studies on Polish migrants in London). Therefore, their research subjects were geographically limited to a single destination. On the contrary, this study is a piece of qualitative research on the post-2004 generation that includes participants living outside urban in the South of England, mainly in smaller towns and in the countryside.

Portraits of the families

The following section introduces the families included in my sample, drawing on their migration trajectories and maps out their socio-cultural characteristics.

Gorek Family

Gorek family	both Polish parents (Magda and Jan) both practicing Catholic	four children: two sons and two daughters (23, 21, 20, 18)
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The Gorek family was the first family with whom I engaged and with whom I spent the most time. The Goreks were the biggest family in my sample with the biggest family car. Their car is the mode of transport the Goreks used when journeying to Poland. A few times during my visits, the father and his sons were servicing their big seven-seat family car in the garage prior to making their journey to Poland.

Magda and Jan (both Polish) have four children (two daughters and two sons). When I started my fieldwork, the youngest son was still living at home with his parents and preparing for his A-levels while the three other children were already studying at universities. Despite both parents completing higher education in Poland, after moving to Britain they changed their career pathways. Both of them experienced job degradation and they had to do manual jobs in the initial stage after moving to the UK. Magda learned English quicker than her husband, which enabled her to gain new qualifications and to change her job from low-skilled to skilled. Currently, Magda works in a private company in the finance department while Jan stayed carried as a maintenance worker at the same school . The family lives in a rented house in a village where they moved in 2004. Initially, the mother came to the UK on her own but after one year of separation, her husband and children joined her. The parents explained that educational prospects for their children in the UK were the main factor behind their decision to move permanently.

Educational opportunities for children appeared to be the main objective for moving from Poland to Britain for both parents and the salient aspect of their child rearing. An air of study and academia permeated the whole house with piles of books, laptops, dictionaries, printers and stationary all around. Not only were the children at university, but also the mother was doing a degree and the father's hobby was translation. Cooking and eating together at the table,

especially at weekends and during family events emerged as another important aspect of socialization for the children in the host country.

The Gorek family had a Catholic background and I regularly saw Magda and her family during Polish Sunday mass and other Catholic events in which the family actively participated. Magda was involved in organizing community and religious events including Polish Sunday mass, nativities, Easter blessings and family picnics while the father and children supported her with those initiatives. Considering the religious background of the Gorek family, I expected to see a collection of religious artefacts in their home. Surprisingly I did not notice any religious pictures. Instead, the family displayed a few family photos with their relatives in Poland or a typical Polish calendar. Later, the mother showed me things which she kept inside cupboards; the family holy Bible, religious ornaments or some other souvenirs. More personal things, which she used to pray (rosaries or praying books) were kept in her bedroom. During the summer of 2014, I followed the family roots to the South of Poland (Podhale), a region where both parents originated and where they regularly go twice a year.

Baron Family

Baron family	Mixed (Ada - Polish mother, English father) mother - Catholic and Karraim background father - not believing,	three daughters (18, 8, 1)
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A bilingual upbringing for their daughters emerged as a key principle for the Byron parents (mixed heritage family). Being married to an English husband and living in Britain, Ada undertook various steps to implement a linguistic strategy in order to ensure that her daughters were raised bilingually. I met Ada (52) through my engagement in educational projects for the Polish community. When I met her for the first time, she had two daughters - Weronika, (17 years old) from her first marriage in Poland and Zosia (7 years old), born in the UK. During my research, the oldest daughter started university and moved out and their third daughter was born (Marysia). She set up a parenting group for Polish

mothers and a few years later she established a Polish Saturday School.

Ada moved to the UK permanently from Poland after she took the mutual decision with her husband to set up family life there. Both parents had university degrees and they used to work at universities. However, since they have moved to Kent, both changed their academic careers. The father started working for a private company while Ada became a self-employed translator and set up various educational projects for Polish parents. The Baron family live in a semi-detached house with a garden which they owned.

The second parental ambition for Ada was to transmit to her children their mixed heritage origins - not only Polish or Catholic but also Karaim⁵. Ada's father belonged to the small Karaim minority (his family moved to Poland from Lithuania after WW2) and Ada was very proud of her family's rich origins. She maintained regular contact with her extended family from Poland and Lithuania through various ICT media. Despite both parents being brought up according to Christian tradition, her mother had a Catholic background while her father's family belonged to the Church of England. Only the mother was engaged in the religious upbringing of their daughters. She regularly attended both English and Polish Catholic churches with her daughters. She also took part in some cultural practices acknowledging her Karaim roots. I accompanied Ada when she attended Catholic services, especially during the period when her middle daughter was preparing for her first holy communion.

During my visits to Ada's house, I did not notice any typical Polish or religious objects apart their childrens' books. Instead, I remembered a big, striking portrait of her grandmother in a hat, which was in the hall. The portrait was brought from Poland as a precious family souvenir, as the mother had a close relationship with her grandmother. In the living room, the children kept their toys and books, some of which were also brought over from Poland. The living

⁵ Karaim (also known as *Karaims*, *Karaiteas*) is an ethnic minority group, which originates from Turkish-speaking adherents in Central and Eastern Europe, especially in the territory of the former Soviet Union. "Karaim" is a name for the community.

room did not have much character and was very functional. It was the area where the father worked on his laptop and the girls played together. The kitchen emerged as the salient site of family everyday interactions, which took place around a big, round table.

Irdysz Family

Irdysz family	Mixed (Inga - Polish-Hungarian mother, Middle East father) mother – Catholic background father – practicing Muslim	two daughters (5, 3)
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The third family, with whom I engaged with had the most diverse origins and cultural heritage. The mother had Polish-Hungarian roots and was brought up according to Catholic tradition while the father from Middle-East had a Muslim background. Using Kamila, my third gatekeeper, I obtained Inga’s contact details and after the mother, Inga, agreed to participate in my research, I started meeting with the family. Inga met her husband (Rafi) in London and after they married two years later and had two daughters (Maria and Aga). When I started my fieldwork they were 5 and 3 years old. Before the first daughter was born, Inga worked as a teacher in London. After her first daughter was born, she started working as a self-employed translator to have the flexibility to look after her girls. Both parents adjusted their working hours so they could rotate childcare. The father, in contrast to his wife, did not have any higher education. He ran a small business selling clothes and prior to that he was working as a chef.

The family lived in flats in a suburban area of South London. Since I met them for the first time, they had to move twice, which was very stressful for the whole family. Their two girls were already in schools and so it was difficult to find an affordable place to rent in the same area. Inga’s family had a Catholic background. However, she did not insist on a Catholic upbringing for their children. Knowing how religion was crucial for her Muslim husband, she agreed that their daughters would be raised according to Islamic tradition. I saw a copy

of the Koran at their house and the father started teaching the older daughter Arabic, although he did not take the girls to the mosque, explaining they were still too young.

During my visits, I noticed Egyptian and Hungarian decorations and souvenirs in their flat. Small bowls, cups or plates were displayed in the kitchen and there were bed covers and rugs on the floors. In their kitchen, there was a real mixture of various food including Polish, Egyptian, Turkish or English. I noticed that the father was very often cooking and I smelled oriental spices at their home. On the bookshelves, the girls had some Hungarian, Polish and English books and DVDs. The girls had many wooden toys, especially musical instruments brought from Budapest as the older daughter was attending guitar lessons.

Due to time and spatial constraints in maintaining frequent visits, I tried to stay in regular contact with Inga by exchanging text messages and phone calls. I also followed her on Facebook. She sometimes uploaded photos from family visits to various locations such as Budapest, Egypt, Poland or Italy as her family was dispersed across the world. I also managed to speak to Inga’s mother by phone and I met the grandmother once during my visit to Inga’s place. Due to constant insecurity about their housing, at the end of my fieldwork the family decided to move to Budapest after living in London for over 10 years. Inga explained that they had their own flat there and that living costs were much cheaper than in London. When I met Inga a few weeks before they had moved, she was very anxious but at the same time she hoped that their life in Hungary would be easier.

Chikanda Family

Chikanda family	Mixed (Polish mother, Black African father); mother Catholic background, both parents joined Neo Evangelical church	three daughters (6, 4, 1)
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The Chikanda family was the most religious in the sample and the only family

that had converted to a Neo-evangelical church. While the family regularly visited the Vineyard church on Sundays, at the same time Monika still attended some services at the Catholic church with her daughters. Despite the religious upbringing of their children constituting a significant moral value for both parents, I did not notice any religious ornaments on the walls or anywhere in the house. Originally, I had met Monika at the Polish parenting group, and then we started meeting regularly at the Polish Saturday School.

Monika and her Black African father had three daughters (7 years old, 4 years old and 5 months). While her husband worked full time as an accountant, Monika looked after the girls. Despite her busy schedule, Monika managed to fit me in between dropping the girls at school, shopping and picking them up. I quickly realized that although she was 'at home' for the whole day, she hardly had time to stay longer than two to three hours. Both parents had a higher education – Monika graduated in Poland (a higher degree) while the father was still at university doing a higher degree in finances. Monika moved from Poland to the UK after she graduated from university in Poland in 2005. Initially, she started working as a carer in a nursing home, where she met her husband. The family lived in a rented two-bedroom semi-detached house, on the outskirts of the city centre.. The house did not have any garden or patio, so the girls were playing mostly at home.

When I visited the first time, Monika was heavily pregnant with her third daughter. A few months later when I visited them the third daughter had been born, but the parents still had not managed to move out. Around the flat there were some markers of their Polish origins - family photos from Poland on the walls, Polish books or CDs and Polish branded girls' clothes, which their grandmother was had brought for them.

Wisniewski Family

Wisniewski family	both Polish parents (Basia and Pawel) both parents Catholic background	one daughter (1)
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Out of all my families the Wisniewski family was the only one with the father as the main carer. He stayed at home with their daughter while the mother returned to full-time employment after her maternity leave finished. Pawel also continued working part time (a few night shifts) as a lorry driver. When I began my fieldwork, I met Basia at the same workplace she had returned to after maternity leave. She moved to the UK after passing her A-levels in Poland in 2003. Originally she wanted to stay for one year to improve her English and then move back to Poland. Since she started working and after she met her partner Pawel, she decided to stay longer. After 6 years, their daughter was born. The family lived in a rented two bedroom flat in a residential area in a reputable town. Her parents had a good network with other Polish families so their daughter often played with other Polish children. During my visits, we stayed mostly in the living room, where their daughter played or watched TV. The family had Polish TV channels so their daughter watched mainly Polish cartoons.

Both parents had a Catholic background, which was overtly clear from religious pictures on the walls. I noticed from my first home visit a copy in the living room of the most famous icon in Poland; the Black Madonna and a holy cross. In their daughter Basia's bedroom there was, a little picture of the guardian angel and I also sometimes noticed the parents reading a version of the Bible to their daughter. Surprisingly, despite these ornaments, they did not attend Sunday mass very often at the Catholic church, only attending for more significant Catholic events like Easter or Christmas. They also participated in the Polish national pilgrimage at Aylesford a few times. Both parents paid attention to healthy food. The family regularly received parcels from their parents in Poland with 'organic food' - mainly home-made dishes as the father had a network of colleagues who were lorry drivers.

I did not manage to visit the grandparents in Poland due to the health condition

of Basia’s mother. I did however meet Basia’s mother when she came to the UK. For the duration of my fieldwork, I witnessed significant changes in the relationship between Basia and Pawel. Both parents changed their career pathways. Basia started working as a health care assistant and she also enrolled for a nursing course in the UK while the father decided to develop his own business back in Poland. When I finished my fieldwork, Basia and her partner had decided to separate. The mother stayed in the UK with her brother, who moved into her flat to help her look after her daughter, and Pawel moved back to Poland. However, when their daughter was diagnosed with a speech difficulty, he changed his plans and decided to return to the UK. He disclosed that in Poland he had realized that his place should be around his daughter.

Nowak Family

Nowak family	Mixed (Polish father, English mother); both parents Catholic background	One son (6)
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The Nowak family represents the only unit within my sample with a Polish father and non-Polish mother. Out of the eight families, only the Nowak family had a pet, a rabbit called Roger. It also seemed that for both parents, football replaced the church. The family went to football matches over the weekends or car racing rather than attending church services. I was introduced to Slawek and Vicky by my cousin. They are work colleagues, all living in south London. Slawek was a self-employed carpenter and his wife a graphic designer. When I met them, their son was 5 years old. The family lived in their own renovated two bedroom flat. It was noticeable that the father was a good carpenter and there was handmade woodwork in their flat. On the walls the parents displayed photos from weddings and family photo sessions. Family life was concentrated in the living room, where there was a big TV and a corner sofa. During my visits the television was very often switched on as the parents enjoyed the English football league and car racing. It was not difficult to guess which team the family supported as in one of the photos everyone was wearing the same T-shirt with the logo of their

favourite club.

Both Slawek's and Vicky's families were from a Catholic background. Although they were married in a church and their son Adas was baptized in a Catholic church, however parents did not attend Sunday mass or prayed at home. Slawek acknowledged that he went to church occasionally in Poland with his Mother and brother as well as to the cemetery to visit his Father's grave. The only religious item at their home was a copy of a Polish Bible for children - a gift, brought from Poland by his grandmother. During my visits, I met Slawek's mother and brother from Poland. Moreover, I arranged a visit to Slawek's mother in Poland in December 2015 when I visited Poland for the Christmas break.

Mazurek Family

Mazurek family	both Polish parents (Grazyna and Wlodek); both parents Catholic background	One son (6)
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The Mazurek family was one of four where both parents had Polish origins. Their son Maciek attended the Polish Saturday School, so initially I met his parents there. I also recognized Grazyna when I attended community gatherings after Polish Sunday mass and through various Polish community events. The Mazurek family home was situated in the most amazing grounds, with a big orchard and swimming pool. The family lived in their own cottage, to one side of the main estate, which belonged to their employer. The father, who was employed as a gardener, was very proud of his work. Although the parents lived at their employers' property, they arranged and decorated their home according to their own tastes and so they felt comfortable. In the wooden dresser in the dining area, I noticed a large collection of famous Boleslawiec pottery. The mother explained that she really liked the design, so whenever they go to Poland she buys one piece of pottery. A few items were given to her by her friends and family as gifts. The family also enjoyed Polish honey and some fruit teas.

Since moving to the UK in 2007, both the mother and father had changed their career pathways. In Poland, the father used to work as a sale representative but after moving to the UK he did various manual jobs and was currently working as a gardener. Although Grazyna had a higher education (university degree), she decided to manage the property of their employer so in this way, the parents could share duties raising their son. At the beginning, they were planning to stay in the UK for a few years to save money and buy their own property in Poland. After their son had started school in the UK, their plans changed as well as their lifestyle. Now, despite the fact that they own two properties in Poland, they have decided to stay in the UK.

Both parents' families were from a Catholic background and I saw them at Polish Catholic mass a few times. Grazyna especially attended more frequently. The parents were married in a Catholic church and their son was also baptized there. The mother explained she did not like Polish Sunday mass in their local church so she preferred to attend English Catholic mass. The parents highlighted the fact that they were very happy that their son did not have to memorize prayers as children in Poland do.

Abramska Family

Abramsk a family	Single mother, Catholic background	one daughter (11)
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I met Ania, a single mother, through salsa. When I asked her to participate in my project she agreed. However, a few months after I started my fieldwork she told me that she had been diagnosed with a serious illness. Due to ethical concerns, I decided not to continue with interviews and home visits while she was going through long-term treatment. In the meantime, I asked two other single mothers to participate in my study. I did initial interviews for my pilot study with both of them, but when I tried to arrange home visits, both of them found it difficult to commit. A few months later (September 2015) I met Ania again during Polish mass. She said she was in remission. I ensured she felt well enough and

comfortable with me visiting her at her home. After she assured me about her health, I started home visits and accompanying her to a number of community and religious events.

Ania moved to the UK as a student to work on a farm, but after the summer season finished she decided to stay longer. Her daughter was born one year later and she brought her up on her own as her father did not want to maintain contact with them. Since Ania moved to Britain, she has changed her job a few times. After her daughter was born she worked in cafes and at the same time, she started a training course. After she had finished, she opened her own business as a self-employed beautician.

Ania's family had a Catholic background and since she moved to the UK she also became actively involved in various diasporic Catholic organizations. She attended regular Sunday mass at Catholic churches with her daughter. Moreover, since her illness, she also joined the community prayer group 'Koinonia' and went on a few pilgrimages. Religious ornaments and objects were displayed in her flat, pointing to her religiosity. A large, holy icon of Jesus was placed in central position on the wall in the living room and a few smaller pictures including a guardian angel had been placed in her daughter's bedroom. In addition, in both bedrooms there were family photos from significant family events including a christening, first communion and Christmases. Ania maintained regular contact with her family in Poland through phone calls, Skype and regular trips to a village in the South East part of Poland where her family originated from. In addition, her relatives also visited her. I met her mother during one of her visits and she also had relatives in the UK with whom she maintained close ties. Her brother lived in Kent and her cousin in London.

Field relationships

Finding and selecting participants

Ethnographic fieldwork started in spring 2014 after receiving approval from the SSPSSR's Research Ethics Committee. My initial contacts with the participants of the study happened in diverse ways. When I started my research I already had established social ties with the diasporic Polish community in one of the county in the South. I was already involved in a number of educational projects with one of the Polish Saturday Schools, working as a teacher of Polish language. I selected and recruited participants by using three channels, which included: the Polish Catholic church, Polish Saturday School (which was not connected with the Catholic church) and gate keepers' established social networks. The first two sources were linked with different community places significant to the Polish diaspora. The third one was based on gate keepers' personal contacts in the UK.

I was lucky to get to know two key gatekeepers - Through my involvement in the Polish Saturday School I knew a director of one of the Polish Saturday Schools. I met Magda, a chair of one of the Polish Associations in the South of UK, at Catholic church where she regularly attended Polish services. She was also involved in running the Saturday School with Ada. As the chair of another Polish diasporic association in the south of the UK, Magda was in charge of organizing Sunday Polish mass at the local Catholic church and was also deeply involved in developing Polish social networks. Both Ada and Magda became key informants of my study and helped me to get in touch with families with Polish origins living in one of the counties in the South. By using their extensive social network, a substantial number of parents with a variety of backgrounds were recruited. Without their help recruitment process would have taken longer and I might have ended up with completely different sample, not necessarily connected with community spaces including Polish Catholic church or Saturday School. Subsequently, because the main recruitment channels were linked with community places and organizations to which participants belonged, it had an impact on family practices performed by participants. The third key gatekeeper who enabled me to get access to families in London was Kamila, who I knew through one of my Polish friends. She helped me to establish contacts with Polish families living in London.

Through the role as a teacher, I started engaging more with the parents of

children who were attending the school. I had the opportunity to see them regularly, speak to them and gain their trust. I was aided by my previous teaching experience in Poland and my educational background (I obtained a degree from a Polish university). I participated in school, church and community events, so parents recognized me and it was easier to become engaged in conversations with them about their parental experiences and to agree to home visits. I started frequently attending Polish Sunday mass at the local Catholic Church and a Polish parenting group at one of the community centres. Principally, mothers and grandmothers were in attendance together with their toddlers and after a short number of weeks I became a familiar face. After I had established contact and introduced myself, I was able to observe mothers in a group setting and listen to their conversations. I occasionally met fathers and grandmothers but it was mainly mothers who attended regularly. I realized that it was also a good situation in which to talk to each mother individually, as the room was divided and there was a garden outside where mothers sat when the weather was fine. At the next stage, I started a series of home visits to five households in the South of UK who had confirmed their willingness to participate in my study. Initially, I visited selected families every fortnight or so. During these first visits I spoke with parents informally. I continued with my visits for the next four months and spent up to 3 hours there observing, listening to and chatting with parents.

Pilot study

Between March and June 2014, I conducted a pilot study. Due to the exploratory nature of the pilot study, it was conducted with a view to identifying the types of families and parents who should be included in the sample. This would in turn develop a strategy for participant recruitment and test the interview questions. The pilot study was conducted with five participants living in the South of England, among whom one was a single mother and two participants had a non-Polish spouse. The pilot study revealed the challenges of conducting ethnography in situations in which participants' families were dispersed across various parts of Poland. Another significant factor, which exposed further

difficulties in conducting multi-sited ethnography was linked with my work commitments and time constraints. Such difficulties limited my access to the participants' relatives in Poland. In order to adjust the initial interview questions, the participants were contacted after the first interview and were asked to share their views concerning the interview questions. In particular, it was key to discover if any of the questions made participants feel uncomfortable, or if there were any important areas, which were not included in the interview schedule. The interview questions were modified according to their feedback. (See Appendix 3 for detailed interview questions.)

After conducting my pilot study I expanded my sample and adjusted my methods. With the assistance of established relationships with gate keepers in the South of England, I was able to expand the study group from the initial five families to twelve households. I continued with visits to five households and at the same time I started arranging visits to new families, which I had added to the study, four of which were located in South London. Successively, my visits to the initial five families became less frequent as participant observations became more intensive at the new households. In addition, the journey was longer to visit the new families, which were dispersed across London.

After an initial few meetings with the newly recruited participants, it became more difficult to arrange follow up visits at their households due to their changing work patterns and childcare arrangements. Furthermore, one single mother was not able to commit to regular visits at her home due to long working hours. I quickly realized that to be able to stay close to my fieldwork and participate in significant events in parents' and children's lives, I had narrow down the number of families with whom I could spend more time. It was not feasible to continue with more than eight families due to time and spatial constraints, which limited my own and the parents' availability. I was able to engage closely with 8 families and their parental experiences became the focal point of my study. In the end, I decided to include only two households located in South of London, which were feasible to visit regularly during weekends. Both of them were mixed heritage families.

After I had decided to narrow down the number of families to eight, I started to conduct in-depth interviews. While the main focus of my research was on constructing ethnic identities through the lens of parenting practices, I mainly targeted parents with Polish origins during my interviews. This does not mean that I completely ignored the significance of non-Polish partners within mixed heritage units. During home visits, I used to chat with spouses and I conducted less structured interviews with two partners (one British mother and one Black African father) which informed how family practices were negotiated. Another Middle-Eastern Muslim father refused to speak about the transmission of Islam to his children, explaining that it was too sensitive subject for him. I also paid attention to the division of labour in the household during participant observations.

The recruitment of grandparents began later. After I started visiting families at home and after I had conducted the first interviews with parents, I asked the participants if they would agree for me to speak or meet their parents in Poland or in the UK during their visit. This request caused three different reactions. Firstly, some participants politely explained that their parents were not able to take part in the research due to their age, health concerns (physical or mental) or because they had passed away. Secondly, the parent asked, but the grandparents did not agree to be interviewed or to a meeting (two rejections). Thirdly, the participant and grandparents expressed their willingness to meet with me and to participate in the interview. The outcome was that seven grandparents were included within the sample.

Entry into the field and the construction of field sites

The main site of my fieldwork is located in the South of England; however I also undertook complimentary trips to Poland accompanying some families during their visits to their birthplaces. Upon deciding that the fieldwork would be situated between two or more sites, I had to overcome the challenges of how to produce in-depth data with 'thick descriptions' Geertz (1973). I adopted a realistic approach to investigate parental practices as Horst (2011) and others

(Coleman and Hellermann 2011) highlight. Moreover, being aware of the impact of time, spatial and financial limitations on the type of interactions established, I chose to engage with eight families living locally. This allowed me to visit them fairly frequently at their private homes and observe interactions between children and parents. On the other hand, the decision to focus only on eight family units living the South of England had also some drawbacks and limitations. Mainly, a fragmented insight based on the selected sites of fieldwork and families appear to be a crucial aspect of my ethnography, which needs to be acknowledged. I am aware that participants' location and channels of recruiting interviewees influence the findings of my analysis. I used snowball sample therefore most of parents were connected with Polish Catholic churches or Polish Saturday Schools. Moreover, because most of my parents lived in the South of England where the majority of population is white their integration process was not negatively affected by their race.

My choice of sites for my fieldwork became fairly obvious from the beginning of my research and it was dictated by several factors. Most of my participants were sharing childcare while working at least part time and it required effective communication to arrange my home visits. I was aware of other factors imposed upon parents' everyday lives such as domestic tasks, parental responsibilities and family or community obligations. To this effect, my interactions with particular families were structured according to their commitments within and outside the home. Before I gained permission to visit families I started participating in various community events organized for Polish families. My approach was to become more visible and accessible by hanging around with parents at public places significant to the Polish diasporic community.

Meaningful community sites for my participants, which marked the public diasporic sphere included Polish Schools, Catholic churches with cemeteries and community centers, where parenting groups were arranged. Furthermore, being associated with the respectable role of a teacher within the Polish diasporic community enabled me to make the transition from being a stranger to an established member of the community. In addition, this transition shaped

interactions with my research participants. This was especially true during the initial stages when I tried to become more familiar with families. I gradually became accepted and parents started giving me permission to visit them at home. The act of crossing/entering doors became a 'symbolic act of transgressing' into the private sphere, where intimate relationships and interactions between family members took place.

Time and spatial constraints

I had serious concerns about my working patterns and time constraints concerning collecting relevant data during my visits. I worried that my working patterns would put restraints on being able to engage closely with the families and spend enough time with them. However, once I started arranging my first home visits I realized that the parents were equally busy during week days as the majority of them were in full or part-time employment. Out of 15 participants, only one mother was not in paid work as she was the main carer looking after her three daughters. In addition, due to my commitment at Polish Saturday School, I had some concerns about how to balance my time with other families living in London or with those parents whose children were not regularly attending school. However, I was able to make arrangements with the director, which gave me the flexibility to organize other visits.

Due to the fact that selected families with whom I engaged had their origins in various geographical localities in Poland, it was challenging to follow my participants during their visits to Poland. Most of my participants' trips were also at different times. In addition, due to various circumstances including health conditions or other caring commitments, it was not always possible to accompany my participants during their trips to their homeland. Due to time constraints during my trips to Poland, I only had a few opportunities for extended participant observations. In fact I was only able to capture material conditions and significant religious artefacts in grandparents' houses. With the view to eliciting meanings given to 'good motherhood and fatherhood' by both generations, I concentrated on interviews with grandparents and collecting the

narratives of their parenting practices in Poland during the communist period.

By comparing experiences of both generations I aimed to explore socio-cultural norms and moral values, which inform how gendered parental roles are negotiated in the homeland and in the host country. Analysis of grandparents' biographical life stories gives insight into how migrant parents develop their multiple sense of belonging in diaspora and how their lives connect to their birth places in Poland. In addition, on a few occasions, I managed to arrange home visits and interviews with grandparents when they came from Poland, which complimented my fieldwork. Those additional meetings helped to elicit the role and involvement of grandparents in mediating religion, language or care.

Although I was not able to participate in all significant family rituals and events which were performed in the homeland, I managed to bridge the gap through collecting family narratives and life stories. These constituted an alternative mode of my multi-sited ethnography, as distinguished by Marcus (1995) and I was able to elicit meaningful family rituals, events or significant destinations of parents' journeys. Furthermore, I was able to share informal chats with informants and their relatives, watch family videos and look at family photos. Such experiences further enhanced my understanding of family social characteristics and the meanings given to those significant events and celebrations. For participant observations requiring my physical presence I was able to use ICT media (phone calls, Skype, messenger), which allowed me to maintain fairly regular contact with my informants and partially overcome time and financial limitations. In addition, while conducting interviews, I paid special attention to ways of speaking – tone of voice, facial expressions and gestures, which provided a source of valid information to supplement my interviews and narratives.

Immersing into the field

After I selected my eight families I concentrated on engaging more with them. I arranged my weekly timetable to be able to observe fairly regularly the mundane

everyday activities of parents and children at their homes. Due to my, and my participants', working hours, parental duties and other commitments, it was not possible just to turn up at their homes for a chat or to make an unannounced visit. I felt that it would be too intrusive to knock on families' doors or simply to find that no one is at home. Therefore, always when arranging visits, no matter how brief, I sent a text message to parents to ensure my visit was convenient. In addition, I began accompanying participants while they were taking part in community events which took place in public spaces. These included services in churches such as the Polish Catholic Mass, Easter food blessing, services around All Saints day, community gatherings after Polish mass and meetings preparing children for their first communion/confirmation. With a view to investigating to what extent parents get involved in the organization of educational activities, I started participant observations when parents attended educational events and family picnics. I also started attending weekly meetings at the Polish parenting group.

The researcher's presence has a significant impact on interactions between parents and children, so during my visits I paid attention to establishing closer and friendlier relationships, so my presence became less invasive and parents felt more comfortable during my visits in their homes. Sometimes it was a short visit to help children with studying Polish language or to speak about the Polish Saturday School. Additionally, I kept in touch with parents through social media like Facebook or text messages. As my visits and meetings became more regular, Mothers and Fathers started disclosing the complexities of their family histories, their migration trajectories which included family origins, memories about their childhood in Poland or significant family events and meaningful rituals.

Throughout the duration of my fieldwork, my social relationships with the parents became tighter, deeper but also more complex. The main focus of our interviews drifted towards more ethical and moral dilemmas concerning family members left behind and their own parental values sometimes conflicting with the views of their parents. More ambiguities and tensions came to the fore when the conversations started gravitating towards more sensitive topics;

generational conflicts or moral dilemma about religion and family commitments. Some conversations and interviews brought nostalgia, intense emotions, and painful memories, or even revealed the stigma attached to some of their negative experiences in Poland. Those concerned expressed prejudice towards family members who had engaged in relationships with partners from a different religious background or had become a single mother.

Positionality of researcher and translation

Reflexivity

Considering the importance of reflexivity, I explore how my nationality, first language, gender or migrant position shaped my relationships with research participants. Since I entered the field I noticed that our shared nationality, cultural heritage, language and migration experience encouraged parents to bridge the initial distance and to break communication barriers (Temple and Young 2004). Furthermore, my migration status – being a teacher in the Polish Saturday School - helped me to find common ground with my participants despite not being a parent myself. I was able to get their agreement to visit them at their homes in Britain or their families in Poland. My impression was that the parents believed that due to our shared Polish heritage and language, I was able to understand their commitments and reasons behind taking their children to Poland during school term time. Due to a shared migration status, nationality and the same native language, some participants also assumed that I had a Catholic background or that I also shared their religious views. This was especially because they saw me attending Catholic churches and Polish mass.

Parents used the personal pronouns 'we/us' versus 'they/them' during conversations with me. This was however dependent on the situational context they were referring to and they were used interchangeably to apply to different groups. As a result, the meaning given to 'we/us' was not fixed but was contingent, assigned to parents with different ethnicity or nationality living in the UK or to Polish parents living in the homeland. The above example sheds

more light on the relational character of parents' identities and the meanings produced through their choice of linguistic forms. In addition, it also demonstrates the impact of the researcher's positionality.

Having the aforementioned social characteristics in common, participants assumed that we belonged to the same 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983), which was expressed by using the pronoun 'we' or 'our country Poland' during conversations with me. As Galewicz (2015) and others (e.g. Kim 2012; Temple 2011) highlight, the verbal forms 'we/us' and 'they/them' are recognizable as an expression of mutual belonging to home and host societies; the researcher and the researched. Taking into account my position as a migrant researcher studying my own diasporic community, it appears crucial to reflect on the potential influence of my location in shaping not only the final outcome of my study but also the data and my interpretation of it. Sharing similar cultural heritage with participants in migration research suggests positionality that goes beyond fixed opposition insider and outsider.

During further stages of my research, some features became more meaningful and differentiated me from my research participants (e.g. me not being a parent, being a single woman, my relaxed approach to religion/beliefs, my position as a teacher in Polish Saturday School). The problem I faced at a later stage of my fieldwork was how to distance myself sufficiently from my own original views or assumptions. Parents not only shared their moral dilemmas but also started asking me as 'an expert' about my opinions and recommendations with regards to educational materials for their children to study The Polish language. During my home visits especially with families whose children were attending Polish Saturday School, I found it difficult to distinguish between both of my social roles - a researcher and teacher - as they merged into one.

Being a Polish teacher also impacted on parents' language practices, especially at the initial stage of my home visits. They aspired to interact with me, their partners and with their children in 'proper Polish'. One perceived caveat of my research was that I sometimes felt that parents were not using their everyday

spoken Polish but a more polite or formal language when they were talking to me, starting with expressions like 'Pani Kasia/Ms. Kasia' rather than directly using my name. They made efforts in their spoken language before they got used to me, as their expressions were more official. It was especially evident during conversations, which took place in public where other Polish speakers were in the vicinity that parents took care not to mix Polish language with English and to use correct grammatical forms. I noticed that sometimes parents corrected their children in front of me, treating me as a 'language expert'. I tried to minimize the distance by encouraging parents to talk to me directly using my name. I prompted interactions with children during my visits using everyday spoken language with a view to witness 'real' language used in everyday situations, between parents and children in the UK and in Poland.

Ethical Issues

The Ethical Approval application for this study was submitted and subsequently granted by SSPSSR's Research Ethics Committee at Kent University in 2014, which included the research procedures (Iphofen 2010, Wengraf 2001). The interviewees were all adults without any mental or physical health conditions, who gave freely their informed consent for participation in this study and record the interviews (for consent form in English see Appendix 4). They were additionally assured that they could withdraw their agreement any time without giving any reason and any uncomfortable questions. They were also informed that they can request to stop recording at any point in the interview or not to use audio recording devices at all (Christians 2009). I offered to each interviewee a copy of "Information for Participants" (Annex 3) available either in English or Polish that briefly explained the purpose of the study and offered contact information for the researcher. Both documents (the research leaflet and the consent) were presented and discussed at the beginning of each interview.

In order to carefully protect all participant identities I undertook few steps, which involved applying rigorous anonymisation procedures. Considering that few of recruited families possibly knew each other as they were attending the

some church services or Polish schools, I replaced all names and geographical locations. For instance instead revealing the county of their residence I changed it to the South of UK. I also changed ethnicities of participants' spouses in mixed heritage units and personal details which could put at risk of being recognized by other members of the community. For instance I did not reveal full details of one mother's illness. In addition, prior to the interviews I reassured about confidentiality and not disclosing participant information to any third parties. I encrypted such data to ensure electronic security and kept on a password protected computer. Furthermore, I stored all the printed transcripts in a locked cabinet. According to Ali and Kelly (2009), ethical practice throughout the fieldwork requires from researcher understanding of his/her duty to act as "a moral researcher". That involves self-awareness, reflexivity, and being politically and personally responsible for the interactions with participants and their consequences (Denzin 1997, De Laine 2000, Christians 2009). This had several practical implications for the data collection.

First of all, being aware that the process of interviewing may cause emotional distress as a result of sharing one's life story or discussing personal matters I was aware of the importance of establishing trust and ensuring a comforting space during interviewing my participants. Moreover, I was conscious that recollecting painful memories also may put respondents in a vulnerable position (Svašek & Domecka 2012). Especially certain topics such as childbirth, losing a family member, a sense of guilt due to leaving children/elderly parents behind, call for particular sensitivity (Oakley 1992, De Andrade 2000). Being aware of possible risks associated with asking participants about their 'family matters' I aimed to establish a caring relationship while sharing difficult stories, and to be attentive to the emotional state of the interviewee (Svašek & Domecka 2012). In addition, I tried to manage some delicate situations and painful emotions to my best ability by swapping questions, after uncomfortable moments occurred or comforting the respondent.

On average most of my respondents handled the interview process very well. On few occasions the participants stated that the interview was a very special

experience for them which they enjoyed. I noted just a few 'difficult' moments that would include emotional responses such as becoming upset when talking about generational differences. In such a situation I showed empathy and/or shifted the topic of the discussion. I was careful not to prompt participants to share more information than necessary, particularly in the case of 'sensitive topics', for instance leaving their children or parents behind in Poland. In one case I immediately stopped the home visits and interviews when one participant became seriously ill. I did not plan to arrange any more visits after the mother disclosed her medical conditions but surprisingly the participant contacted me that she has recovered and she expressed her willingness to participate in additional interviews. Apart from that case I did not have to stop any interview.

Furthermore, being aware of the impact of my position as a 'trustworthy professional', I tried to keep balanced relations and social distance by giving all the information about the curriculum for their children at the beginning of my visits. I was careful not to impose any of my views or preferences upon parents' decisions, choices or attitudes. This was particularly true when conducting interviews with two parents with different views around such issues as parental roles, caring practices or other subjects. I felt that parents treated me as their mediator in an attempt to ease such emerging tensions. Notably, on some occasions during the interviews a respondent would discuss personal issues that were kept secret from their significant others. With reference to the sensitive nature of the issues discussed concerning family relationships, all the informants were assured that any information concerning their significant others, disclosed during the research, would never be revealed or discussed with other family members. Sometimes parents shared experiences about their relationships with their partners, highlighting their different expectations or generational differences about their religiosity or beliefs. I kept all those details confidential and did not bring them up during interviews with their partners or significant others. In a few cases parents spontaneously assured me that they did not have anything to hide from his or her partner and were happy to conduct the interview with the presence of their wife/husband. Although some informants automatically declared that they had no secrets in front of their partners or

family members in Poland but on few occasions such secrets or unmentioned stories inevitably appeared and required to be dealt with extra attention and sensitivity.

Some participants prompted me before they answered any of my questions to disclose my political opinions and migration experiences concerning my religious beliefs. My dilemma was how to respond to these awkward questions in a sensitive way and to avoid imposing my own views. Bearing in mind that my political or religious views were different to some of my participants, I was also aware that if I did not attempt to answer such questions, the trust I had built up in our relationships could be compromised. Thus from the beginning of my fieldwork, I chose an open approach and I was honest about my political views, rejecting the conservatism of the Catholic church concerning family politics or gender roles. Being transparent, I hoped I could establish even closer interactions with my informants despite the initial difficulties I encountered while explaining my relaxed religious views and my family Catholic background. I believe that by knowing about my own experiences of being entangled between a Catholic background and Polish heritage encouraged some of my participants to share aspects of their family's religious traditions.

I was happy to explain my research interests when some of my interviewees probed me on my religious practices in Poland with my family, which I found more challenging to explain. I highlighted the fact that I was brought up according to Catholic values and tradition but that through my education and my personal experiences, my religious views and practices have changed. Reflexivity about my social locations helped me to be aware of the risk of imposing power relations but it did not completely remove my family commitments. Moreover, being embedded within the same community, it was not possible to leave the field and cut all established ties with the Polish Saturday School. Even after I had finished all data collection I continued meeting my informants at public places like Polish school or during some community events.

While I remained embedded within the field, the character of my relationship with my informants evolved. As I continued my involvement with Polish School, parents still maintained contact with me and often asked me pedagogic questions concerning teaching Polish language to their children. They also enquired about the curriculum in Poland, as some of them were planning to move back there. Being able to give some information and assistance, I felt able to partly fulfill my moral commitments towards my participants. They did not expect payment for the time they had dedicated to me and I was aware that it was nothing like paying for the 'debt' I owed them for the unique relationship we had built up with each other. I felt emotionally involved in their lives and I thought it was a great opportunity for me to express my gratitude.

Translating as an interpretation

The issue of translation during data collection posed many challenges concerning the resonance of the original terms, or not directly articulated attitudes or emotions in everyday expressions, which I aimed to reflect upon. As a researcher studying one's own national group whose first language is the same as my informants, I was able to communicate directly with participants without using a translator. Furthermore, due to my advanced language competency from my degree in the Polish language, I was able to understand not only directly articulated communicates but also the linguistic nuances regarding multiple connotations or the emotional attachment underlying some colloquial expressions.

For practical reasons, the process of selecting families, communicating with research participants while conducting fieldwork and gathering data were carried out in Polish. The participants were given a choice concerning the language of their preference, but all my informants communicated with me in Polish, claiming that they can express themselves most adequately in their mother tongue. All scheduled and arranged interviews were conducted in Polish, however, some interactions with partners who did not speak Polish were in

English. Parents performed code-switching when they were talking to each other, to me or to their children. As a native speaker born and brought up in Poland, I felt competent at being able to gather detailed data through participant observations on how parents code-switched and altered their tone of voice in different locations and situations. In addition, my highly developed language skills enabled me to analyze influences in everyday spoken language, distinguish between various styles – formal and vernacular, colloquial expressions, idioms from both Polish and English media or from popular culture.

I decided not to use any professional translators due to my belief that within ethnographic studies, meaning is articulated only partly through verbal expressions. Also paralinguistics; gestures, body language, the tone of voice or channel of communication are substantial factors altering the meaning of verbal communicates. The main rationale behind translating transcribed interviews and field notes myself was to develop researcher practice, paying attention to various non-verbal influences which can alter meaning. These include the tone of speaking, humorous sayings or irony. It would seem that even having a proficient translator who is unfamiliar with the ‘sociological gaze’ of ethnographic research, will not guarantee that the interpretation of data is not biased. I argue here for the researcher’s cultural sensitivity and reflexive practice, which brings together language skills with socio-cultural knowledge and sociological competency. The researcher, who is at the same time the translator, is able to capture the linguistic nuances but also the impact of the broader socio-cultural context on the production of meanings. Translating interviews myself I was able to reflect on other circumstances influencing responses. These included interactions between participants.

Data analysis

I started the process of data analysis after I conducted my pilot study. I applied my analysis across all my research stages. Soon after I had transcribed my first interviews, I began coding. In order to conduct an in-depth exploration of the data and to avoid decontextualizing the quotations and field notes, I conducted

two-cycles of manual coding. I used the support of qualitative data analysis software (NVivo) but after considering its limitations, I decided not to risk restricting the analytical process (Basit 2003; Blismas and Dainty 2003) and started coding manually. The overall analysis included coding of not only the interviews, but also field notes.

After I had transcribed the initial interviews from the pilot study and engaged with the data, I identified that some interviewees had provided more descriptive data than exploring given meanings. My intention was to shift the focus during subsequent follow-up interviews, prompting parents to elaborate on meanings given to religion, language use or care giving, understood as home-making practices. Moreover, the aim was also to encourage parents to disclose tensions related to bringing up their children in the host country and to elicit discrepancies between narratives and practices. In response to this aim, I arranged several more visits in order to conduct further interviews and address these missing themes. Having transcribed, coded and narratively analysed each interview, I identified common, or supplementing themes, which recurred in the data collected from different informants. I organized my interview schedule in 'chronological order' with a view to exploring how the themes framed by my research questions had evolved at different stages of family life within a migration situation. I focused in particular on how socio-cultural norms from the homeland and the host country concerning gender parental roles had shaped Polish mothers' and fathers' subjective experiences.

In order to encourage participants to open up and to share their views about intimate aspects of their family life, I started interviews using more general themes around their migration journeys, the reasons why they had moved to the UK, parents' socio-cultural locations and their family origins in Poland. After exploring the migration process, I shifted discussions towards themes related to setting up their family life in the diaspora, establishing networks with the Polish diasporic organizations and maintaining family ties with relatives in Poland. The subset of questions focused on investigating the child-parent relationship. The aim was to understand the multiple meanings given to Poland as a place of

family origins, Polish language and Catholicism. The main topics were centred on care giving activities, language use and religious practices. Within these principal areas the following were identified as salient and reoccurring subcategories and thus deemed suitable for further exploration: material culture, food, health, ICT media, travelling to Poland, family celebrations, religious rituals and the role of significant others.

Once the initial distance was bridged and the interviewee became engaged, I was able to steer the discussion towards more sensitive issues. These included negotiating gender parental roles within the private sphere, transmitting ethical values and moralities to their children and the role of significant others in that process. Finally, I looked at the relationship between Polish migrants' aspirations and the constraints they are under to perform meaningful practices ascribed to good motherhood and fatherhood. As some of my informants produced long and nuanced narratives of their parental and migration experiences in the diaspora, I arranged follow-up interviews in order to explore their stories in more detail.

After the initial phase of the data analysis, it emerged that parenthood constitutes a central and life-changing event in the biographic trajectories of all my respondents. Despite both moving to the UK and becoming a parent were perceived as significant, turning points, by most Polish parents but migration experience was subordinated their parental social roles in terms of the impact on their everyday life. Moreover, some migration projects were undertaken as a means to fulfill parental aspirations regarding the educational achievements of their children. Concurrently, drawing on Oakley's (1981, p.24) views, motherhood appears as "a transition, a life crisis: a first baby turns a woman into a mother, and the mothers' lives are incurably affected by their motherhood; in one way or another the child will be a theme forever". My analysis demonstrates that the perspective of being a parent becomes a turning point not only for Polish women but also for Polish men. This determines other social roles and influences other key biographic experiences.

During the first cycle of coding, various methods were applied in order to categorize and organize collected data (Saldaña 2009)⁶. Descriptive coding was used to process field notes or longer descriptive fragments from interview. This was employed in combination with structural codes, which enabled the categorization of some broader parts within interviewees' narratives. In order to become in tune with interviewees' perceptions and understandings, their original terms were sometimes used in Polish (In Vivo coding), especially when I encountered some distinctive, emic expressions. The linguistic characteristics of individuals, colloquial expressions, metaphors, the folk names of community rituals or family practices, to which parents ascribed various meanings (for instance Wigilia, opłatek, swieconka, pacierz) provides nuanced insight into their class, gender and generational representations of parental roles. I applied a translation or paraphrase in English (in brackets) when I could not find a relevant term. The analytical frame of process coding was used to identify and categorize family practices, rituals, actions and interactions in which interviewees engaged or in which they aspired to perform. Process coding refers to the movement and change over time of story-lines which enabled the articulation of the trajectories of religious practices, family journeys and brings their performative mode to the fore. Within participants' narratives I compared these emerged themes in order to find similarities, differences, and/or contradictions between mothers and fathers' stories (i.e. comparative analysis see Gibbs 2007).

The first subset focused on investigating the child-parent relationship within various family settings. The aim was to understand the social construction of gendered parental roles and the multiple meanings given to Poland as a place of family origins, maintaining family ties, Polish language and Catholicism. These to the meaning given to religious practices, language use, and caregiving practices. In addition, I contrasted parents' aspirations and values with performed practices within British and Polish contexts, highlighting emerged discrepancies and strategies to overcome them.

⁶ Saldaña's (2009) typology of coding methods was used in my analysis.

By employing narrative analysis I was able to explore patterns, relationships, interconnections and socially constructed understandings that commonly occur within narrative accounts (Creswell 2007; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009; Maxwell 2005). Taking into account the significance of telling stories within the process of creating identities (Earthy and Cronin 2008), I paid attention how Polish migrant parent construct their narratives. I focused on both content as well as form of narratives taking into account the impact of the situational context (in Poland or in UK, presence of absence of grandparents) which shape meanings given to narratives and practices. The aim was to understand “how and why parents talk about their lives as a story or series of stories” (Earthy and Cronin 2008, p. 424).

Moreover, considering that the subjective narratives are social constructions created within historically specific context my analysis investigates how participants relate their migration experiences and parental roles to other stories and against hegemonic grand narratives and cultural scripts (Somers and Gibson 1998, pp. 38-39). In particular, the impact of the symbol of the Mother Pole/‘Matka Polka’ framing Polish motherhood and fatherhood was investigated appears the most influential. This symbol shapes the cross-generational sense of belonging and forms notions around the idea of sacrifice. In addition, it creates ideas surrounding the sources of parenting knowledge and expertise, which in turn inspire parental practices. Furthermore, the broader context of community institutions was brought under investigation, in particular, how parental roles are negotiated in public through engaging in educational, religious and medical institutions.

I paid particular attention to materiality when analyzing parents’ engagement in performed practices (verbal, gestures, bodily expressions). Religious rituals and practices were distinguished due to the time factor (current, past, projected events) and space. Temporal dimension embraces secular family annual celebrations, structuring everyday family routines and interactions, and religious rituals, performed around the Catholic calendar (weekly Sunday Mass, significant Catholic events Christmas, Easter, All Saint Day), or around life events (baptisms, first holy communions, anniversaries). Spatial analysis distinguished the places

situated in the homeland or host country, in public (various groups (church, schools, medical centres, cemeteries, community places, leisure and sport centres or clubs), or private homes (domestic settings), (religious - churches, community praying groups, diasporic – parenting groups).

Analysis of language use concerned spoken Polish or English depending on the context (within the family, diasporic community or in the homeland). My aim was to examine code-switching between parents and children and the engagement of third parties. The caregiving theme was broken into two sub-themes related to food and health provision which were further explored. I focused on parents' understandings of 'healthy food' and how they negotiate governmental policies in the UK regarding healthy diet with values given to their ethnic food and products and traditional Polish dishes. Food was linked with health concerns and engaging in medical practices in Poland ensuring children's physical development.

Putting together the data from both narratives and practices was the most challenging part of the overall research analysis. Although some of the themes varied to a degree depending on the family setting, gender, class or language competency I recognised leading stories, motifs and themes coming from various participants. Based on identified main patterns behind the data I produced explanations and (Gibbs 2007) main arguments. In a search for nuanced analytical tools during the process of coding within general codes sub-codes were identified. These helped to distinguish participants' level of engagement in transmitting to their children religion, Polish language and providing care. I paid attention to embodiment and materiality when analyzing performed practices (verbal, gestures, bodily expressions).

The subsequent analysis was based on themes, which were developed during the second cycle of coding. Based on recurring codes in relation to religion, language and caregiving, understood as key, substantial modes of home-making, more abstractive themes were developed, which constituted pillars of conceptual organization of my data. Those concerned main values, reflexivity, key aspects

constructing parents' identities and their sense of belongings. The reoccurring themes included diasporic identities, hybridity, family ties, social networks, morality, parental aspirations and values related to Polish tradition, culture, heritage, Catholic religion, family origins, sense of belonging, familiarity, security, connectivity, feeling reflexivity, memories, intimacy, nostalgia.

Moreover, in order to examine parents' reflexivity, I distinguished between parents' subjective practices, tactics, strategies, routines and random, novel, or automatic actions. In particular the impact of the symbol of Mother Pole framing Polish motherhood and fatherhood was investigated, shaping cross-generational sense of belonging, notions around the idea of sacrifice and the ideas about the sources of parenting knowledge and expertise inspiring parental practices.

Summary

To summarize, in designing my research methodologies, I focused on exploring how migration experiences shaped parental roles and the gender identities of Polish mothers and fathers raising their children in Britain. The methodology developed and implemented provides an innovative perspective into investigating hidden aspects of the intimate child – parent relationship in diaspora by combining participant observations with interviews. I explained the rationale of using ethnography to examine meanings, practices and narratives of Polish migrants in a diasporic context, and how they inform their parenting styles. Firstly, it gives insight into how parental roles are performed and negotiated within private sphere at household level. Secondly, concentrating on parenting as a main aspect of home-making sheds more light on how migration shapes everyday family practices and the intergenerational transmission of values.

Taking into account the significant weight given to Poland by my participants, my ethnography investigates the impact of both countries - Poland and the UK on practices and morality related to childrearing in a diasporic context. Moreover,

the meanings of 'home' linked with migrants' family practices and the rituals performed in the domestic setting appear relatively unexplored. By comparing narratives and practices, my research contributes to other ethnographic studies. In addition, examining the home making of 'new Polish migrant parents' through the lens of religious practices, language use and care provision my study challenges the interpretations of the cultural script of 'Matka-Polka'. Giving a voice not only to migrants but also their significant family members enabled both methodological and data triangulation (Gibbs 2007).

In the section discussing the field relationships between my participants and me, I described the challenges encountered and ways of dealing with them at various stages of my research. I explained how my interactions with particular families were structured according to their commitments within and outside the home and how the choice of fieldwork sites was partially limited by time and financial factors. I also explained the design of my sample and I introduced selected families to the view that the reader can remember the most distinctive characteristics and follow their migration and parental trajectories. I became acutely aware of how my socio-cultural position as a migrant researcher and a translator informed my interpretation and data analysis (England 1994; Temple 2008). Bearing in mind that reflexive practice and translation tend to lack adequate academic attention, I emphasized the importance of reflexive practice during the research process. In doing so, my findings contribute to literature on translation and positionality as well as research practice.

The main aim of identifying themes within my data was to elicit meanings ascribed to parental and migration experiences. These related to performed and 'imagined' religious practices, language use and care provision in which the main focus was on child care, food and health care. It can be concluded that becoming a parent holds a life changing biographic significance, which shapes the pathways of participants' mobility, decisions regarding reunions of family units and transnational journeys. Thematic and narrative analysis rely on delineating meaningful parenting practices as identifiers of gendered parental roles and identities in situations of migration.

The challenges I dealt with at different stages of my research can help other migrant or translator researchers who intend to conduct a multi-sited ethnography or dual-language research projects. Having considered methodologies and the practice of conducting research in this chapter, I focus on exploring and analysing the empirical data I have collected. In the following findings chapters I examine meanings given to religious, language and care giving practices as significant aspects which construct parental gender roles and identities in the diaspora.

Chapter 3. Deconstructing the Sacred - Religiosity and Parenting

Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to assess how the diasporic context influences a negotiation of religious rituals and meanings given by parents to Catholic tradition. By exploring the religious life of the post 2004 cohort in the UK it gives insight how the new Polish migrants use their Catholic heritage to construct their ethnic identity and national modes of belonging. This is even more important since Catholicism in Poland has historically been closely associated with Polishness. I argue that the religious upbringing of children appears as a significant aspect of home-making for the 'new Polish migrants' in the UK, which parents aspire to transmit to their children. To develop this argument I am drawing on four lines of discussions, which run through the chapter: the plurality of religious expressions; the temporal dimension; the significance given to sacred places; and the division of gendered roles.

In this chapter I draw upon existing literature concerning the role of religion in producing migrants' ethnicities by Levitt (2001), Tweed (2009), Van Dijk (1997) and further develop it. As discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), migration scholars define religion as a distinctive marker of migrants' belongings (Vasquez 2011, Levitt 2003, Tweed 2009, Krotofil 2013, Eade 2004, Eade and Garbin 2007, McGuire 2004, Vertovec 2009). The significance of religion as 'home-making' evokes questions about ways of transmitting religious values and norms to children. So far, scholars, who have studied the religious life of Eastern-European migrants (Krotofil 2013, Eade 2004, Eade and Garbin 2007), have concentrated on the expressions of religiosity visible in the public sphere. For example Krotofil's (2013) study sheds light on a role of services for new arrived migrants taking place at Catholic churches in Britain. On the contrary, the main focus of this chapter is on religious practices, which often take place in the domestic sphere. In addition, it is in line with studies recognizing the gendered character of religious rituals (Gardner 2002), maintained mostly by migrant women, which play a significant role in construction of 'good mother' identities

in diaspora. By exploring how everyday religious practices are transmitted and negotiated by Polish parents across the borders my study provides an alternative perspective acknowledging gender as a key factor differentiating mothers' and fathers' experiences. This is an original contribution into diaspora and transnational studies. In addition, different values given to the everyday religious practices are explained and strategies to overcome constraints involved in the process of childrearing. This study challenges the approach in migration studies, which concentrates on economic aspects neglecting the important role of religion in the migration process.

The first section focuses on plural forms of parents' religiosity within various family settings when negotiating their engagement with Catholicism, levels of commitment within different religious groups and emerging discrepancies between parents' narratives and practices. The aim of the second section is to investigate temporal aspects of ritualization - in particular how parents imagine and construct sacred time through performed rituals in the Catholic calendar. Various religious practices are discussed and the meanings given by parents when celebrating significant Catholic events (Christmas, Easter or All Saints day). In the third part I demonstrate how parents construct and imagine places as sacred in the diasporic setting. Attention is paid to meanings given by parents to the imagined sacred places, and how the boundaries between sacred and secular, centre and peripheries are renegotiated in the situation of migration. My analysis includes places where parents worship (churches, cemeteries) and locations visited during pilgrimages or journeys to places of family origins. These are situated in the host country, in Poland and elsewhere (Lithuania). While in the second and third subsections, temporal and spatial aspects of parents' religiosity are the main subjects of analysis, in the final section gender constitutes the main terrain of exploration. In particular, the intersection of gender, embodiment and emotions is examined and meanings given by the mothers and fathers to their parental roles during the process of transmitting religious practices to their children.

Plurality of religious identities in the new Polish diaspora

My analysis suggests that the majority of Polish parents in the UK imagine religion in plural ways, despite their Catholic origins, by shifting loyalties between various religious affiliations. I argue that religious diversity in the British context enabled Polish migrants to mix Catholicism with different religious traditions and to renegotiate gendered and generational differences. In addition, it appears that the 'new Polish migrants' have not recreated national aspects of their Catholic tradition, as was the case for the previous cohorts of political migrants (the differences between the post EU accession cohort and the previous waves of Polish migrants I have discussed in the literature review - chapter (see the section on the significance of romanticism). Historically, Catholicism was used in Poland to sustain national identity⁷, however since the country became a democratic state in 1989 other meanings given to religion became more significant. Blending different religious traditions appears as a 'norm' for the majority of participants, especially within mixed heritage units. That allows for flexibility and crossing institutional, cultural or ethnic boundaries without excluding one religious affiliation or doctrinal system. In order to illustrate that argument I use three case studies: Pawel, who rejects traditional Catholicism, Monika, who is very religious but in a plural way and Ada, who prefers the English Catholic church than Polish.

Within mixed heritage units parents tended to locate themselves within global Christian communities that transgress national boundaries rather than within the Roman Catholic church. In addition, parents from different cultural backgrounds also appeared to be seeking new ways of expressing their spiritual needs, like Monika and her African husband, who joined a Neo-Evangelical congregation. Monika clarifies the objectives of attending the services at the Vineyard church in terms of providing a religious upbringing for her children and producing a sense of belonging to universal Christianity. She describes: *Because we are both from different countries and we also live in a different country*

⁷ For the first wave of Polish migrants who came after the Second World War, diasporic identity was partly shaped by the entanglement of Catholicism and nationalism, similarly to the Cuban migrants in exile in Miami (Tweed 2006).

we want to make sure that our children are brought up as 'good Christians'. In her view religion helps to transmit to their children moral values and produces a sense of identity as Christians, which crosses state borders: *We want to bring our children up in a way that they know who they are and are able to find themselves in the world. We want to bring them up as good Christians, then it does not matter which country they parents come from.* The statement above reveals that transmitting religion gives parents a sense of security and reassures them that their children will be able to relate to the global Christian community. Moreover, Monika brings to the fore the significance for her and her husband of developing new social networks with other international families through the Vineyard church: *We meet other English, African or European families at the Vineyard church who also attend the Sunday family service. It is great as children have special activities about the Bible in another room so they do not get bored as during normal mass and they meet their friends.* The opportunities for parents and children to develop friendships and social connections with other international families can be understood as 'bridging capital' (Putnam 1995), which helps migrant families to integrate with the local populations in the host country and not to feel isolated.

Adopting alternative sacred sites includes engaging in Neo-Evangelical churches located in secular, community buildings or joining community praying groups, which gather in private homes. Despite very different visual and audible aesthetics in Catholic, Church of England and Neo-Evangelical churches (with their lack of rich, sacral iconography) it does not discourage parents seeking new forms of religious expressions (Monika) from engaging in these forms of worship. The main focus on the Bible and a less 'formal' setting in the Vineyard church, located in secular, community buildings, appeal to Monika as more 'truthful' ways of expressing her religiosity and spirituality. Recognizable markers of sacralization space become embodied practices of devotees - their expressive gestures and also audible elements - reading the Bible, singing or clapping. The temporary spatial arrangements of the Vineyard church illuminates that the boundaries between sacred and profane in the Polish diaspora are not fixed.

Religious place-making involves using public utility buildings like a warehouse at a farm or a rented school used before for 'profane' activities, which become a temporary religious place. Garbin's study (2014) of Congolese diaspora in London identifies similar examples of transgressing boundaries between sacred and profane by Pentecostal and Kimbanguist churches through adapting non-religious public utility buildings. Distinguishing different types of parishes, in which Polish migrants in the UK participate, clearly points to the fact that the traditional Polish Catholic Church focused on patriotic ideas and does not recognize the diverse needs of new Polish migrants as Grzymała-Moszczyńska and Krotofil (2010) argue.

While most of my informants expressed a strong attachment to a Catholic tradition and rituals, most interviewees held critical views towards the political role of the Catholic church in the homeland. For instance, Pawel, a 36 year old father of a three year old daughter, reveals his distance from the Church authorities in Poland: *I don't believe that priests in Poland are honest or care about their community. For me they are hypocritical.* He emphasizes the importance of protecting his privacy from the controlling and oppressive character of the church authorities, which his family complies with: *In Poland people were worrying about opinions of the priest more than anything else. I could not understand that approach, it is wrong. I think it is my business if I want to get married or not, not the priest's.* This father's account reveals the importance for him, similarly like for most of my participants, of protecting his privacy.

Based on observations in this study, fathers more often than mothers expressed their disappointment with the Catholic church in Poland. Furthermore, middle-class parents living in an urban setting more openly reported their dissatisfaction with the community interfering with their private family life. The freedom of family life is strongly articulated in Pawel's story, which evokes tensions: *I did not care what the priest says about me, but my mother did not agree with me so we often fall out.* In addition, the following statement *I could not any longer bear pressure from my family insisting that we should get married in church* implies a feeling of being distressed and pressurized by his family.

Although such an observation is not generalisable, it helps to demonstrate the religious diversity of the post 2004 cohort of Polish migrants, which contributed to more balanced data. This father contrasts sharply the conservative attitude of the Catholic community in Poland with the more relaxed atmosphere and non-judgmental approach in the English Catholic church, which he values: *Here in the UK no one is interested if we have a wedding certificate or if our daughter was baptized, which I really appreciate.* This explanation suggests that the traditionalism and judgmental views of Polish priests concerning family politics discouraged Pawel from attending the Polish Catholic church in England. Pawel's account clearly demonstrates a difference between the father's liberal approach and the conservative community in Poland concerning the role of church authorities, which reveals a generational clash in the Polish diaspora.

Negative opinions about the Catholic clergy in Poland are contrasted with positive relationships with English Catholic churches or Evangelical congregations. For instance, Ada similar to Pawel, positions her relationship with the English Catholic church in a positive light, in contrast to Polish Catholicism explaining: *Here, in the UK the church is different than in Poland; I think it is as it should be.* The mother highlights the difference in the attitude of Polish and English Catholic church authorities, which she perceives as less corrupted and demanding. Ada sharply contrasts the personal attitude of Catholic priests in England towards new devotees in the parish, and the anonymous, discouraging approach of the Catholic church in Poland. This disparity translates into the quality of sermons in Polish Catholic and English churches, which is found to be more intellectually engaging and politically less involved.

To summarize, although most participants share similar cultural origins and Catholic heritage, expressions of parents' religiosity in Britain emerge as heterogeneous forms, which also change along life cycles. Religious plurality in the Polish diaspora, challenges the idea of one authentic religion as a source of migrant parents' beliefs and practices. Plural forms contest views on religion as a unitary, stable set of beliefs and practices. They offer alternative 'comforting' spaces, free of exclusion, isolation and consequently re-create group belonging and cohesion.

Catholic heritage, ritualization and the Catholic calendar

In the second section of this chapter I demonstrate how the Catholic calendar shapes parents' expressions of religious practices and creates their sense of belonging. By examining religious practices performed within the Catholic calendar and constraints I shed more light on sacralisation processes, which gives a sense of continuity, belonging to the family in the host country and helps to transmit moral values between generations.

Catholic calendar

In this study it was common to hear that Catholicism mattered to all participants. Remarkably, it is not a traditional version of 'Catholicism' associated with reinforcing nationalistic ideology. Despite the rejection of their conservative views participants do not completely cut ties with the Catholic church. My analysis suggests that Catholic heritage still remains a very important resource in various ways for all parents during the socialization of children. Despite a majority of parents rejecting the oppressive politics of the Polish Catholic church, both mothers and fathers highly valued certain aspects of Catholic tradition. Interestingly, meanings given to the Polish Catholic heritage vary across the sample. Most of my informants expressed a strong attachment to a Catholic 'tradition', which shapes the temporal rhythms of family life in the Polish diaspora in a specific way. Participant observations suggest that Christmas, Easter and All Saints day are the most celebrated and popular religious events in the Polish diaspora. The Catholic calendar provides an alternative frame, marking festive periods and days as meaningful breaks. For parents, who appeared the most 'religious', the Catholic rhythm rather school breaks shapes ways of celebrating significant religious events like Christmas or Easter: *Catholic calendar influences how we celebrate those religious events like Christmas or Easter*. Magda explains: *For us in the whole year, is structured according to Catholic religion*. Celebrating Catholic festive days by performing religious rituals along the annual cycles with family members creates a strong sense of belonging

for both parents and children as the same mother describes: *I try to maintain the same Catholic traditions in my family, which I learned in Poland from my parents when celebrating Christmas or Easter.* Magda disclosed with pride in her voice that she and her husband also introduced the custom of gathering for a special dinner in their family. When Catholic celebrations are organised in the UK grandparents would visit for the occasion. In that sense participating in rituals with extended family members develops family connections and a 'sense of togetherness'. This signals the importance of these rituals for Polish families in diaspora.

Moreover, the most religious parents within the sample believed that the fixed patterns and regularity of religious practices can give children a sense of continuity across different life stages, strengthening their religious sense of belonging and their attachment to the family. Jan's statement referring to Easter celebrations, points to the importance of religion as offering crucial resources to navigate temporality in the new country: *We already know how (Easter) is going to be.* The father explains the salient role of participating in Catholic celebrations and rituals in terms of creating a sense of stability and providing 'orientation': *It is kind of constant in our children's life, different than all changes in the current inconstant world and I think they need something like that.* The expression 'constant' referring to religious rituals as a source of stability was contrasted with changing rhythms of life in the host country. Participants' from units with both Polish parents emphasized in particular the importance of continuing with Polish traditions in the host country and teaching children rituals associated with significant Catholic days, which helps to reinforce their sense of 'Polishness'. For instance Jan highlights the importance of celebrating Easter or Christmas according to Polish tradition: *Easter we spend always in the Polish way.* Distinctive markers of Polish Catholic festive days become rituals performed at church, not only in the domestic setting with family members, which Ania's (a single mother) statement illustrates: *It is also important for me to attend services at church.* Participating in services in church appears a crucial part of her religious experience.

The traditionalism of rites around Catholic festive days is reinforced or contested to different degrees within various family settings. In mixed heritage families both parents tended to merge elements of partners' cultures. For instance, Ada (mother of three daughters, and married to a white English husband) explains that because her family always spends Christmas and Easter in the UK, she creatively blends Polish and English traditions with some elements of her Karraim origins. Due to practical reasons some elements of the rituals are 'adjusted' in the host county in order to transmit their multicultural heritage to her children. Ada and a few other parents explain that they do not prepare twelve traditional dishes for Christmas Eve as in Poland but they still celebrate Christmas Eve on the 24th December. They also do not cook dishes with meat on that day which for them is a significant marker of their Polish Catholic tradition evoking memories and images of family and homeland. Some parents often celebrate 'double Christmas' – first the Polish Wigilia and then the English Christmas Day according to their partner's culture. Slawek (a father of a seven year old son and an English wife) explains that with his English wife they take turns between Poland and England every year and adjust performing religious practices to the situational context depending on where they stay.

Tensions and constraints

Ideological, symbolic and economic forces shape how parents perform and renegotiate religious practices and transmission of religion in the new Polish diaspora. Garbin's (2014) study on Pentecostal religion among the Congolese diaspora emphasizes the role of various 'spatial, symbolic, political and historical regimes' generated by global cities (London and Atlanta). In the Polish diaspora, in particular, economic factors influence strategies of renegotiating religious rituals. Most of my interviewees highlighted increased travel costs during school holidays as the main challenge, which limits family visits to Poland and changes the ways of celebrating religious events in diaspora. Jan for instance emphasized that financial costs push his family to stay in the UK during Easter or All Saints Day: *I felt ashamed that we cannot afford to go to Poland with our children to*

celebrate All Saints Day. His statement reveals a father's guilt in front of his family that he is not able to take his children to Poland as often as he wishes.

Not only economic, but also symbolic and political factors restrict performing Catholic rituals in Poland. One of the main constraints is the policy regarding children's attendance at school. For instance, Ada's narratives reveal her moral dilemma and conflicting loyalties: *I could take her anyway but I will not without direct permission. I don't think it is the right thing to do.* She does not want to act against school authorities in Britain but at the same time she feels obliged to teach her daughters about their Karraim heritage. In addition, the mother does not want to break the law and lose her good reputation, which would make her feel embarrassed in front of other parents or teachers: *Another thing, I would feel ashamed if I get fine through court.* Ada explains her few attempts to get permission from the school in the UK to send her daughters for the Karraim summer school in Lithuania, but they were rejected. Opposing commitments put Ada in a difficult position evoking ambiguous feelings and tension. The increased tone of the mother's voice and gesticulations observed during the interview expressed her strong emotions (frustration) and the importance of transmitting her family heritage to her children.

Inga's narratives (Polish-Hungarian mother) shed more light on how symbolical forces (her husband's Muslim religion) and personal circumstances evoke conflict and strong emotions between the grand mother and the daughter: *Once my mother came for Christmas and she really wanted to arrange Polish Christmas although she knew that my husband does not celebrate it. She does accept that my husband is Muslim so she got very offended that I did not take her side.* Inga's story reveals the grandmother's prejudice against the Muslim husband due to his religion. It also highlights the complexity of factors influencing the mother's decision about where and how to spend Catholic festive days, which shapes her transnational religious life. On one hand she wishes to go back to Hungary for Christmas in order to show to her daughters the 'proper way' of celebrating Christmas with her family, according to the Polish tradition. On the other hand, due to her Muslim husband does not want to celebrate Catholic festive days they usually spend Christmas in the UK. Not being able to fulfill her mother's

expectations and transmit to her children Polish tradition around Christmas make her feeling guilty: *My mother thinks I take the side of my husband and I ignore her as I do not come to Hungary for Christmas. But that is not the case.* Inga's case shows difficulties to compromise different family loyalties when performing religious rituals around the main Catholic festive days. These evoke tensions between family members and it reveals generational differences.

Despite the encountered difficulties, parents creatively respond to the 'structural regime' of religious life (Vasquez and Kott 2014). Parents use ritualization to establish and to legitimize a new order, which involves reorganization of old temporal schemes. For instance, Inga arranges gatherings with a few Polish mothers 'a little Polish Christmas', during which they perform some traditional practices - for instance sharing a white wafer/"*oplatek*", singing Polish Christmas carols and preparing some Polish dishes. Practices performed by Inga in the domestic setting in that context articulate the significance of Polishness rather than religious identity, which she wants to transmit to her children.

Cartography of the Sacred

In this section I am going to demonstrate how migrant parents use religion to delineate alternative 'cartography of belonging' (Levitt, 2003) whose boundaries are marked by holy places, churches, religious icons, sacred artifacts rather than by national flags or symbols. It also explores meanings associated with 'Poland' as a sacred centre. I demonstrate how religious affiliation can protect partners from different ethnic backgrounds against intolerance especially during visits in Poland. As highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, interviews and participant observations suggest that parents in the new Polish diaspora idealize the homeland as the Sacred centre, which resists transformations associated with modernity and globalization (Johnson 2004). However the ways in which Polish migrant parents construct the Sacred vary, which I am going to show in this chapter section.

Poland as a sacred centre

Poland and Polish tradition are imagined by mothers and fathers as a source of 'authentic' religious experiences. Imagining the sacred by parents as 'Polish' is reinforced by undertaking journeys to Poland with their children. In contrast, parents strongly associate the English ways of celebrating Catholic festive events with consumerism and commercialism, which indicates Jan's recollection: *Christmas or Easter are more about shopping and advertisement than anything else*. The above statement implies also the father's disappointment concerning the secularization of Christmas in the UK. Shifting locations between Poland and the UK in order to perform religious rituals demonstrates that diasporic religions involve 'transnational division of ritual space' using Salih's (2000) expression. The expectation is to regain reliable knowledge through participating in meaningful religious practices in the homeland. Undertaking journeys to Poland by parents also appears as a form of resistance against the global 'commercialization' of Christmas. Fixed and static space where family rituals take place constitutes a significant aspect of parents and children's home-making.

When imagining Poland as the sacred centre, both mothers and fathers especially idealize locales associated with their family origins and where family reunions take place. For instance, Jan, a father of four children, imagines Podhale, a very distinctive cultural region, where he comes from, as a religious and cultural capital. Magda's statement *There is no Christmas for us if we do not go to Poland* shows emotional attachment to the ritual, which the family recreates every year. Performing rituals associated with Catholic celebrations with family members in Poland becomes a source of 'authentic experience' for the father, which parents aspire to mediate to their children. A strong feeling of belonging to his family in Poland partly explains the meaning given to his regular visits to Poland to spend Christmas together with his extended family. In addition, emotions emerge as salient tokens shaping meanings given by parents to rituals. For instance, in Jan's story nostalgia comes to the fore as a driving force of his journeys to the homeland: *It is very important to be in Poland at least once per year on Christmas Eve otherwise we disperse and will lose contact completely*. The

term 'atmospheric' articulates his nostalgia and the difference in experiencing religious celebrations in Poland and in the UK. Values associated by the father with spending Christmas in Poland are articulated by the financial and time costs involved in the journey.

Performing Catholic rituals without rich 'ritualization' like in the homeland can significantly impact on the experience of the sacred in the diaspora. For instance, a secular way of celebrating Easter or Halloween, instead of performing religious practices associated with All Saints Day, is of great concern for parents. For instance, Basia (a mother of a three year old daughter) voices her strong resistance to Halloween culture, which for her has little religious meaning. Her recollection reveals nostalgia and a strong sentiment to Polish religious rituals performed during All Saints Day: *I really miss the Polish way of celebrating 1st November by visiting graves at cemeteries, lighting candles, bringing flowers and reflecting on those who passed away.* She, like other parents I talked to, values a deeper religious dimension associated with All Saints Day and memory work. On the contrary, Halloween is linked to 'empty' consumerism and secular activities. For her, the 'Polish way' of visiting family graves and prayers is strongly associated with the tropes of nostalgia, memory and tradition as her recollection suggests: *In Poland it is a time for remembering and praying.* Parents accept that they have no choice but to accept the fact that their children participate in various Halloween celebrations at school. Another 'very religious' mother contrasts sharply secular tradition around Easter in the UK like egg hunting, with her religious practices, which for her appear to be a resource of spiritual meaning. Ania comments negatively about the 'English way' of celebrating Easter in ignoring the spiritual dimension by saying: *For English people Easter does not mean anything other than having a day off work.* Her opinion exposes her sarcasm and disapproving views about the commercialization of Easter in the host country.

At home a significant meaning is given to Catholic rituals associated with All Saints day, following Polish tradition. 1st November is a bank holiday and celebrations are intense, cemeteries are alive for the whole week with families

visiting and flowering graves, lightening candles, and praying together. For Polish migrants and in Polish society, cemeteries are perceived as significant places bringing communal *fervour*. Visiting graves at cemeteries, either in Poland or Britain, with children emerges as an important aspect of religious pedagogy. In diaspora, Polish families adjust their ways of celebrating All Saints Day by finding 'alternative sacred spaces' where they can perform rituals. Some families visit the graves of famous Polish writers and soldiers at English cemeteries in order to light candles and pray for their family members. Magda emphasized the importance for her and her husband of visiting a cemetery to light a candle on graves during All Saints Days.⁸

Religious 'reterritorialization' entails adjusting practices to the conditions of the diaspora. During my fieldwork I accompanied Magda and Ada who visited the grave of the Polish writer Jozef Korzeniowski at the cemetery in Canterbury:

Field notes: 1st November 2015

When I arrived at the cemetery in the afternoon it was still day-light so we could read the letters on graves but Magda knew exactly where the grave of Korzeniowski was located as she had already been there a few times. She came with her two youngest children and another Polish mother and her daughter who I met at the Polish school and they brought some candles and flowers. I also brought a bunch of margaritas but I remembered that in Poland when I used to go to cemeteries with my family on All Saint Day we used to bring pots of chrysanthemum with us to decorate family graves. Those were the most popular flowers in Poland to bring on All Saint Days. Marta told me that she bought some candles in the Polish shop.

⁸ Maguire and Murphy (2012) describes an interesting example of parental disapprobation of Halloween celebrations in the Nigerian diaspora in Ireland. The study suggests a cultural clash between school authorities and Nigerian parents who associate Halloween parades organized by schools with pagan and immoral celebrations. In order to defend their Pentecostal identity, which contrasts sharply with Halloween rituals, parents did not allow their children to dress up for the school parade. Strong reactions of children at school contesting other symbolical figures embedded within British culture (Father Christmas) highlight tensions between teachers and parents. With the Polish it is not so much the 'paganism' of Halloween that is problematic but its commercialization that is seen as radically opposed to the communality and authentic spirit of All Saints Day in Poland.

The cemetery was nearly empty, we saw just a few people around, quite a different atmosphere than in Poland, where most people visit cemeteries on All Saints Day. I arrived a few minutes earlier so before I met with Magda I walked around the ground. I could only hear the wind blowing among the trees while in Poland we would hear whispered prayers and the noise of conversations. We decorated the grave with flowers, lit the candles and Magda also prayed with Ada and her children. I recognized the worship, which evoked another nostalgic memory about my family ancestors.

Displaying flowers and candles on tombs play a significant role in the sacralization of space. Those material objects become distinctive markers of a Polish 'sacroscape'. Some parents raised their concerns that in the UK it is hard to buy the right type of candles, which they wish to display on the graves. Magda's recollection, bringing memories of the celebrations around All Saints Day in Poland, reveals nostalgia: *In Poland you get all sort of candles to display at graves. In the UK it is difficult to buy this kind of candle.* Instead, the mother buys the small candles from supermarkets, which she lights at the cemeteries.

Visiting cemeteries in Poland with children on All Saints Day involves various challenges and costs, which confirms the importance of that ritual for parents. In order to minimize financial costs, Magda and Jan change the mode of their journeys. Instead of taking flights they go by car to Poland. In this way the whole family can participate in significant religious celebrations. Another way of dealing with financial costs involves taking children separately to Poland. Jan and Magda travel to Poland for All Saints Day with one or two children, with a view to transmitting the 'authentic' way of celebrating of All Saints Day to their children. Magda emphasized that it makes her feel better knowing that her children had a chance to experience All Saints celebrations in Poland. Politics to overcome financial and spatial constraints also involve visits of significant family members from Poland who play the role of 'moral guardians' teaching the 'proper way' of performing religious rituals in diaspora according to Catholic and Polish traditions. In the following section, focusing on pilgrimages, I discuss a

journey undertaken by a mother to the Polish border from where her family originates.

The significance of churches

The data collected through narratives and participant observations suggest that churches and shrines constitute salient sites within a Polish diasporic 'sacredscape'. Temples and cemeteries are generally described as important sites for the expression of religious identities (see the work of Vasquez and Knott 2014 in Kuala Lumpur). Moving from Poland to the UK requires parents to renegotiate the religious landscape and find alternative meaningful places to perform religious rituals - daily prayers or weekly Sunday services. Johnson (2004) argues that diasporas produce religions in the sense that they create new sacred sites in the host countries for its members, which evoke meaningful memories about 'sacred places' located in the homeland. Negotiating alternative sacred sites includes both adopting new places and maintaining links with old congregations.

Due to church often being the first familiar organization that migrants encounter after their arrival in the new country, diasporic congregations offer various forms of support to overcome structural barriers and to integrate within local communities (Hagan and Eubach 2003). Catholic churches in the UK attract Polish parents, as they do migrants, in the host countries especially in the initial stage of their resettlement process as their visual and audible components of space seem familiar (Pasura 2012). The absence of proximate extended family and friends in the host land makes diasporic religious congregations a powerful resource for migrants (Pasura 2012; Krotofil 2010). Drawing on Pasura (2012) and Krotofil's (2010) argument, I develop their claim. I argue that in case of Polish diaspora support from religious groups seems to be especially important for parents who feel isolated in the host country due to their social status, language barriers or lack of family ties.

For instance, Ania, a single mother of a 12-year-old daughter, who arrived in England without a good command of English described her engagement with a less formal community prayer group Koinonia in terms of 'family bonds': *Meetings are very informal, friendly and I feel that when I am with them, it is like being with my family.* The mother explained that meetings and prayers, arranged at private houses of the Koinonia's members, provided her with a sense of community solidarity and belonging. In addition prayers became a resource of spiritual comfort, which helped her to deal with her anxiety: *Since I started attending the community group meetings to pray together I don't feel anxious.* The Koinonia prayer group, where she met other Polish migrants, offered to Ania an alternative 'comforting' space, free of exclusion and isolation. She also highlighted her gratitude for the help she received from another Polish woman, who she knew from the Polish Catholic church after her daughter was born. She stayed with her for a few days and helped her with household tasks as her mother could not visit her immediately.

Familiar smells, language or visual decorations encountered in the Catholic churches in the UK recreate a sense of 'feelings at home' (Pasura 2012). Recreated familiarity allows individuals to find 'an antidote to the loneliness and isolation' of early migration (Garbin 2010, p. 151). Here Magda emphasizes the comforting role of the similar setting in the Catholic church in the UK in the first month after she moved to the UK and the rest of her family were still in Poland: *When I first went for Polish mass and heard a familiar language and the same prayers I felt like I was at home, back in Poland.* Her recollection demonstrates the power of sensorial memories associated with sacred places in Poland, which evoke nostalgia. The liturgy and prayers in the Polish language appear especially significant for my informants in recreating their sense of belonging, which helps to cope with isolation in the new place. For instance the hymns in Polish traditionally sung for Christmas, Easter, or during May (the 'Virgin Mary month' in Poland) evoked memories of Polish rituals performed with family members. I examine the role of material culture further in this chapter and also various meanings given to the Polish language are discussed in the chapter on language practices.

Some of my informants also disclosed that the personal attitude of church leaders or their 'charisma' was an important factor, which attracted them to regularly attend services in the UK. They felt 'connected' especially to priests coming from Poland⁹, in particular to their ways of preaching. Popularity of a Priest is often presented as a crucial reason to create a welcoming 'atmosphere' as Grazyna puts it: *We like the atmosphere better during Polish mass in a Maidstone church rather than in Canterbury where only 10-20 people attend regularly. It seems that the atmosphere is dead.* The above recollection emphasizing a few times the importance of 'atmosphere' during the church service reveals parents' nostalgia and strong sentiments to participate in a church service, which is lively and well-attended. 'The atmosphere' can be understood here in terms of feeling well connected and comfortable with the local community. The priest becomes a key person for those parents without a good command of English for understanding the dynamics of the acculturation process and who helped with practical matters. The statement *Here in our local church in Maidstone on your arrival a priest Piotr is greeting and welcoming everyone, which makes me feel comfortable and acknowledged* clearly expresses a mother's belong to the local community, where she feels recognized. Value given to the welcoming gestures of the priest also suggests her need to recreate a sense of belonging in the host country. My findings are in line with that Krotofil (2010) and Grzymała-Moszczyńska and Krotofil (2010) studies acknowledging the role of Polish priests as mediators between migrants and the host population in the diaspora.

In order to participate in Sunday mass in the Polish language or conducted by a charismatic priest some mothers are even prepared to travel to different Catholic churches across the Kent region. During my fieldwork I accompanied few mothers to several Sunday services at different Catholic churches in various places. I attended Polish masses a few times, in which Magda and her family actively took part. Her husband was reading the Bible and their children were

⁹ whose stay was organised by the Polish Catholic Mission in the UK

playing the guitar. After mass the whole family stayed for the community meeting and children helped to prepare tea and coffee. The Catholic church for the Gotek family became a significant place for performing religious rituals and also strengthening family and community ties.

My analysis confirms what other studies on diasporic religions suggest (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, Hay & Krotofil 2011; Pasura 2012; Levitt 2003; Hirschman 2004; Hagan & Ebaugh 2003) that using social networks developed through Catholic churches in Poland and by joining new religious groups in England participants were able to access various sources and forms of support. This included language classes, housing, employment advisory but also more specific help available for parents on how to raise children as good 'Christians'. Parents with a good command of English were also able to engage with other religious congregations including the English Catholic church and Neo-Evangelical churches. Ada's statement *Going to church is not only about praying and worshiping* implies that not only spiritual aspects matter. This mother disclosed that participating in local English Catholic churches enabled her to integrate more quickly with the local English community after moving to the UK. Community building seems to be a very important element of engaging in religious meetings for all participants in the host country. Ada points to the significance of the informal character of the gatherings '*with coffee, tea and cakes*' after the main mass in developing new social networks with other international families. These initiatives contribute to producing a sense of belonging to the local community in the new contexts of arrival, which addresses feelings of loneliness, isolation or separation after moving to the host country.

Most parents explained that even if their English was not great at the beginning they still attended English Catholic mass for families hoping that their children could also establish new friendships and meet other children from local communities. In that sense engaging in religious meetings and congregations taking place in the new country can be understood in terms of 'bridging capital' (Putnam 1995). The new developed social network constitutes a 'shield' for parents, which help them to equip their children with resilience in the new place.

Monika also highlighted another important aspect of religious affiliation. The mother explained that being a Christian 'protects' her African husband against racism or prejudice especially when they go to Poland: *I was not sure about my family's reaction towards my African husband when we went first time to Poland. I expected some sort of 'funny comments' against him, especially from my extended family members. In the small town where my parents live there is not even one person with very dark skin.* The mother's account recalled her anxiety concerning prejudice before the first meeting of her African husband with her family in the homeland. She explains: *Due to fact we got married in the church the family accepted him. He also participates in all Catholic rituals with my family to show how important is for him Catholic tradition. We always go with my parents, my brother and children on Sunday to church when we are in Poland so also neighbours perceive him in positive light as a Christian.* Monika's statement illustrates how religious affiliations helped her and her husband to overcome the uncertainty, anxiety and to prevent prejudice reactions from the family members and community in Poland against her black African husband.

Pilgrimage routes

Considering that parents imagine the sacred as located in Poland, religious home-making practices also involve undertaking pilgrimages to the sacred centres in the homeland. Parents associate the experience of the 'Sacred' with visiting the holy shrines, which constitute destinations of their pilgrimages. However, as my participant observation and interviews suggest, various regimes reshape pilgrimage routes and relationship centre – peripheries. Surprisingly, it is not the most famous sacred centres in Poland like Czestochowa or Lichen that become the most visited during parents' visits to the homeland. Although those recognized locales are perceived as holy sites, places of family origin and local sacred centres appear more meaningful sites where parents travel frequently with their children.

In the process of religious home and place-making, similarly like tourists, parents select, compare and evaluate meaningful places as destinations of their pilgrimages considering costs, resources, length of journey and accessibility of the sacred place. Comparing pilgrimages with other types of secular journey allows me to recognize the heterogeneity of pilgrimage experiences. Moreover, viewing holy centres as tourist destinations establishes a foundation to view religious scapes as competing with secular scapes (Eade & Sallnow, 1991).

Renegotiating the Sacred entails establishing new holy centres and 'revitalization' of already existing sites in the hostland (Eade and Garbin, 2007). Parents replace visiting shrines in the homeland by finding more accessible sacred places in the UK. Tweed demonstrates how establishing a new sacred centre - the shrine of Our Lady of Charity helped Cuban migrants in Miami reorient in the diaspora (Tweed 1997). Analogously, for Polish parents in the diaspora, the priory in Aylesford dedicated to Our Lady and St Simon Stock¹⁰ has become a new holy site, a centre of national annual pilgrimage. Three interviewed mothers (Magda, Ania and Basia) and one father (Pawel) participate in this event regularly and another mother (Monika) explained that she wished to go there in the future.

Fieldnotes: 5th September 2015

On the first Sunday of September 2015 I participated in the 63rd Polish national pilgrimage to Aylesford, a centre for migrants' Catholic pilgrimages. I accompanied Magda, my interviewee, a chair of Polish associations in Kent, who has attended the event regularly since her family moved to the UK.

When we arrived pilgrims were gathering at the main square for the first prayer – Angelus. Visible and audible elements - Polish national emblems and symbols were displayed on flags and banners and the Polish language of prayers marked the distinctively national character of that pilgrimage of different ages. Before the holy mass had started

¹⁰ Description of history of Aylesford's shrine and the analysis of significance of the shrine for Polish migrants' community in Britain see Eade and Garbin (2007).

the main yard, where official ceremonies took place, became full of pilgrims of different ages. Within the crowd I recognized two mothers - Basia and Grazyna. We stayed until the last prayer Rosary in the afternoon and also took part in a procession around the monastery.

Magda's regular attendance in the national pilgrimage for Polish migrants brings to the fore the intersection of gender, social and religious aspects of her identity. Her regular engagement in the national pilgrimage with other members of the diasporic organization reinforces her social networks. The interplay between the various social roles enacted through attending the national pilgrimage (as a chair of the Polish diasporic association, a mother and a member of the Catholic community) evokes a cultural script of Mother Pole, which merges symbolism of both - nation and religion. Additionally, gender as a significant factor shapes the mothers' experiences. Magda's narratives draw attention to other qualities experienced in Aylesford such as a harmonious and peaceful environment around the priory and a broad range of worship addressing the range of religious, spiritual and aesthetic needs of pilgrims.

A salient form of home-making includes pilgrimages with the specific intention for healing. The main motive of Ania's pilgrimages (a single mother, 12 year old daughter) to the Shrine at the Hill of Mercy in Poland concerns her illness. Undertaking transnational journeys to Poland in life crisis situations confirms that parents imagine Poland as a sacred site, where they can experience the direct intervention of the deity and where miracles take place. Furthermore, Ania's transnational pilgrimages reveal how the relationship centre - peripheries have been renegotiated. Remarkably, the main destination of pilgrimages was not the national 'sacred centre' Jasna Góra but its peripheries. The mother deliberately chose a shrine located within the suburbs of the well-known national shrine of Czestochowa in her homeland in order to participate in the charismatic prayers organized by The Community of Love and Mercy Jesus. Important aspects of Ania's pilgrimages entail special prayers for cleansing, thanksgiving to Holy Spirit and sharing testimonies of healings where embodiment appears as a striking aspect of that worship. The mother described

her own experience using embodiment rhetoric as *waves of hot flushes flowing through her body*.

Ania's account shows that her pilgrimage experience helped her to accept her illness: *It is necessary to take your own cross and carry it*. According to Eade (1992) the 'miracle discourse' brings to the fore the chance of a dramatic healing of physical illness while 'sacrificial discourse' consecrates embodied suffering. This discourse is sharply contrasted and negotiated with a medical discourse. Likewise, Ania's testimony emphasizes the limitations of medical reasoning in understanding her healing: *My body was completely cleared but doctors could not believe in that*. She described her experience in terms of 'a miracle', which was impossible to understand using rational logic. Medicine does not accept miracles. Western biomedicine as McGuire emphasizes (2008), does not address the issues of meaning, because it treats the body and the illness as objects separate from the person who experiences them.

Undertaking pilgrimages to local shrines situated near to places of family origin during visits in Poland rather than to nationally known sacred centres constitutes a salient transnational ritual for the Gotek family, a form of religious home-making. It shows the influence of temporal, spatial and financial factors shaping decisions, which locales parents choose as a sacred centre in diaspora. Magda, Jan and their children continue to regularly attend a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Ludzmierz, called by locals Shepherdess or Queen of Podhale, during their summer holidays in Poland.¹¹ The mother explained that for her Our Lady of Ludzmierz became Our Lady in diaspora, symbolizing the homeland and family in Poland. In that sense Ludzmierz continues a sacred and familiar centre. Regular participation in the annual pilgrimage with family members and the local community emerges as a significant act of reconnecting ties with locals. Parents encourage children to participate with them in those

¹¹ The cult of Our Lady of Ludźmierz is strongly identified with the culturally distinctive population of the Podhale region. Originally a simple wooden monastery, set up in XIII century by Cistercian monks, it has become a sacred centre not only for local pilgrims from the Podhale region but also for transnationals as many pilgrims come to Ludzmierz from the USA and recently from Britain and America since XIX centuries constituted one of the main destinations for Polish migrants from Podhale region, who were going there to find jobs 'za chlebem' (Mary Patrice Erdmans 1998).

pilgrimages with the view of transmitting to them cultural and religious heritages of the region: *It is important for me to show my children the 'goralska'/regional tradition'*. Among various events taking place at Ludzmierz the most important is the Assumption of Virgin Mary (in the middle of August), for which many local and translocal pilgrims attend including Magda, Jan and their children. Midnight mass at the shrine, displayed ornaments, regional decorations and celebrations at their grandmother's home (festive family's meal) mark the importance of that local Catholic event for the Gotek's family.

Undertaking trips to the imagined places of family roots adds another dimension to how the sacred is imagined in the new Polish diaspora. Personal journeys to family origins contest dichotomy sacred-secular and show diversity of parents' pilgrimages. In addition, they also reveal the complexity of parents' motives merging their emotional, intellectual, spiritual and moral needs. Ada's visits to Troki, the centre of Karraim minority in Lithuania, confirm the importance she gives to her father's Karraim origins. Transmitting mixed heritage to her daughters, Ada perceives to be her moral duty. She said: *I want to take my daughters there (Troki) because our Karraim roots are there – my grandparents and my father were born there.* The mother's narratives and practices highlighted the significance for her of both Catholic and Karraim traditions as key elements of her identity. Her parental responsibility includes not only telling family stories to her children but also showing them places of family origins situated on the peripheries of Poland, in Lithuania. Nostalgia reshapes the memories from her few visits to Troki, where her Karraim relatives live.

The mother idealizes the place as a site of family reunion, celebrations, and cultivating Karraim culture through participating in socializing events: *The atmosphere is very friendly.* The difficulties she encountered in facilitating the journey to the place of her family origins caused her a moral dilemma. On one side Ada feels obliged to take her daughters to Troki so they could participate in the Karraim festival and language summer school. On the other hand, she does not want to break a school policy in the UK. Opposing commitments and her strong sense of obligation not to act against school authorities put her in a difficult position evoking ambiguous feelings and tensions. Using her creativity

and determination the mother tries to find a way of taking her children to Lithuania without breaking the law even after her attempts to get permission were rejected by the school authorities. Compromise solutions involve taking the oldest daughter on her own when she starts university or going to Troki just for a longer weekend with the whole family.

Gender differences

Gender emerges as a significant marker of mothers' and fathers' religious expressions and meanings given to religious home-making. Both mothers and fathers engage in performing Catholic rituals but giving them different meanings, which change over their life cycles. These are shaped by personal beliefs, preferences or family background. I argue that religiosity more for the Polish mothers than for fathers constitutes a significant aspect of their individual and group identity, marked by intensity and plurality of religious forms in their daily life, which I am going to demonstrate here. In the new Polish diaspora as within other diasporic communities household rituals have a gendered character and women, more often than men, carry them (Gardner 2002). Moreover, gender becomes a salient marker of generational patterns highlighting the moral responsibility of Polish mothers and grandmothers for the religious upbringing of children. This includes transmission of religious values and also cultural heritage (Levitt 2003). Both mothers and fathers highlighted the significance of religion in transmitting moral values to children but observed discrepancies between narratives and practices suggest a different level of engagement between mothers and fathers. Moreover, I claim that religious practices also mediate an intimacy within the mother-child relationship, which adds a new dimension to the current studies on migrants' religious life. It appears that expressions of intimacy between child-parent relationships appears a neglected aspect within diaspora and transnational studies, thus my study contributes to the field by recognizing the importance of religious practices in order to articulate intimacy between mothers and children.

Mediating intimacy through religious practices

Teaching children prayers and rituals constitutes an important aspect of religious pedagogy in the Polish diaspora, which is performed mainly by migrant women as Gardner and Grillo (2002) argue. My approach develops argument recognizing religious rituals as a marker of migrant mothers' identities. Similar to other migrant women, for instance Latin (Svasek 2012), taking children to participate in church services constitutes a main 'moral duty' of religious pedagogy. Furthermore, I emphasize that for Polish mothers in the UK teaching children religion also includes performing religious rituals in private, informal situations, which appears a salient form of home-making and marks an intimate relationship between mothers and children. Practicing praying in domestic setting stands as a key aspect of Polish mothers' identities. Mothers' personal approach is expressed through adjusting common worships and places according to their personal preferences.

For mothers emphasizing a more individualized approach to religion and seeking new forms of religious expressions and daily worships are not ascribed to any particular place or time, while for 'more traditional ones' oriented toward Catholic tradition temporal and spatial dimensions are more fixed. For instance, Basia (mother of a three year old daughter, Polish partner) explains that she usually teaches her daughter prayers or to read the Bible in her bedroom before going to bed. Most mothers tended to pray with their children in front of a private altar at home or a holy picture in the evening. However, during home visits I witnessed how Ania, a single mother, was singing Polish religious songs with her daughter while she was cooking. She also mentioned that sometimes she prays with her daughters on the way to school in her car, explaining that she can use that time efficiently.

In addition, teaching children to express their emotions through bodily practices is a significant aspect of Polish migrant mothers' religiosity, which also indicates an intimate bond between mothers and children. Likewise, Polish mothers in the UK on the contrary to Polish mothers in the homeland, value more personal and

simple forms of prayer rather than official ones from 'katechizm' (a Polish prayer book) as Ania highlighted: *We pray in the evening using our own words rather formal prayers from katechizm like most children in Poland.* Ada or Monika explained they also tend to pray together with their children before bedtime using shorter, informal praying. Monika says: *I do not exaggerate with teaching my children long religious worship like in Poland. I do not want to discourage them against praying.* What matters for mothers is to teach children reflexive practice and to express their subjective feelings *First of all we say thank you to God for all good things which happened on that day and during the week.* Sometimes mothers mix well-known everyday Polish prayers with their own invented individual prayers. Characteristically, all of them are expressed in the Polish language. Magda explained she prays with her children using the most common shorter Polish prayers like *"Ojczy nasz..', Zdrowac Mario.. Aniele Bozy."* She explains that when they go to Poland her grandparents help her and are proud that she is a 'good Catholic mother'. This evoked a cultural symbol of 'Mother Pole' which includes transmitting Catholic tradition.

Moreover, Polish mothers pay special attention to teaching children various bodily expressions when praying. During my home visits to various families, I observed that mothers pay attention to articulating their feelings like gratitude, thanks-giving or apologies to God using expressive gestures, voice and various forms of prayers. For instance, Monika, who belongs to the Vineyard church, encourages her daughters to engage with gestures or singing while praying rather than reinforcing conventional, religious schemas. During one of my visits to Basia's flat I witnessed how the mother was explaining God to her daughter. She was pointing to the holy icon of the Virgin Mary on the wall in their lounge and demonstrating using her hands to show her daughter how to make a sign of the cross on herself. The little girl was not sure if she was doing it correctly so her mother was holding her hands. Religious artifacts like holy icons express the subjective religiosity of mothers.

My fieldwork implies that Polish grandmothers support mothers in transmitting religious knowledge to their grandchildren in the diaspora where Catholic

tradition constitutes the main point of reference. During family visits, I observed that grandmothers were teaching their grandchildren how to perform religious practices associated with Catholic celebrations. Grandparents actively take part in preparing their grandchildren for holy sacraments like first communion by attending church services or practicing prayers with the children at home. Within mixed heritage families Polish grandmothers can become the main guardians of the religious pedagogy of children. Slawek emphasizes the crucial role of his mother in mediating Catholic rituals according to Polish tradition: *We celebrate Christmas in the Polish way, only when my brother and mother visit us or when we go to Poland we also follow the Polish tradition.* During my visits to Slawek and his wife's home in Croydon and also to his mother in Poland (summer 2015), I observed the grandmother reading the Bible to Adas. She also explained that she tried to teach him Polish prayers, however the boy struggled to understand some Polish expressions so she decided to wait another year. Instead, she takes her grandson to the church for a special Sunday mass for children.

Materiality and mothers' religiosity

Material culture including religious artifacts, pictures or icons mark symbolic iconography in Polish diaspora, similarly for other migrants, which constitutes a salient aspect of religious home-making. For instance, Svasek (2012) highlights the significance for Latin women of making altars to their deities in the domestic space by displaying holy objects brought with them from their homeland. McGuire (2008) and Miller (2005) highlight that many elements of popular religious beliefs and practices are embedded within material culture. In that view geographical locations signify distinctively religious artifacts, dress codes or food, which become significant markers of parents' religious identities. Religious artifacts as key components defining collective memory help Polish parents in the UK recall from the past images of holy sites and in this way they help orient devotees within a new religious landscape in the host country (Halbwachs 1992). My fieldwork suggests that displaying holy objects evoking images of home situated in Poland has a gendered character and it expresses

more subjective religiosity of mothers.

During my visits to my participants' homes I noticed holy icons (pictures of Saints or the holy family) and other religious artifacts (including holy crosses) displayed on the walls or in the cabinets. Basia explained that she received some icons as gifts from her mother when she was leaving home in Poland. In addition, Ania highlighted that the famous icon of the Black Madonna, which she brought from her pilgrimage to Czestochowa, evokes memories from her spiritual journeys and holy shrines in Poland. Another holy icon of Jesus she received from her prayer community group Koinonia, when she started organizing community meetings in her own flat. Exposing religious objects received from families or brought from the homeland in their domestic space helped Polish mothers similarly to other migrant women to construct habitats and intimate spaces in the host country.

Interestingly, displaying holy objects plays various functions for parents. For instance, the icons of Jesus exhibited in the most representative part of Ania's flat – in her living room, constitutes the main point of reference for devotees during prayers. In this way it helps orient devotees in space and it plays a crucial role in the sacralisation of space. Some mothers (Grazyna, Monika) find it meaningful to have religious objects in their own and their children's bedrooms. Grazyna explains it helps her to teach her son prayers. Magda showed me a religious souvenir from the homeland - a small bottle of holy water from Ludzmiierz, which she received from her mother. The symbolic meaning given to that religious object is to protect the mother and the whole family. The mother also disclosed that it gives her a feeling of familiarity (Mc Guire 2008). In that sense it appears to be 'place making'.

Fathers' religious pedagogy

My analysis demonstrates that fathers also get involved in mediating religiosity to children. Especially in mixed heritage units, Polish fathers become the main teachers responsible for the religious education of children. For instance, Slawek

acknowledges that it is his duty to teach Catholic rituals to his son according to Polish tradition: *Because I am Catholic my wife leaves this responsibility to me - it is my role.* The father's account reveals his aspiration to prepare his son for the first communion, which means a more advanced level of religious education. However, due to different settings in the host country, he does not feel very confident about transmitting religious pedagogy: *To be honest I did not figure out yet how it works here as in school children do not have religion classes.*

In contrast to mothers, fathers' accounts reveal that inspiring and transmitting 'personal faith' appears to be a more crucial aspect of religious education for male participants rather than imposing Catholic dogmas. Slawek explains that his son was baptized but when he is older it is his choice if he wants to continue with religious practices. Also Jan's statement: *I do not want to force my children to go to church every Sunday, it is up to them* shows the father's respect of the child's individualism. Giving a choice to children emerges as a main value for fathers, which suggests that their approach towards the institution of the Catholic church seems to be more 'relaxed' than mothers.

Maintaining ties with family members and regular visits to the homeland appeared for most fathers as the most valuable aspect of participating in Catholic celebrations or festive events. They understand attending church services in terms of the 'bonding aspect' as Wlodek highlights: *I go to church with my wife and our son to spend Sunday together rather because of my faith.* Most fathers across the sample gave value to the socializing aspect rather than expressing their personal religious beliefs. In addition, fathers tended to more regularly church services with attend their family during their visits in Poland as they did not want to be perceived as a 'radical' by rest of family.

Within a father's duties concerning religiosity, Pawel and the rest of the male participants aspire to transmit first of all ethics and morality. His account shows the importance of teaching his daughter how to recognize 'good' and 'bad' values: *I think it is necessary to believe in something and religion helps teach about moral values and how to behave.* Also Wlodek's account reveals the importance of

religious upbringing in transmitting ethical values to children *We take our son on Sunday to Catholic church as they have special mass for children. I like how the priest explains to them what is good or bad behavior.* Other, equally important aspects emphasized by fathers, concern education opportunities for children. Pawel and Jan both highlight that their children got places in Catholic nurseries and schools due to their affiliations with the Catholic Church. Pawel said: *Personally, I am not very religious but I go to church here so my daughter can get a place in the local Catholic school and nursery. Both have a good reputation.* Educational prospects for children prompt Pawel and most fathers to maintain connections with the Catholic organizations with a view of improving their children's educational prospects and their own social mobility. In that view maintaining connections with Catholic church enable to fulfill a 'good father' role by choosing for children a school with a good reputation in order to ensure a good quality of education.

Summary

The analysis of everyday religious practices and beliefs in the Polish diaspora demonstrates that Christianity and Catholic tradition in particular constitute a valuable resource for all participants. Surprisingly, parents' objectives were far from reinforcing nationalistic ideology. They used religion as an asset in multiple ways in order to advance their children through transmitting to them cultural heritage, religious belonging or morality. In that sense religion constitutes their 'religious capital'.

Firstly, in order to engage in religious congregations in the UK parents used existing social networks with Polish Catholic communities in diaspora. In that view, maintaining ties established in Poland with the Polish Catholic church and other Polish families constitutes their 'bonding capital' (Putnam 1995). The crucial role of familiar Catholic churches was especially desired in the initial stage after moving to the host country by working class parents whose knowledge of English was very limited. In crisis situations migrant parents responded to conditions of uncertainty by engaging in various Catholic

organizations. The Catholic church and also less formal religious groups provided both spiritual guidance and also appeared as a source of social, emotional and financial support for the whole families. The values given to Catholicism concern also transmitting intimacy within the child mother relationship. Moreover, engagement in the Catholic church and other organizations helped my informants improve their children's educational prospects and eventually fulfill their middle-class aspirations. Language competency enabled parents (most with higher education) to develop quickly new social networks with indigenous populations and with locals and international families, in order to integrate more quickly with local communities. This can be understood as 'bridging capital' (Putnam 1995). By joining new religious groups in the host country, for instance less formal community prayer groups or Neo-Evangelical churches, the most religious mothers were able to express better their spiritual and aesthetic needs. In doing so parents mix by belonging to various groups.

Furthermore, religious home-making includes various forms – less formal practices performed within the domestic setting or with community prayer groups and more structured rituals, controlled by church authorities. In doing so, parents blend elements of religious traditions in a creative way. In particular, significant weight is given to reflexivity and language competency. They enable parents' to express agency and renegotiate their level of commitment within different religious groups. In addition, the ritualization of temporal and spatial dimensions marks a hierarchy of performed religious rituals where Christmas, Easter and All Saints day emerge as the most significant Catholic events within annual cycles. Religiosity constitutes a significant marker of their individual and group identity, more for the mothers than for fathers, marked by intensity and plurality of religious forms in their daily life.

Merging different traditions and heritages enables flexibility and creativity without rejecting any religious affiliation. However, it involves ongoing work, which is time consuming and physically and emotionally absorbing. Mothers from mixed heritage units and with better command of English were seeking

more individual ways of expressing their religiosity. They appeared to engage more willingly in less authoritative and informal religious groups rather than in the conservative Polish Catholic churches, which attracted more parents without good knowledge of English, mainly working class parents. In particular, the Neo-Evangelical congregations and the English Catholic Church, offering a personal and family orientated approach seemed to be more appealing and responsive to mothers' spiritual needs. Awareness of multiple options of expressing their religiosity in the diasporic setting gives parents agency when transmitting moral values to their children. Remarkably, despite joining various religious groups the Catholic tradition significantly shapes mothers' and fathers' religious expressions and meanings that they give to their religious experiences.

Although religious identities appear reshaped by norms from both the homeland and the host country, narratives and practices confirm that parents imagine the Sacred as situated in Poland. The sacred centre(s) continue to be associated with the homeland where families return to perform the most significant rituals—home making practices along annual cycles of the Catholic calendar. When imagining Poland as the sacred centre, both mothers and fathers especially idealize locales associated with their family origins where family reunions take place. The Sacred in the new Polish diaspora emerges as an actively constructed and renegotiated site between competing religious traditions and secular ideologies. In that view religious identities appear as the outcome of negotiating power relations between generations, gendered roles and also between parents, churches and states of both countries.

Chapter 4. Everyday Language Use and the Transmission of Polish Language

Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is on the ways in which family language practices and bilingual childrearing are negotiated within a diasporic setting. In particular, values given by migrant parents to their native language are explored, considering that meanings assigned by participants to the everyday native language use vary significantly. This chapter draws upon existing literature emphasizing the significance of family language practices in producing migrants' ethnic identities (Alba, Logan, Lutz and Stults B. 2002; Beswick, 2010; Borland 2005; Cho, Cho and Tse 1997; Chumak-Horbatsch 1999). In addition, it is in line with studies recognizing the importance of maintaining the language of origin between generations, which helps second generation of migrants to retain a sense of belonging to their ethnic group (Cho, Cho & Tse 1997, Feuerwerker 1991, Temple 2008, 2010; Temple and Koterba 2009). By exploring the ways of transmission the language of origin to children in the Polish diaspora I illustrate plural ways of constructing 'good mother/father' identities.

First of all, it is argued that transmitting Polish language appears a critical matter for all interviewees – a corner stone of being a responsible parent in the host country. What is interesting, is that it is far away from the grand-narratives of the Polish migration, where maintaining the native language was understood for centuries mainly in terms of reinforcing patriotic ethos. By contrast, teaching children the heritage language skills in the new Polish diaspora has nothing to do with constructing nationalistic ideologies. Rather, it articulates parents' personal aspirations to develop children's linguistic skills and mediates intimacy within child – parent relationship. Teaching children the Polish language also resonates parents' concerns as to how they are perceived by other Polish parents, or family members. In doing that, it offers a more nuanced insight into the social class divisions within the new Polish migrants in the UK and parental gendered roles.

Considering that the majority of research within diaspora and transnational

studies investigating social constructions of ethnicities (Elgenius 2017; Hall 1990; Gilroy 1993; Gupta 1997; Gupta and Ferguson 1992) concentrates mostly on visual components (Datta 2009b; Datta and Brickell 2009; Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2006), less attention has been given to the audible sphere (Harris 2006). In that light meanings given to the native language by Polish migrants appear understated. It is despite the fundamental role of everyday language use among other practices in the life of migrants in the host country (Guardado, 2008; Gunew, 2003; Harris 2006). By shifting the analytical framework to aural elements and exploring the language landscape, this chapter addresses the dominance of the visual dimension and offers an innovative approach to study parental identities in a diaspora.

Moreover, by showcasing parents' effort and anxiety involved in bilingual childrearing, it is argued here that the weighting given to teaching heritage language reveals the dominance of a child-centered approach in the new Polish diaspora. Such an approach draws on the salient themes delineated in broader literature on the parenting culture, conceptualized in terms of 'intensive parenthood' (Hays 1996). One of its characteristics is the importance given to professional advice and opinions of researchers promoting bilingualism. Drawing on recent debate concerning bilingualism, this study also contributes to existing parenting literature by focusing on ethnic minority parents. Specifically, it explores how migrants with Polish origins construct 'good mother/father' identities through engaging in bilingual childrearing within the British context.

The first three sections discuss the various meanings given to the Polish language and the motivational factors required to transmit it to children. It begins with an examination of the weight given to the Polish language as a tool to maintain cultural heritage. In this section, participants' motives associated with the use of ethnic language to show respect to family members are discussed. The main focus of the second section is on child advancement, specifically how values given to Polish and English are negotiated through a bilingual upbringing. The third section explores mediating intimacy through ethnic language use and the way in which gender differentiates mothers' and fathers' attitudes regarding the

transmission of the Polish language. Additionally, this chapter sheds more light on the role of extended family members and diasporic organizations in the process of developing children's linguistic skills. Those include more formal organizations such as Polish Saturday Schools and less structured groups. In examining strategies aimed at the enhancement of heritage language competency, challenges and tensions, which parents meet and overcome are brought to the fore.

Transmitting cultural heritage and tradition?

Breaking away from patriotic ethos and nationalistic discourse

I have the impression that I am not 'typical Polish' as I do not feel that I am so obsessed about my nationality. It is important for me to pass to my daughters the Polish language and Polish traditions so they can participate in Polish culture, read books, listen to music but I am not politically involved (...) I feel proud when we go to Poland and they understand grandparents and use everyday expressions like my brother's children.

This introductory quotation from Ada, a Polish mother with three daughters, who I met through a Polish parental groups, sets the tone for how the new Polish migrant parents in Britain understand the values associated with the ethnic language transmission. Starting from her narrative, I am going to illustrate across this chapter that teaching Polish stands as a marker of responsible parenthood in diaspora. I argue that the native language constitutes a salient component of participants' ethnic identities but it is not about transmitting 'culture' understood in terms of nationalistic project.

For Ada and the majority of the Polish migrant parents born after 1989, who did not experience the communist regime, the aspiration to develop children's linguistic competence has personal character. During the interview when I asked about the motives to transmit the Polish language Ada made her point: *I am not*

obsessed about my nationality. Her statement, clarifies that for her, like for most other respondents, the rationale to transmit the native language was driven by personal intentions not patriotic ideas, which illustrates the shift from the approach of previous waves of migrants. Since the end of 18th century Polish language continued the subject of political repression and teaching Polish language was forbidden in schools and in public institutions. Historically, when Poland did not officially exist on the maps of Europe (Davis 1981) the Polish language was used primarily as a tool for parents to reinforce patriotic ethos in both homeland and in diaspora, establishing with Catholicism the foundation of national identity during the period. In that view, the Polish language stood as an identifier of belonging to an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983). On the contrary, for the cohort who grew up in the democratic Poland, meanings associated with the transmission of the native language and parental experiences emerge diverse and more complex.

Ada emphasizes: *'It is important for me to pass to my daughters the Polish language and Polish traditions so they can participate in Polish culture.'* The mother's statement exposes values given to the native language as a tool enabling her children to engage with various forms of Polish heritage including reading books, listening to music or watching films. The aspiration of encouraging children to know cultural contexts and its aesthetic emerged as a recurring theme in most participants' narratives. *'I am not 'typical' Polish mother'* she reveals, distancing herself from other migrants preoccupied primarily with patriotic or nationalistic issues. Her account *'I am not politically involved'* clearly emphasizes a departure from the grand narrative of previous cohorts of Polish political migrants (Garapich 2011) created in the romantic era who understood parental roles as a 'mission' to raise children as 'good patriots'. For those Polish exilic refugees (Polonia), sustaining language of origins was associated with a loss of home, the myth of return and nostalgia. My analysis of family language practices brings to the fore a generational shift in the Polish diaspora. When considering the political and socio-economical changes within a democratic Poland after 1989 and 2004, the motives influencing the language practices of 'new Polish migrant' families are much more complex than those of the previous

cohorts of political refugees. Multiple meanings assigned by Ada and other parents with Polish descent to the heritage languages contest the grand narratives and stereotypes reproduced by the media or community institutions. Ada breaks away from the icon of the *Mother Pole* sacrificing their personal goals for the collective, which is embedded within nationalistic discourse. My approach corresponds with other studies of migrant parents' practices (King and Fogle 2006; Park and Sarkar 2007; Okita 2006), which highlight teaching children the language of their origin as the way of conveying the heritage and way of constructing ethnic identity.

The respect given to the Polish language was common and it was reflected by the conversations at participants' homes. While working class participants aspired to teach in general 'correct Polish language' (for instance Ania or Pawel), middle class parents were concerned also about teaching children Polish classic literature and films. During my family visits I heard at Gotek's home: *I wish that my children were reading more Polish literature and watching more Polish films (...) we noticed with my wife that since they started secondary English school they dropped reading Polish books.* The father's narrative reveals his ambition that his children appreciate well-recognized, classic Polish literature and films rather than less ambitious romances, which his daughter prefers to read: *That it is a pain for me that they do not read ambitious books. I noticed that my daughters read some sort of romances in Polish but I wish that in future they read Classical Polish literature.* The above extract reveals the father's disappointment over his children not wanting to read classic literature (both world and Polish books). That indicates his educational background and personal interests, which clash with his children's preferences.

An important pedagogical method aimed at advancing linguistic skills and transmitting culture heritage included reading books. During my home visits I observed a broad selection of Polish children's books at most houses and in addition a number of works from Polish classic literature.

Field notes, 5 September 2015

(Gotek family, both Polish parents):

I felt the atmosphere of studying in the whole house since I entered the porch. In the living room there were piles of books carefully organized in alphabetical order. Most of them were in Polish, one bookshelf was only for dictionaries. Intellectual atmosphere created; also laptops, dictionaries, printers and stationery displayed on the main table and desks. In the corners were boxes with children books and educational materials.

Both Magda and Jan explained that they usually buy books during their visits to the homeland and some were received from their grandparents who regularly brought them from Poland. I witnessed that most parents and grandparents regularly practiced reading with children at home from an early age and at the same time taught Polish letters and grammar.

What's more, middle class parents with higher level of education tended to put more effort to encourage older children, after they had started at mainstream schools, to continue reading Polish literature, watch movies and listen to Polish music. Such pastimes were according to the age of the children and the parents' educational background. Highly educated parents invented a range of strategies to promote classic Polish literature to their children by reading small fragments of 'classics' at home together as Jan's story recalled: *Every day we tried to read small fragment of "Pan Tadeusz", Polish famous romantic epic and I was delighted -- so they had to listen to it (laughing) that is probably why they do not read Polish classic books any more. That project to teach to my children classical literature has failed. They of course read books but not those ones, which I wished.* The father's narrative shows his nostalgia associated with the poetic language of one of the most recognized Polish romantic authors. Indeed, Polish literature remains a significant marker of parents' educational background, which can be conceptualized as 'cultural capital' (1991) if we employ Bourdieu's notion. At the same time, the children's resistance reveals the generational difference between the aspirations of parents and children alike.

Additionally, his perceived worries about the 'damaging' impact of digital media diminishing his children's interest in reading books are clear: *Our children have a huge knowledge due to daily access to the Internet but I am not convinced that the Internet can replace reading classic Polish and worldwide literature. It is the main source of information for them (children) but I am not impressed by numerous grammar mistakes, colloquial style, vulgarisms or aggressive language (...) for sure it does not teach children any good.* This extract aptly illustrates the importance and complexity of language as a significant tool to transmit national culture and literature. In addition, it brings to the fore the generational differences and contrasted experiences of children and parents regarding ways of mediating culture and knowledge through various media.

Participants from mixed heritage units and from families where both mother and father are Polish had different ways of articulating the values given to the Polish language. Parents with mixed heritage origins tended to perceive the Polish language and tradition as a part of the multicultural origins, which they aspired to transmit to their children. In recounting her migration story, Ada gave weight to the native language as a tool enabling her daughters to understand their heritage origins. In a follow up interview, she explained: *I want my daughters to be aware about their multi-heritage roots, not only Polish.* A significant emphasis is placed on her diverse roots including both Karraim and Polish heritages: *My father was Karraim and mother Polish,* which constitutes equally important components of her identity as a good mother. The values given to her multi-heritage origins reveal her pride, which is articulated in her recollection: *We (she and her family) always were aware of diversity and ethnic minorities in Poland (...) but majority of our neighbours have not heard about Karraim people and* Her statement reveals also her reflexivity and fears of not being associated with the stereotypical portrayals of Polish migrants as prejudiced against mixing with other ethnic minorities.

While parents with diverse background, like Ada, associated the values given to Polish language with teaching children about their multi-heritage roots, participants with Polish spouses expressed the importance of teaching children

Polish language through relating the native language to other aspects of Polish culture. For instance, Wlodek positioned the native language above all other components of Polish heritage including traditional food or the Catholic religion disclosing: *More than practicing Catholicism or cooking Polish dishes, I want to make sure that my son speaks proper Polish.* His narrative disclosing a father's ambition to teach 'proper Polish' suggests also that language constitutes a crucial aspect of Polish culture and his ethnicity.

Manifestations of class divisions in the new Polish diaspora

A common emergent theme during many interviews, which evoked participants' irritation, concerned the use of vulgarisms, profanity by other Polish migrants in the UK. Magda, one of the most ambitious mothers in teaching Polish expressed her worries about the impact of swearwords on her children: *I think they don't realize that kids can hear them and repeat. What kind of Polish are my children going to learn?* The above extract implies that participants perceive street jargon as culturally stigmatized identifiers of 'foreigner' status with poor linguistic skills. Magda refers to the Polish migrants with 'bad reputation' as 'they', which suggests that the mother distances herself from the stigmatized working class of Polish migrants who use colloquial expressions, slang or swearing. Her rationale is to protect her children from 'bad influence'. As discussed elsewhere by Lopez Rodriguez (2010), social class significantly influences how migrants' experiences are understood and articulated and language mediates indirectly rather than explicitly these social divisions.

All parents across the sample wished to be associated with educated elites as Ada's statement reveals: *I get annoyed when I hear Polish people swearing on the streets or when they mix Polish language badly with English.* The key motive behind why the use of slang, vulgarisms or mixture of Polish language and English, so called 'Ponglish', in public places evoked parents' irritation was the worry of spreading a negative reputation attached to the working class of Polish migrants in Britain. The statement below illustrates Ada's concerns about how other English people perceive Polish migrants in the UK: *Surely, lots of English*

people understand those words and what kind of impression may they have of Polish people? For Ada and other respondents, witnessing Polish vulgarisms, mixing Polish and English or slang expressions in public places such as parks, shops and in the street caused feelings of embarrassment and frustration. This is principally due to the fact that they do not accept this kind of behaviour and do not wish to be associated with it. In part, they were afraid that they may be negatively perceived and associated with stereotypical images of the uneducated Polish working class from whom they sought to distance themselves.

During interviews and home visits, Ada continued placing herself at a distance from other Polish migrants who were brought up without being exposed to another language, highlighting her middle class status, which unveils her worries that she may be mixed with Polish uneducated workers: *Sometimes what is so obvious for Polish people is not so obvious for me (...) My father was Karraim so we learned not only Polish but also Karraim culture. Or maybe due to my work environment at the university.* The above quote reveals that for the mother both aspects of her mixed heritage origins and educational background (working at university) emerged significant components constructing her positive motherhood identity. Language in this context stands as a class marker – it articulates mother’s middle-class background and existence of divisions between parents in the Polish diaspora. At the same time value given mixed heritage roots contests images of Polish migrants in the UK as a homogenous and biased group, reproduced by mass media.

The majority of interviewees reported their ambitions to teach rich Polish language. Interestingly, even if some parents like Wlodek do not have a higher education and represent working class migrants, their discourse expresses a desire of not being associated with the stereotypical clichés of ‘uneducated, working class’ Polish migrants, for whom everyday language is laced with profanity and vulgarisms and carries a heavy social stigma. By acknowledging *I don't want him to speak with some weird accent* indicates that the father distanced himself from uneducated Polish migrants in Britain. The father’s concerns are not to be associated with the negative stereotypes of ethnic

minority groups or the cliché of ‘working class Polish migrants’ with a ‘bad reputation’. He later emphasizes: *I am not like one of those uneducated Polish migrants who do not care if their children speak their language of origins properly.* Clearly, the extract above suggests a father’s hidden ambitions about the social mobility of his child. His discourse confirms that language acts as a recognizable marker of parents’ educational background and social status drawing boundaries between various social groups in the new Polish diaspora (Bourdieu 1991; Lawson and Sachdev 2004). It is despite historically (during the partition period) it represented a political tool to unify people from different classes.

To summarize, narratives of participants with different social characteristics revealed parents’ anxiety, tensions and discomfort, which indicate indirectly common parental aspirations to transmit to their children a rich and correct version of the native language. In addition, my findings suggest that everyday language use conveys divisions and tensions present within the communities in the Polish diaspora linked with different generational experiences, educational background or job type.

The weighting given to family obligations

This section offers an in-depth look at the ways in which family ties and personal networks come into play, informing mothers’ and fathers’ decisions about family language practices. My data suggest that the majority of research participants placed a great importance upon teaching children their native language in order to communicate with relatives. The significance given to Polish language was also understood in term of mediating their sense of belonging to the family origins, linked with maintaining sense of ‘Polishness’. Magda’s account illustrates that ability to communicate with relatives in the language of origin is perceived as their respect to the elderly, which has nothing to do with the grand-narratives of Polish migration understood in terms of sustaining nationalistic project: *None of my grandparents speaks English so only Polish can be used to communicate with our children. That shows respect to the elderly in our family.* Firstly, due to the fact that most grandparents or elder relatives who reside in Poland do not

understand English, transmitting heritage language skills to their children enables communication between generations.

A majority of participants' despite class, education, age or gender expressed aspiration to transmit to their children a rich and correct version of the Polish language, which is illustrated by the same father's account: *I cannot imagine that having both Polish parents who only use Polish at home, he speaks Polish making grammar mistakes (...). That would not impress my family in Poland or my Polish friends in the UK.* The above statement indicates that transmitting appropriate Polish language Wlodek perceives as his 'moral responsibility' in front of his family members and Polish communities in diaspora. Most parents' stories mediate anxiety or even stronger emotions such as fear or shame of failing to fulfill grand parents', family or Polish friends' expectations to teach Polish language; which illustrated by Pawel's narrative, a father of a two year old daughter: *I don't want other Polish friends in the UK or our family in Poland to think that we neglect our parental duties. I would feel embarrassed.* The above extract underlines a father's awareness that the linguistic competence of his child reflects on his parental skills. At the same time, it expresses concerns of being negatively judged by family and community in the homeland if not meeting those expectations.

Pawel's account reveals at the same time a father's feelings of being under pressure and his concerns about being judged by family members if not able to fulfill family expectations. *I would feel responsible if she could not communicate in our language of origin with her relatives who do not speak English - it would not look good in front of my family.* 'I feel responsible' indicates a moral obligation to transmit the native language to his daughter during the process of socializing children in Britain, and his fear of failure as a migrant father. His account also indirectly communicates a feeling of shame in front of his relatives and calls for a collective ideal of 'family' dominant in Polish society (Titkow 2007).

Secondly, using the community language in a domestic space with older family members who do not have a good command of English shows a value given to

sustaining social links between family members and a sense of belonging to a broader family collective. Monika, mediating her concerns about her relatives' perception, articulates indirectly the impact of the family expectations regarding her parental duties, where teaching children's linguistic skills appears a crucial aspect of 'a good parenting': *I would not feel comfortable in front of my family if our daughters could not take part in family chats, jokes or answer simple questions to their grandparents when we all sit at the table.* During a follow up interview, Monika explained her hidden worries regarding her feeling of shame in front of her parents if she fails in teaching her children Polish: *If I don't make effort to teach my daughter Polish it would be a shame for me and it would upset my parents. My dad could think that our daughter does not have good manners.* In that view, developing the native language competency of children by Polish parents enabling and maintaining regular contact in particular with their grandparents can be understood as a way of fulfilling family expectations, showing respect to the elderly and family building.

Both extracts above show that teaching the language of origin by parents in diaspora strengthens the imagined sense of 'togetherness' based on shared family memories despite physical distance and at the same time it signifies displaying respect to elderly family members. In light of this fact, the use of the native language in everyday conversations between children and family members reinforces the sense of belonging to a broader multigenerational family rather than to a single, nuclear unit, have come to be associated with Polishness as it is in Italian or Latin families (Baldassar 2011). Observed signs of good manners during my family visits imply and confirm that grandparents and extended family members play a significant role as moral guardians actively involved in the process of socializing children and teaching the heritage language. The importance placed upon showing respect to family elders by speaking in one's ethnic language was something that reoccurred during conversations with children, which demonstrates an extract of my conversation with Tomek, the 18-year old son of Magda and Jan, Polish parents: *I always speak to my grandparents in Polish, never in English as I don't want to be impolite or disrespectful when they were always caring and thought me Polish.* The results of

my analysis are in line with the findings of other studies on Eastern European migrant families among professionals (Nesteruk 2010), which emphasize the significance of family ties as a motivating factor for intergenerational language transmission (Nesteruk and Marks 2009).

Most participants reported the active involvement of their grandparents and other extended family members in transmitting the language of their heritage, which constitutes a form of their social capital (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). My findings build on other studies on Eastern European migrants (Nesteruk and Marks 2009), which acknowledge the significance of family ties in intergenerational language transmission. Polish migrants and likewise Ukrainian and Bulgarian parents emphasize that regular visits from grandparents and maintaining regular contact, helps remarkably to improve their children's language skills. Nesteruk and Marks (2009) study on Eastern European families in the USA demonstrates the salient weight given to the physical presence of the grandparents in the household. She describes that it is a common pattern that when a new child is born, Eastern European grandparents come to the USA and stay for six months to help with childrearing. In the case of Polish families in Britain, due to a shorter distance and the affordability of flights, parents' trips to Poland and their grandparents' visits are more frequent.

The majority of participants highlighted the significance of return trips to Poland and relatives' visits in order to meet family obligations. The importance of speaking in the ethnic language with extended family members is expressed by spending time with their relatives in Poland during school holidays or special family occasions despite the various costs involved in such journeys. Furthermore, during my home visits, particularly in the homeland, I noticed that parents were seeking approval from their close family members of their teaching skills and expressing the pride they held for their children's linguistic abilities to non-migrating family members and the local community in Poland. Positive opinions of relatives appear as a reassurance of the worth in their efforts in constructing identities as 'good parents' as Monika's account illustrates: *I felt very proud of my daughters when they were singing and praying in church in*

Polish with my mother during her visits or when we go to Poland. Additionally, return visits supplement transnational forms of teaching and caring whilst at the same time displaying respect to older grandparents and fulfilling intergenerational obligations. However, due to work commitments and the school timetable the visits had to be adjusted accordingly to the school holiday patterns.

Child's advancement

Bilingual childrearing

The aim of this section is to demonstrate that bilingual childrearing constitutes a crucial aspect of good parenting in the Polish diaspora, which breaks away from sustaining patriotic attitudes or nationalistic discourse embedded in the *Mother-Pole* symbol. The aspiration of Polish migrants in the UK concerning a bilingual childrearing follows the 'additive bilingual' trend, which emerged initially in USA (King and Fogle 2006) and then spread globally in Europe, Australia or Asia (Kirsch 2012). On the contrary, the dominant ideology of England has been continually portrayed as monolingual (Blackledge 2000), despite its multilingual population. In 2006, according to the European Commission (Spolsky 2004) 62% of the questioned population reported no knowledge of any language apart from English.

Bilingual childrearing was perceived by all interviewees as an advantage – a resource to improve children's advancement and their future opportunities at a career. All participants in my research acknowledged the importance of developing linguistic skills from a young age aiming to advance children equally in proficiency in Polish and English languages. Distinctly, a strong ambition and a broad repertoire of family language practices to raise children as bilingual differentiate the cohort who moved to the UK after 2004 from the previous political migrants. Since the communist regime collapsed in 1989 and Poland became one of the EU members, learning modern European languages in schools rather than Russian became a new pattern implemented by the Ministry of Education, which marks an ideological shift (Janion 2014). Accordingly, the

developed foreign language learning policies sustained a privileged status of English as a world language and lingua franca.

The majority of my respondents associated linguistic competence in both English and Polish with better educational and future job prospects for their children as Wlodek's account illustrates: *I try to motivate my son to learn Polish as in his class not many children are bilingual (...) I try to explain to him that it is a big advantage to be able to speak two languages as it makes life easier.* The above quotation demonstrates a father's encouragement and desire that his son acquires linguistic competency in the native language. Value given developing linguistic competency in more than one language exposes a strong focus on children's needs and a child-centered approach. It also shows that the father positions Polish and English languages within the context of the 'global economy', which is illustrated by his statement: *I try to encourage him to learn Polish in this way that if he knows two languages very well and can make business between Poland and England he will be able to buy sporty cars, which he loves.* Wlodek perceives linguistic competency as enhancing his child's future opportunities and his choices regarding future employment, even though Polish is not a mainstream language in the UK.

Likewise, all parents across the sample were vocal about their 'right decisions' concerning moving to England and highlighted their ambitions regarding educational opportunities for their children. Future job prospects were understood as through learning English and gaining a British higher education, by children and also by parents themselves, as illustrated by Jan's narrative: *Firstly, it was crucial for me and my wife to give to our children opportunities to learn English and to study at English universities. However, I understood quickly that I also need to learn English if we are going to live in this country.* A significant motive for implementing bilingual childrearing is that Jan and Magda appreciated the intellectual advantages of knowing a second language, which are subsequently translated into social mobility. The above quote clearly demonstrates that English was perceived by Jan and Magda as a dominant, global language in diaspora - a necessary tool to enhance children's career

opportunities, financial advancement also changing parents' social position. Especially participants with lower level of education considered linguistic competency in English as a vital factor to increase their children's and their social mobility reflecting on their own migration trajectories.

Jan's recollection illustrates his frustration at his workplace after moving to the UK due to the language barrier and difficulties with communication: *It was very frustrating not to be able to respond fully or explain to my boss what I wanted at work. But now when I improved my English I changed my attitude.* Jan's comments imply that linguistic skills have a profound impact in shaping migration experiences. After Jan enhanced his English, his approach has changed as well. Strong values given by participants to bilingual childrearing emphasize various costs, including emotional distress, sacrifice of social position and adjustments to the new language context, especially in the initial stage after moving to the host country.

Jan's account, for instance, reveals how difficult and stressful it was for him to accept a degradation in his and his wife's job status due to their poor command of the English language at the early stages of migration: *At the beginning our jobs were a complete degradation for me. I did not understand why my wife and I had to work so hard /['harowac'] accepting very simple jobs like looking after elderly people or gardening like someone who does not have any education /['prostak'].* The above extract demonstrates a father's determination and emotional sacrifice linked with forcing himself to continue with doing a manual job in order to provide for his family: *I had to force myself not to quit that job at the beginning as I had had enough and many times I wanted to give up.* In addition, the father's recollection expresses his strong loyalty to his family: *More than once I had to repeat to myself that I do this for my wife and my children as I had to somehow earn some money.* Strong Polish expressions, 'harowac'/[to work so hard] or 'zacisnąć zęby'/[to grit my teeth]', articulate that his sacrifice equates to various costs. Those include their feelings of degradation, frustration and anger, social status and linguistic skills in order to maximize their children's future career prospects and prepare them prior to entering the labour market. The father's

narrative shows that he distanced himself from his employer due to the language barrier and contrasting educational backgrounds.

Interestingly, the advantages associated with bilingual childrearing most parents perceived not only in terms of economic benefits. Participants despite their education usually associated the advantages of bilingualism in terms of influencing children's intellect. Basia, a working class mother, highlighted: *For sure learning languages helps Stefi to be more open-minded and it helps her to learn other subjects or inspires creativity to develop new hobbies.* Using 'deterministic rhetoric', the mother associated the positive impact of bilingualism with stimulating the child's predispositions for learning other subjects or to develop wider interests within other disciplines. Parents believed that bilingual childrearing broadens horizons similar to art, sport or other after school activities. In particular parents, who consider themselves a bilingual, like Inga, a Polish-Hungarian mother, used 'brain development' rhetoric. She emphasized that early exposure to many languages acts to 'stimulate the brain' to absorb knowledge: *When children are young their brain absorbs everything so much quicker so they can easily learn a second language.* Her argument includes 'brain determinism', which evokes 'intensive motherhood' model (Hays 1996).

Mothers from mixed heritage units like Monika, Ada or Inga (all middle class mothers) noticeably associated children's cognitive advantages and increased educational opportunities with bilingual childrearing by referring to experts' views and scientific literature. Monika disclosed: *I know from some research findings.* Those mothers justified their choices to expose their children to both languages from a very young age by using reference to popular literature: *I had to explain to my grandmother what we read about bilingualism and showed her some on line articles in which I read that children can pick up languages very quickly.* Most parents, who grew up in Poland without being exposed to a second language, expressed their enthusiasm about the advantages of bilingual childrearing in the UK, contrasting it with their own personal experience: *I think it is a great advantage for our daughter in the UK that she is exposed to learn two languages – we speak Polish at home but at school or in our neighborhood she*

hears English and plays with other kids using English. The father expressed his regret with nostalgia reflecting on his own childhood growing in a small village in Poland as a missed opportunity to learn a second language: *I wish I had that chance when I was a child.* Similarly, many parents like Pawel (Grazyna, Basia, and Jan) explained with regret that they did not have a chance to be exposed to a second language in their early childhood, growing up in communist Poland. Grazyna explains: *In my family no one learned another language apart from Russian, that was the only opportunity in school in the communist system in Poland.* Ada, one of two participants, brought up in a mixed heritage family, but whose father failed to teach her the Karraim language, rejects her father's approach. Her statement revealed strong feelings of disappointment that as a child she missed the unique opportunity to learn another language: *I wish now that my father taught us the Karraim language like my aunty did with my cousins!* A desire to compensate for her own experience became the driving force for Ada to raise her children bilingually from an early age.

To sum up, the values associated with bilingualism emerged as similar for parents across all educational backgrounds and class markers however they revealed a generational difference between participants and their parents. At the same time this sense of loss indirectly reveals a generational difference in Polish diaspora between participants and their parents, who did not value bilingualism.

Enhancing language competency practices at domestic settings

In the following section I move to analyse the plural ways invented by parents at domestic settings to enhance children's linguistic proficiency. Interestingly, while bringing into the fore the significance of private sphere and personal aspirations I demonstrate that the cohort who moved from Poland after 2004 break away from the grand narratives of previous waves of political migrants, sustaining patriotic attitudes. Despite various challenges, most respondents disclosed that they were prepared to dedicate lots of their time and energy in order to support their children at home with enhancing linguistic skills. The most ambitious parents like Ada combined a few methods. She spoke to her

daughters only in the native language, she took them for Polish parenting groups and then they attended Polish Saturday School. In addition, Ada also subscribed the oldest daughter for home based tutoring using an online curriculum for Polish migrant children set up by the Polish Ministry of Education and consistently was assisting her with her homework or encouraged her to read Polish books. Ada explained she felt responsible for her daughters to develop proficiency in Polish even if she did not plan to move back to Poland: *It does not matter if we move back to Poland or not – it is my goal that my daughters are bilingual.* She expressed that it was the right decision and she was very proud that all three daughters were fluent not only in speaking Polish but also in reading and writing. She made an effort to prepare her children for the official exams (GCSE) in Poland in order to confirm their level of language competency. Considering a broad range of strategies used by Ada, her case appears as the most committed parent across my sample in the ‘intensive language transmission’.

In line with Lareau’s study (2003), strategies used by Polish migrant parents are also linked with class divisions existing in the Polish diaspora. Lareau’s (2003) concept of ‘concerted cultivation’ resonates with the diversity of family language practices among Polish parents as a way of negotiating home-making. Her study reveals disparities between approaches of middle-class and working-class parents in American context towards arranging children’s afterschool time. My analysis similarly demonstrates that all respondents across various social groups undertake various steps to maintain their mother tongue. That includes enrolling children for activities run by diasporic groups or teaching them at home. Although the majority of parents maintained heritage language use in the domestic settings, those with a higher level of education and middle class expressed more interest and commitment to encourage children to practice their native language in various social situations.

Participant observations of daily interactions revealed parents with the highest level of education (all middle class) were more open to trying multiple pedagogical strategies. In addition, during family visits I observed that the most

dedicated parents (Ada, Grazyna, Monika and Basia) had flexible work arrangements or did not have paid work, which allowed them to spend more 'quality time' at home with their children teaching, playing or reading in order to develop linguistic competency. The most dedicated mothers despite having a partner from a different ethnic background (Ada and Monika), strongly supported the 'one parent one language' approach and applied a 'Polish only' rule to communicate with their children.

Participant observations conducted in domestic settings at Chikanda family demonstrate Monika's commitment while explaining new vocabulary, staying alert and intervening, especially when children started mixing Polish and English languages and creating a hybrid language, so called 'Ponglish'. The below field notes draw attention to the ambiguous mother's reactions caused by mixing languages by children:

Field notes 15 September 2015

(Chikanda family, mixed heritage units)

When I arrived in the afternoon for my 5th visit, the mother was at home with her three daughters. The children were familiar with me already, so upon my arrival the two older girls (6 and 4 years old) greeted me (in Polish). Both girls were speaking Polish with their mother but I noticed that from time to time they used some English words and mixed Polish and English expressions while playing with their dolls. I observed their conversations:

*Junia: Proszę Pana, to nie będzie bolalo, so **there is no point** plakać /*

[Sir, it is not going to hurt, so there is no point to cry],

*niech Pan przestanie się zachowywać jak **spoiled baby**."/*

[you should stop behaving like a spoiled baby]

*"Jasia: Ależ ja nie udaję, ten zab naprawdę mnie boli, **believe me**.*

***Thankuje** Pani bardzo za pomoc. Bye, bye!/"*

[I am not pretending, I have toothache, believe me. Thank you very much for your help.]

Mother smiled in the first instance hearing the conversation but then she intervened and offered the corrected Polish sentence:

Mother: Nie mowi sie 'thankuje', to nie jest poprawny ani polski ani angielski jezyk./[One does not say 'thankuje', that is not a correct Polish or English. How would you say that in Polish?]

Junia: Dziekuje bardzo!/[Thank you very much!]

Mother: Bardzo dobrze!/[Very good!]":

The above dialogue demonstrating the mother's consistency and effort in correcting her children when mixing Polish and English, appears as another form of 'intensive parenting' (Hays 1998). First, the mother altered the sentence, saying: *One does not say 'thankuje'*, then she explained that the structure was incorrect: *That is not a correct Polish or English* and finally she requested a translation: *How would you say that in Polish?* This mother stated very clear expectations about the use of Polish at home and she did not agree with code-switching, which implies indirectly her educational background, reflexivity about being persistent when applying 'one parent one language rule' in order not to confuse children, which language to speak with parents with different native languages.

Mixing both grammars (Polish and English) evoked a humorous effect but a strong mother's reaction as well revealing her desire that her daughters speak 'proper Polish'. In addition, the mothers' narratives exposed her worries over how to effectively teach her daughters to use the correct grammatical forms without causing too much stress or damage to their self-esteem. The above participant observations showing the mother's linguistic competence and commitment in transmission of the native language process evokes the parental role, conceptualized by term 'teachers' (Furedi 2008).

Interestingly, not only mothers but fathers as well, expressed their need to perform the role as skillful teachers, which Wlodek's statement shows: *We correct him many times when he makes the same grammar mistakes and sometimes I give up/'macham reka' but not very often. I try to be persistent.* The role as teacher demands some level of parental knowledge and linguistic

expertise. It appears a never-ending task requiring on-going effort to correct linguistics inaccuracies; it is another form of 'intensive parenting' (Hays 1998), in which parents from various social classes actively engage. The same father disclosed he felt accountable for developing his son's linguistic skills: *I feel it is my responsibility to correct my son in order for him to be fluent in Polish.* Moreover, the idiomatic expression 'macham reka' underlines the father's feelings of being helpless and tired knowing that his son is going to make the same mistakes again.

By contrast, some parents (Ania, Grazyna, Pawel) exhibited an ambivalent attitude towards being 'rigid', especially in social situations, with the presence of non-Polish speakers (Ania). Slawek (Polish father with a British wife) or Ania (a single mother), both with vocational training, believed that in the British context, it was not so necessary for their children to have the same level of competency in writing, reading and speaking in their native language as if they were living in Poland. Slawek explained his rationale of speaking to his son in both languages: *I use Polish mainly when we go to Poland but I also speak to him in English when Vicky (English mother) is around as it is just less confusing.* For these parents the main goal was that their children were able to speak in Polish in order to communicate with their relatives in Poland.

To summarize, by examining family language practices taking place at a domestic setting, I demonstrated manifestations of intensive parenthood in the Polish diaspora and domination of a child centered approach. Overall, it appears that the main factors influencing parents' decisions about bilingual childrearing and the chosen strategies to transmit heritage language were influenced by their own personal experiences (successful or not and in some regarded as missed opportunities). The strong emphasis on the positive experiences, being brought up in a mixed heritage family or regret that they did not have that opportunity appeared a significant factor in influencing parents' decisions to raise their children bilingually in the UK. Parents with a bilingual upbringing strongly supported the maintenance of the native languages due to its broadening of ones' horizons, enhancing understanding of different cultures or stimulating the

learning process. These 'scientific views' appeared significant in justifying their choice in front of family members, constructing themselves as 'good' parents and as a consequence as informed parents.

Multiple strategies employed to implement bilingual childrearing shows various levels of parents' commitments, differences in available material resources and time availability towards advancing their children's linguistic competency. In that view language resonates class differences in the Polish diaspora in the UK. On the other hand on-going effort and employed by participant plural strategies confirm parents' concerns not to be associated with uneducated working classes which confirm value given to Polish heritage and their family origins and reveals existing divisions in Polish diaspora and generational differences. Considering parents' commitment to develop children's linguistic competency in both Polish and English language, the bilingualism appears as a recently emerged new form of intensive parenting (Okita 2002; Piller 2002, 2005), which became a desirable goal for both, language-majority and ethnic minority parents.

Language use in public spaces - engagement with diasporic groups

The aim of this section is to examine parents' rationale behind the diversity of strategies within a community context to enhance children's linguistic competency. Studies examining the transmission of the mother tongue among migrant communities suggest that for the successful maintenance of the heritage language, relying on parental effort is not sufficient (Fishman 1991, Okita 2002; Portes and Hao 1998; Takeuchi 2016, Wong Fillmore 1991). Cho (2010) for instance underlines the significance of the broader social context in developing children's proficiency in their native language through various diasporic community groups. Drawing on Stevens' (1992) and others (Bialystok 2001; Park and Sarkar 2007; Nesteruk 2007) my analysis confirms the crucial impact of joining community groups in order to enhance children's language competency amongst the second generation. Parents' engagement in the maintenance of Polish language was reinforced by using pre-existing social

networks like family ties and establishing new ones, which included Catholic or educational organizations.

Polish parents similar to Japanese (Okita 2002) enrolled their children for various activities run by diasporic community organizations including Polish Saturday Schools or the Catholic church in order to encourage them to use the native language. Grazyna, as most of participants, exposed her son to the native language by enrolling him for Polish Saturday School with the intention he can improve his reading and writing skills. She highlighted: *It is a great opportunity for Patryk to attend the Polish Saturday School as he can meet other Polish children there and teachers improve his writing and reading skills. He met one of his best friends there. Now they also meet after Polish School to play football together or at home. We are very lucky that Polish School is near us, so it is not difficult to take him there on Saturday.* Her statement suggests the importance of easy access to ethnic complementary schools, which enabled children to practice the home language with other peers. In the case of new Polish migrants, as in the research of Alba et al. (2002) Hulsén, de Bot, and Weltens (2002) or Portes and Hao (1998), communicating with friends of the same ethnic origins was identified as an influential factor to increase practice of their mother tongue in a social context.

Although most parents expressed their interest in their children's participation in activities run by Polish organizations, not all parents were able to take children regularly for lessons in Polish Saturday Schools or play groups due to their working patterns or distance from the school. The level of children's participation in the activities facilitated by diasporic organizations again reconnected with Larreau's (2003) observations about parents' socio-economic background. While middle class parents who had more flexible working hours were able to dedicate more time and financial resources to take their children for various activities, working class parents or single mothers reported more difficulties to take regularly their children for various group activities.

In addition, parents with higher education articulated more explicitly the

importance of their children's interactions in the native language in a broader context, which includes the public spaces. Ada emphasized that as a result of her own research on bilingualism, she was aware of the impact of joining the activities arranged by community organizations on children's native language fluency. She explained: *I wanted to create for my daughter an environment where she would be able to use the Polish language in different situations. I also did not want her to think that Polish is such a strange language, which only her mother speaks.* The above explanation demonstrates the mother's reflexivity and her awareness about the importance of creating the 'right environment' for her child to learn the Polish language. My findings correspond with other studies of migrant families demonstrating a broader linguistic community context and that support from extended relatives and peers are needed and necessary (Chumak-Horbatsch 1999; Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels 1995; Kravin 1992).

Parents' decisions to enrol children in Polish Saturday Schools were motivated by them noticing the gradual diminishment of their child's native language skills after starting mainstream school in the host country. Grazyna's narrative illustrates this point: *We always speak Polish at home but I noticed that recently after Patryk started school he tries to force us to also speak English at home so I have to correct him more often. But I hope that attending Polish School and meeting Polish friends encourages him to speak Polish.* The above account reveals the mother's hope that attending Polish School and interactions in Polish with other children can help to develop her son's proficiency in the Polish language. At the same time, in the same interview, Grazyna expressed her worries that the maintenance of Polishness can be at risk within the process of acculturation to the British education system: *I don't know if his Polish is going to deteriorate now (after starting English school) knowing that most of his friends at school are English.* Grazyna's account clearly reveals an increased anxiety, which evokes the 'paranoid parenting' model (Furedi 2001).

Ada, different to other Polish parents in my sample, took her own initiative and set up a parenting group for other Polish mums and later a Polish Saturday School when she realized that it would be impossible to teach her daughters all

linguistic skills by herself: *I realized that it may be not possible to speak, read and use Polish fluently.* The situation of Polish parents in Britain, which draws parallels to Russian families in the USA, is in stark contrast to the example of Bulgarian parents dispersed throughout the USA. Nesteruk (2010) brought to the fore the difficulties in the successful maintenance of the Bulgarian language due to a lack of established community institutions. These include ethnic schools and the infrastructure of ethnic businesses.

Furthermore, a case study of parents with Maltese backgrounds in Australia (Borland 2006) and the research of Filipino mothers in Japan (Takeuchi 2016) show the significance of more structured organisations among diasporic groups. These organisations include supplementary schools in which children are able to further develop competency in writing, reading and formal grammatical knowledge. Furthermore, comparable to Russian migrants in the USA, Polish parents in Britain, due to established diasporic institutions, were able to choose some activities for their children that involved Polish speakers. In particular childcare providers were mainly Polish (very often extended family members), which gave their children additional opportunities to practice the native language: *My mother visits us regularly to look after our son during his half term breaks so Sebastian is forced to speak Polish with her as she does not understand English.* However, instructors of sport activities including tennis, dance, swimming or ballet were mainly English-speakers. Ania explained that her decision was influenced by lower costs for the group activities, convenience of location and the good reputation of the Karate instructor, who trained her daughter: *Maybe in London there are Polish karate instructors but not in Maidstone so I don't have a choice really.*

To summarize, participants had differing ideas about the best approach and pedagogical methods to implement bilingual childrearing. I showed how parents drew from a variety of resources, including transnational family ties and diasporic networks in order to overcome challenges and to construct themselves as 'good parents' in front of a Polish diasporic community. The differences in the level of children's proficiency in using the Polish language were linked with

available resources, parents' level of education and their commitment. Participants who expressed the highest interest in transmitting their native language demonstrated active engagement, confirmed by applying multiple strategies to strengthen the linguistic skills of their children. I concur with Okita (1996), who highlights the impact of the level of income and existing social networks, including more structured organizations like Polish supplementary schools or less formal community groups, which shaped parents' language decisions. Likewise, in the Japanese case as well as in Polish diaspora, economic factors and geographical proximities emerged as crucial forces and helped them to apply strategies to advance heritage language proficiency. In that view parents' strategies to develop linguistic competency of their children can be understood in terms of converting various forms of possessed capitals (financial or cultural resources including educational background or linguistic skills) into another form of symbolic capital (a pride or honour), which is manifested also through language use (Bourdieu 1991). Bourdieu (1991) highlights the class as an important factor shaping linguistic patterns of individuals. In that light, Polish migrant parents' everyday language use articulates not only their personal linguistics ambitions to develop children's language competency, but also language becomes a recognizable marker of social divisions in the new Polish diaspora.

Everyday intimacy and gender differences

While the previous sections discuss the meanings associated with transmitting cultural heritage or enhancing a child's development, here the main focus is on mediating intimacy through everyday language use and the significance of gender regarding communication with children and sharing emotions. In order to construct the identities as 'good parents' the majority of respondents placed the importance upon the use of the ethnic language to share their personal feelings or spend afterschool time together. I argue that by talking to their children and engaging in family activities they give weight to the ethnic language as a tool to understand children's emotions better. Dominance of child-centered approach and the focus on child's emotional wellbeing evokes intensive

motherhood model, which stands in contrast to the grand narratives of political cohorts of migrants aimed to reinforce nationalistic ideas. I develop this argument along three lines by discussing more precisely three main themes. The first one concentrates on the native language as a tool for mediating emotions and personal thoughts between parents and children. The second gives insight into gendered differences by discussing mothers' and fathers' responses to children's distress. The role of diasporic communities and the use of ICT media are the main subjects of the last section.

Mediating emotions and sharing personal thoughts

My analysis revealed the significance of Polish language in daily 'intimate conversations' with their children in both mothers' and fathers' narratives with the aim to share their feelings and recognize their emotions. Magda's narratives illustrate: *For me as a Polish mother I try to understand our children by speaking to them in a polite way using correct, rich Polish language.* The main emphasis is placed on personal everyday conversations, which Magda's account reveals: *I prefer to talk or play with my children rather than sacrifice.* The above reflection indicates that the post accession Polish migrants understand their parental roles differently than previous generations. The above quotation shows how the new Polish migrant parents position themselves in a way to highlight the significance of personal family interactions rather than mediating patriotic ethos. They reject the idea of sacrifice, which required prioritizing the national cause over personal goals. This was a key component of the cultural symbol 'Mother Pole'. However, considering that my sample included three Polish fathers and seven Polish mothers, correspondingly female interviewees more frequently expressed their preference to express their emotions in the mother tongue. The majority of participants perceived communicating with their offspring in their native language in terms 'more natural', but giving different meanings to that term.

For instance, it appears that for Ada it meant that Polish was the language of communicating with her first child, who was born in Poland and where she lived with her first husband: *It is just natural for me to speak to my daughters in Polish*

especially as the oldest daughter was born in Poland. As a result, she used to speak to her daughter only in Polish since she was born, which became her mother tongue and she also continued that pattern after moving to the UK with her two younger daughters born in the UK. Later, during a followed-up interview, she also explained that it was easier for her to discuss personal topics using the language of origins with her daughters. The mother strongly articulated her preference to use the Polish language in order to share with her daughter personal experiences by contrasting terms 'natural' (refers to speaking Polish) and 'awkward' (refers to English): I can't imagine speaking to my daughters about private subjects in English – that would be awkward, not natural. The Polish sense of humour is different to English so I also wanted to make jokes with them in Polish.

Notably, not only mothers but fathers also expressed the importance of using the language of origin to develop a 'close bond' with their children. For instance, Pawel emphasized the significance given to Polish, which helped him to express his affections to his 3 year old daughter: *I want to have a close contact with my daughter so I tell her every day how much I love her before going to bed. We are talking and laughing about silly things always in Polish as it is easier for me to express myself better. It helps to clarify and solve problems easier and quicker with benefits for both sides.* The above statement emphasizes the father's preference to communicate with his daughter in the native language due to convenience. It indirectly suggests that the father lacks linguistic competency in using English therefore he feels more confident when speaking in his mother tongue. Language in this context represents a class and education identifier and informs indirectly the father's working-class background.

In addition, Pawel's narrative also demonstrates a work of memory and reveals generational difference in ways of communicating between parents and children. During the interview when the father reflected on his ambition to establish 'emotional language' with his daughter he compared that to the way of communicating with his father without expressing any emotions and the generational shift became clear for him: *I think it is the main generational*

difference as I never heard that from my dad. Pawel's reflection expressed implicitly his regret that he never experienced sharing his feeling with his father. The above extracts give insight how the Polish parents in Britain develop their personal language of intimacy where the native language becomes a rich resource in terms of Pavlenko's (2005) 'emotional repertoires'. Using emotional expressions in the native language can challenge children's behavior or prompt certain reactions as Monika, the mother of three girls, explains: *If I want to suggest that I am not very happy about something I officially call my daughter 'drogie dziewczę' and she knows immediately that she needs to adjust her behavior. I usually say that if she is grumpy or does not want to tidy her toys.* The mother's description clarifies how she indirectly communicates her emotions or views, which are mediated by her personal expressions. In that view the language of origin emerges as a tool for mediating intimacy. It is in line with Gabb's claim regarding a 'specific kind of intimate knowing' (Gabb 2008), which links understanding emotions with talking, listening, sharing thoughts and disclosing feelings.

For the majority of mothers sharing thoughts and experiences related to sensitive subjects around body appearance and sexuality appeared easier to discuss in the mother tongue, making participants feel more comfortable as Monika's narrative suggests: *Probably it is easier for me as a mother to talk to our daughters about their bodies, menstruation and contraception rather than my husband. It is so natural for me to speak to my daughters in Polish rather than I would be able to speak in English to them.* In this sense, utilizing the native language became a marker of intimacy within mother-daughter relationships. In addition, Monika's account brings to the fore her strong desire to establish openness and trust within the relationship by using simple language expressions suitable to her daughters' age: *I think it is crucial to initiate conversations with my daughters about everything and when they ask me I try to answer in the easiest way using simple Polish expressions adjusting to my daughters' age and their understanding.* The above extract also highlights that the mother tongue for the new Polish mothers has become a tool to form a less authoritative relationship with their children.

Her story also exposes that she distanced herself from her mother's approach, recalling her negative experiences and feelings of shame when she tried to speak openly with her mother about her 'body issues' as a teenager: *I remember whenever I tried to talk to my mother about my body or contraception I always felt uncomfortable and difficult as my mother felt embarrassed and did not know how to talk to me. She was making funny faces/'robila miny' and I did not feel confident enough to ask her about anything.* The above extract recalling the mother's negative memories about barriers to communicate with her mother illustrates a generational shift between parental experiences and ways of communicating with children. For Monika's mother 'body issues' emerged as an uncomfortable topic to discuss with her daughter, which she tried to avoid. On contrary, for Monika sensitive topics linked with body appearance, intimacy, sex or femininity is used as a counterpoint to establish a less authoritarian relationship between mothers and their children. The 'new type of bond' is based on trust, sharing feelings, concerns and views as Monika highlighted: *I will try my best to be natural, open-minded and not to have any secrets in front of my daughters.* Change from authority to familiarity marks a new type of ideal as a 'good parent' in the Polish diaspora based on sharing feelings and personal experiences with children.

Other participants emphasized they preferred to speak in their native language explaining that it allowed them to articulate the subtle shades of emotions. Basia clarified: *In Polish we have many words to speak nicely about something or someone small using special grammar forms 'zdrobnienia'/[deminuntivum]. If I want to call my daughter with some affection I can say that using just one word 'coreczka'/[my little daughter].* The mother's reflection draws attention to a way of expressing emotions to her daughter where some particular Polish grammar forms 'zdrobnienia'/[deminuntivum] become markers of mother-daughter personal relationship.

Tensions, emotional struggles and gendered differences

Across my sample, mothers' stories revealed their concerns, or guilt, if their child experienced distress. By contrast, fathers seemed to be less anxious about their communication with children. Grazyna's statement exposes her own as well as other mothers' worries regarding children's inability to articulate their emotions and the risk of breaking communication if she insists on using a strictly imposed Polish only rule: *Sometimes he does not want to reply in any language and just keeps silent and to be honest I have a dilemma about what to do: to stick to my rule and force him to think in Polish or just to reply in English.* The above recollection shows this mother's dilemma surrounding two contradicting priorities: her ambition to maintain the native language use at home in opposition with achieving communication with her son. Grazyna, similarly to other mothers, conceptualized the benefits of using Polish language during everyday conversations using 'therapeutic rhetoric' in terms 'overcoming communication barriers' and 'developing a long-term close bond with the child'. The mother's concerns and hesitations suggest replacing authoritativeness with intimacy – an ideal of democracy within the new child-mother relationship. In that view, reported by the mother's aspiration to understand her child's feelings, commitment to address the child's distress or challenging behaviours is reminiscent of the role of counsellor, conceptualized by Furedi (2008) in the term 'therapists'. In addition, it informs about the domination of the child-centered approach among Polish migrant parents. My findings are in line with a study on Japanese migrant parents (Okita 2002), which recognizes the gendered character of intensive linguistic practices and the emotional costs to Japanese migrant mothers involved in transmitting language.

Furthermore, Polish mothers more often than their husbands/fathers spoke about their concerns regarding language delays and the risk of being behind at school when working with an English curriculum: *Of course he knows how to say it in Polish but speaking in Polish forces him to make more effort and to think more while in English it is easier for him.* Grazyna's recall brings also to the fore her reflexivity and struggles involved in the process of maintaining the native

language, especially after children entered English-speaking schools and English becomes the dominant language of communication with their peers: *I am aware he knows more English words now since he started English school, which makes harder for me to explain to him why he should not speak English at home with us. I think he is too young to appreciate full advantages of knowing a second language.* The extract from the interview implies a mother's uncertainty regarding ways of reinforcing speaking the native language at home.

On a few occasions during my home visits, I experienced the tensions and difficulties faced by mothers in situations when children expressed their frustration and resistance to speaking Polish at home. I remember that the same Grazyna raised her concerns on few occasions: *I have doubts that in case I don't reply in English he (her son) will not speak to me at all and will isolate himself.* The above account illustrates this mother's ambivalent feelings that her child may separate himself or feel rejected if his mother insists on speaking only in the native language. Additionally, other mothers expressed their fears and doubts and were frequently in deliberation over breaking the rule 'to use only Polish at home'. In contrast, Grazyna's husband Wlodek, explained that he did not face the same dilemma as his wife, mainly due to his English not being very good as the father acknowledged: *He knows that my English is not as good as my wife so he does not even try to play that game with me as he always replies in Polish.* The father highlights the significance for him of keeping boundaries, which demonstrates that parent's language competency moderates the way, in which an intimacy is mediated.

Considering that mothers appeared to feel more anxious about children's emotional wellbeing than fathers, they also referred more often to opinions of experts or online research findings as informing their opinions regarding bilingual childrearing. For instance Basia referred to this popular literature to counter other family members' concerns about bilingualism: *Once when my cousin visited us from Poland and noticed that I speak to Zosia (daughter) only in Polish she asked me if I am worried about how she is going to understand English children at school.* For Basia scientific research is the foundation for their belief

and confidence in solely using Polish when interacting with their child, a method they have maintained despite many challenges.

On the contrary, it appears that fathers more than mothers relied on their intuitive knowledge and skills rather than the opinions of experts from popular literature. Advice from external resources was not considered authoritative and fathers treated it selectively, which is illustrated in the Pawel's narrative: *I do not worry too much that Sonia does not yet speak too much in English. I am sure she will learn English faster when she starts the nursery full time. I prefer she enjoys her childhood by playing rather sending her to the nursery for a whole day as a health visitor recommended where she has to speak English.* The above statement demonstrates that the father overruled the advice from a health visitor by his own subjective view. Pawel's case reveals that the father does not follow all the experts' suggestions but rather trusts his intuitive knowledge about his child.

Furthermore, my findings also suggest that interest and ambition to understand 'emotional wellbeing' of children was one of the main motives for mothers' engagement in online groups for Polish mothers in order to seek professional advice. I will discuss more about the role of ICT media in the next section, here I just mention about the empowering role of participating in on-line discussion groups in the context of Basia who disclosed to me: *I found talking to other mums facing similar concerns on how to communicate effectively with their children very helpful actually (...) I can share with other mums my experiences or worries and, so far, someone has always helped to clarify my uncertainty.* The majority of mothers from my sample similarly to Basia found it to be valuable exchanging views and appreciated receiving advice from other parents concerning how to 'decode' children's emotions. The archetypal mother's interest and need for in-depth knowledge of the emotional development of their children evokes the role of therapist (Furedi 2008).

Engagement in diasporic communities and use of ICT media

In addition, mothers were more intensively engaged in various community groups. During my fieldwork, I regularly attended parental playgroups, mothers' meetings at parks and various community events, which were mainly organized by mothers, including Polish Saturday Schools and parental playgroups. Setting up and participating in various less formal community groups in diaspora, including online communities, playing or praying groups, appears to have become a new democratic form of motherhood in the new Polish diaspora. This allows the expression of agency, which in turn empowers migrant mothers as Ada's story demonstrates: *Now I really appreciate my Polish friends in the UK – also mothers, as before (before having children) I preferred to stay away and did not want to meet much with Polish people.* Ada's statement *What I say in Polish I would not necessarily say in English as I can express myself more spontaneously in Polish* highlights the importance of the native language for informal 'chats' allowing the disclosure of intimacy between her and other Polish mothers and for spontaneous conversation (Gabb 2008). These everyday minor conversations take place both during family visits as well as through the use of ICT media. They were not used as a forum for significant emotional exchange between children and extended family members but they seemed to provide an opportunity for maintaining contact and promoting a sense of 'being together': *I like to chat in Polish, gossip about silly things or ask for some advice. That is why I also set up a Polish playgroup for mothers.* The sentence *Polish people chat about different things* seems to be close to ethnic stereotyping, however, as Pustułka (2015) noticed, making sense of ethnic difference is difficult to avoid as it often functions as a compensatory mechanism for mothers who feel lost.

My observations at a Polish Saturday school and playgroups suggest that fathers were also involved in bringing their children for lessons and that they also participated in various community events for families like sport days and picnics. However, their role was in the capacity of assisting mothers rather than organising the whole event. On several occasions I met a group of fathers, including non-Polish speakers, playing football with their sons after their children had finished lessons at a Polish Saturday school. Easy access to the Internet and various forms of ICT media offered much broader opportunities to

express emotions, establish intimacy bridging physical distance in their native language than for the migrants from previous cohorts. Ania explained that weekly phone calls with her parents became a regular family practice - 'family time' - using Gabb's terminology (Gabb 2008), which helped her daughter to develop confidence in speaking Polish. Regular conversations through Skype, online chats and exchanging text messages act as various forms of effective communication, offering intimacy and thus constituting an important everyday practice in the children's lives. Such activities represent a crucial aspect of an 'intimate experience' (Jamiesson, 1998). Drawing on Gabb (2008), this experience can be conceptualized in terms of 'intimate time' within grandparents and grandchildren's relationships.

Slawek, Grazyna and Waldek expressed their preference for using Skype rather than phone calls due to their grandparents being able to see their grandchildren. Others found the presence of a camera disrupting and invasive. Monika explained that she used to talk through Skype more often but she had changed her preference to phone calls after she noticed that her daughters had started to show off, screaming in front of the camera and losing concentration during conversations. She switched from using Skype to phone calls, which enabled her children to have a more meaningful conversation. Cutting-edge technology, rather than aid communication, seemed to distract the mother, rendering her unable to maintain concentration and focus: *I don't like those tablets at all. People keep in touch but conversations are not finished, they are cut off in the middle of conversation. So I have the impression there is too much stimuli. I noticed that my girls became completely distracted, they were internally not stable 'rozedrgane wewnetrznie'/[trembling]', so they did not get what they should from that conversation.* The above extract illuminates the 'illusion' of having deeper contact when using both visual and audio channels as transmitters. The mother highlighted the limitations of having the camera switched on and the difficulties in focusing and following the conversation. 'Disruptive' images provoked the children to overreact or become distracted from engaging in meaningful conversation with their grandparents. In order to resolve her concerns, the mother decided that each daughter should speak on the phone in a separate

room to eliminate such unfavourable conditions. The mother's narrative revealed her resistance towards more modern touch-screen ICT media.

Summary

The above chapter explored various meanings assigned to the heritage language transmission by the research participants, shaping their self-identifications as good mothers and fathers. Considering language as a marker of social categories, including class, gender, education, (Hall, 1997, 2000; Lawson and Sachdew 2004), my chapter demonstrated that the socio-linguistic representations of parents are contingent forms, shaped by the context of both host country and homeland, family setting, temporal and spatial dimensions. The linguistic analysis of our aforementioned representations and the meanings given to the heritage language suggest that everyday language practice conveys differences within the diasporic community, mediated by gender, social class, material resources and educational background.

On the one hand, all of them associated their mother tongue with their identity, cultural heritage, family ties, expressing emotions and intimacy and, as a result, felt a need to transmit to their children. On the other hand, they valued English as high status language and British education, which helps to boost future opportunities. Consequently, they wished to develop in their children bilingual language competency, which enabled to integrate with British society. Parents' personal experiences, linguistic competence and educational background explained their motivation to bilingual childrearing, which they considered as a crucial factor contributing to their children's advancement and social mobility. All parents in this study admitted to code-switching and used English in public situations demonstrating capability to adapt to the language of the interlocutors. They moved between languages in order to integrate themselves and their children into British society.

This chapter revealed, in addition, that child linguistic competency and the 'purity' of family language practices are influenced by the strength of family ties

and diasporic social networks, where the role of ICT media and travel technologies become paramount. Using available resources in diaspora and from homeland through social network, parents were in the position to enhance their children's native language competency understood as the 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu 1991). While negotiating family language practices at home respondents faced many difficulties, which resulted in adjusting language use rules and some inconsistencies. These challenges emerged due to the clash between the parents' values concerning bilingualism and the monolingual English context. The mothers strongly identified with the transmission of their heritage language to their children but at the same time they understood the significance of developing English competency for their children.

Furthermore, this chapter demonstrates that bilingual childrearing in diaspora requires extra effort and compromise from parents, engaging in various practices which are timely, financially costly and place emotional pressure on parents. In parents' accounts, perceived tensions and the moral dilemma of negotiating family language use in both domestic and public settings were uncovered. Everyday language use conveys parents' concerns and constitutes salient markers of the childrearing methods of the new Polish migrants in Britain. Participants' statements depicting parental experiences brought to the fore subjective concerns regarding the pedagogical methods employed in order to maintain heritage language use. The dominance of tensions among Polish migrant parents indicates the persistence of norms, values and kinship obligations (Thompson 1978, p. 363). This subsequently confirmed strong affiliations to family and community language practices in the new Polish diaspora. In addition, they also appear as belonging to a collective experience, reinforcing the dominance of intensive parenting and blending together with the cultural script of Mother Pole. Few mothers who felt most strongly about their mother tongue and identity chose 'the one parent one language rule', which guaranteed maximum exposure to Polish. Lack of extended family members in UK contributed to develop informal parental groups - small Polish circles and more structured groups (Polish Saturday Schools) in diaspora to enhance children's language competency.

Chapter 5. Home-making, Food Practices and Rituals

Introduction

In this chapter I am going to reflect in different ways on wider ideas around the impact of migration shaping positive parental identities and childrearing practices, which were explored earlier. While in the previous chapters, religion and language practices were the main aspects of investigation, here the focus is placed on various meanings associated with food objects and rituals from the country of origin. In particular parents eating habits are explored considering there has been little examination on whether migrants develop new eating habits or maintain their traditional food practices in the host country. By shifting the analytical framework to the everyday food landscape, this chapter explores how gendered parental roles are negotiated.

I argue that for both migrant mothers and fathers, preparing and consuming ethnic food and recreating rituals associated with Polish culture enables them to re-create familiarity in Britain. Interestingly, participants imagine 'food of Polish origin' differently and meanings given to food evoking 'Polishness' are not associated with nationhood or patriotic ideology. They depart from the grand-narratives of the Polish migration, where maintaining the Polish traditional food was understood for centuries mainly in terms of reinforcing national identity. By contrast, transmitting to children the ethnic traditional food expresses parents' personal aspirations for social mobility and to enhance their children's development. Alongside the transmission of the native language and religion, food preparation and consumption also mediate intimacy. In doing that it offers a more nuanced insight into the process of constructing ethnic identities and parental gendered roles. What matters for participants is to transmit Polish culture through performing everyday food practices and rituals understood here as home-making. In particular, material culture and sensorial sphere are brought into the fore as markers of Polishness. They evoke nostalgia and memories associated with food rituals and family everyday practices. I concur here with Le

Besco and Naccarato (2008) and their idea of 'culinary capital' to illuminate their understanding of Polish food and the complex relationship, which parents have developed towards food of Polish origin in the diaspora space.

Food practices are broadly acknowledged as a marker of ethnicity across fields including sociology, ethnography or anthropology. Moreover, food habits have been recognized as a signifier of status and class (Bourdieu 1982; Rapport and Dawson 1998). Negotiating consumption and production of food reveals also the gender power relationships structuring family life in migration situations (Gardner 2002). Due to food being associated with women working at home, cooking is taken for granted and sustains the low status of practices and rituals around food (Mohanty, 2004; Beoku-Betts 1995). Considering the significance of everyday rituals associated with food in producing a sense of belonging to an ethnic group (Gardner and Grillo 2002, Rabikowska and Burell 2009, Douglas 1984), understood here as home making, this chapter develops this argument along three lines.

The first section demonstrates a salient role of food objects and rituals around ethnic dishes in producing a sense of belonging, which migrant parents aspire to transmit to their children. The role of memories from childhood and nostalgia are explored in recreating a sense of security. The aim of the second part is to explore parents' ambitions to provide 'healthy food' for their children as a significant part of socializing. The influence of the intensive parenting model on creating a 'healthy space' in diaspora is investigated. In doing that it reveals parents' commitment to provide their children with 'good quality' food and to promote healthy eating habits. The key purpose of the third section is to illuminate the ways in which food is used in order to maintain intimate relationships between parents, children and grandparents. Additionally, gender differences are discussed in transmitting food related knowledge and mothers' concerns associated with the impact of an unhealthy diet on children's development. This is compounded by parents' concerns of being judged by family members in Poland and other parents. Furthermore, the negotiation of traditional knowledge transmitted orally between generations and

governmental advisory campaigns are discussed, which ensures children's development.

The approach adopted here highlights a strong engagement of migrant parents in performances of food practices, where emotions and physical sensations appear significant aspects shaping parents' experiences. It is argued, that the significance given to the provision of healthy food and educating children about their diet during the process of socializing indicates a child-centred approach. In the following three sections, which demonstrate plurality of meanings related to food and eating habits, I build further on subjects related to parenting culture, conceptualized as 'intensive parenthood' (Hays 1996). By exploring migrant parents' concerns associated with the provision of nutritious food and healthy eating habits broader ideas associated with 'intensive parenthood' are revisited and probed.

Recreating a sense of belonging

The objective of this section is to explore the meaning given to the Polish food and rituals in terms of producing a sense of belonging. I argue that the significance given by participants to production and consumption of ethnic dishes during the socialization of children primarily concerns producing a sense of belonging. Precisely, within the process of recreating a home by migrants, memories of everyday food practices associated with 'Polishness' play a crucial role. Interestingly, it is not about strengthening nationalistic ideology. Food imagined as Polish matters for parents mainly due to it evoking familiarity and gives comfort. The following view expressed by Magda, a mother of four children, reflects the majority of opinions regarding preparing and consuming ethnic food collected in this chapter. Such a view evokes memories about Poland, creating 'feelings of being at home' rather than ideas associated with nationhood: *Initially, after we moved to the UK with my family we cooked nearly the same Polish dishes as back home and we used to buy lots of Polish products in Polish shops. In this way we felt like we were at home in Poland.* The above quotation illustrates that repeating the same practices strengthens the sense of continuity and familiarity

in the new country where they reside. In particular, access to ethnic food comes into the fore in the initial stage after moving to the UK. In that view, food appears as a symbolic resource, so called 'culinary capital' (Le Besco and Naccarato 2008) mobilized by parents to provide some support to their processes of settling in diaspora.

Mediating knowledge about traditional Polish dishes is perceived by Ada in terms of a 'moral duty', which constitutes a key component of her identity as a 'good mother' and into which she invests her energy: *If I don't make effort to cook Polish meals at home my children will not know about Polish 'proper' food, which is very tasty and full of flavours.* Positive connotations given to Polish food described as 'full of flavours' and 'tasty' demonstrates that it is imagined by Ada as very valuable. In that sense her strong determination to 'make effort' in order to transmit to her children the knowledge about traditional meals cooked at home reminds us of 'the intensive parenting' model. My findings correspond with Gvion (2009) and Chang's (2010) studies, which acknowledge a key role of food practices in constituting migrants' identities.

Educating children to eat in ways that reflect Polish traditional food practices as well as family heritage seems to be of a crucial value for my interviewees. Ada's statement shows she gives weight to the knowledge concerning family recipes passed down through different generations: *It would be a shame if our family recipes were forgotten.* Further in the interview Ada highlighted her pride of the knowledge of food rooted in the family's private sphere: *I am proud of that knowledge received from my mother and grandmother so I want to teach my daughters how to cook our traditional family dishes so they know where their roots are from.* The above recollection articulates also the mother's ambition to teach her daughters their family recipes, which in the situation of migration evokes feelings of belonging. My findings concur with a study on African parents for whom food rituals also appear to be markers of ethnicity, however for Bradby (1997) or Satia-Abouta et al., (2002) food rituals are associated with traditions of oral communication.

Role of memories, materiality and nostalgia

Memories of food practices and family appear salient in life stories. The taste, smell and texture of familiar Polish dishes evoke memories of previous meals consumed in Poland, family events or celebrations associated with Polishness play an important part in childrearing in the diaspora. Physical sensations like taste and smell enable participants to recall memories of Poland and family events, which Grazyna's recollection shows: *When I cook Polish traditional dinner on Sunday, a smell of chicken soup [rosol] reminds me of Sunday family dinners at my grandparents' house where all our family gathered.* In addition, she implies that memories are not free from nostalgia, romanticizing the past: *I have the impression that when I was a child the whole family was closer as we all had more time to visit each other and very often on Sundays we had dinner together at my grandparents. Now it is different, we all live apart.*

Polish traditional cuisine is something which parents are proud of, and which they aspire to pass on to their children: *It became obvious for me to cook Polish meals at home so my children can distinguish it from British food and enjoy the taste and smell of 'real food', not the artificial 'tasteless' ready meals from supermarkets.* This defensive way of expressing views about Polish home-made meals imagined as 'tasty, rich' reveals parents' strong sentiments given to food of ethnic origins and a lack of trust towards British food. The above extract reveals a mother's an emotional attachment to food that is considered to be authentically Polish and stands in opposition to "English food". Homemade meals represent an important way of differentiating Polish culture from the dominant British culture, which is associated with 'artificial, ready-meals' from a supermarket. Polish food is imagined as 'real' or 'proper food' and markedly different to British food.

Longings of Polish parents in the UK for their "traditional" cuisine is understood by parents in terms of nostalgia (Boym 2001), Pawel, for example, recalls: *In the UK I became much more selective about food and nostalgic as my favorite things were not available everywhere and every time when I wanted them.* Pawel's

account demonstrates that memories are used as a means to maintain ethnic identity through the symbolic significance given to food. Symbolically rich food transports back to their homeland evoking nostalgia. Nostalgia enabled Pawel to overcome emotional rupture after he moved to a new country. Considering that nostalgia allows capturing fragmented meanings and hopes in the host country therefore it appears as an important adaptation strategy for Polish parents, similar to South Asian migrants in Britain (Herbert 2007), which helps to cope while away from familiar places and communities. Interestingly, not only performing food practices contributed to producing a sense of belonging. Jan's statement clearly illustrates that speaking about traditional cuisine adds to the daily ritualization of 'Polishness': *For me every meal was very emotional when we all gathered at the table and shared what happened during day.* Consumption of Polish products and dishes metaphorically create a "Proustian madeleine": foods evoking a past, romanticized life in Poland which parents long for in the host country. "Nostalgic food" (Locher et al. 2005) is linked to memories idealizing past. The desired foods—and all that they symbolize — fix all that is wrong with their present lives.

Moving to a new country encourages parents to become more reflective about their food habits. Basia explained that in Poland she did not pay much attention to the dishes that she consumed until she moved to the UK. The change of environment and food landscape in Britain made her aware of value given to food of Polish origin, which is articulated directly in her statement: *I realized how valuable Polish food is for me and participating with my family in rituals around food.* My findings are in line with other migration studies (Das Gupta 1997, Jonsson et al. 2002, Devasahayam 2005), which recognize the crucial role of food as a 'vehicle' for transmitting and transforming cultural heritage and identities.

In order to validate the authenticity of 'indigenous' food products, parents buy those selected items in ethnic shops, bring them from Poland or ask family members to send them. Along with other products including honey, meat and spices, Polish bread is regarded by all participants as a very special 'authentic Polish food'. The symbolic meaning and the importance given to Polish bread is

articulated in Pawel's account: *I love the smell, taste and texture of freshly baked Polish bread or rolls. They are crusty while English bread is like a sponge, it does not taste anything, it does not smell.* Sensorial reminiscences 'smell, taste and texture of freshly baked' appear as the main factors inspiring participants to maintain their food habits in the diaspora. In that sense performing meaningful food practices emerge as a means of enacting their ethnic identity and can be understood in terms of a 'way of belonging' to use Glick-Schiller and Levitt's (2006) concept. By comparing Polish and English bread, the father's unambiguous preference for Polish food is articulated. The emotive language articulated by this rhetorical question '*How can you feed your child with it?*', drawing parallels with English bread as '*a sponge*', reveals a sharp opposition between Polish and British cultures, marking his sense of belonging to the Polish community. Strong, negative comments on English food products mark the father's strong sentiments about ethnic food products and his scepticism about feeding his child with British bread imagined as 'not good'. In that view commentary use of the food theme serves a tool to voice parents' anxiety.

Memories from childhood associated with selected food products mediate a specific type of 'naturalized nostalgia' as Pawel's story shows: *I like most bread from the bakery in our village in Poland as I used to eat it since I was born, so it is my favorite bread.* Reminiscent of Pawel's memory of buying freshly baked bread in the homeland stands as a daily ritual for the father. Predictability of time and space gives a sense of continuity and familiarity: *When I go back to Poland I still love going to the Polish bakeries in the morning with my daughter so she can smell freshly baked bread and choose any roll she wants for her breakfast.* Such expressive language '*I love going to Polish bakeries*' highlights the father's strong attachment given to fresh bread. Engaging his daughter in the everyday practice of buying bread allows Pawel to fulfill his parental aspirations and perform a 'positive parental role'. Predictability of time and space 'that is our morning routine' articulates yearning for the everyday routine, which gives sense of stability especially after arrival in the new country.

Parents' account also reveals feelings of being under pressure and anxiety in case

they are not able to satisfy family expectations. Jan said: *I feel accountable that my daughter experiences food rituals around Easter and Christmas and participates with other family members in celebrations.* Jan's accountability reveals parents' moral obligations to mediate food rituals to his children as a salient aspect of 'good parenting'. Monika explained her concerns regarding experiencing shame in front of her family members in case her children are not able to participate in food rituals associated with significant family celebrations. Monika emphasized her efforts to prepare 'proper Polish' meals from scratch, after having initially moved to the UK: *I tried very hard at the beginning to cook traditional Polish dishes as I felt I have to be a perfect mother and wife like my mother and the ideal Mother Pole.* The statement above shows the mother's sense of obligation to provide 'authentic' Polish meals for her family, despite it being very time-consuming.

Performing everyday food practices and rituals in both private and public spaces can be understood as a means of developing a sense of togetherness and fulfilling family expectations. However, as Rabikowska (2010, p. 391) highlights, for parents to recreate food rituals in private spaces is easier and often they are able to adjust them to meet individual preferences, their economic situation or the family setting. In the follow-up interview, Monika recalled her difficulties in recreating dishes in the same way as in the host country: *It took me so long to prepare by hand the famous Polish dish pierogi, so everyone fell asleep while I was making them (laughing). So it did not work well for my family.* This recollection highlights Monika's fear of not being able to meet the expectations of her mother and husband, indicating also the power of the cultural script of Mother – Pole.

Most parents ascribed a symbolic meaning to all food and not only to that which originates from Poland. In that view, replicating the same food practices or consuming dishes recognized as 'Polish' in the new place of origin reproduces the sense of continuity and belonging, even if those dishes are not perceived as traditionally authentic. The symbolical year of 1989 marks the beginning of socio-economical transformations in Poland, inspired by the influences from Western lifestyles, which created new opportunities to negotiate food

preferences and consumption habits for families. Global food popularized by expanding supermarket chains, networks of fast food outlets, restaurants or take aways have been adopted since then into everyday cuisine in Poland. Some less traditional dishes including, for instance, pasta are also perceived as 'Polish' due to the fact that they are cooked at home with Polish ingredients. Inga for instance says: *We use the same Polish souces for pasta dishes, which are available in Polish shops but also in big English supermarkets as most of them have a Polish section. I like their taste better.* Participants like Inga described these dishes as home-related food, evoking memories about the homeland. In that sense, food projects the idea of 'home', which is understood in terms of recreating memories from the past. Food making and consumption projects the idea of home, understood here in terms of belonging and evokes feelings of being safe, which had been diminished by migration.

In addition, buying traditional Polish dishes or products strengthens the feeling of normality. Basia highlights the importance of readily available fresh ingredients due to Polish shops in diaspora especially in the initial stage after moving to Britain: *Because I could get all the ingredients in the Polish shops that I need to prepare everyday meals for my family it was easier for us to adjust to life in England.* Other parents revealed that even if they regularly shop in English supermarkets, they still visit Polish delicatessens to complement their weekly shopping. Monika's recall brings into the fore importance of Polish food articles evoking images of home and bring nostalgic sentiments: *Choosing and buying those little 'Polish treats' make me feel like being a child again back home.* This sensual dimension enables one to recreate more abstract meanings of home, which have been lost and reconstructed through rituals and practices performed within the domestic setting and in the social context. Transmitting knowledge about Polish cuisine, food rituals and objects associated with Polishness emerged as a significant aspect of responsible parenting in diasporic context.

Transmitting multi-cultural heritage

The aim of this section is to demonstrate how participants negotiate food

practices by mixing traditional Polish food with new international cuisines in the UK. The previous section showed the significance of Polish food and traditional rituals in recreating their sense of belonging to the Polish community, especially in the initial stage after moving to the UK. Here the main focus is placed on diversity in eating habits and changing dining habits along life cycles, after participants settled in the host country. I argue that cultural diversity in the UK provided the opportunity for Polish migrants to change their food habits and combine cuisines from different traditions. This reveals gender and generational differences in the Polish diaspora. Mixing food practices and traditions emerged as an important aspect in the construction of “good mother’s identities”. This was the case especially within families with mixed heritage roots. Participants gave value to transmitting multi-heritage roots through food practices. Shifting lifestyles, food habits and meanings given to food prove that migrants’ identities are contingent forms (Yuval-Davis 2011) and change within the time (Brah 2005, Vertovec 2009).

Mothers, particularly reported not feeling stigmatized for performing rituals in an alternative way or deviating from traditional foods and the social rules associated with dining practices. Ania stressed: *There is no one who can see me and criticize me. I cook anything at home and I stopped being so ambitious about the food when I became mum.* The above statement demonstrates that moving away from the homeland gave her a sense of freedom from the restraints of Polish food rituals. Despite the importance assigned to food perceived as Polish, the rituals around religious and family events are not recreated in an orthodox way. This is especially true in relation to festive seasons. Ania says: *I do not follow the Polish tradition very strictly.* The same mother explained that in the UK she feels more relaxed about cooking traditional dishes associated with Christmas: *Now I feel I don't have to fulfil my family expectations - I just buy 'pierogi' [Polish ravioli] already made in Polish shop if we stay in the UK for Christmas.* Migrant parents, due to a lack of normative powers (grandparents), seem to worry less about following traditional food rituals associated with Polish food.

Ada's case shows that parents adjust ways of performing traditional food rituals in the host country. The following statement implies that Ada distances herself from the Polish tradition of preparing vast amounts of festive food for Christmas: *Preparing too much food is 'typical' for the Polish way of celebrating, which does not appeal to me so we try to avoid wasting of food and we cook no more than normal.* She questions, with irony, the rationale behind preparing festive food: *In Poland, there are supposed to be twelve dishes on the table but who can eat that amount of traditional food during one evening?* Changes in quantity and volume of festive meal indicate the mother altered her attitude to practices associated with religious festivals or family events.

Through the negotiation of every day food practices and family rituals, migrant parents attempt to recreate the sense of familiarity, which belongs to the host country. As a consequence, parents invent new ways of engaging with Polish traditions. Ada adjusted the way in which she performed food rituals according to her own vision of 'Polishness'. As her husband is English, she explained the influence of both Polish and English cultures in shaping ways of performing everyday food practices and rituals in the new country: *We have mainly fish and vegetarian dishes on Christmas Eve according to Polish tradition then on 25th we cook traditional English Christmas roast.* Such new traditions become symbolic and emotional interpretations of their former selves. Shifting food practices according to personal preferences distinguishes the post enlargement cohort of parents not only from other migrants but also from the previous waves of Polish migrants who were preoccupied mainly with nationalistic ideas (Garapich 2007; 2012).

Ada emphasized her aspiration to expose her children to Polish cuisine as well as to introduce to them international food. The significance given to their multi-heritage roots is expressed in Ada's recollections: *Even when I lived in Poland I never cooked only Polish meals for my family, that would be boring. I cook various dishes including Karraim and Italian so they know different tastes.* Exposing children to diverse food and incorporating food from various cultures into their daily diet contests representations of Polish migrants in the UK as a homogenous

and intolerant group, as constructed by the public media. The mother highlighted the importance for her and her husband to transmit their mixed heritage roots to their children through exposing children to diverse cuisine: *I want my daughters to recognize different dishes from Polish and English cuisines so we cook at home both Polish and English dishes. We do not want to take sides, which food is better or tastier.* The strong emphasis on the positive experiences associated with cooking meals from different cultures appeared a significant factor, influencing Ada's culinary habits in the UK.

Promoting meals from different cultures to children also indicates social divisions between those who might be 'open-minded' parents, and 'nationalistic' (who want to preserve their traditional culture). Parents with a higher education and from a mixed heritage background, like Ada, positioned themselves at a distance from stereotypical representations of Polish parents: *For sure I am not like those Poles, who every day eat only Polish typical dishes.* The above extract articulates the mother's anxiety that she can be perceived as other biased Polish migrants who eat only 'typical ethnic dishes' and value given to diverse, international food. My participant observations confirm parents' ambition to transmit multi-cultural roots to their children. During visits to Monika's home, where she lives with her Zimbabwean husband and their children, I observed that the mother and father mixed various cuisines and cooked both traditional Polish and Zimbabwean dinners:

Fieldnotes: 25th January 2016

(Chikanda family, mixed heritage unit, Polish mother and Zimbabwean father)

While we were in the kitchen the mother was preparing a Polish dinner – shredded boiled beetroot and fried chicken breast in breadcrumbs. In addition, I also observed how the father was cooking some Zimbabwean dishes after he came home from work.

When I asked the middle daughter at Chikanda's house what her favourite dinner was she replied "Sadza." Monika (the mother) explained: 'It is a Zimbabwean dish, made from corn flour. I fry green

leaves (kale) and you can also serve it with some goulash with meat or without.'

This description of how the parent prepares the family's favourite meal reveals that the Zimbabwean dishes, introduced by her husband, equally as Polish cuisine became family everyday practices in the host country. In addition, not only parents' individual preferences but also children's views shape the type of family cooking practices in diaspora. That is confirmed by Monika's reminiscence: *When we were in Poland for three weeks the girls did not have "Sadza". So when we came back to the UK they immediately asked me to cook that dish for them but I ran out of corn.* The mother's recollection shows her flexible approach - shifting food practices depending on the situational context. When they visit Poland they eat more Polish dishes but when they come back to Britain they cook more diverse meals.

Interestingly, parents changed not only their eating habits, but also their manners at the table were alternated in the new cultural context. Monika described new way to her dining practice of eating "Sadza" (a traditional African dish) from one ball without using any cutlery with her husband's family: *I really like eating Sadza by using my fingers as it tastes much better.* The above recollection reveals the mother's open approach to a different culture of consuming meals by acknowledging 'better taste' when eating ethnic dishes in a traditional way by using fingers. Her statement '*Now we all eat it in this way at home with our children*' highlights Monika's aspirations to transmit the open and flexible approach to her children by showing them new ways of eating at the table. Later, she also disclosed her initial concerns, that her children can develop the 'wrong manners' and will not be able to switch to Western behavior in public places: *At the beginning I was afraid that my girls will want to eat everything with their hands also in restaurants.* However, she later reassured that her initial anxiety disappeared when she realized that her children were able to shift smoothly eating manners and adjust them accordingly to the situation: *They switch very quickly and they know that we only eat 'Sadza' using our fingers.* Monika's encounter with the African culture of consuming a traditional meal

evokes a mixture of emotions. On one side the mother's aspiration to teach her daughters the traditional way of eating ethnic meals and at the same time her story reveals also her worries that her children will not be able to adjust their behaviour in public places and a fear of being negatively judged. Her case illustrates that food habits signify ethnicity.

To summarize, although transmitting knowledge about Polish cuisine, food rituals and objects associated with Polishness emerged as a significant aspect of responsible parenting in the diasporic context, parents also gave value to exposing children to international cuisine. Ania's, Ada's and Monika's accounts show that moving from the homeland and settling far away from one's family and the Polish community created a more relaxed environment, which liberated mothers primarily from the traditional model of organizing social life and involved introducing various cuisines to everyday family meals. Polish parents similar to Caribbean migrants in Boston after an initial stage, adjusted some food rituals and practices to the new environment, based on the family setting, cultural background, individual preferences or on financial conditions (Levitt, 2001). Home in that sense is not a static concept; migrant parents changed their food practices after they settled in Britain. Exposing children to diverse world cuisine appears a manifestation of parents' proud of their multi heritage origins.

Child development and healthy eating

The following section explores how parents define healthy and unhealthy food practices and how they negotiate dietary standards recommended by food experts with knowledge concerning feeding children received from their own parents. My analysis suggests that the provision of healthy food and promoting healthy eating habits constitute key aspirations for participants, creating a positive 'mother and father identity'. I argue that the significance associated with 'healthy food' appears more important for Polish parents in the diaspora than the transmission of nationalistic sentimental ideologies, and that appears a version of 'paranoid parenting'. I illustrate that argument by discussing three themes: ways of creating a healthy space in the home, emerged anxieties around

healthy food provision and ways of adjusting food practices in the host country. The aim is to shed more light onto the process where migrant parents imagine and construct the home in diaspora as a healthy space and to demonstrate that a broad range of strategies are developed to promote healthy dietary habits to their children, which suggests an 'intensive parenting' model. Broad range of invented strategies evokes 'intensive parenting' model.

Creating a healthy space

In this section I explore how parents imagine 'healthy' and 'unhealthy food', and ways of constructing 'good mother and father' identity through a provision of healthy food to their children. The analysis of their accounts and observed eating habits suggests a dominance of 'paranoid parenting' ideology. Participants across the sample recognized the importance of healthy food within the process of socializing children and positive parental identities were constructed alongside healthy eating expertise. Pawel said: *She should receive from us, her parents, the basic knowledge of healthy food* indicates that mediating knowledge about 'healthy food' appears a moral duty of being a good parent. Notably, the values associated with 'healthy food' appear more important than the transmission of nationalistic ideologies, which is illustrated by Ada's account: *I first of all want to make sure that my family eats healthy. I am not so worried if the meal is traditionally Polish, English or Italian as we eat all sort of dishes, I am more concerned about the impact of the food on my child's health.* This mother, who was brought up in a multi-heritage family, explains her aspiration that primarily she wants to make sure that her children eat healthy and nutritious meals. Her comments emphasize that it does not always have to be traditional Polish meals or products. Positioning the 'healthy aspect' above all other characteristics of food, including its origins from Poland, indirectly implies mother's concerns about her child's development.

The nutritional status of food was linked by Ania with the extensive impact on various aspect of children's welfare, for instance, on their weight, which was associated with developing children's confidence: *I don't give her sweets or fizzy*

drinks as I do not want her to have a problem later on with being overweight or feeling less confident about her appearance. Ania's justification of such dietary restrictions aiming to eliminate sweets or unhealthy drinks from her child diet clearly indicates her concerns about her daughter's wellbeing. In another interview the same mother emphasized rules concerning food consumption at her house: *We do not often eat take-away or prepared meals from supermarkets as those are full of stabilizers, which are not good for your body.* In Ania's opinion, home-made meals prepared according to family recipes were considered better and healthier by most participants.

A driving force behind the supply of nourishing meals is that parents associate this with enhancing children's mental development and physical health, as Basia's statement illustrates: *Rich and balanced diet and nutritious meals ensure proper development of my child's health so I don't mind spending money on better quality products like 'organic' or time to cook 'proper dinners.* Basia's reasoning is similar to other participants' visions, which seem to be in line with contemporary western dietary guidelines and experts' advice. Expressions such as 'proper meals', 'healthy eating', 'a rich, balanced diet' appear to be conceptualized as a means of implementing particular governmental standards for family eating habits and constructing identity as a 'good parent'. Recognizing 'healthy/unhealthy' products effectively shows that parents had become the food experts. Using scientific reasoning shows that the significant aspect of parental roles in the situation of migration includes translating scientific evidence about the relationship between food and disease into food choices for the family, which reminds us of the role of a 'teacher' (Furedi 2001).

'Good food' and 'healthy meals' are understood by most participants in terms of cooking from fresh ingredients. Ada emphasizes: *We try to cook a new dinner every day using various products and mixing ingredients but all of them are fresh.* The most ambitious parents like Ada cooked homemade meals on a daily basis, utilising fresh ingredients. The mother especially emphasized a variety of ingredients, which she tries to mix. The home in the above accounts (Ada, Ania and Basia) is constructed to be a healthy space, fostering healthy dietary habits,

which includes cooking home-made meals. Although the preparation of meals at home was time consuming and most parents were in paid employment, such a task constitutes an important part of the household routine. Furthermore, the availability of Polish ingredients in supermarkets (spices, vegetables, meat, dairy products, baked bread and cakes) and the well-established Polish shops enabled parents to buy the necessary ethnic products in order to cook Polish meals and fulfill their moral responsibilities.

My findings appear in line with studies on parenting in western countries, emphasizing food choices and prioritizing children's health as a crucial component of the moral obligations of 'good' mothers (Lupton, 1996; Nettleton, 1991). This includes monitoring, assessing and disciplining. Ways of implementing these ideas were not static and were adjusted situationally. Both narratives and participant observations conducted in the domestic space revealed parents' commitment and their sense of duty, while explaining, encouraging and promoting 'healthy' food practices and products, especially when children tried to break the rules. The following extract from my field notes sheds more light on a mother's dilemma in the situation in which her daughter wanted to buy some sweets:

Fieldnotes 29 October 2015, in Morrison's supermarket

(Ania, single mother)

After the daughter had finished her breakfast, I accompanied Ania on a supermarket shopping trip. I noticed that the mother bypassed aisles with snacks and stopped near the sections with yogurts or cereal bars. She explained to her daughter the benefits of having those snacks rather than buying 'unhealthy sweets' with extremely high sugar or salt levels.

The above situation, demonstrating the mother's dedication in explaining to her daughter the benefits of having more healthy snacks, appears as an example of intensive parenting (Hays 1996). Additionally, the mother not only clarified the positive impact of less sugary sweets but also suggested and encouraged her daughter to try new healthier snacks. This mother specified very clearly the

reasons why she refused to buy unhealthy sweets and justified her decision about food shopping when she did not agree with her daughter's first choice.

Despite most parents attempts to implement 'healthy food practices' in their households, and promote a nutritious diet to their children, participants with a higher education and higher income levels like Ada or Inga dedicated more time in order to transmit healthy eating habits to children. Those mothers also disclosed they buy 'organic products' from local British shops, as those were seen as 'healthier': *I do not mind spending more money on organic vegetables to make sure that my child eats healthily*. Analogously, like American middle class mothers (Hays 1996), the most committed Polish migrant parents who dedicated more time to preparing homemade food or educate their children about healthy/unhealthy foods worked part-time or were able to be flexible with their working hours. In this sense, parents' everyday food habits express not only individual ambitions to promote healthy food but at the same time, food signifies social class and divisions in the Polish diaspora.

To summarize, the above discussion shows that despite encountered difficulties, including time and financial constraints, parents demonstrated an on-going effort and persistence to provide healthy food for their families and promote healthy eating habits to their children. In addition, they promoted healthy eating in the domestic space and spent time educating their children on food shopping or meal preparation, which reveals a dominance of 'intensive motherhood' in the Polish diaspora.

Anxiety and tensions around healthy food

While in the previous section I explained how Polish parents imagine healthy and unhealthy food and ways of constructing positive parental roles through provision of healthy food, here the main focus is on tensions and worries. Especially in the first stage after moving to the host country some participants, for instance Grazyna, experienced anxiety or even stronger emotions such as an aversion associated with British food: *English meals appear heavy for me and not*

tasty. English people love chips and they add lots of sauces to each meal. What kind of nutritional value has this kind of meal? This rhetorical question, articulated with a raised tone in her voice, suggests the mother's scepticism regarding the nutritional values of English meals, which she sharply contrasted with Polish ones. Polish food in relation to other cuisines in the new country appeared to be 'the healthiest one'. Those in the mother's eyes were perceived as much more healthy due to high levels of 'vitamins and minerals': *We always have Polish clear soups as a starter for dinner, which contain lots of vitamins and minerals.* A strong emphasis on repeating certain food practices in the foreign country guarantees, in parents' eyes, continuity of healthy eating habits from the country of origins.

Preparing home-made meals stands in opposition to perceived English eating habits, associated by participants with eating food from cans, takeaways or ready meals from supermarkets. Cooking from scratch was one of the most common routines among my interviewees and the importance was placed on eating cooked meals, which allegedly were 'tastier' than meals from cans. The values given to cooking fresh meals are also exposed in Magda's recollection: *My family does not like food from cans. It must be cooked fresh otherwise children do not want to eat it.* Vernacular discourse reveals a protective way of expressing views about Polish home-made meals, which are imagined as 'healthier and safer'. This implies parents' strong sentiments given to food of ethnic origins. It also implies symbolic meanings and mythologizing the 'freshness' of Polish products. Moreover, imagining British food in an adverse light suggests lack of trust towards food from unknown sources. Primarily, it reveals contradictions and mediates parents' fear evoked by migration, which is experienced as an unsettling experience in the foreign country (Herbert 2007). In that view parents' discourse is not about healthy food, but more about the culture of emotions where memories of Polish favourite food evoke a feeling of nostalgia, raised earlier in this chapter.

The responsibility as 'a good mother/father' appears not only to provide food for the family but also to protect the children from harm caused by poor quality food. Some parents expressed doubts about the quality of 'English meals' at

school, which is illustrated in Grazyna's statement: *At least if I cook at home a Polish dinner I know that he had a nutritious meal as I am not sure if those English meals at school are freshly cooked or just reheated.* The above quote demonstrates that for Grazyna, home-cooked Polish meals appear as the proper and 'safe' way of feeding her child in a foreign country. This account: *I need to make sure that my child is fed properly* articulates doubts about the quality of school meals. Anxiety expressed by Grazyna appears similar to worries reported by English mothers concerning the quality of school meals, who also were preparing lunch boxes at home for their children (Griffin and Barker 2008, Pike and Leahy 2012). In addition, eating meat from family farms in Poland is perceived by participants as a 'less risky' practice and as 'healthier' than meat available in UK supermarkets as Pawel explained: *My father has a farm in Poland so he sends to us by courier smoked sausages or ham, which he makes. I think it is better as he does not add any artificial ingredients. I don't trust the meat from supermarkets in the UK.* The above comment reveals the father's concerns regarding the impact of 'dangerous food products' in the host country on his children's health.

Parents' intentions for 'healthiness at home' were constrained and reshaped by the effects of structural processes and financial conditions. These challenges were reworked in their day-to-day practices. Jan, for instance, recalled from memory the difficulties that had emerged in the initial stages after having moved to the UK. He had made this life change due to economic factors (lower income jobs and high living costs), which framed the family living standards, material conditions and therefore influenced the quality of food his family could afford on a daily basis: *We had to carefully manage our budget – first we had to pay bills so we were not able to afford every day to buy fresh vegetables and good quality of meat or fish. Instead we had to use frozen alternatives from supermarkets.* Such 'frozen products' less valued by parents, appear in this context as a marker of class, mediating parental aspirations.

The fact that frozen food is perceived as less healthy implies parents' aspirations and a strong desire to create healthy homes in the diaspora. The quotation below brings to the fore strong emotions - father's sense of guilt and embarrassment

associated with the provider role: *I felt embarrassed and guilty in front of my wife and children knowing that I cannot afford to buy good quality food for them (...) I felt disappointed with myself.* Jan's disappointment with himself, feelings of being under pressure and the humiliation he experienced as a result of not being able to provide good quality food for his family all indirectly suggest the dominance of traditional gender norms in Polish society. While disclosing his negative feelings, which included shame and guilt, Jan especially found distressing not being able to meet his children's expectations: *I could not buy many new food items for my children, which they wanted to taste, which was most embarrassing for me and humiliating. What kind of good father I am?* Jan's disclosure reveals shame in front of his family that he is not able to fulfil his parental duties as the provider for his family. Strong emotions are expressed by raising the tone of voice and an exclamation at the end of the sentence. On-going effort to prevent and minimize potential risk from everyday diets suggest the dominance of a paranoid parenting model (Furedi 2001).

Ways of coping with anxiety

The following section sheds more light on strategies developed by Polish migrant parents to overcome the stress and anxiety associated with feeding children in a foreign country. My analysis shows that within time after settling in Britain, parents became more relaxed about governing children's eating practices, which also increased their confidence to contest official nutritional advice as Pawel's account illustrates: *It is impossible to follow all healthy rules and dietary restrictions all the time! You just need to trust yourself and give to your child some permission and set up boundaries.* The statement above shows the father confirmed feeling confident and competent in transmitting knowledge to his daughter about healthy eating, rather than anxious. This in turn reinforces the parental role as conceptualized in parenting literature as a 'teacher' (Furedi 2001). Basia reports with confidence that her daughter had already learnt to recognize 'healthy and unhealthy food': *Our daughter already knows what to buy in the shop and she is just 4 years old! When we are in supermarkets she puts an apple or carrot to the baskets by herself and she does not stop even around sections*

with sweets or with fizzy drinks as we don't often buy those things (laughing). This mother's account reveals her pride and satisfaction that she has successfully trained her child to make rational food choices and has developed the morality of responsible citizens, able to practise healthy eating (Coveney 1998).

The ways that parents imagine 'healthy and unhealthy' food are not free from contradictions. During my fieldwork I witnessed on a few occasions how parents broke their 'rules' and allowed their children to get some 'unhealthy' sweets. Inga for instance explained her decision give her daughters extra sweets above the limit of their 'daily allowance' in terms of a 'behavioural trigger': *We occasionally get some crisps but that's only for special occasions like birthday parties. He knows that crisps are just for once in a while when other children are around.* The above quote highlights that process of socializing also include exposing children to 'unhealthy food' during special occasions and parents' confidence that it is the right thing to do. Some parents for instance positioned Polish sweets or cakes as less damaging for children's health in comparison to English desserts, which Slawek described as 'too sugary': *We usually buy a cake from a Polish shop. I know that it is not very healthy but I think it is better than buying it from supermarkets, as they are full of icing and stabilizers. At least Polish cakes are fresh, less sugary and tasty.* The above passage demonstrates that Slawek is similar to other parents by contrasting Polish and English products. Imagining Polish deserts as 'healthier' and tastier than English ones exposes giving symbolic meanings and mythologizing the 'freshness' of Polish products. Primarily, it reveals contradictions evoked by migration, which is experienced as an unsettling experience in the foreign country.

When describing their ambitions concerning healthy eating, parents, for instance Monika, referred to messages received from health visitors, parental magazines or popular guide-books, both English and Polish: *I read on line portals for parents and magazines concerning feeding children, both Polish and English just to make sure that my knowledge is up to date. They recommend which diet is good for your child and the best products. My midwife recommended to me few English*

magazines and also mothers from parenting groups. The quote above highlights the mother's aspiration to be 'updated' with the recent knowledge concerning feeding her child in order to feel more confident. Interestingly, Monika highlighted that she prefers a Polish magazine due to the fact that her friends read it: I like especially a Polish magazine 'Dziecko', few of my friends read that one and I remember that my cousins in Poland also read that one. It is very helpful and I always find interesting ideas about healthy recipes for my child. Another mother, Basia told me that her mother brought her a parental guide book from Poland before her daughter was born: My mother gave me one book and I found it very useful as it explained step-by-step what kind of food I should give to my daughter and which products are healthy. Both mothers' choices imply that for Monika and Basia 'Polish magazines' and books are good source of information about feeding their children because they are familiar with them and perceive them as trustworthy resources of knowledge. For Monika and Basia scientific evidence, which is presented in the media shapes their views and develops their confidence to carefully monitor their children's diet.

The observed conversation documented below shows Ania's feeling confident about her 'food pedagogy' and that her daughter will develop 'healthy eating habits':

Fieldnotes 26 October 2015, Ania's flat

(Ania, a single mother)

Mother: Darling/Kochanie, what do you want for your breakfast?

Daughter: Do we have some bacon or sausage?

Mother: We ran out unfortunately, but there are some eggs so I can make you an omelette or scrambled eggs. There are still yogurts and cereals or I can make you porridge. We also have eggs.

My daughter likes English breakfast, unbelievable, as I don't eat any fried breakfast (Ania smiled as if she was surprised and explained to me). I prefer to offer her scrambled eggs or omelette as it is healthier so

I don't cook bacon or sausages very often as I think it is too heavy a breakfast for a 10 year old. During the weekend I am happy for her to have cooked English breakfast but I try to make it less oily and use the grill instead of the frying pan.

This conversation demonstrates that the mother presents herself as a responsible citizen who takes responsibility for her child's eating habits. Demonstrating consistency and clarification during that process appears a way of contest 'paranoid parenting' (Furedi 2001), in which migrant parents from different social classes engage in the diaspora. The mother acts as a 'food expert', promoting healthy eating and offering her child different alternatives for her breakfast. She also encourages her to try at least one of her options: *There are still yogurts and cereals or I can make you porridge. We also have eggs.* Such discourse is reminiscent of a teacher's role (Furedi 2001), which demands some level of food expertise and knowledge about the impact of eating habits on health. Moreover, demonstrating consistency and clarification during that process appears a way of contesting 'paranoid parenting' (Furedi 2001). Furthermore, invented strategies to reduce the unhealthy practices of 'risky feeding' indirectly imply her reflexivity when implementing the rule 'to only have an English breakfast during the weekend'.

Family intimacy, gender and maintaining a sense of family

This section explores further the importance of ethnic food practices and rituals as a tool to mediate intimacy within the child-parent relationship, which was already raised and discussed in the previous chapters examining the role of religion and native language use in the childrearing process. The main focus here is to demonstrate the ways in which parents and grandparents maintain an intimate relationship with children through food practices. Furthermore, the impact of gender in shaping mothers' and fathers' everyday feeding habits is examined. The generational differences and ways of negotiating different values assigned to food are discussed forthwith. I shall also show how parents are engaged in offering their own emotional counter-discourse, highlighting the

importance of sharing food and everyday culinary rituals in order to construct positive parental identities. I argue that although 'healthy food' appears the most important value for Polish migrant parents in the UK, the value given to preparing and consuming Polish dishes is associated also with transmitting intimacy and strengthening family bonds. I illustrate that argument by discussing four case studies. Monika's case shows how cooking together mediates intimacy between generations and creates 'sense of togetherness'. The second example is Jadwiga and her grandson and this demonstrates how preparing food helps to develop stronger family bonds between grandparents and children when grandparents do not have a good command of English. The third case study also demonstrates a way of expressing affection by grandparents through giving sweet snacks to grandchildren but also marks generational difference in the Polish diaspora between parents and grandparents. The last example illustrates that food can also play a comforting role and help to overcome difficulties with communication about sensitive issues.

Mediating intimacy between generations and emerged tensions

My analysis suggests that consumption of ethnic food, as well as involving children in the preparation of Polish dishes, creates intimate relationships between parents, children and grandparents. Performing rituals, cooking and eating together reinforces an imagined sense of 'togetherness' and belonging to the larger multigenerational family collective, as Monika's recollection shows: *All family recipes I learnt from my grandmother. I loved spending time with her in the kitchen while cooking and listening to her stories. I also try to teach my daughters how to make some Polish dishes, but I am not as good with cooking as my grandmother. For me the most important thing is to spend time together with my daughters and enjoying our company rather than following strictly traditional recipes.* The above recollection brings to the fore the importance for Monika of the social aspect of preparing food. It involves not only transmitting Polish heritage through traditional food practices, but also developing family bonds.

Her reminiscence illustrates that on one side, cooking Polish meals together is a

way of passing family recipes down through generations. In addition, spending time together in the kitchen while preparing ethnic food is also a means to maintaining a close, intimate relationship with her daughters. Drawing on Gabb's (2008) ideas, the process of parents, grandparents and children spending time together over preparing or sharing food can be conceptualised in terms of 'repairing affective bonds'. The rationale is to develop a stronger emotional bond, which also enabled to generate of a 'sense of family'. In addition, her statement brings to the fore the importance of a time dimension in order to establish and mediate intimate bonds: *It did not matter that it took a bit of time to make some of the Polish dishes as my grandmother never rushes when she was explaining to me thoroughly how to prepare the filling, dough and then showed me how to stick the dumpling skin using her fingers. Those cooking lessons gave me an opportunity to spend time with my grandmother and become close to her.* Monika's recollection shows that spending time together while preparing food becomes a transmitter of intimacy. It evokes warm emotions associated with her grandmother and nostalgic memories associated with the process of cooking traditional homemade dishes: *When I smell or eat that Polish dish ('pierogi'/dumplings) it always evokes my grandmother. We had great time laughing when I made a weird shape of a dumpling and she also told me many family stories during those cooking lessons.* Smell, taste or texture of favourite Polish dishes triggers images from her childhood about informal situations reminding of time spent with her grandmother. Monika's recall emphasizes the significance of memories, materiality and the sensorial sphere in mediating emotions between grandparents and children through food practices.

The significance of Polish food in establishing everyday 'intimate bonding' between parents, grandparents and children came to the fore especially when the elderly lack competency in using English. Some grandmothers emphasized that for them, preparing meals for their grandchildren constitutes a way of establishing a close bond 'without words'. For instance, Jadwiga highlighted that cooking Polish dishes for her grandchildren enabled her to overcome language barriers: *Despite the fact that Sebastian, my grandson does not speak fluently in Polish yet and I don't speak in English, we managed to find a common language. He*

shows me using his hands and smiling that he likes my homemade Polish dishes, which makes me happy. The above statement suggests that preparing ethnic food for grandchildren helps to communicate and gives the grandmother confidence to express her affection and engagement during the socializing process. In addition, performing food rituals at domestic space with older family members articulates respect given to the elderly who do not have a good command of English and it also helps to overcome encountered difficulties with communication. Parents and grandparents assigned different meanings to feeding practices. While most parents prioritized healthy food provision for their children as a key aspect of positive parenting, for grandparents it was how food and eating were helping to establish close family relationships.

In the light of the latter approach, communal food practices in the presence of grandparents appear significant not solely due to nutritional-based values, but also due to maintaining close family ties and expressing affection. This is illustrated by a conversation between Basia and her father, which I witnessed during one of my family visits:

Fieldnotes 27 December 2015,

(Wisniewscy family, both Polish parents)

The mother explained to the grandfather the rule regarding healthy eating habits, which she and her husband tried to teach their daughter:

Basia: Dad, could you please do not give Zosia any chocolates especially before dinner? She is allowed to have one sweet treat after she eats her dinner so if you give her them now she will not eat her soup and the second course.

The mother explained to the grandfather the rule regarding healthy eating habits, which she and her husband tried to teach her daughter:

Grandfather: I appreciate your effort to teach her healthy eating but

because I don't see her often, giving her a few sweets from time to time cannot cause much harm to her health. I just want to treat her and show her that she is my biggest love. You already forgot how when you and your brother were children and you got sweets from your aunties each Sunday.

Basia (smiling): Of course, I remember but you know that later when you leave it is more difficult for us to go back to her normal rhythm and eating routines.

This dialogue demonstrates the generational differences and interests of both sides – the parents who want to reinforce healthy rules in their daughter's daily routines and the grandfather, who wishes to show his granddaughter his affection. As a result, tensions are created between parents and grandparents. The grandfather's food choices, which are considered 'nutritionally less healthy' in the parents' view, emerge as important transmitters mediating intimacy. However, the mother seems not to recognize these values as a main priority, trying to justify her reasons for maintaining strict rules by drawing on the caveats in altering her daughter's eating patterns. Her rigid attitude in not allowing to diverge from eating routines implies the mother's anxiety and reliance on professionals' expertise rather her father's advices.

Gender differences

Gender appears central to how Polish migrants in Britain produce their positive motherhood and fatherhood identity through engaging in food practices and rituals. Considering that, in this section I turn the attention to an unexplored area – gender differences and ways of how mothers and fathers give different meanings to ethnic food and rituals and how they engage with professionals' discourses for healthy eating.

The mother's role in Polish diaspora as a carer and bearer of a cultural heritage appears to be linked with gendered assumptions about preparing food for the family, which is a woman's duty (Bell and Valentine 1997). Providing the family

with a 'proper meal' comprised of home-made, nutritious food is a key responsibility of the 'good' mother (Charles and Kerr 1988) which is also embedded in the cultural script of Mother Pole (Pustułka 2008). Through engaging in food preparation at the domestic sphere mothers attempt to create an 'authentic taste' of their homeland by instilling meanings into the ethnic dishes and rituals. Building on researchers exploring gendered practices and rituals of migrant parents in a transnational field (Gardner 1993; Morokvasic 2003; Olwig 2007; Parreñas 2001) it is argued here that Polish migrant mothers mediate an anxious version of nostalgia through their family stories of food. That entails longing for symbolically rich food, which is intimately associated with preparation rituals, food talk, and materiality.

My analysis suggests that despite both mothers and father expressing their interest in preparing healthy meals for their children, mothers appeared to be personally responsible for developing skills and knowledge about healthy food habits. As I mentioned earlier, in the first section of this chapter, mediating knowledge about traditional Polish dishes and rituals is mothers perceived across the sample in terms of their 'moral responsibility'. That is expressed in Magda's statement: *Every Sunday I cook at home a Polish dinner for my family as I feel it is important to teach my children about Polish rich food traditions.* Transmitting knowledge about Polish cuisine to children contributes significantly in producing identity as a 'good mother' into which they devote their time, energy and finances.

Moreover, the role of the mother, in addition to her role as a primary 'food preparer', included also being the family's expert on healthy eating knowledge responsible for exercising everyday healthy eating practices. Many fathers including Wlodek or Jan attributed the healthy eating patterns of their family to mothers (their wives or partners) and monitoring family eating habits as her role: *My wife eats healthier than me and she always reminds children to avoid buying sweet snacks in school. She also makes sure that our children drink lots of water and eat lots of fruit and vegetables. I don't remember about that.* In the above statement the mother (Grazyna) is more engaged in monitoring and

instructing children about healthy eating. Like the Bengali-American families in Ray's (2004) study, Polish mothers are seen to play a role of food experts monitoring from home the state regulations and governing how to raise healthy citizens.

Not only partners but also children like Julia (Ada's daughter) acknowledged this role, mentioning her mother in their household as the first person she would turn to with questions concerning food. When asked how and where she learned about healthy eating, a 18-year-old Julia replied: *Moja mama'/[My mum] advisess me about nutritious healthy snacks like corn cakes, dried fruit, nuts. Even now when I am at the university she encourages me to eat three or four proper meals each day.* The above statement shows that the daughter considers her mother to be very knowledgeable about healthy eating.

Despite the fact that mothers expressed their ambitions to implement healthy feeding habits, they also raised the importance of spending quality of time with their children over mealtimes and participating in ethnic food rituals. Ada raised the importance of Polish food in the everyday 'intimate bonding' between her and her oldest daughter: *I take my daughter to the café where we can chat peacefully about her private issues without disturbances, while having coffee and Polish tasty cakes. Even now when she comes back from the university we continue with that routine. I found one Polish café so we usually go there as Julia likes Polish cakes and sweets.* The mother explained that it was important for her to take her teenage daughter out for lunch or coffee in the Polish community places and spend 'quality time' alone with her, sharing Polish snacks. Such a setting allowed them to speak about her personal 'issues' and her emotions: *Going out for a meal just with my daughter was a message for her, that it is our quality time. I discovered that at home it was difficult for me to find the right moment and quiet space to be able to sit and speak to my oldest daughter about her personal things.* The mother's reflection demonstrates that going out to a café where Polish or Eastern European food was available helped her to develop intimate contact with her daughter through sharing personal thoughts and emotions over hot

drinks and favourite Polish cakes. In that view sharing personal thoughts over ethnic food enabled mothers to form less authoritative relationships with their daughters. The same mother explained later that such ritualized practices as going out to community places to have a Polish desert gave her the chance to establish a closer bond with her oldest daughter: *My oldest daughter is very discreet and shy so having a drink and her favorite Polish deserts always helped me to start conversation about 'sensitive topics' with her.* This statement reveals that ethnic food and drink play a comforting role for her daughter and help her to overcome communication barriers when talking about sensitive topics.

This shift marks a new definition of the ideal of a 'good parent' in the Polish diaspora, based on disclosing personal experiences and sharing emotions. The main emphasis placed upon disclosing emotions through informal chats in semi-public spaces such as Polish or Eastern European cafes and restaurants marks a new type of 'good motherhood' in the Polish diaspora. In addition, the situation described by the mother also informs us indirectly about new eating habits in the Polish diaspora. While for the previous generations the consumption of important family meals took place in domestic settings, the new Polish migrants use also semi-formal public places. Those are associated with eating food in order to form a less authoritative relationship with their children. The aforementioned reflective statement indicates a generational shift, highlighting the differences in understanding between parental roles and obligations between the new migrants and previous cohorts in the diasporic context. While political refugees conceptualized this in terms of a 'sacrifice' of individual objectives for the national cause, for the post accession wave, meeting the personal needs of children appears to become the top priority.

Fathers also highlighted the comforting role of Polish food in stressful situations. For instance, Slawek's reflections bring to the fore the importance of cooking and eating recognizable Polish dishes in the initial stages of resettlement in a new country: *I remember when I started my first work after we moved to the UK it was a big shock for me, I felt very frustrated as I could not understand anyone. I could*

not wait to come back home and enjoy meal with my family and feel comfortable. The father highlighted his preference and the significant role of ethnic food. The repeated everyday family ritual of gathering with his family over dinner and eating a traditional Polish evening meal together helped him to cope with feeling isolated in the foreign country and made him more relaxed.

Moreover, despite the fact that more often mothers, not fathers, were actively involved in 'food pedagogy', fathers also participated in transmitting knowledge about healthy food. During my fieldwork, I noticed food shopping provided Pawel with an excellent opportunity to try out various methods in order to educate his daughter in which products she should choose, and which she should avoid. However, it also demonstrated a deviation from expert rules. For instance, Slawek gave his son a permission to choose his favourite sweets as a prize or an award for his good behaviour, arguing: *With my wife we agreed that Oli can have sweets as an award if he eats her dinner or if he behaves well. Otherwise later he would not be able to stop eating chocolates and could develop some compulsive eating patterns outside the house. Also when he goes for a party with other children he obviously can eat the same food as the rest of the children.* Offering a counter-discourse challenged the authority and expertise of health professionals.

His decision to give his son a permission and a daily sweets allowance places the father as a morally responsible figurehead, teaching his child about everyday eating habits. His account appears more complex when compared to other parents' statements, which appear in line with professional advice. In addition, the same father gives the significance to 'an intuitive knowledge', associated with instinctive feelings rather than relying on experts' advice: *For me it was more intuitive knowledge as more or less you know what kind of food is good for your child, obviously not fast food.* Based on the close relationship with his child, the father decides what kind of feeding patterns and rules are the best for his child. This statement suggests a shift in the centrality of expertise, from professionals to the father's 'intuitive knowledge'. He presented his knowledge and feeding practices as skilful and legitimate, despite them not completely matching the

advice of professionals. Another strategy included in negotiating with children during food shopping is which snacks they were allowed and how many. Parents were deeply involved in explaining the reasons why those products are not good for them and they tried to encourage their children to try alternative ones.

To summarize, while there were differences in the specificities of food products used in the home, both mothers and fathers across the sample sought to address the health needs and development of children growing up as Polish citizens. They included both Polish cuisine and international foods in the repertoire of their household consumption patterns. To be a 'good parent' suggests appropriate food production and so that feeding practices are not neutral but set within relations of power.

Summary

In this chapter various meanings ascribed by Polish migrant parents to the ethnic food practices and rituals were explored as significant factors influencing the construction of positive mother and father identities. The complex meanings given to everyday food practices and rituals showed in the participants' accounts, reaffirm that symbolic and concrete meanings are socially constructed forms (Bell and Valentine 1997). Taking into account that food practices signify social categories such as class, gender or generation it was also demonstrated that feeding and eating habits are contingent forms adjusted situationally by the context of both homeland and the host country. Although participants value Polish traditional cuisine and maintain their food rituals in the UK, they also give value to introducing new dishes from other cuisines to their children's diets.

The analysis of meanings assigned to food practices and rituals implies that the everyday feeding practices reveal disparities within diasporic groups, which are mediated by educational background, materiality or personal preferences. The narratives of the post accession migrants related to feeding their children contrast with the narratives of the previous cohorts. While for the majority of

Polish migrants, food related rituals were subordinated sustaining a collective nationalistic ideology, the new migrants appear to be preoccupied mainly with addressing their own personal objectives. These include providing food in order to ensure children's development and transmitting knowledge about traditional Polish food imagined as 'healthy'. In particular, the notion of the home understood as a 'healthy space' emerged as a key concept, shaping parental decisions with regard to feeding children. Selecting products and preparing meals, signifying personal preferences and tastes reveal at the same time parents' concerns about children's development and health. Strikingly, the way, in which parents imagine Polish food is conceptualized as 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983). In that sense participating in food rituals by following Polish traditions around significant festive seasons and family events seems to be a crucial aspect creating a sense of feeling at home.

Moreover, this chapter shows that implementing healthy food practices or transmitting intimacy within child parent relationship demand parents' engagement and commitment and also negotiating various costs – emotional, material or temporal. In particular, mothers' views revealed their moral dilemma of how to compromise recommendations from food experts with the oral knowledge received from previous generations and with their own intuitive knowledge based on personal experience. The aim was to ensure children's health as a significant factor shaping migrants' social mobility. In that sense everyday food practices and pedagogical methods to encourage and monitor children's food choices constitute markers of a 'new parenting style', which evokes 'intensive motherhood' (Hays 1998). Drawing on intensive parenting methods described by Hays (1998) and Furedi's (2001) new parental roles including the 'role of teacher', the argument, which was developed here, confirms the dominance of a child centered approach among Polish parents in the UK.

Food consumption and food preparation by parents reveals the complexity of the relationship with their homeland, which appears nostalgic and reflective. In addition, parents gave weight to sharing ethnic meals as a mean of expressing an intimate bond between family members and strengthening family ties which are

renegotiated over the course of a lifetime. Prioritizing healthy eating and spending quality time with their children suggests that Polish migrant parents reject the ideal of sacrifice ascribed in the cultural script of Mother Pole. Personal migration experiences, material resources and education seem to be the main factors shaping participants' aspirations regarding ways of transmitting to children healthy eating habits.

While there were commonalities in their strategies mediating knowledge about ethnic food and rituals, their different migration histories framed their specific practices and the way, in which personal preferences of food were negotiated with the opinions of professional experts. Parents combined knowledge about healthy food from their countries of origin with knowledge gained in Britain through a variety of sources, such as health visitors, parenting books, magazines or on-line forums. Participant observation during home visits revealed that those accounts of experts appeared complex and constantly in process of negotiating with knowledge from grandparents and parental feelings and 'intuition'. Furthermore, food practices and rituals were situated within a context of transnational connections and memories of 'home'.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have explored the impact of migration on the social construction of parental roles and identities and the complex dynamics associated with the transmission of social values and norms around childrearing among the 'new' (post-2004) Polish diaspora in the UK. I was interested in the ways in which parents imagined and talked about 'good' motherhood and fatherhood and the impact of this on the negotiation of gendered parental roles and ideals. I assessed the normative and 'traditional' figure of the 'Mother Pole' symbol as a possible backdrop against which parental identities are constructed and parental practices justified. The mobilization of this traditional, authentic figure was, however, not central in the participants' narratives. Instead I found that a range of diasporic cultural elements were used as symbolic, social and emotional resources in various ways in addition to non-diasporic elements – such as those associated with the tropes of 'intensive parenting' for instance. In the concluding sections below I will elaborate on these points.

My argument, in this thesis, is that there is a need to combine perspectives around parenting and migrants' home-making to understand a complexity of constructing identities and negotiating belongings by Polish migrants. I argue that social norms concerning the socializing of children in diaspora take contingent forms, continuously renegotiated and adjusted situationally. Drawing upon an ethnography of religious, language and food practices I have shown that, while values around childrearing circulate between the homeland and the host society, parents adjust values according to the dominant social norms in the host country to address a number of key challenges linked to the management of temporal and financial constraints and emotional labour. Focusing on the performance of religious rituals, food practices and language use, this study uncovers hidden dimensions of family life in the Polish diaspora, which concern domestic sphere.

In the literature review chapter, especially in the sections on the historical

construction of 'traditional' parenthood in Poland, I have explained that in the Polish context, conceptualizations of motherhood and fatherhood are embedded in a normative framework shaped by historical, religious and political constructions of nationhood. It was important to take this into account when examining how gendered parental roles are performed and imagined in Polish and migration contexts (see Chapters 3, 4 and 5). In that sense, this thesis offers theoretical contributions to the existing Polish and Eastern European migration studies by challenging certain stereotypical representations of Polish parenting, which tends to stress that the main aspiration for transmission and education is to inculcate 'ethno-nationalistic' values to children.

The analysis presented in my three analytical chapters shows that Polish language, Catholic religious culture and Polish food constitute significant resources for migrant parents when raising children away from the homeland. However, this transmission strategy is not about instilling 'culture' understood in terms of a nationalistic project, as it was the case with previous waves of Polish political migrants (e.g. Titkow et al. 2004, Titkow 2007, Titkow & Duch-Krzysztozek 2004, Giza-Poleszczuk 2005). In the context of political and socio-economic changes in Poland after 1989 and 2004, the sociological dynamics of religious beliefs, language use or food practices of 'new' Polish migrant families have become more complex in contrast with previous cohorts.

One of the main findings of this thesis is that the narratives and practices, deployed by research participants, reveal the plurality of meanings given to religious expressions, language and food cultures associated with 'Polishness' in diaspora situation. After examining how parents understand the performance and experience of religious rituals, language practices and eating habits I showed that the values given to Catholic religion, mother tongue and ethnic food are linked both to the willingness to advance their children's future opportunities and to transmit a Polish heritage. In addition, religious, language and food are valued as important vector of intimacy, mediating child-parent or child-grandparent relationships.

My research also suggests that participants did not associate with the traditional model of the iconic, nationalistic 'Mother Pole' figure, a gendered trope built around culturally homogenous, predominantly Catholic, values, laden with a romantic - nationalistic - collective ethos. My ethnographic study of religious rituals, food culture and family language practices contest, to a certain extent, the dominance of the powerful symbol of Mother Pole and traditional values of self-sacrifice for a collective cause. Rather diasporic cultural elements are embedded in a 'transnational' space (Cronin, 2006) and my participants exhibit a sense of 'being attached to or experiencing two places simultaneously', instead of being linked solely to England or Poland.

For the majority of Polish migrant parents who did not experience communist rule in the homeland, the aspiration to transmit to their children religious values, bilingual competence or develop 'healthy eating' habits has adopted a more personal character. Most narratives emerged as more individualistic, relational, flexible, diverse and intimacy-oriented (Slany 2002, 2013, McCarthy & Edwards 2011, McKie & Callan 2012, McKie & Callan 2012, Chambers 2012). The analysis reveals how mothers and fathers socially position themselves through the choices they make about daily routines (e.g. what constitutes a 'good meal' for a child or a 'good' way of speaking) and deciding on the social use and wider function of their transnational kinship group. I want to argue here that participants' identities are reproduced through what Billig calls the 'banality of the everyday' (1995, p. 6) and that the practices constitutive of their identities are not shaped by a political culture of diaspora hinging on a nationalist collective sense of self. Rather, these practices are shaped by consumption patterns, everyday, fluid and adaptable expressions of religion or language use. Culinary practices, for instance, have a broader meaning of 'feeding the family' in migration (Walczewska 1995, Dunn 2004), more appropriately analyzed through the lens of a sociology of intimacy and personal life (Smart 2007, 2011, Jamieson 1998, Morgan 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 1996, 1999; Smart 2011).

In the three analytical chapters I discussed the role of family language practices, religious and food rituals in constructing 'good' mother and father identity. All

participants emphasized the importance of advancing their children's future opportunities after moving to the UK linking it with bilingual childrearing, the existence of a plurality of religious 'options' or healthy eating, suggesting the extent to which 'proper' parenting is imagined differently if we compare new migrants with the earlier cohort. Parents' narratives reveal the values given to native language, food or Catholic religion as tools enabling children to engage with various forms of Polish heritage including reading books, participating in religious rituals or in family events. The emphasis parents placed on bilingualism influenced their approach to transmission of the Polish language. Language competency was understood in terms of enabling children to develop social networks within the Polish (transnational) community but also with the majority population and others, constituting what Putnam calls 'bridging capital' (2000). In addition, I found that religious institutions provided social and emotional support for migrant parents especially in the initial stage of settlement in the UK. Through religious participation Polish migrants could also, of course, fulfill their spiritual needs when it came to healing for instance.

On the one hand, all of them associated their mother tongue with their identity, cultural heritage, family ties, expressing emotions and intimacy and, as a result, felt a need to transmit to their children. On the other hand, they valued English as high status language and British education, which helps to boost future opportunities. Consequently, they wished to develop in their children bilingual language competency, which enabled to integrate with British society. Parents' personal experiences, linguistic competence and educational background explained their motivation to bilingual childrearing, which they considered as a crucial factor contributing to their children's advancement and social mobility. All parents in this study admitted to code-switching and used English in public situations demonstrating capability to adapt to the language of the interlocutors. They moved between languages in order to integrate themselves and their children into British society.

My findings suggest that everyday language use, food and religious practices convey social divisions in the Polish diaspora and tensions present within the

communities linked with different generational experiences, educational background or job type. The level of children's participation in the activities facilitated by diasporic organizations, which included Polish Saturday schools, community prayers or parental groups, inform indirectly similarly like in Larreau's study (2003) about parents social background. While middle class parents who had more flexible working hours were able to dedicate more time and financial resources to take their children for various activities, working class parents or single mothers reported more difficulties to take regularly their children for various group activities.

In addition, parents with higher education articulated more explicitly the importance of their children's interactions in the native language in a broader context. Furthermore, everyday food habits and aspirations indicate parents' belongings to different social classes and their education background. Significantly, all parents aspired to introduce 'healthy food practices' in their households, and promoted a nutritious diet to their children, but participants with a higher education and higher income levels dedicated more financial resources and time in order to transmit healthy eating habits to children. Those mothers also disclosed they buy 'organic products' from local British shops, as those were seen as 'healthier'. Analogously, like American middle class mothers (Hays 1996), the most committed Polish migrant parents who dedicated more time to preparing homemade food or educate their children about healthy/unhealthy foods worked part-time or were able to be flexible with their working hours. In this sense,

While looking at the strategies employed by participants when performing religious rituals, language and food practices I used the notion of 'intensive motherhood', which Hays (1996) developed to characterise the dominance of a child-centered approach among American mothers. In my thesis I assessed the relevance of this concept by exploring a wide range of parental practices in diaspora. The effort, time and emotional capital invested in transmitting to children Catholic religion, native language and food imagined as Polish, suggest the dominance of a child-centered model, which constitutes a salient feature of

parenthood among Polish migrants in the UK (Hays 1996, Szpakowska 2003, Slany 2013). Moreover, while the majority of interviewees emphasized the importance of maintaining religion, language or food culture according to a fixed notion of Polish 'tradition' at the early stage of migration, individual stories revealed a gradual shift in the meaning of these performances and experiences. Those inner-differences evoked tensions or translated into conflict between generations when parents and grandparents discussed the 'good' cultural practices to be maintained and transmitted to children.

Parents used the transmission of cultural elements as diasporic cultural capital - 'aspirationally' - with a view to improve prospects of social/educational mobility for their children, to create a sense of identity and to inculcate moral values. The broad range of strategies deployed by parents point to the existence of social differences between families in the Polish diaspora, which I did not really anticipate at the beginning of my research. To reflect on the diversity of strategies developed by parents to enhance their children's language competency, promote healthy eating habits or transmit religious values, I noted the relevance of Lareau's (2003) concept of 'concerted cultivation'. Lareau's (2003) work emphasises differences between middle-class and working-class American parents towards arranging children's afterschool time, and this was helpful to think about different resources and skills employed by parents in order to fulfill their ambitions.

In addition, I also drew upon Bourdieu's theory of class as an important factor shaping the linguistic culture of individuals, because of the way this aspect of the accounts given by my participants came to the fore. Although Bourdieu's (1991) work on language and power was not a key element of my initial theoretical approach, it gradually became an important heuristic lens as I was trying to make sense of the fragmentations observable within the Polish diasporic community. Using both Lareau's and Bourdieu's studies allowed a better understanding of how migrant parents use resources available in both the host country and their homeland as cultural and symbolic capitals. For instance, fluency in English and healthy eating habits are associated with children's

'integration' into British society. Parents' aspirations regarding their children's language competency also stand as a marker of educational background and cultural values vis-a-vis lower-class Polish migrants seen as negative role models.

As such, the analysis of religious, language and food practices illustrates the specificity of the Polish case, but might reflect similar experiences among other migrant groups. A key aspect of parenting among migrants and people in diaspora is the negotiation of multiple cultural domains and influences. I observed that mothers and fathers contest but also at times reinforce the norms of gendered parental roles seen as being 'traditionally' prevalent in the homeland. The migration situation is unique itself: it both enmeshes and confronts discourses concerning parental norms and values from homeland and host societies (Levitt, 2001) and it enables reflexivity on meanings given to 'Polishness'. My analysis also suggests that mothers and fathers with Polish origins understood being a 'good parent' differently and interpreted national narratives in various ways, although they belong to the same wider diasporic group. Understanding such processes is crucial to understand how the migration process is changing everyday family life and ways of socializing children in Europe and globally.

In my study I have also attempted to respond to the methodological challenges of researching child-parent relationships in a transnational context. As recent migration studies literature has shown, the transnational paradigm is crucial to consider since it accounts for the importance of social ties and the transmission of social norms and values across national borders (Appadurai, 1991; Glick Schiller, et al, 1992; Levitt 2001, Hannerz, 1998; Vertovec, 1999). Furthermore, my methodology contributes to the corpus of ethnographic studies focusing on global parenting by providing insights into the private sphere of migrants' family life, a sphere always challenging to observe. The data collection was conducted through interviews and participant observations. Participant observations provided a rich source of information concerning family life, especially the negotiation of parental roles and responsibilities. Through regular visits to

family homes I was in a privileged position to witness social interactions between parents, children and to observe daily family practices. Building on Levitt's (2001), Olwig's (2007, 2009) and Parennas' (2005) studies of transnational families I further researched the spatial and temporal aspects of home-making. In particular, I explored how mobility and global processes was shaping various modes of parenting and the negotiation of gendered parental roles. My analysis also enabled me to examine the impact of nostalgic memories evoking the homeland and the significance of family event, in terms of religious rituals, native language transmission and ethnic food practices. Specifically, I highlighted the salient role of materiality, emotions and sensoriality in producing powerful images of family rituals associated with Polishness, to which parents gave symbolic values. These emerged as salient markers of migrants' belongings.

My ethnography accounts for the significance of gender as a marker of parental roles and identities in transnational social context (Levitt 2001, Tweed 2009, Parennas 2005). As a qualitative analysis, this study has adopted a gender-sensitive approach, providing an understanding of how parental roles and everyday practices of intimacy are negotiated in migration situation (Jamieson 1998, Finch 2007, Smart 2007, Morgan 2011b). A gender-sensitive perspective advances our understanding of the differences between mothers' and fathers' roles as well as how moral values are transmitted between generations. For instance, a key finding is that mothers appeared to worry more than fathers about the transmission of cultural elements associated with language, food or religious rituals. My study also suggests that mothers are more keen on establishing intimate relationships with their children while performing religious rituals and family practices. Food and language in particular are seen as mediums by mothers to establish more bonding relations with their children. Both parents, however, give value to multilingualism while acknowledging the salient role of English as a universal, global language linked to a wide range of aspirations.

Another important methodological issue is the question of reflexivity and the role of the researcher. I have highlighted the complex position of a migrant

researcher conducting study about his/her own ethnic migrant group (see section on reflexivity in chapter one). Within sociological debates more attention has been paid to the impact of social categories including ethnicity, class, sexuality, gender, age, disability in influencing researcher's ethnographic understandings (e.g. Haraway 1988; Kobayashi 2003; Moser 2008; Rose 1997). Migration has hardly been recognized as a distinctive social category, even though it raises various challenges for a researcher who studies his/her own community. For instance, many of my interviewees implicitly anticipated that due to the same nationality, language and migrant status we had the same migration experience and views on 'good' motherhood and fatherhood.

In the context of expanding globally migration flows, the circulation of social norms around childrearing and parenting styles is likely to have a significant impact on family everyday life and parental roles. While the circulation of ideas can lead to positive social changes regarding gendered parental roles, it may also raise new challenges for migrant parents in the host countries. Such challenges include a clash of between homeland and hostland parenting, or difficulties with maintaining family visits to the homeland (for social cultural and religious reasons for instance) due to financial or temporal constraints or because of existing school policies in the host countries.

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Annex 1

Table 1: Overview of the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics
Interviews conducted during a doctoral project (2014-2015)

	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Family type	Children: number, age,	Education level	Work status in the UK	Work status in Poland	Area type	Moved to UK
1. Gorek family	Magda	52	Female	both Polish parents	4 (23, 21, 20, 18)	University	Highly skilled	Highly skilled	village	2004
	Jan	55	Male				Skilled	Skilled		
2. Baron family	Ada	58	Female	Mixed (Polish mother, English father)	3 daughters (18, 8, 3)	University	Low-skilled	Skilled	village	2005
	Inga	33	Female				Skilled	Graduate		
3. Idrysz family	Monika	31	Female	Mixed (Polish-Hungarian mother, African father)	3 (6, 4, 1)	University	Stay at home mother	Graduate	town	2004
4. Chikanda family	Basia	33	Female	both parents Polish	1 (1)	High School	Low skilled	High School	town	2004
	Pawel	33	Male				Low skilled	Low skilled		
5. Nowak family	Slawek	38	Male	Mixed (Polish father, English mother)	1 (6)	Vocational	Low skilled	Low skilled	town	2004
	Grazyna	33	Female				Low-skilled	Low-skilled		
6. Mazurek family	Wlodek	36	male	both parents Polish	1 (6)	Vocational	Low-skilled	Low-skilled	village	2006
	Ania	32	Female				Low-skilled	High School		
7. Abramska family				Single mother	1 (11)	Vocational	Low-skilled	High School	town	2004

	Name	Age	Gender	Children	Education level	Work status	Area Type
1	Maria	79	Female	4	High school	Low-skilled	Village
2	Elzbieta	77	Female	2	Vocational	Skilled	City
3	Tadeusz	82	Male	2	University	High Skilled	City
4	Helena	63	Female	2	Vocational	Skilled	Town
5	Jadwiga	59	Female	3	Vocational	Skilled	City
6	Hanna	64	Female	2	Vocational	Low-Skilled	Town
7	Monika	57	Female	4	High school	Low-Skilled	Village

Annex 2

Interview schedule with Polish parents (or with multi-heritage families):

Moving to the UK

How long have you been living in the UK?

Did you have any relatives or friends in the UK before you moved here? Who?

Did they help you after moving to the UK?

Did you start your family life in the UK or in Poland? Please explain why you and your family moved to the UK?

Did you move together to UK with your partner/wife/husband and children or on your own? Please describe how your family moved from Poland to UK.

If separately, please tell me about separation of your family. For how long was your family separated? How did you experience that period and how was it for your family?

Do you want to stay in the UK permanently or are you thinking about moving back to Poland or another country?

Family setting and caring activities

How old are your children?

Were/was your children/child born - in the UK or in Poland?

(questions for mothers)

Could you please tell me about the pregnancy period and labour?

Do you remember how you prepared yourself for being a mother/father?

Did you read any books? Which ones? Did you attend any groups for parents during your pregnancy? Did your partner attend with you?

Did you have any help from your family or your husband/partner when your child/children were born?

Is your family or your partner's family currently involved in caring about your child/children or giving you any support? To which extend? Please describe what kind of support it is: caring, financial or emotional?

Do you find useful your parents' advices and methods regarding ways of raising children? Please describe which ones?

Who is/was looking after your child/ren? Did you use a baby-sitter or maybe family relatives or grandparents?

How long did you stay on maternity leave? Did you wish to stay at home with your child longer?

Did you breastfeed your child? For how long?

Please tell me about your experiences with breastfeeding? How did you learn it

Do you think it is important to breastfeed your baby or bottle milk is equally good? Why did you stop breastfeed?

Do you follow the same routines every day when you feed your children, give them a bath or put them to bed? Do y think it is important to have routines every day?

Did you sleep with you child after labour in one bed? For how long? Why/why not?

Did you go back to work after you maternity leave has finished?

Did you and your partner attend any parenting groups after your baby was born?

Please tell me about your experiences with parenting groups? Did y find them useful?

(questions for fathers)

Could you please tell me about the pregnancy of your partner and the labour?

Did you stay with your partner/wife during the labour?

Do you remember how you prepared yourself to be a father?

Did you read much books? Which ones? Did y attend any groups for parents during your partner's pregnancy?

Did you have any help from anyone when your child/children were born?

How did you participate in caring duties when your child/en was/were born?

Is your family or your partner's family involved in caring about your child/children or giving you any support?

Did you have any help from your family or your husband/partner since your child/children were born up till now? Please describe what kind of support it is: caring, financial or emotional?

Do you find useful your parents' advices and methods regarding ways of raising children? Please describe which ones?

Who is/was looking after your child/ren? Did you use a baby-sitter or family or grandparents?

Do you find your parents' advices and experiences helpful in raising your children? Please describe which ones?

How long did your wife/partner stay on maternity leave? For how long? Did you take any paternity leave? Did you wish to stay with your child longer to look after or you wanted to go back to work?

Did your partner breastfeed your child? For how long?

Do you think it is important to breastfeed a baby or bottle milk is equally good?

Do you follow the same routines every day while feeding your children, giving a bath or putting to bed?

Did your child/en sleep with you in one bed after she/he was born? For how long?

Did you and your partner attend any parenting groups after your baby was born? Please tell me about your experiences with parenting groups.

Gender and equality

Do you share with your partner caring duties?

How did you decide with your partner regarding division of parental roles and caring duties? Did you both agree or was it point of discussions? Did you speak with you partner about division of labour before having children and marriage?

Please describe who looks after yr childr/en at home? Who feeds them, gives a bath, reads before a bedtime or help with their homework?

Who does jobs in a kitchen – cooking and dishes? Who does other chores like cleaning, tidying at home or shopping?

Could you please tell me how do you and your partner spend spare time (weekends or holidays) with your child/children?

Do you have certain routines or division who takes kids for a walk, to parks, to the cinema or for swimming?

Do you reprimand/discipline your child/en? Please describe how you reprimand your children and what kind of punishment is it?

How do you share parenting duties when you are back in Poland? Do you change any of your routines or you act in the same way as in UK?

Family celebrations and home rituals

Which activities are for your family especially important to do together?

Do you have any routines or rituals in your family? Why are they important for you?

Which events are significant for you to celebrate in your family and could you explain why are they important for you? Christmas, Easter, birthdays?

Do you celebrate religious events like Xmas or Easter with your family in the same way as your family in Poland used to?

Do y stay in UK or go back to Poland to celebrate those important family events?

Could you explain which religious rituals or family events you do not any more celebrate in UK and why?

Did you change the way of celebrating family events in UK with you family than you used to when you were a child?

Visits to Poland

How often and when do you visit your family in Poland? Do you go by car or flight?

Do you always take your child/ren and husband with you?

Did the frequency of your visit to Poland change much since you moved to the UK? Why?

How do you spend your time in Poland with your children and husband?

Do you go to Poland much during breaks in school or holidays? Or maybe during Christmas, Easter time? How often does your family from Poland visit you?

ICT media: Skype, TV channels, internet, radio

I heard that many people use media like Skype, phone calls to maintain connections with their families. Do you use them too?

Please describe which media do you use most often and why? Skype, Mobile? Stationary phone? Email?

How often do you speak with family in Poland? Do your children speak with grandparents in Poland too?

Do you send much photos of your family to Poland?

Do you have Polish TV channels? Do you watch much Polish TV or listen radio? Or DVD, books, Polish news at internet? Could you please explain why do you use those Polish media? Is it important for yourself or because of your child/en?

Do you choose programmes for your child/en?

What do you think about access to media like mobile/smart phones, tablets, computer games or the Internet by your children? Do you think that the access to the Internet gives more opportunities to your children or risks?

Diaspora - Polish community, Polish School or any other Polish associations

Do you belong to any Polish associations in UK? Which one? Why do you want to belong to them?

Do you attend for any community event in UK for Polish community? Maybe Polish mass in Catholic church? Or events for Polish parents in particular like Polish School or family picnics?

Who does take your child/ren to those Polish events?

Do your children like those Polish events?

Do you meet regularly with other Polish families in UK? Any particular reason?

Do your children attend Polish Schools or Polish play-groups? Why is it/ is not important for you that your children attend those events and are brought

according to Polish tradition? Which particular events are especially significant to preserve in your family and why?

Language

Is your partner Polish like you? Which language do you speak with your partner and at home with your child/en?

Which language do you speak with your children at home?

Which language do you speak when whole family is involved in conversation?

Which language do your children reply to you?

Do your children speak Polish language when they go to Poland?

Is it important for you that your children can speak fluently in Polish language, know Polish culture and family connections?

Do you take regularly your children for any Polish community events or Polish Saturday School? Which ones?

Material culture – Polish shops, Polish food, books for children, clothes

Do you visit much Polish shops in UK?

What kind of products do you buy most often? Food? Newspapers?

Do you go to Polish shops to meet with someone?

Do you bring any products from Poland? What do you bring?

When your parents/family visit you do they bring any products for you?

Do you have any important souvenirs/family photos from Poland?

Do you bring anything from Poland when you go there for your children or family?

Finances:

Do you and your partner both work full-time or part-time?

What kind of jobs are you doing in UK and your partner now? Did you change your jobs since moving to the UK? Please describe what kind of jobs you did before in Poland and in UK.

Are you satisfied with your current job or last job? Are you thinking about improving your qualifications?

Who is a main bread-winner in your family? Or maybe you and your partner are equally dual earners? Did y go back to work after having children?

Do you want to go back to full time employment?

How do you share expenses with your partner? Do you have one bank account together? Who decides about budget and expenses in your household?

Do you decide together with your partner which nursery, school or baby-sitter to choose?

Religion:

Do you consider yourself as a religious person?

What is the religious background of you and your husband/partner?

How do you continue religious practices in UK at home and in public?

Do you attend religious events in the UK as often as in Poland?

Does religion play important role for you as Polish mother/ father who brings children in the UK? Could you explain why?

Do you celebrate religious festivals with your partner or he/she does not participate in them?

Which religious, traditional or cultural practices are the most crucial for you as Polish mother/father who brings children in the UK?

Why is Catholic religion important/not important to pass to you child as a parent? Do you teach your children to pray at home or in church?

Parenting experiences in diaspora

Please describe any challenges/difficulties regarding being a mother/father away from your country?

Is it for you easier or more difficult to be a parent in the UK than in Poland? Why?

Do you follow your parents' ways of raising children or perhaps you changed some aspects? Describe please those changes.

Does your current job affect somehow your parental duties? How?

What do you think about UK government interventions in the way how to raise children for instance recent policy about obligatory sending children to schools, age of beginning school, uniforms?

Values and norms

What does it mean for you to be a good 'mother/father'? Which aspects are the most crucial for you in bringing your children?

Which practices and values do you want to teach and pass to your children? Religion? Polish language? Maintaining family networks? Traditional Polish customs (which ones)?

How did you negotiate with your partner, which values and moral norms are the most important for both of you to pass to your children? Please describe.

Do you remember any sensitive issues that you did not agree with your partner regarding parental roles or duties?

What is the biggest challenge for you as a parent when raising your children away from your home country? Why?

**Information leaflet for participants
Parenting and home-making in the Polish diaspora in the UK**

Who is the researcher and what is this study about?

I am a PhD student at School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research at the University of Kent. My study examines parenting and migratory experiences of Polish families in diaspora who moved to the UK after 2004.

What is the main reason of this study?

This research aims to investigate how parenting practices and belongings in Polish diaspora are negotiated and explored. It also explores how migrants' family life is shaped by global processes. My study seeks to examine power relations within Polish families analysing gendered and generational relations. More specifically, the focus of this study is on religious rituals and secular practices, language use, food practices and division of labour at households.

Where is this study going to be conducted and how long will it take?

The research is going to be conducted in the South East of the UK and in London among Polish families who moved to the UK after 2004. The interviews will be appointed in the most convenient places for parents who live in the South East or in London, however within the ethnographic fieldwork home visits are also planned and some interviews are going to be conducted also in Poland.

If you would like to share your own parenting experience and migration journey please contact me:

Do I have to take part?

The participation is voluntary. If you decide to be interviewed you will be asked

to sign a Consent Form. If you do not wish to participate, you do not have to do anything in response to this request. During the interview, you will be able to refuse to give answers to questions that you may find inappropriate and withdraw your participation from the entire study at any time.

Will the information I give in the interview be kept confidential?

Participants' details and data disclosed during interviews will be dealt with strict confidentiality and anonymity will be ensured. Participation is fully voluntarily and interviewees can withdraw at anytime from the study. Likewise, the interview can be stopped at any stage or postpone. In addition, my ethics application has been reviewed and cleared by the research ethics committee at University of Kent in 2014.

What will happen to the interview material?

The data from all the interviews will be used for the purpose of my doctoral thesis. The materials can be used at academic conferences or may also be used for academic publications, such as journal articles.

Contact Details:

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SSPSSR

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Kasia Choluj
PhD candidate at SSPSSR
University of Kent,
Canterbury, Kent

Permission’s Form for Participants of Research

1. Participant of the research:

I agree to be a voluntary participant in Kasia Choluj’s project ‘Parenting and home-making in the Polish diaspora’ and the information provided will be part of that research. I am willing to participate in the interview(s) about my parenting and migratory experiences and also in participant observations. I am fully aware that the interview(s) will be recorded and the researcher will take notes during participant observations.

I authorize that the information provided can be used under the following conditions:

- a. The interview(s) and notes from participant observations will only be used for the purpose of the research.
- b. In order to ensure strict confidentiality, particular names and personal details mentioned will be changed and anonymised.
- c. Privacy regulations according to the UK Data Protection Act 1998 will be observed.
- d. In case of any distress or embarrassment the interview will be stopped at any point until the harmful factor is addressed and eliminated.

.....
Date and Place

.....
Name and Signature

2. Researcher:

Kasia Choluj as the researcher makes the following guarantees about the interview(s) and other information given for the project 'Parenting and home-making' in the Polish diaspora in the UK':

- a. The interview will only be used for the purpose of the research.
- b. In order to ensure anonymity, particular names and personal details mentioned will be changed.
- c. Privacy regulations according to the UK Data Protection Act 1998 will be observed.
- d. In case of any distress or embarrassment in the interview will be stopped until the harmful factor is eliminated.

.....

Date and Place

.....

Name and Signature

